

**A STUDY ON TRADITIONAL COSTUMES OF  
BOHRA COMMUNITY OF UDAIPUR**

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**THESIS  
MASTER OF SCIENCE (HOME SCIENCE)**

**IN**

**(Department of Textiles and Apparel Designing)**



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**Department of Textiles and Apparel Designing**

**College of Home Science, Udaipur**

**MAHARANA PRATAP UNIVERSITY OF AGRICULTURE  
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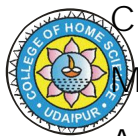
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This is to certify that **Miss Shruti Rawat** (M.Sc. Scholar) has worked under me on "**A Study on Traditional Costumes of Bohra Community of Udaipur**"

1. I have monitored her research work.
2. My self and the scholar were in contact with the committee members and the research work was reviewed regularly.
3. The advisory committee members have gone through M.Sc. thesis critically and made the corrections as per requirement.

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M.Sc. Thesis (2014)

**Topic: A study on Traditional Costumes of Bohra community of Udaipur**

**ABSTRACT**

Clothing is a representation of cultures and beliefs. They portray an [identity](#) and conform to a social group. The styles uphold varies from castes to tribes and religions. Dawoodi Bohra, a sub sect to Shia Islam which hailed from Yemen centuries ago is a trader community and resides majorly in western India. Their distinct way of dressing differentiates them from the other Muslim communities in the country. Thus in order to explore their traditional costumes, coiffures and accessories, Udaipur, the city which homes a considerable population of Bohras was chosen for the study. The research was conducted on 180 respondents in the age group of 13 to 40 years, selected randomly from the densely populated areas.

The major findings revealed that the traditional costume of Dawoodi Bohra female is 'Jodi' which consisted of Blouse as upper garment, Lehenga as lower and Dupatta as coiffure. The young girls wear Jabla (knee length tunic) and Izar (trousers) as traditional attire and scarves and caps as coiffure. The females wear a colourful two piece hijab called 'Rida' as an outer garment. The traditional costume of males is 'Libaas-ul-anwar' which consists of Jubba (tunic) and Izar (trouser) as upper and lower garment respectively and Saya as an outer garment. They put on a white and golden skull cap as coiffure.

Among the accessories it was found that Bohra women prefer wearing jewellerys made of gold and silver or the ones golden in colour. These are- chains and necklace on neck, chudi, kade and bracelets on wrists and rings on fingers, tops, bali, jhumke, latkan and bunde on ears. Tika on forehead and Baajuband on arms are worn only by the bride; no ornament is worn on waist, legs and feet. Men are not allowed to wear any jewellery except for a silver ring of Ruby for daily use and a gold necklace only for the day of their wedding.

For namaz, men replace Jubba with a loose garment called Peheran while women put on Jodi when at home and Rida when visiting mosques.

The attire for the bride is Lehenga, Choli and Odhani while for the groom it consists of Sherwani or Rajasthani Angrakhi with Churidaar Pyjama and golden Pheta as coiffure. Accessories worn by the groom are Kamarband, Sehera, Baajuband and Dushala.

Furthermore, during festivals and occasions, men wear the golden cap and special headgears like Pagri, Safa and Pheta and women dress in decorated Ridas and Jodis. During Moharram, people follow simple clothing, men wear only white caps and women wear less embellished attire. The two major taboos prevail are – prohibition of wearing black colour by the community members and use of only white clothes for four months and twenty days by woman after her husband's death.

Moreover, it was found that most of the family members or relatives of respondents, who reside abroad, follow their religious dress codes everywhere except for the workplace.

Major Advisor

Research Scholar

## INTRODUCTION

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*The finest clothing made is a person's skin, but, of course, society demands something more than this. ~Mark Twain*

Man being a social animal wants his conformity to the society he lives in. A social identity is “that part of an individual’s self concept which derives from his or her knowledge of membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1978). Membership is often imposed, and associated with a habitus of ways of living, cooking, dressing, talking, relating and so forth.

Traditional garments express an [identity](#) through [costume](#) which is usually associated with a geographic area or a period of time in history, but can also indicate social, marital and religious status. Such costumes often come in two forms: one for everyday occasions, the other for [festivals](#) and [formal wear](#). In areas where contemporary western fashions have become usual, traditional garments are often worn at special events or celebrations, particularly those connected with cultural traditions, heritage, or pride. Colour codes are followed in clothing based on the religion and ritual concerned. For instance, [Hindu](#) ladies wear white clothes to indicate mourning, while [Parsis](#) and Christians wear white to weddings. Clothing is a representation of the cultures and beliefs. Although fashion constantly changes throughout time, some articles of clothing remain constant with the cultures that made them (Tera, 2009).

Clothing in India varies with the variation in the races, castes, tribes, religions and customs. Islam which is the second largest religion in the world is also the second most dominant religion in India with 13.4 percent Muslim population (Census of India, 2001). Their population in India is the third largest in the world. The Muslims form one of the most important constituents of the national stream of India. For at least a thousand years, they have, particularly in the north have proved to be a major force in shaping India’s economic, political and social history. Small groups may have trickled into the country at even earlier periods, but about the end of the first millennium, the trickle deepened into a steady stream, that overflowed in the land without any sign of sagging for almost 800 years. Woven into the intricate pattern of

Indian life, the Muslims have yet maintained their individuality. They have contributed to the symphony of Indian life and yet retained a distinct timbre that can be easily recognized. An essential part of Indian life, but with a distinctness of their own, they present a phenomenon which has few parallels elsewhere. Muslims came to India not in one solid and compact block but in dribblets spread through centuries. (Madani, 1993).

The Muslim religion is categorized into two major divisions: the Shias (with population in India being third largest in the world) and the Sunnis. These divisions are further divided into several sub sects; one of them being Dawoodi Bohra.

The term “Bohra” applies most commonly to Dawoodi Bohras, who are reputed to be the best organized and wealthiest of all Bohras. Bohra (also spelled Bohora or Vohra) is derived from the Gujarati word “vohorvu” or “vyavahar”, meaning "to trade" in reference to their traditional profession while the term “Dawoodi” refers to their support for 27<sup>th</sup> dai al-Mutlaq (the spiritual leader) [Dawood Bin Qutubshah](#). It is a small, tight-knit community, presently distributed in the states of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal; majority being residing in west India. The majority of the community reside in India, with smaller communities in –Pakistan, other in Middle Eastern countries, east Africa (since 18<sup>th</sup> century), and the west (since 1950s) (Melton and Baumann, 2010). In Rajasthan, the Bohra live in the districts of Udaipur, Dungarpur, Chittorgarh, Banswara, Jaipur, Kota, Bundi and Ajmer. They speak Gujarati, Urdu and are also conversant with the local Mewari language and use of Devanagri script (Singh and Khan, 2001). Besides speaking the local languages, the Bohras have their own language called Lisan-ul-Dawat "The language of the Dawat". This is written in Arabic script but is derived from Urdu, Gujarati and Arabic. Udaipur, once the capital of the Ranas of Mewar, harbors a sizable population of around 12,000 to 13000 of the Dawoodi Bohras. In terms of population, the city ranks third after Mumbai (Engineer, 2013).

### **Brief History**

Dawoodi Bohras forms the main branch of Bohras, a Tayyibi branch of Mustaili subsect of Ismaili Shia Islam. They trace their belief system back to [Yemen](#), where it evolved from the [Fatimid Caliphate](#). As Shi'as, Dawoodi Bohras believe that

their Imams are descendants of Muhammad by way of his daughter Fatima and her husband Ali. They believe that as Mohammad delegated Ali as his successor (wasi) while he was returning from his first and last Haj. After Ali, his son Hasan ibn Ali became the first Imam (Imam-e-Fatemi).

From the first to the 5th Imam, are common accepted Imams of all Shi'as. In the year 775 AD, as the result to the controversy of successor, the sect diverged into two. The ones who followed Musa Qazim as heir to 5<sup>th</sup> Imam became the Twelvers (*Ithna ashariyyah*), which is now the largest branch of Shia Islam, and the group who accepted Ismail bin Jafar as the 6<sup>th</sup> Imam, became the Seveners (**Ismailis**), from whom the Bohra descend. This was the first sub division in the Shia group. The Ismailis believe that after the 6<sup>th</sup> Imam, the next Imam, due to strong suppression by the Abbasids, went into hiding and a period of satr (occultation) began. In this period his representative, the Dai, maintained the community. The names of the 8th, 9th, and 10th imams were considered by some traditions to be "hidden", and known only by their nicknames due to threats from the Abbasid caliphate.

The 11<sup>th</sup> Imam founded the Fatimid dynasty in 909 CE in Ifriqiya (present Tunisia), ending the first period of satr. The Fatimids then extended up to the central Maghreb (now Morocco, Algeria, Libya). They entered and conquered Egypt in 969 CE during the reign of the 14th Imam and made Cairo their capital. The 18<sup>th</sup> Imam, Mustansir had two sons. After his death, one branch of followers believed his son Nizar was his successor, while the other branch favoured his other son Al-Musta'li. Thus, the followers of former became the Nizari sect while another branch, to be known as the **Mustaili**. The Fatimid dynasty continued with Al-Musta'li as both Imam and Caliph, and that joint position held until the 20th Imam (1132CE). At the death of 20th Imam, one branch of the Mustaali faith claimed that he had transferred the imamate to his son Tayyeb Abil-Qasim, who was then two years old. Another faction claimed that Amir died without any heir, and supported Imam's cousin Al-Hafiz as both the rightful Caliph and Imam. The Al-Hafiz faction became the Hafizi Ismailis, and the supporters of Tayyeb became the **Tayyibi Ismailis**. And this is how after a series of incidents pertaining to leadership, came into existence the **Tayyibi Mustaili Ismailis**, the predecessor to the Dawoodi Bohras.

The Dawoodi Bohra believe that the imamate continued until the 21st Imam as it was this time when the second and current period of satr began i.e. the Imam went into occultation. Following this, the Queen of Yemen instituted the office of the Dai-ul-Mutlaq, who administers the community in the Imam's absence. Zoeb bin Moosa (d.546 AH/1151 AD) was the first Dai-ul-Mutlaq, and lived and died in Haus, Yemen. His ma'dhun (assistant) was Khattab bin Hasan. As per records, two travellers from India Rupnath and Baalam Nath went to the court of 18<sup>th</sup> Imam. They were so impressed that they converted to Islam, and came back as representatives of the Du'at to preach as Maulai Nuruddin and Moulai Abadullah. The former visited the deccan while Moulai Abdullah (460 AH/1067 AD) who became the first Wali-ul-Hind ("representative in India") along with Moulai Ahmed went to Khambhat, Gujarat and so the Tayyibi community was established there in the second half of the 11th century.

Once, the king Siddhrajaya Singha of Anhalwara, Patan (1094-1133 AD) sent his soldiers to get Maulai Abdullah, but they could not reach him as they saw a shield of fire formed around him. The king himself went to Abadullah and was so impressed with his thoughts that he, along with his ministers Moulai Bharmal and Tarmal and their fellow citizens freely accepted Islam and the Imam. After the death of Maulai Abdullah, Dai Zoeb appointed Maulai Yaqoob (son of Moulai Bharmal) as the second wali of the Fatimid dawat in India. He was the first such wali of Indian descent. Moulai Fakhruddin (son of Tarmal) was sent to western Rajasthan for proselytizing.

### **Transfer of Dawat (mission) to India**

Due to prosecution by the local Zaydi Shi'a ruler in Yemen, the 23rd Dai-al-Mutlaq transferred the Dawat to India in 1567 AD. Though the whole administration of the Dawat shifted to India, 24th Dai continued to live in Yemen and died there. The 25th Dai (d.1567 AD) was first Dai to have died in India. Following the death of the 26th Dai in 1591, a leadership dispute divided the Tayyibi sect, creating the followers of Dawoodi Bin Qutubshah (the 27<sup>th</sup> dai) becoming the **Dawoodi Bohra**. Further, more factions separated out of Bohras, but Dawoodis remained the main branch.

In India the Dawoodi Bohras were persecuted by the Mughal rulers. The 32nd Dai was prosecuted and beheaded in 1648 AD under Aurangzeb. The 34th Dai (1657

AD onward) was the first Dai of Indian Gujarati origin. He shifted the Dawat from Ahmedabad to Jamnagar. During this period Dai also moved to Mandvi and later to Burhanpur. In the era of 42nd Dai (1787 AD onward) the Dawat office shifted to Surat. The educational institute Al-Daurus-Saifee (later renamed Al Jamea tus Saifiyah) was built in that era by the 43rd Dai, who has done extensive works in the literary field also. During the period of 51st Dai (1915-1965 AD), the Dawoodi Bohra Dawat shifted to Mumbai and continues there to the present day, currently headed by 53rd Dai Syedna Mufaddal Saifuddin.

### **Socio-Cultural Scenario**

The Dawoodi Bohra community today is divided into the orthodox (Shabab) and the reformist (Youth) groups who are also called the “Progressive Dawoodi Bohras”. Since the reformists had branched themselves out of the main lineage, the orthodox group endures the original stream. It still retains the structure and the norms constituted by the Ismailis in initial times.

The Bohras follow Fatimid school of jurisprudence, which recognizes seven pillars of Islam. Walayat (love and devotion) for God, the prophets, the Imams and the Dai-al-Mutlaq is the first and most important of the seven pillars. The others are tahārat (purity & cleanliness), salāt (prayers), zakat (purifying religious dues), sawm (fasting), hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) and jihad (Struggle).

The Dawoodi Bohras Isma'ili faith, unlike mainstream Islam, is based on the concept of hierarchy which is essentially Fatimid and is headed by the *da'i mutlaq* who is appointed by his predecessor in office. He guides his followers in both spiritual and worldly matters and is thought to be in contact with the hidden Imam (who is believed to reappear one day). The *da'i* appoints two others to the subsidiary ranks of *madhun* and *mukasir*. These positions are followed by the rank of shaykh and mullah, both of which are held by hundreds of Bohras. The Bohra da'i appoints his representative wherever there are more than a dozen families of Bohras in India or abroad. These representatives are known as 'amil (literally governor). These clergymen are trained in a Bohra seminary in Surat in Gujarat and are appointed through centrally controlled system. Amil leads of the local congregation in religious, social, and communal affairs are sent to each town where a sizable population exists. Such towns normally have a mosque and an adjoining *jamaatkhanah* (assembly hall)

where socio-religious functions are held. Activities like marriage, funeral rites, tax collection are all performed by him. A whole religious bureaucracy has developed in the head office in Mumbai which controls religious and social life of Dawoodi Bohras throughout the world. At the age of puberty every Bohra, or mu'min (believer) pronounces the traditional oath of allegiance (misaaq) which requires the initiate to adhere to the shari`ah (moral and religious codes to Islam) and accept the leadership of the imam and the da'i. Before misaaq, a Bohra is a child; after misaaq he or she is an adult, with all the rights and responsibilities of a mature member of the community. This oath is renewed each year on the 18th day of the Islamic month of Zyi-Hajj.

At present, Dawoodi Bohras are spreaded all over the world with a population of about one million (The Times of India, 2014), making a majority proportion of adherents in India. They are largely into trading and business. Their traditional occupation was cloth painting and weaving but now they are primarily engaged in textiles and metal trade, selling machinery parts, working in oil factories and petrol pumps, jewellery, gems and diamonds etc. They do not deal in wines and liquors, cigarettes and other tobacco products as these are strictly prohibited under the Islamic norms. While the majority of Dawoodi Bohras have traditionally been traders, it is becoming increasingly common for them to become professionals. Within South Asia many choose to become doctors, and in the Far East and the West, a large number now work as consultants or analysts as well as a large contingent of medical professionals. Dawoodi Bohras are encouraged to educate themselves in both religious and secular knowledge, and as a result, the number of professionals in the community is rapidly increasing (<http://burhanidawoodibohra.blogspot.in/>)

The Dawoodi Bohra women enjoy equal status to men. The emphasis is laid not only in their education; they are encouraged strongly towards professional careers. This openness to female education is facilitated by their strictness in avoidance of dowry and widow remarriage. Women have their own associations and participate in the economic activities such as teaching, sewing and interior decoration and contribute to the family income.

Dawoodi Bohras live in closely bonded social groups which meet regularly for prayers and periodically to mark religious dates. A pilgrimage to the shrines of the

saints is an important part of their devotional life. Once a year, the community commemorates Ashura, the 10<sup>th</sup> day of Muharram when the Prophet's grandson Imam Hussayn was martyred in Kerbala. The Dai-al-mutlaq delivers religious discourses for ten days during Muharram and these are attended by a large number of community members. All the attendees perform matam (beatings of their chests). One key difference to be noted is that Dawoodi Bohras practice matam using only their hands and their religious practice forbids the use of any implements in matam. This is in stark contrast to other Shia sects that often use knives, blades, and metal chains in their matam.

### **Clothing in Dawoodi Bohras**

Madani, (1993) in a book quoted that one of the most important things in Islamic culture is to wear clothes to hide every part of the body except the face and the hands below the wrist. The women's dresses are specially designed of loose patterns, so that the body parts do not show their shapes to be the cause of attraction and disturbance in the public. Islam also says that men should not wear silken clothes. But women are permitted to wear silk. Islam does not allow men and women to wear dark coloured clothes as light coloured ones give more beauty to the wearer.

The ordinary Bohra is highly conscious of his identity and this is especially demonstrated at religious and traditional occasions by the appearance and attire of the participants. It was from the orders of His Holiness Dr. Syedna Mohammed Burhanuddin, in 1970 that the dresses of the women of the community were modified so as to mark a distinction from the reformist group. The "rida", a distinctive form of the commonly known [burqa](#) was introduced which is distinguished from other forms of the veil due to the variations in color and decorations with patterns and laces. This indulges their feminine creativity instead of restricting them behind the monochromes and designs where their individuality may be lost. The rida additionally differs from the burqa in that the rida does not call for covering of women's faces like the traditional veil. It has a flap called the pardi that is usually folded to one side to facilitate visibility, but can also be worn over the face if so desired. This is unlike the tradition followed in Yemen where the Dawoodi Bohra women cover their faces, but not with pardi, headscarves instead. As far as the attire for men is concerned, they wear a traditional white three piece outfit, plus a white and gold cap called a topi (as

headgear). The headgear distinguishes a person of high status from one of ordinary position. Topi is a standard headgear worn by any community member while turbans are primarily worn by the clerics.

The unique style of dress is a continual reminder of cognizance and a great many Bohras make at least a token attempt to maintain dress orthopraxy on a daily basis. Even those who eschew community dress at other times quiet often will make at least a symbolic gesture when praying or eating. When compared, Bohra women actually have considerable greater latitude than Bohra men in matter of dress as the former is consistent with the Islamic code of modesty, while men wear ordinary street clothes with a topi sometimes retained as a symbolic marker. Ironically even in the headquarters of the mission in Mumbai, the attire is not universally followed as many members of their support staff belong to other religions like Parsi, Sunni, Hindu or Christian and thus are not expected to dress in the Bohra clothing. The uniform way of appearance of the Dawoodi Bohra community not only makes them recognizable the world over but also marks a unique and distinct ideology.

## **JUSTIFICATION**

The Bohras have their links not only to Gujarat but lands miles away (Yemen and Egypt) from it and had influenced their lifestyles. This influence and the sociological dimensions presented in the chapter inspired the investigator in knowing further about their costumes and the socio-cultural aspects related to them. Since the community forms a minor group among the Muslims in India (less than a percent), that too located only on the specific regions; not many people are aware about them and their traditions. Moreover, till date no scientific research has been conducted on subjects depicting their traditional costumes which necessitate the investigator for the urgency of selecting the proposed topic. Udaipur, being the city third largest for their population in India (Engineer, 2013), justifies being a good locale for the study.

## **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

1. To study the traditional costumes of males and females of Bohra community.
2. To learn about the coiffures prevalent among them.
3. To find out their traditional and contemporary accessories.

## **DELIMITATION**

The study will be delimited only to the Shabab group of Dawoodi Bohra community.

## **IMPLICATIONS**

- The study will be helpful in identifying and understanding the details of traditional costumes of Bohra community.
- The proper documentation of the collected information will help to conserve this cultural heritage.
- It will help us in acquainting with the taste, preferences and trends prevailing among the community members.
- It will provide useful information and will serve as a valuable aid to those who are interested in exploring the traditional attires of other communities.

## **OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS**

1. Accessories: It is an item which is used to contribute, in a secondary manner, to the wearer's [outfit](#) and complement its look.
2. Coiffure: The headgear used as a covering for head.
3. Costumes: A person's ensemble of outer garment, including upper, lower and over garments.
4. Traditional: It is following or conforming to a behaviour passed down within a group or society and based on an order, code or practice accepted.

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

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Review of literature is an integral component of any study or research project. It inspires insight and enhances the depth of knowledge into the problem. Survey of the related literature is an important step in conducting educational research. It enables the investigator to locate the gaps and find the trends in research in a particular field. The studies linking to the investigation are given under the following heads.

### **2.1 Socio-cultural background of Bohras.**

### **2.2 Traditional costumes of Bohras.**

### **2.3 Traditional costumes accessories of Muslim majority countries excluding India.**

### **2.4 Traditional costumes and accessories of Muslims in India.**

#### **2.1 Socio-cultural background of Bohras**

Ojha (1997) in the book “Udaipur Rajya ka Itihaas” describes that the Daudi Bohras are among the main followers of Shia Islam in Udaipur, Rajasthan. They are one among the traders groups in the city.

Blank (2001) in a book discussed the various socio-cultural issues regarding the Daudi Bohras. It states that in all matters of prayers, dress, physical comportment and even avoidance of financial interest, they are highly conservative. The community had been far more secularized and assimilated during the later part of the tenure of the previous da'i (d. 1965). The central elements of this neo-traditionalist reform program have been: enthusiastic embrace of modern communication technology to standardize culture across a wide geographical area; mandated codes of personal appearance, dress, and language to delineate the boundaries of the community and fortify group cohesion; wholehearted encouragement of western educational ideology and practices to foster a unified societal identity while keeping ambitious, freethinking members within the fold.

Singh (2003) in the book “People of India, Gujarat Part 1” described Daudi Bohra as the largest Shia sect of the Muslim minority amongst the three endogamous Bohra communities under the Musta alian branch of Ismailies. Bohras who accepted Dawood Biri Qutubsha as the 27<sup>th</sup> Dai (religious head) were called Daudi Bohra. The

origin of Daudi Bohras can be traced to the time before the death of the 18<sup>th</sup> Imam Mustansir Billah when two missionaries Ahmed and Abdullah arrived in 1067 AD at Cambay port. At that time Siddharaj Jaising ruled over Patan. Abdullah influenced the Hindu people and the rulers of Cambay and Patan and converted them to Islam. However, the new faith was maintained secretly due to continuous persecution by the Sunni Mohammedan rulers. It began to spread with the advent of British rule in the second half of the eighteenth century. In Gujarat, they are mainly distributed in the districts of Ahmedabad, Surat, Jamnagar, Banaskantha and Panchmahal. They speak in Kachchi dialect and use Gujarati script; a few males speak hindi also.

Beattie (2005) in the book “Cairo- A cultural History” revealed that the mosque of Al-hakim (16<sup>th</sup> Ismaili Imam) in the city of Cairo, bears the evidence of extensive rebuilding by the Bohras after centuries of neglect and claim them the descent from Al-Hakim.

Daftary (2007) in the book *The Ismailis: their History and Doctrines* reported that A general feature of these communities in India and elsewhere is their emphasis on cultural identity and a strong inclination towards seclusion. The Dawoodi have in recent decades experienced some modernization, though within a traditional frame, they still keep their books secret, indulge in limited contact with outsiders and refrain from intermarrying with Hindus over with other Muslim groups. In terms to sulaymani Bohra, Dawoodi Bohras have developed less close affinities to other Muslim in terms of language, dress and behavior. They have retained many Hindu custom in their marriage, ceremonies and other rituals. Amils are graduates from Jamea-a-Saifiyah institute and leads town where a sizable population exists. Their main duty is to lead the community under his charge in prayers and to perform the various religious ceremonies including marriage, funeral rites and circumcision (khatna). Being the local representative of dai, no religious or communal ceremony is valid without his permission. Also responsible for collecting the various religious dues and offerings for dai. A central administration headed by the dai mutlaq oversees the affairs of the d.b. world wide. The central offices of this administrative organization are located in the Badri Mahal in Mumbai, where senior members of the Dawa hierarchy, including the dai's brother and sons also have their offices. Every d. attaining the age of 15 takes an oath of allegiance or mithaq, also known as ahd-al-

awliya and the baya, pledging loyalty to the Tayyibi Ismaili Imams and the Dawoodi dais and agreeing to conform to Dawoodi beliefs and practices. Thereupon, he is officially initiated into the community as a believer (mumin).

Engineer (2007) reported that in India Dawoodi Bohra had traditionally supported the Indian National Congress and hardly ever they participated in freedom movement. They kept away from all such activities. And in post-independence period they supported the ruling party. However, now in India in the changed political conditions, they support the Hindu rightist party like the BJP wherever they come to power. known fact that the Bohra high priest donated liberally to the BJP kit in Gujarat to fight elections despite horrible carnage of Muslims in Gujarat in which the Bohras also suffered extensive damage in terms of life and property. The Bohras follow the same pattern of non-interference in politics in other countries also and maintain strict neutrality. They have maintained this pattern in South East Asian countries like Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia also apart from other Asian and African countries where they have had long presence.

Dalal (2010) in a book stated that the Bohra Muslim group is divided into two sects, Dawoodi and Sulaimani. Most of those in India are Dawoodis and their dai lives in Mumbai while the latter reside mainly in Yemen and their dais are usually from Yemen. The Majority of Dawoodis are in India and Pakistan; they are quiet progressive and believe in women's education. They have their own language, Lisanu-i-Dawat, a mix of Urdu, gujarati and Arabic, written in Arabic script. The two Bohra groups have similar religious practices which differ slightly from the traditional Islam- Bohras recite prayers three times a day and not five; they do not have sermon (khutba) on Fridays and some aspects of their interpretation of the Quran are different.

Ende and Steinbach (2010) in the book "Islam in the World Today" stated that there are two groups of Isma'ilis- the Khojas and Bohras, who are close to their Hindu origins in terms of language and customs yet equally clear about claiming Persian or Arabic descent. Pakistan's founder, Jinnah, belonged to a branch of Bohra Isma'ilis.

Anonymous (2011) described that Surat (Gujarat) which is typically known as the capital city for Dawoodi Bohras holds a great significance to them. In the city lies

the university specifically equipped for the purpose of training religious workers for Dawoodi Bohra ministry. Top students come from all over the community and it is an honour to be selected and trained in this university.

Anonymous (2012) in an article described the mass wedding of 108 Dawoodi Bohra couples in Udaipur, Rajasthan. It was further stated that Dawoodi Bohra are Ismaili Shia whose ancestors came from Yemen in the 11<sup>th</sup> century or were “vaishya” (the 3<sup>rd</sup> class in the Hindu hierarchy) who converted to Islam. They are relatively wealthy traders or professionals who have preserved their own identity, their own code of dressing and obey to a powerful hierarchy of priests that excommunicate the refractory.

Parmar (2012) in an article stated that the religious head of Dawoodi Bohras, Dr Syedna Mohammed Burhanuddin about four years ago in Mumbai introduced the concept of community kitchen where families contribute a fixed sum every month and the food for two meals is delivered to them. The idea was promoted so that women could focus on more constructive work like devoting time for religious activities, focus on children's education or even start small businesses. , The community is promoting the practice worldwide. The idea is to give same food to all community members irrespective of their economic status.

Syed (2012) in a study found that Dawoodi Bohra Muslim community migrated earlier from Egypt to Yemen and in the 16<sup>th</sup> century a part shifted to India, while others stayed in Yemen. The holy shrine of Yemen is visited by many followers from India where men and women worship parallel in the prayer hall. Yemenis try to learn Gujarati because their spiritual leader delivers lectures in that language. It is a strain of Gujarati laced with Arabic and Persian (*Dawat ni zabaan*). They believe that they are connected the world over first by religion, then by language and third by culture. It was noticed that there's a gap between women of the two countries (India and Yemen) as the latter are not well educated, not allowed out of their houses and thus don't have a broader vision.

Fazal (2013) in a book states that the Muslim community of Sri Lanka comprises of several groups one being the Bohras (small but economically significant group, a sub-sect to the only Shia community in the island, originating from India).

They came as traders during the colonial rule from western India mainly Mumbai and Gujarat. Their native language is Gujarati.

Abbas (2014) published that there are 400 educational institutions of Dawoodi Bohras in the world to impart religious, spiritual and secular education to community members. The Syedna persuaded his followers to foster healthy business combining mercantile and Islamic principles. For this, he institutionalized the Quranic concept of interest-free loans and also established the burhaniyah business counseling centre in Mumbai to provide modern business solutions.

## **2.2 Traditional costumes of Bohras**

Ojha (1997) in a book stated that in Udaipur, Rajasthan, the Bohra women usually wear lehenga and a veil on face while moving out of their houses.

Anonymous (2003) stated that while stating the arrival of the spiritual head, a committee member announced that the reception would see some Bohras dressed in traditional Peshwai attire.

Anonymous (2003) reported that ten thousand members of Pune's Dawoodi Bohra community accorded warm and emotional welcome to their spiritual leader, which was led by a caparisoned elephant and escorted by Bohras, dressed as Maratha soldiers brandishing spears and swords.

Shedde (2003) in a mass wedding at the Saifee Masjid at Bhendi Bazar in Mumbai, describes grooms as a sea of Prince Salims with golden phetas, sparkling brooches and white feathers, and brides as a sea of Anarkalis, sat huddled, they looked like ripples of pastel ridas- an all-enveloping garment and were sported squillions of bangles and rings, and mehendi on hands.

Singh (2003) describes that the males in Daudi Bohra wear a round embroidered topi (cap). Traditionally the women also wore calf length loose pyjama called izar under ghaghra besides another concealing garb called rida. Wearing of rida is compulsory while attending the jamat function or community gatherings.

Joshua Project (2006) reported in a study that the Bohra women wear a bright green bourdka (veiled dress) that set them apart from the scores of other Muslim women who wear brown, dark blue or black bourdkas.

Wael (2009) stated that the Dawoodi Bohras have a unique sense of style. The men wear a traditional white three-piece outfit, plus a white and gold cap (called a topi), and women wear the rida, a distinctive form of the burqa which is distinguished from other types of hijab by often being in colour and decorated with patterns and lace. Young girls wear a simple two-piece suit with a collar and shalwaar called a Jabloo Izaar. They wear this with a girl's topi, decorated with sequins and sometimes lace.

Kartikeya (2010) in his research observed that Dawoodi Bohra males used white and gold pillbox skullcaps and stood out different among the thousands of pilgrims who were paying obeisance at the holy Islamic shrine- the Great Mosque at Kufa in Iraq.

Ingber (2011) while mentioning an event stated of Muslim Bohra women wearing ridas of various colours like green, red, pink and blue but not black. The rida covered their hair and body but not the face. Men wore a three piece white outfit and a white cap with golden embroidery.

Arsiwala (2012) in an article said that essentially a two-piece garment, the rida is the formal religious attire for Islamic Dawoodi Bohra women. The top (called the pardi) is a flowing garment with an attached headpiece; doesn't cover the face like a traditional burqa, but a flap attached to the pardi may be used to do so, if desired. The bottom is a flowing skirt made with heavy material and is cinched at the waist. In comparison, the early prototype of the rida was a simple, unassuming garment. In fact, the rida that the world knows today only came about in the 1970s. Until then, women from the Bohra community wore burqas that covered the face, leaving only a small mesh opening in front of the eyes. Syedna Mohammed Burhanuddin made the wearing of the rida compulsory, as a mark of distinction from the reformist group. The announcement came suddenly and women had to hastily bring out their colourful saris and dress materials and stitch them overnight into the colorful ensemble that was the rida. Today, the result of an emergency has become a symbol of identity. Subtle

changes started being made to the rida, such as adding more colour, incorporating machine and/or hand embroidery, crochet and hand painting.

Pandey (2012) in an article while describing a community ceremony of Dawoodi Bohras mentioned about the attire as being completely different from what is worn by Muslims otherwise. Instead of the skull cap most men and children wore quite elaborate topis, in white embroidered with gold thread. These bore resemblance to caps in the Arab and Egyptian traditions. There were many who wore pink saafas, golden phetas and something similar to pagdis from the Yemeni and Egyptian traditions that were the original homes of the Bohra Muslims. Kurta are distinct from the awami suits with curved cuts that are worn by other Muslims. The Bohra Muslim jhokha, or the tunic is that which the men folk wear as a mark of respect when they visit mosques. This is clearly a Yemeni tradition. But in India, the Jhokha is made of light cotton because the Yemeni severe cold is absent here.

Syeed (2012) in a study found subtle signs of incomplete cultural crossover between Dawoodi bohras of India and Yemen. Some Yemeni men don't wear the Indian caps or clothing (long white shirts and pants and flowing vests, special to Bohras but resembling a *kurta* pajama), instead opt for their traditional turban-often wrapped with a Kashmiri shawl-and white robe, blazer and *jambiya*, a gilded dagger carried in a waistband. Although Yemeni Bohra women wear the characteristic dress called the rida, they continue to cover their faces, not with *niqabs* but with hued headscarves, unlike South Asian Bohra women.

Khan (2012) in an article states that a Bohra man is recognized merely with the topi as it has some distinctness. It is a white uniform styled topi with a unique design accentuated with the borders made of either golden or silver threads. In important events like special prayer meetings, weddings, festivals, funerals etc distinct attire worn by Bohras is the white overcoat (as Pr Prophet Muhammad liked white) called as the 'Imaami Libaas'. No one is found wearing suits etc. in weddings. Generally no pants or jeans are entertained with the 'Imaami Libaas'. It is always the traditional 'Izaar'. Men would have 15-20 Imaami Libaas dresses with them. In the nights of occasions like Shab-e-Baraat, and Lailat-ul-Qadr, they pray wearing new clothes. They always keep separate clothes for 'Namaaz'. The women unlike the usual

burkha, wear 'Rida'. The Ridas are expensive. They generally do not prefer black and go for other colours.

Kavi (2013) in a study described Bohra men wearing the same kind of Sayo Kurto to the masjid every time, no matter if it is a big occasion (like ramzaan) or just an ordinary day. Women have the liberty to choose from the variety of colours and floral patterns. The latest trends of *Ridas* include vegetables and fruits. She also described about two little children dressed in the traditional crisp, white Sayo Kurto and hand woven white and golden topis.

Mondegarian (2013) stated in an article that in India, the Dawoodi Bohra women of the royal family used to wear the hijab, and draped themselves in elaborate saris. They preferred a cotton or silk scarf over a matching silk bodice and petticoat under a dark silk burqa. Even distant Dawoodi Bohra communities in Sri Lanka and Africa favored saris and skirts with a shawl to cover their heads. Subsequently, the Syedna's wife came up with the design for the rida. The word means 'the chador of Bibi Fatima', the daughter of Prophet Mohammad. It consists of a poncho-like top with the pardi and a flap to cover the face, and the lenga or loose-fitting skirt underneath. It requires 5.5 yards of fabric for construction; see through fabrics like georgette is generally avoided. For occasions like weddings, wide array of silk fabrics or jamavars and for daily wear cotton is used. The misak ceremony introduces a young woman to the rida. Irrespective of age, it is a compulsory part of a woman's daily wear before leaving the house while for some it is worn to a masjid and is a very personal thing. Indeed, today, their appearance has become a religious identity world over.

Dave and Shrivastava (2013) in a study conducted in Udaipur, Rajasthan found that the women from the Bohra community generally prefer burqa of light colours, floral patterns with synthetic material ornamented with laces, embroidery and zardozi work. It is made such that the face is not covered and unlike the other Muslim communities, is worn by women everywhere.

### **2.3 Traditional costumes and accessories of Muslim majority countries**

An article “Traditional costumes of Afghanistan” (<http://www.afghan-network.net/Culture/costumes.html>) stated that the men in Afghanistan wear a thigh-length, long-sleeved shirt which is belted at the waist with a skirt effect to the lower half and loose fitting white trousers. A sleeveless waistcoat is worn over the shirt. People inhabiting in mountain areas wear '*chupan*', a long sleeved ankle length woolen coat in winters. It is further stated that thick woolen, hand-knitted stockings are worn with leather boots. Children and adults wear sandals or a form of boot as protection against the rough mountainous ground. In the cities, the open toe sandals are very common and sometimes shoes with up-pointed toes are seen. There are various forms of headgear which include the large turbans, woolen knitted hats and large fur sheepskin hats. The traditional dress of women consists of *Chadri*, which covers body from head to foot. It has a latticed slit for the eyes and is made of cotton in shades of blue, brown, black. The women near Pakistan's border wear long, full trousers, often red in colour, with a loose, long-sleeved tunic dress, rather like the *kameez* (which varies in length and design), together with a draped headscarf to cover their heads. In the northern areas striped material is used, often in shades of red, blue and brown. Loose sleeveless, hip-length jackets are worn in full-length striped coat for warmth. The colour of headscarves varies according to the groups to which they belong.

Royal embassy of Saudi Arabia Washington, DC describes that the Men in Saudi Arabia wear an ankle-length shirt of wool or cotton known as a thawb. On their heads, they wear a large square of cotton (*ghutra*) that is folded diagonally over a skullcap (*kufiyyah*), and held in place with a cord circlet (*igal*). The flowing, full-length outer cloak (*bisht*), generally made of wool or camel hair, completes the outfit. Women customarily wear a black outer cloak (*abaya*) over their dress, which may well be modern in style. On their heads, Saudi women traditionally wear a *shayla* – a black, gauzy scarf that is wrapped around the head and secured with circlets, hats or jewelry. Traditional dress is often richly decorated with coins, sequins or brightly colored fabric appliqués. Some women wear veils made of sheer material. A veil represents modesty and virtue. Traditionally, jewellery was mostly made of silver, although gold was also used. Jewelers used stones such as turquoise, garnets and amber, pearls and coral from the coastal areas. Tiny bells, coins and chains were also used for decoration. Designs primarily evolved from Islamic calligraphy and motifs,

and featured intricate patterns of geometric shapes, leaves, crescents and flowers. Modern Saudi women wear jewelry in traditional and contemporary designs with diamonds and a variety of precious metals.

An article “Exploring the culture of UAE” (<https://sites.google.com/site/exploringtheuae/presentation/culture/traditional-wear>) describes the traditional attire of people. Men wear the dishdash also referred to as dish-dasha, gandoora, gandurah, tawb or taub (long white robe) and the headscarf (keffiyeh). The traditional Keffiyeh is white and is held in place by the agal which resembles a sort of black heavy duty hosepipe. The keffiyehs worn in the neighbouring countries are not necessarily white and each Bedouin tribe will have its own colours. The young boys prefer to wear red and white keffiyehs and tie it round their head to avoid having to wear the agal. All Emiratis aged from 5 or 6 onwards wear this traditional clothing. The women traditionally wear the abaya, a long black robe with a hijab (the head-scarf which covers the neck and part of the head). Some women may add a niqab which cover the mouth and nose and only leaves the eyes exposed. While some pull their hijab over their faces so no part of their face is visible. The abaya is traditionally completely black but may have colorful embroideries around the collar or on the sleeves. Furthermore, these days, the younger generations like to wear fitted abayas when these were originally designed to hide or prevent from revealing any silhouette.

Askari and Arthur (1999) surveys the garments of India and Pakistan and reports that in the northern areas of Pakistan, influenced by neighbouring Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, Pathan tribesmen wrap long turban cloths around their heads, over soft caps (topi) or stiff embroidered caps (kulah). One end is often left loose over the shoulder and may function as a face-cloth. The form of the kulah, the length of the turban, its colour and its wrapping method help distinguish between the different Pathan and Afghan groups. Synthetic silk thread is commonly used to weave turban cloths for formal wear (mashhadi) and popular colours include yellow, brown, grey and blue. In the Sindh region, turban does not consist of a continuous fold wrap, but is twisted into two segments by a crossband formed by one of the ends and tied diagonally across the head. The other end of the turban may be pulled away from the centre and pleated into an upright fan like shape known as a “turro”. While the term “lungi” refers to waist cloth in India and Bangladesh, in sindh and Baluchistan it is a

turban cloth or sash. Author also stated a Khosa Baloch woman of Pakistan, wearing head shawl (gandi) with embroidered patterns. The nose rings, amulets and ornaments in the hair are traditionally worn by married woman. The nose ring is worn on centre and left side of nose, former being supported by an ornamented band (extending from the head ornament) in front of face.

Hestler (1999) in the book “Yemen” had described that commonly Yemeni women wear leg covering such as bloomers, slacks or tights under their dresses. Rural women may wear one or more scarves on their head and a woolen shawl for weddings, or when traveling beyond their village. These shawls are placed in a variety of ways and enhance their femininity. Most urban women wear a face veil and frequently cover their body in a loose, black garment called *Sharshaf* or wear a brightly colored robe called *sitara*. Traditional make-up is done for special occasions. Women especially the bride is decorated with black floral designs in hands and feet.

Refugee Review Tribunal (2005) reported that the majority of women in Bangladesh wear a sari; worn under this is a short blouse and a plain cotton skirt. A salwar kameez, a long dress-like tunic worn over baggy trousers, is the modern woman’s alternative to the sari. A long scarf called a dupatta or orna is draped backwards over the shoulders to cover the chest. One end of the scarf can be used to cover the head for a more modest appearance.

Forshee (2006) discusses that in Indonesia both men and women wear sarungs (cloths sewn together at either end to form a tube, extending to the ankle) which vary in their patterns and manners of fastening. With sarung women wear blouses called kebayas, of silk, voile or nylon. These form –fitting, long-sleeved garments resemble sheer jackets, delicately embroidered down the front panels and the wrists. As they do not include buttons, women secure them with broaches (or often simply safety pins) to keep them closed. Another garment Kain (meaning cloth), is a 3 meter unsewn fabric which can be wrapped and cinched in multiple ways. Women often wear a batik kain with a matching selendang – a shawl draped over one shoulder. They use kain for practical needs, like carrying babies into a sling across their shoulders, as backpacks for carry goods etc. The traditional wear sarungs or kains emphasize their hips. In the lampung region of south Sumatra, gold threads, embroidery, and mirror-like mica sequins adorn some of the most splendid and intricately patterned traditional clothing

of Indonesia. Tapis (meaning wrapped cloth) skirts are worn by women display elegantly curving, labyrinthine designs.

Exploring Bangladesh, Information and Guide to Cultural Artifacts (2008) revealed that many women in Bangladesh hold particular beliefs concerning their jewellery adornment. Wife should not wear a nose ring after the death of her husband. Jewellery like bracelets, necklaces and earrings may be made from different materials such as: flowers, fruits, seeds, conch, glass, brass, bell-metal, gold, gems, pearls, stones, etc.

Leshner (2010) described that most Kuwaiti men wear a *dishdasha*, a long-sleeved, floor length garment with a button-down opening to the waist and long side pockets. Under which long or short white cotton pants are worn.

The headdress of the Kuwaiti male consists of three parts. First a *gahfiya*, or a close fitting knit white cap, is worn which prevents the main cloth, or *gutra* (second) from slipping. The *gutra* is a square piece of cloth that is folded into a triangle and placed so that the ends hang down equally over the shoulders. White is usually worn in summer, and a heavier red and white in winter. It is held in a place by an *ogal* (third) a double circlet of twisted black cord.

On formal occasions, a man may wear a *bisht* over *dishdasha*, which is a spacious cloak made of gauzy cotton (for summer) or wool (for winter), usually trimmed with gold thread. Men generally do not wear accessory except for a watch. Women wear a long-sleeved, loose, floor length dress or *daraa*'. On festive occasions, it may be covered with a sheer, sequined or embroidered dress called a *thobe*. For daily outings, they put on *abaya*, a silky head-to- toe black cloak that covers the traditional *daraa*'s. A multitude of styles and colors of headscarves, called *hejab*, are worn by Muslim women. Women of Bedouin origin often adopt a fuller face covering, such as *burqa*, which is a short black veil that leaves the eyes and forehead exposed, or a *bushiya*, which is a semi-transparent veil that covers the entire face. Young girls wear *bukniks*, a headscarf that fits around the face and covers the hair, chest and back. Trimmed with gold and sequins, nowadays it is worn on festive occasions.

Alnakhla (2011) states that traditional Yemeni clothing for men may consist of a 'thobe', locally called a 'zenneh', which is a long, often white, garment. It is worn with a 'jambia' (dagger) and often a western-style coat. Others wear a 'ma'awaz', which is a long woven piece of cloth wrapped around the waist and a shirt on top. Instead of a 'ma'awaz', people in the south often wear a 'futa', an Indonesian-style sarong which is stitched together at the ends, unlike the 'ma'awaz'. A 'shawl' or 'smadeh' may be wrapped around their heads or simply put over their shoulders.

Rehman (2011) stated the traditional dress of Pakistan as shalwar kameez. It comes in various styles for both men and women. Shalwar is like loose trousers. Tight-bottomed shalwar is known as churidar. Kameez is a long shirt or tunic. Women accompany the dress with dupatta (long scarf). For special occasions, men wear *Sherwani*. Upper garment also include waistcoat, achkan, worn over kameez. For women, other clothes include *Anarkali* frocks, *Lehnga*, *sharara* and *gharara* as lower garments which are mostly worn on functions. The different fabrics used are chiffon, crepe, silk, satin, net, georgette, banarasi, jamevar and velvet. The embroidery on dresses varies from province to province; the embroidery of the Sindh province is innovative and eye catching. Present trends in fashion dresses have different kind of works like thread embroideries, sequins, stones and diamantes, applique designs in velvet & satin and kaamdaani. The suits in A-line cuts and long flare styles, kaftans, capes, etc are in vogue. They all are finished with piping, borders and different types of linings/ribbons.

Shaibani (2011) describes Costumes of Yemeni women from different regions with their distinguishing characteristics. In the mountain areas, women's costumes are woven from cotton, in colors- especially red, green, blue and yellow, with simple overlaps of white, there are usually embellishments in silk yarn, and especially gold and silver thread. These costumes are decorated only in the front and at the end of the sleeves with coral beads, sequins, coins, and precious and semi-precious stones and pearls. In the central highlands, costumes are by densely embroidered with cotton and silk yarn. The dress covers the whole body, with buttons for the opening at the chest and the long sleeves may sometimes end with closed cuffs or long enough to touch legs. The dress in coastal areas is light coloured and soft. Dresses of desert areas lack embroidery and are relatively plain, though headpieces are elaborately decorated with small cowry shells (in intricate patterns). Women's dresses are shorter in the front

reaching down to just below the knee, and are longer in the back, reaching to the ground. Intricate embroidery is a major feature of practically all traditional Yemeni costumes.

AL (2013) in an article regarding differentiation between the Sunni and the Shiite muslim discusses attire of Saudi Arabia (Sunni Muslim country) and Iran (Shiite Muslim country). The author found that in both the places women are required to wear something called "shador" which is a black dress that covers the whole body from top to toes. The author further states that in some moderate Islamic countries, like Malaysia (a Sunni Muslim country), women tend to wear a veil that covers the head, neck and ears, and they wear pants and long shirts or long dresses not revealing their flesh. As for moderate Shiites, they also get dressed in the same way, but they try to differentiate themselves in a certain way just to recognize each other. For instance, in Lebanon moderate Shiite women wear their veil in a different way where they put a pin on the left side which would make it look different and recognizable.

Rashid (2013) in an article describes "lungi" as the traditional and most commonly worn garment by men in Bangladesh. It is a sarong-like garment tied around the waist. Reporter further states that the father of the nation, had wear a white *lungi* often to show his solidarity with the people of his homeland.

Jewel (2014) stated that the basic traditional Egyptian garment for men is a long shirt (*gallibaya*) sometimes under which trousers (*serual*) are worn. Very wide version of the *gallibaya* called a *kamis* which is worn by fellahin people. Over the *gallebaya*, a *kaftan* (often striped) which is a full length garment with long wide open sleeves and often bound by a fabric belt (*hizan*) is worn. Over the *kaftan* is a *binish* - an overcoat with wide sleeves - often slit below usually dark grey and unlined. Some people wore a *jubbah*-a long, wide sleeved gown over stripped *kaftan*. The common basic building blocks for male head dress are: the skullcap (*taqiyah* or *`araqiyeh*), the fez (*tarbush/tarboosh*), the turban (the cloth *shaal*, the *result imma* or *ihram*), the draped headscarf and band (*kufiya* or *kefijeh* - or strictly *ghoutra* - and *`iqal*). In some cases the wearer will have a skullcap, then a fez and then either a turban or draped headscarf. The *kufiya* - as *ghoutra* and *`iqal* - is associated with Arabs and Bedouins. The dress of Egyptian peasant women is *gallebaya* (for outdoors) but for the urban women, it is tended to be worn only indoors. For public wear, they don in a

wide dress called a *tob sebleh*. Wide trousers are worn as underclothing (tshalvar or shintijan) gathered below knee and falling to ankles. The woman's kaftan is called a *yelek* which is lined with the neck open to breast and buttoned or laced along side seams for shaping. It has high side slit over trousers girded with shawl. Women would wear a shirt under the *yelek*, and a *djubbeh* or *binish* over it. In Alexandria and Cairo, women also wear the *melaya luf*- a large rectangular wrap worn for modesty, warmth, and used to carry things. Urban women often wear a *bur`a* - a long rectangular face veil either of white cotton or open weave - and a headscarf (sometimes over a skullcap - *taqiyah*). Another headcovering is the *mandil* (headscarf) sometimes decorated with pom poms. Among the fellahin a bag like *hattah* is sometimes worn.

#### **2.4 Traditional costumes and accessories of Muslims in India**

Madani (1993) in the book “Impact of Hindu culture on Muslims” states that when islam came to India, the dresses of the muslims were very different from those of Hindus. With the passage of time, the pattern of the dresses of Hindus influenced the muslim attires and they adopted some of the dresses of the former. This impact was mostly found in the women attires. Sari (a six metre cloth) is adopted by the muslim women in India from the Hindus. Though this dress is wrong from the Islamic point of view as it shows certain body parts, yet muslim women wear it in India. The dress kurta, pyjama and dupptta which is common in Punjab state in India, has resemblance with the Islamic dress as the state was always influenced by the muslim kings. Although the shape and style of the dress have changed but it projects the earlier Islamic dress. Male costumes: the national garments of the muslim men in India are sherwani, kurta and pyjamas. These garments have come from Iran and are their oldest attire. The impact of Hindu male garments on the Muslim male garments in India is the adoption of lungi and dhoti as more than one-third of Muslim men wear lungi. According to Islamic laws, only women can wear gold ornaments and not men. The ornaments of the Indian muslim women are very different from those of the other countries due to the impact of the hindu designs. The jewellery items are- Bangles (churi-kara), Necklace (mala-haar, gula band), Earring (bunda, bali, bala, kann pasha), Nosering (nath, nathni, besar), payal (ghungroo), finger ring (anguthi), armlet (bazoo band) and mangtikli.

Singh and Khan (2001) in a book described many Muslim from sub castes from the world. Among them, the ones in India like Attar Saibuler (Andhra Pradesh), Bagban (U.P. and Karnataka), Faqir (Delhi), Sain and Saqqa (Rajasthan) and few others have some similar characteristics. There are females who wear toe rings and glass bangles essentially as a symbol of being married. While the Bakho (Bihar), Bisati (U.P. and Bihar, Bafan and Sepahi Jamat (Gujarat) include nose pin as one of the accessory for this status. While in respect to traditional costumes, the females of Baig community (Tamil Nadu) wear burqa while males don Lungi and topi; among the Bakarwal of J&K, men put on turbans called Dastar and keep long beards while women put on some special caps. The traditional dress of men of Banjara caste of U.P. includes taimund, charkalia, kurta and Sapa whereas for women it includes the salwar kurta. The married women put a bindi, finger ring (chale), toe rings, ear rings (jhumka) and a nose ring (bulak). From the state of J&K, two sects Bharai (Pirhai or Pirahi) and Bomba wear two totally different attires. The former has males wearing a typical trouser (tamba), black jacket and a white turban along with a black ribbon (seli) of wool, puts on a wallet (khallar) hanging around the neck, fringe of tassels (jagadhri) or a long pole; while the men of latter dress like the local Muslim and the women dress in a way similar to that of the Gujjar.

Yimene (2004) in the book “An African Indian Community in Hyderabad: Siddi Identity, Its Maintenance and Change “described the Islam following Siddhi community and said that there is an institutional separation of the genders among Islamic societies, unless they are married or close relatives, known as purda. This is mostly done by excluding women from the public arena and compelling them to cover their entire body by a black gown known as burqa, whenever they come out of their domestic domain. Once the girl reaches puberty she is required to wear the burqa. In some cases women also wear a face covering known as rehab and black gloves to cover the hands. The violation of wearing the burqa is a serious public offence that could result in severe corporal punishment. The traditional lower garment for siddhi men is lungi, worn by majority generally in daff music performance.

Ketanani (2006) in a research says that the Muslim group (Khatri) in Kutch, Gujarat produce tie-dyed Odhani (head veils). They call it Khombi and married Muslim women with living husbands wear it whereas widows do not. It has a special

design for wedding, called chandorokhani. The Muslim pastoral group, Daneta Jat's women wear a long one-piece dress with embroidery on it and cotton tie-dyed odhani. Researcher further states that Indian Muslims have regarded the practice of wearing an odhani as the custom of *parda* (cover their hair and breast) - the seclusion of women from men, and hence have considered it to be an Islamic custom.

Daftary (2007) in a book revealed that the women from the family of late Asaf A.A. Fyzee who was a prominent Sulaymani Bohra and leading modern authority on Ismaili Jurisprudence, were amongst the earliest Indian Muslims to discard the *pardah* or the special veil worn by the Muslim women.

Osella and Osella (2007) in a research on "Muslim Style in South India" described few Muslim women wearing *pardah* or long and loose *salwaar kameezes* carefully teamed with matching *mafta* (headscarves) while the others are wearing costly silk saris and using the tail to cover their hair. Furthermore, the researcher elaborates that the Muslim women now refuse to wear the short-sleeved midriff-revealing sari blouse that was common right up until the late 1980s, and instead now match their saris with a long-sleeved, loose, long, and fully lined blouse, so that the body shape is not revealed. Also, Muslim *churidars* should be long; the tunic well down to the mid-calf, loose, with full or at least three-quarter sleeves, with baggy pants, lined to prevent any transparency or cling that might reveal a woman's body-shape or allow her brassiere strap to be discernable from behind. Even opaque fabrics like silk are lined to prevent cling. Muslim men dressed in an ankle-length checked *lungis* (rough cotton waist-cloths) held up by wide belts, wearing a vest and skullcap. They also prefer *mundu* (waist wrap cloth) borders to be wide and coloured (green, brown, and blue borders), but unlike Hindu and Christian men, they never use gold (cassava) borders. Moreover, they normally fold the *mundu* to the left, hold it up with a belt, wear it ankle-length and never fold the end up to make it knee-length. Author also described the south Indian Muslim girls using waist-chains and anklets.

Samiuddin and Khanam (2008) in the book *Global Encyclopedic Ethnography of Indian Muslims* described the dresses of few Indian Muslim Sub communities. It was reported that the men from Nanbai, a community of U.P. quiet often wear the most familiar set of pyjama, shirt or kurta, *tahmad* and *banyan*. The women wear

salivar, garara (loosely stitched below waist dress), kameez or kurta for upper portion and a cloth piece called dupatta or ordhani. While moving out of the houses, they put on burqa. Among the Nilgars (also known as Rangrez) from Rajasthan, the typical married women wear a red coloured apron like dress which covers the whole body below the waist. The Namdagur from J&K have no specific identification mark for dress; they commonly wear Kameez, Salwar, coat and pheran (Kashmiri gown). The traditional dress of Sulaymani Bohra (one of the smallest Shia Muslim sect) women continues to vary from the other two groups of Bohras. The women wear length pyjama called izar as lower undergarment, over it they put on a concealing garb skirt like but without gathers as an outer garment and somewhat thick voile (mulmul) of white coloured cloth called kurta as upper garment and odhani as head dress. Men use pant and bush shirts or shirts and also pyjama and kurta.

Najiya (2009) in an article said that a few decades before none of the Muslim woman from Malabar (Southern Kerala) clad in a burqa (hijab) or cover heads or wear full-sleeved blouses, but now, nearly every woman wear it (girls wear head scarf). There are different types of burqas and head-scarfs available in the most modern fashion.

Paul (2010) in an article regarding polling in reported that The Indian Union Muslim League had asked women contesting local body elections in Kerala to “dress according to Islamic norms” so as to maintain decorum and sit on stages in a way expected of “normal Muslim women. Wearing burqa had never been part of Kerala’s Islamic tradition, but more and more women have been doing so, especially after the demolition of the Babri Masjid.

Condra (2013) reported that among the mutwa, a rural muslim clan in Kachchh, women wear their most heavily embroidered garments as well as veils embellished with bands of embroidery, and gold and silver jewelleries including the nath (nose ring), which they do not wear every day. The mutwa traditionally wore specially embroidered garments made specifically for the marriage ritual and included motifs associated with fertility. Muslim women remove their jewelry and don more simple, darker coloured versions of their traditional dress. Muslim men or women who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca may wear white garments without jewelry upon their return home. Muslim men most often don a Pathani suit for special

occasions consisting of a pair salwar (gathered trousers) and long tunic (kamiz) with or without a vest, shoulder cloth, turban, or a topi (cap). With the exception of the topi, embroidery is seldom used on Muslim men's dress, although finely printed or woven textiles may be worn as turbans or shoulder cloths. They don't wear gold jewelry or silk because it is thought to interfere with prayers. As far as body decoration is concerned, it was reported that Muslims generally do not wear tattoos. Women paint their hands, lower arms and feet with henna prior to occasions. Men apply kajal on special occasions.

Anonymous (2013) states the clothing of Muslim residents of Jammu and Kashmir state of India. The muslim men dress themselves in loose fitted woollen garment- pheran accompanied beneath by Salwar. Turbans and Pathani suits are common among them; wear lace free shoes called "gurgabis". The Pheran worn by the women have zari embroideries, broad sleeves and reach upto knees. The headgear- Kasaba, is the stitched form of the turban, pinned by ornaments and silver brooches and a pin-scarf suspended towards shoulders is a part of their regular attire. These can be replaced by exquisitely ornate skull caps with thread work of gold, talisman and gems.

The Gazetteers Department, District Ratnagiri, Maharashtra described Ratnagiri Muslims as not descended from purely Hindu converts. Jamati men (whose headquarters are along the Bankot creek) shave the head and wear short, rather scanty, beards; villagers earlier used to wear a white Brahman-like turban and the Hindu coat and waistcloth. At present they generally wear a Turkish fez, a *sherwani* and loose trousers and patent leather shoes. The women wear the Hindu dress, and when they travel, a large white sheet-like over-robe. Widows dress in white. In Daldis community, the men generally wear a skull cap, the Muslim coat, and the waistcloth, only the well-to-do wearing trousers. Their women dress in Hindu fashion, in the large Marathi robe and bodice.

Markaz (2013) describes a conference held in Kolkatta where a muslim lady speaker requests the other of the group to wear modest dressing, put on hijab and give up provocative dressing.

Dave and Shrivastava (2014) in a comparative study of Burqa trend among Muslim women of Chittorgarh and Udaipur district of Rajasthan found that in the former district all type of burqa are preferred but maximum are chador/shalya. Women prefer readymade and tailor made mostly not ready to embellished burqa. Synthetic fabric and traditional black colour are preferred. Designer burqa are not preferred by mostly but it available sometimes in embroidery, sequin and zardosi work. While in the other district, the burqa trend is not prevalent among the women due to modernization of city. Here, most of the respondents prefer georgette fabric of cotton lining and synthetic fabric for burqa.no body part is visible, they can only see from a net like composition of niquab. Women wear black or brown coloured plain burqa but feel very congested and exhausted from hot climate. Further it was stated that women wore burqa occasionally on festivals or ceremonies.

## **METHODOLOGY**

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This chapter deals with the methodological details of the present investigation in terms of the procedure, tools and techniques used for the data collection and its analysis in the light of defined objectives. The various aspects pertaining to the procedure of the study are given under the following head.

- 1. Locale of the study**
- 2. Selection of the sample**
- 3. Development of the tool**
- 4. Pre testing of the tool**
- 5. Data collection**
- 6. Analysis of the data**

### **1. Locale of the study**

In India, majority of Bohras live western states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan. They are divided into several sub sects like the Jafari Bohras, Sulaimani Bohras, Alvai Bohras and Atba-I Malak Bohras and Dawoodi Bohras.

Among these, the Dawoodis compose the major sect among all in South Asia and have retained the structure developed by the Ismailis in the earliest times. In Rajasthan, the Bohra reside in the districts of Udaipur, Dungarpur, Chittorgarh, Banswara, Jaipur, Kota, Bundi and Ajmer. Since Udaipur holds around 12,000 to 13000 of the Dawoodi Bohras and ranks third in their population in India (Engineer, 2013), it was selected as a locale for the study.

Based on the preliminary survey, the locale of the study was selected purposively. Within the municipal limits of Udaipur, the regions where the Bohra population was found in majority were chosen so that greater variation in sample population could be available for selection and also easy accessibility to the respondents be made. These regions were Bohrwadi, Fatehpura, Hathipole, Loha bazaar, Khanjipeer and Ashwini Bazar. Besides these, the Community school was also contacted.

## 2. Selection of the sample

The Dawoodi Bohras are further divided into two groups- the Orthodox (Shabab) group and the Reformist (Youth) group. Since, the Youth group had branched itself out, the one which formed the main stream is the Shabab group and thus, it was chosen for samples. Both the groups reside in the same locality and so, in order to save time and avoid confusion, a list of addresses of Shabab group, was obtained from the “Shia Dawoodi Bohra Telephone Directory” so that only the concerned group could be contacted.

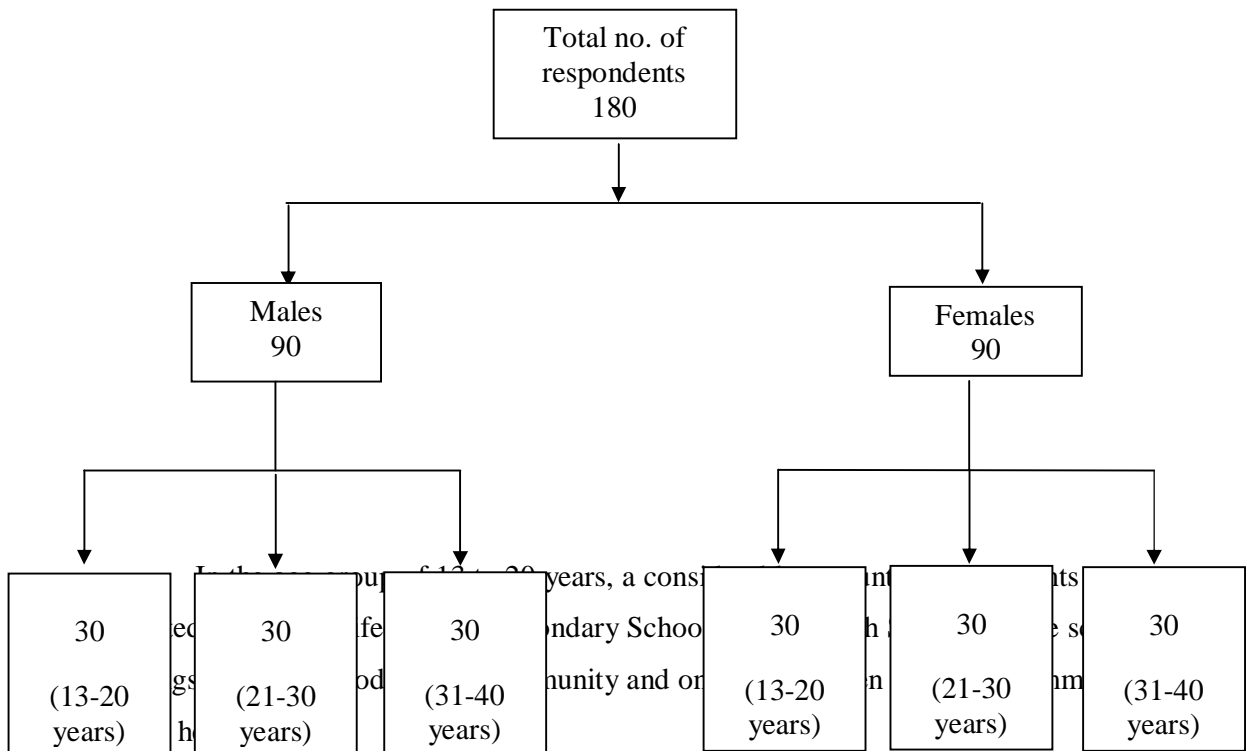
For the present investigation, random selection of samples was done. The total number of respondents selected were 180 (90 males and 90 females), who were divided equally among the three different age groups so as to identify the variations in the preferences accordingly. It includes the adolescents and the adults (between 13 to 40 years) because as per the preliminary survey, they are more into making their own choices than older people who are restricted to the traditional course. The different age groups are-

13- 20 years

21-30 years

31-40 years

The flowchart for sample selection is as follows-



### 3. Development of Research tool

A structured interview schedule was developed by the investigator to collect the information. It comprised of both open ended and close ended questions which were based on the following sections:-

1) General information of respondents

This section dealt with the necessary personal and family background information of the subject i.e. name, age, educational status, family size and family type, occupation and monthly income of the family.

2) The second section of the interview schedule dealt with the detail information about the traditional costumes, coiffures and accessories used by the Dawoodi Bohras including both daily wear and the occasional wears. Besides this, any change which if had occurred in the recent years was also asked by the subjects.

**a) Male and female costumes**

- Types of upper and lower garments
- Colours and designs used and preferred in the garment.
- Materials and decorations used in the garment
- Preference of decorations in the garment.
- Preference of the costumes in the social gatherings
- Festive and ceremonial garments
- Taboos related to the garments.

**b) Coiffures**

- Head gears for males
- Head gears for females
- Basic raw material (type of Fabric or yarn) used in the head gear
- Designs and decorations used
- Mode of wearing the head gear
- Type of hair styles prevailed among the respondents
- Hair accessories used by the respondents

**c) Accessories**

**i. Jewellery**

This comprises of the type of ornaments worn on different parts of the body by both male and female respondents. The jewellery use for the concerned different body parts like-

- Jewellery for the Head and Forehead
- Jewellery for Nose and ears
- Jewellery for arms and hands
- Jewellery for neck
- Foot jewellery
- Preferences for the designs
- Types of metals and materials used in the jewellery
- Preference of the material used in the jewellery

**ii. Footwears**

The type of footwear used by male and female respondents for daily wear, festivals and occasions.

**iii. Other accessories**

It includes the auxillary items used by the respondents in their day to day and occasional wears.

**iv. Body adornment**

Under this category, items used for body decoration were inquired from the respondents.

**4. Pre testing of the tool**

The developed interview schedule was pre tested with 10 per cent of the total non sample respondents in order to ensure its feasibility and suitability.

## **5. Data collection**

As per the objectives of the study, the data was collected within the municipal limits of Udaipur city from the areas with high Bohra population. During survey, the researcher used the developed structured interview schedule to obtain the information. Every respondent in each age group were contacted personally and information were documented accordingly. On an average, it took an hour in conducting a single interview.

## **6. Analysis of data**

The data obtained from the survey was coded, tabulated and expressed in frequency and percentage. Percentage was calculated to find out the details of the traditional dress, coiffures, accessories and ornaments prevailing among the respondents.

## METHODOLOGY

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- 7. Locale of the study**
- 8. Selection of the sample**
- 9. Development of the tool**
- 10. Pre testing of the tool**
- 11. Data collection**
- 12. Analysis of the data**

### **7. Locale of the study**

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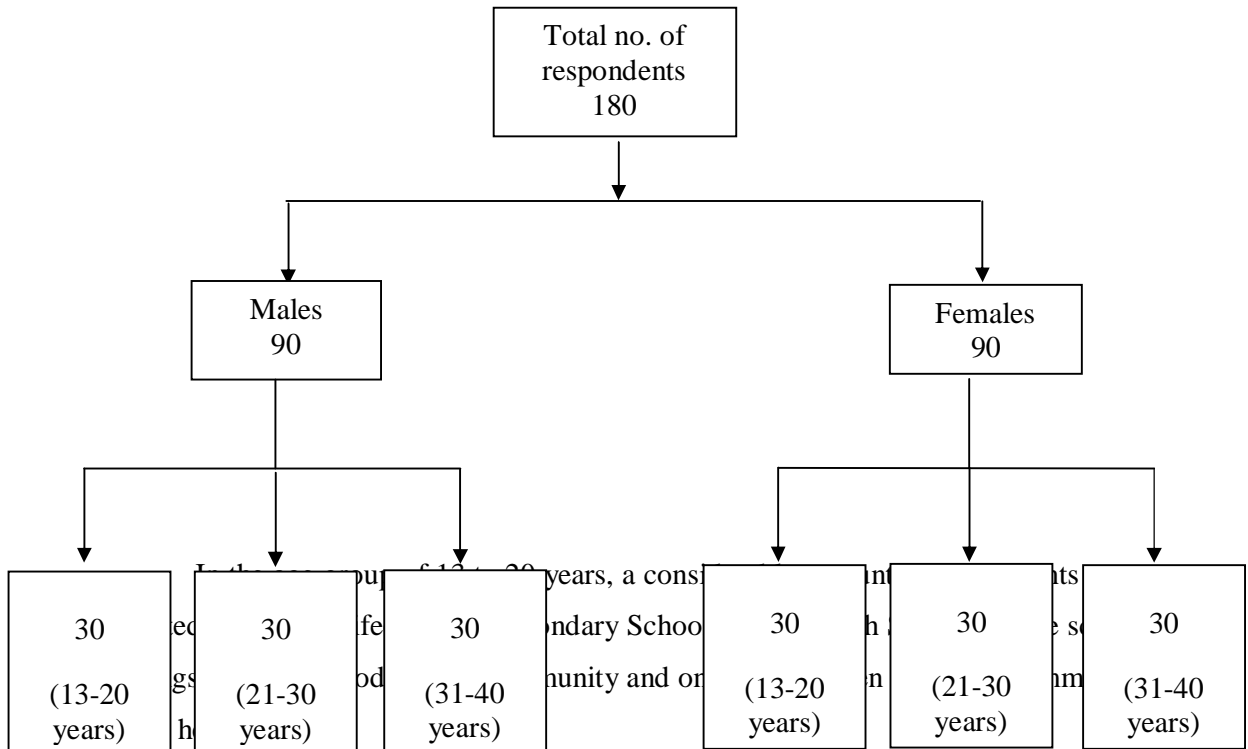
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The flowchart for sample selection is as follows-



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### 3) General information of respondents

This section dealt with the necessary personal and family background information of the subject i.e. name, age, educational status, family size and family type, occupation and monthly income of the family.

### 4) The second section of the interview schedule dealt with the detail information about the traditional costumes, coiffures and accessories used by the Dawoodi Bohras including both daily wear and the occasional wears. Besides this, any change which if had occurred in the recent years was also asked by the subjects.

#### d) Male and female costumes

- Types of upper and lower garments
- Colours and designs used and preferred in the garment.
- Materials and decorations used in the garment
- Preference of decorations in the garment.
- Preference of the costumes in the social gatherings
- Festive and ceremonial garments
- Taboos related to the garments.

#### e) Coiffures

- Head gears for males
- Head gears for females
- Basic raw material (type of Fabric or yarn) used in the head gear
- Designs and decorations used
- Mode of wearing the head gear
- Type of hair styles prevailed among the respondents
- Hair accessories used by the respondents

#### f) Accessories

##### ii. Jewellery

This comprises of the type of ornaments worn on different parts of the body by both male and female respondents. The jewellery use for the concerned different body parts like-

- Jewellery for the Head and Forehead
- Jewellery for Nose and ears
- Jewellery for arms and hands
- Jewellery for neck
- Foot jewellery
- Preferences for the designs
- Types of metals and materials used in the jewellery
- Preference of the material used in the jewellery

**ii. Footwears**

The type of footwear used by male and female respondents for daily wear, festivals and occasions.

**v. Other accessories**

It includes the auxillary items used by the respondents in their day to day and occasional wears.

**vi. Body adornment**

Under this category, items used for body decoration were inquired from the respondents.

**10. Pre testing of the tool**

The developed interview schedule was pre tested with 10 per cent of the total non sample respondents in order to ensure its feasibility and suitability.

### **11. Data collection**

As per the objectives of the study, the data was collected within the municipal limits of Udaipur city from the areas with high Bohra population. During survey, the researcher used the developed structured interview schedule to obtain the information. Every respondent in each age group were contacted personally and information were documented accordingly. On an average, it took an hour in conducting a single interview.

### **12. Analysis of data**

The data obtained from the survey was coded, tabulated and expressed in frequency and percentage. Percentage was calculated to find out the details of the traditional dress, coiffures, accessories and ornaments prevailing among the respondents.



## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

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This part of the research deals with the analysis of data, interpretation of results and their discussion so as to bring about the information in a systematic and understandable way. In compliance to the objectives of the study, the chapter is divided under 4 major sections. These are-

### **4.1 General information of the Dawoodi Bohras**

### **4.2 Traditional costumes of Dawoodi Bohras**

#### **4.2.1 Female costumes**

#### **4.2.2 Male costumes**

### **4.3 Accessories and grooming**

### **4.4 Dresses for special occasions**

### **4.5 Taboos**

### **4.1. GENERAL INFORMATION OF THE DAWOODI BOHRAS**

This section comprises the background information of the respondents like type of family, number of family members, occupation, total income, educational status, and annual expenditure on clothes. All the respondents belonged to the Shabab group of Dawoodi Bohra community of Udaipur and are categorized in three different age groups between 13 to 40 years.

#### **a. Educational Qualification**

The data in Table 4.1 indicate that cent per cent respondents were educated. It is in compliance to the statement given by Najmi (2014) that Bohras claim 100% literacy in the community. They are unusual among Indian Muslims in placing far higher emphasis on modern education than the main stream of Indian society does.

According to the different age groups involved in the study, there is variation of classes from middle school to post graduations. 12.77 per cent respondents from 13-20 years belonged to middle school, no other respondent from any age group layed in this category. This shows that every other respondent had completed the basic secondary education. Maximum percentages (25.56%) of subjects had either pursued or were pursuing graduation. Among them, the males from 21-30 years secured the highest percentage (56.67%).

It was sustained (Blank, 2001; Dalal, 2010) that Dawoodi Bohras are quiet progressive and believe in woman's education. From the past half century, the availability of modern education has risen for them. As per the information given in Table 4.1, in the age group 21-30 years, the percentage of female Post graduate respondents (40%) was found higher to that of males (26.66%), thus justifying the above facts.

**Table 4.1: Distribution of respondents according to educational qualification**

**n=180**

S.No.	Variables	90 Males (age in years)			90 Females (age in years)			Total f (%)
		(30)	(30)	(30)	(30)	(30)	(30)	
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	<b>Middle school</b>	12 (40)	0	0	11 (36.67)	0	0	23 (12.77)
2.	<b>Secondary</b>	7 (23.33)	0	2 (6.67)	7 (23.33)	0	3 (10)	17 (9.44)
3.	<b>Sr. Secondary</b>	5 (16.67)	5 (16.67)	5 (16.67)	4 (13.34)	3 (10)	6 (20)	28 (15.55)
4.	<b>Graduation</b>	6 (20)	17 (56.67)	15 (50)	8 (26.66)	15 (50)	15 (50)	46 (25.56)
5.	<b>Post Graduation</b>	0	8 (26.66)	8 (26.66)	0	12 (40)	6 (20)	34 (18.88)

**b. Family size**

The data in Table 4.1 show that maximum percentage (46.66%) of the respondents belonged to the small sized family, i.e. family with upto four members and 12.78 per cent of the respondents had large sized i.e. family with members above eight. It could be noticed that the difference between the small sized family and medium family is relatively much lesser in comparison to their difference to the large sized family.

**Table 4.2 General information of respondents****n=180**

<b>S.No.</b>	<b>Aspects</b>		<b>f (%)</b>
1.	<b>Family size</b>	Small	84 (46.66)
		Medium	73(40.55)
		Large	23(12.78)
2.	<b>Family type</b>	Joint	58 (32.22)
		Nuclear	122 (67.78)
3.	<b>Family Occupation</b>	Business	133 (73.89)
		Service	37 (20.56)
		Both	10 (5.55)
4.	<b>Family Income (in Rs.)</b>	Below 15,000	4 (2.22)
		15,000-30,000	14 (7.77)
		30,000-45,000	52 (28.88)
		45,000-60,000	68 (37.78)
		Above 60,000	42 (23.33)
5.	<b>Average annual Expenditure on clothes (in Rs.)</b>	Below 10,000	16 (8.89)
		10,000-20,000	46 (25.56)
		20,000-30,000	44 (24.44)
		30,000-40,000	29 (16.11)
		Above 40,000	10 (5.56)
		Not known	35 (19.44)

**c. Type of Family**

The Table 4.2 reveals that the respondents belonged to both joint and nuclear family, with the majority (67.78%) hailing from the nuclear family system.



#### **d. Family Occupation**

The data in Table 4.2 depict that majority of respondents (73.89%) are involved in business activity. The business they deal with mainly involves trading of clothes (both textiles and apparels), utensils, hardware and metal works.

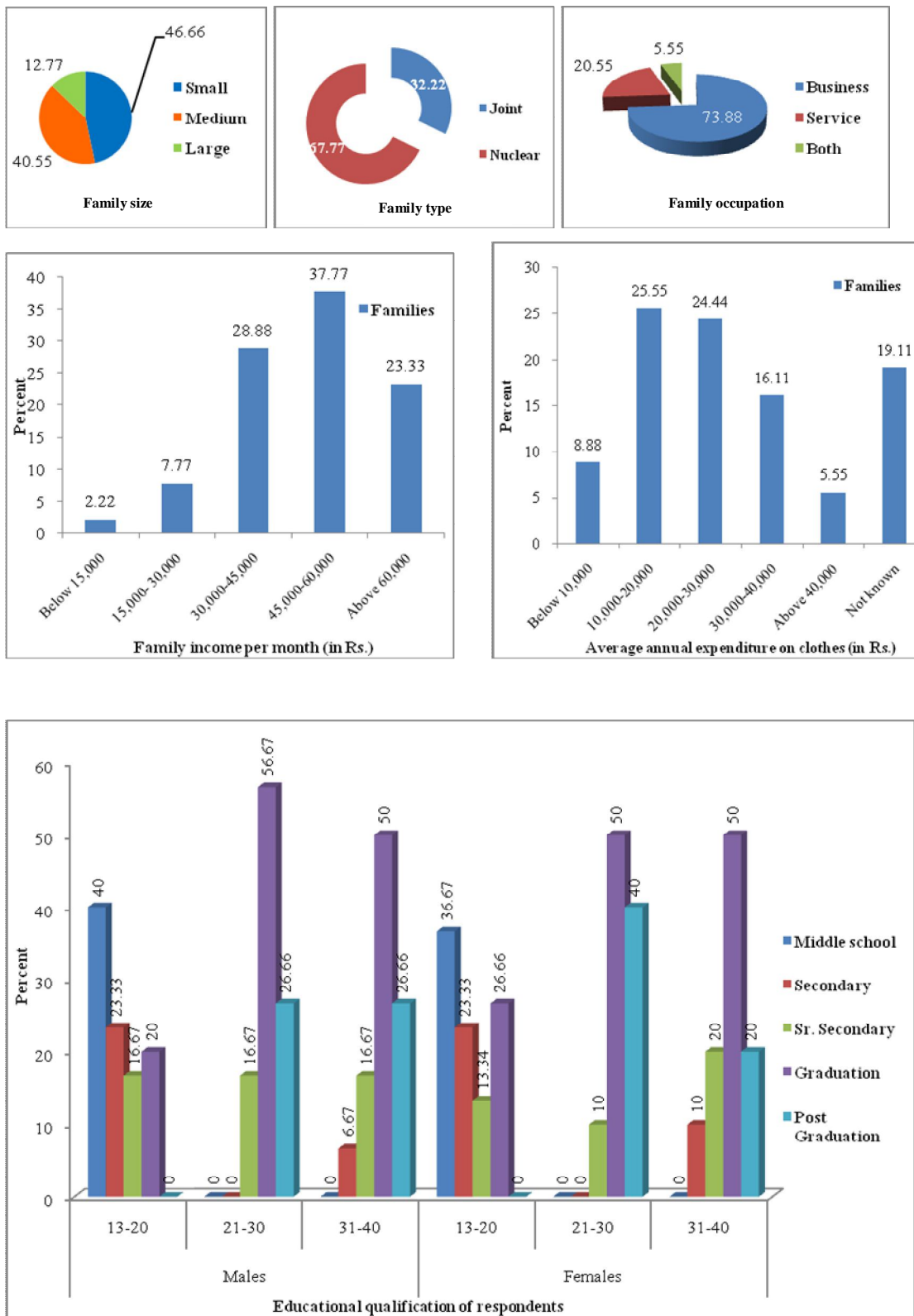
Khan (2001) mentioned in a book that the traditional and present occupation of Bohras is business; the main source of income. They are primarily engaged in cloth, trade, selling machine parts etc. a few of them are also engaged in agriculture and service.

#### **e. Monthly income**

According to the data, 37.78 per cent of respondents had monthly income in the range of Rs. 45,000-60,000, whereas very few (2.22 %) lie in the category of monthly income below Rs. 15,000.

#### **f. Average annual expenditure on clothing**

Table 4.2 further envisages that one-fourth (25.56 %) of the total respondents' average annual expenditure was Rs. 10,000-20,000 on clothing followed by 24.44 per cent who spend 20,000-30,000 for the same. Maximum percentage (19.44%) of respondents in the age range 13-20 years and few from 21-30 years were unaware of their average annual expenditure on clothing.



**Fig. 4.1: Graphic illustration of the General Information of respondents**

## 4.2 TRADITIONAL COSTUMES OF DAWOODI BOHRAS

Traditional costumes represent a society and culture. These are the derivatives of some religious beliefs, geographical necessities, social system or any such genuine reason. Insaf (2012) stated that it was the 52<sup>nd</sup> Dai (spiritual head) of Dawoodi Bohras, Mohammad Burhanuddin, who introduced a particular dress code for them.

### 4.2.1 COSTUMES OF FEMALE DAWOODI BOHRA

The costumes of a female Dawoodi Bohra are such that there is minimum exposure of the body parts, like face, hands and feet so as to maintain modesty in appearance. The traditional costume worn by a Dawoodi Bohra woman in Udaipur is 'Jodi' which consists of 'lehenga', 'blouse' and 'chunni'. Lehenga is a full length skirt like lower garment, blouse is the bodice and chunni is a veil covering head and the upper trunk. It is a compulsory garment for every Dawoodi Bohra woman. Younger girls wear 'Jabla' (knee length tunic) and 'Izar' (trousers) as traditional attire.

Besides this, some women also wear Kurta-salwar and chunni (or dupatta). During winters, they substitute the chunni with warm stoles. In occasions, young girls opt for a variation like Anarkali suits and Angarakhi style tunics with Churidaar pyjamas. The table given below describes the type of garments worn by the females.

**Table 4.3: Distribution of respondents according to their clothes for daily use**

**n=90**

S. No.	Variable	Age Groups (in years)			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Only Traditional costumes	-	4 (13.33)	18 (60)	22 (24.44)
2.	Only Kurta Salwar	22 (73.33)	16 (53.34)	3 (10)	41 (45.55)
3.	Both	5 (16.67)	10 (33.33)	9 (30)	24 (26.68)
4.	Other garments	3 (10)	-	-	3 (3.33)

Critical examination of Table 4.3 reveals that majority (73.33%) of the adolescents wear Kurta salwar on daily basis. More than half (53.34%) of the respondents of the age group 21-30 years preferred Kurta salwar for daily use whereas 60 per cent of the adults

wear traditional costumes as daily wear. None of the respondents of age 21-40 years wear garments other than kurta salwar and traditional costumes.

The data obtained is basically for day to day wear, else there is no such respondent who had never worn the traditional attire. Information pertaining to the use of other garments revealed that 10% respondents from 13-20 years also wear jeans, tops, kurtis, and leggings etc. The different headings under which the female costumes dealt are-

- Upper garments
- Lower garments
- Outer garments
- Coiffure

#### 4.2.1.1 Upper Garment

The upper garment for the female Bohra is “Blouse” (choli), a bodice reaching upto the waist. Its fit is usually loose but may vary according to personal preferences. The table given below depicts the preference of fitness of the upper garment among the respondents.

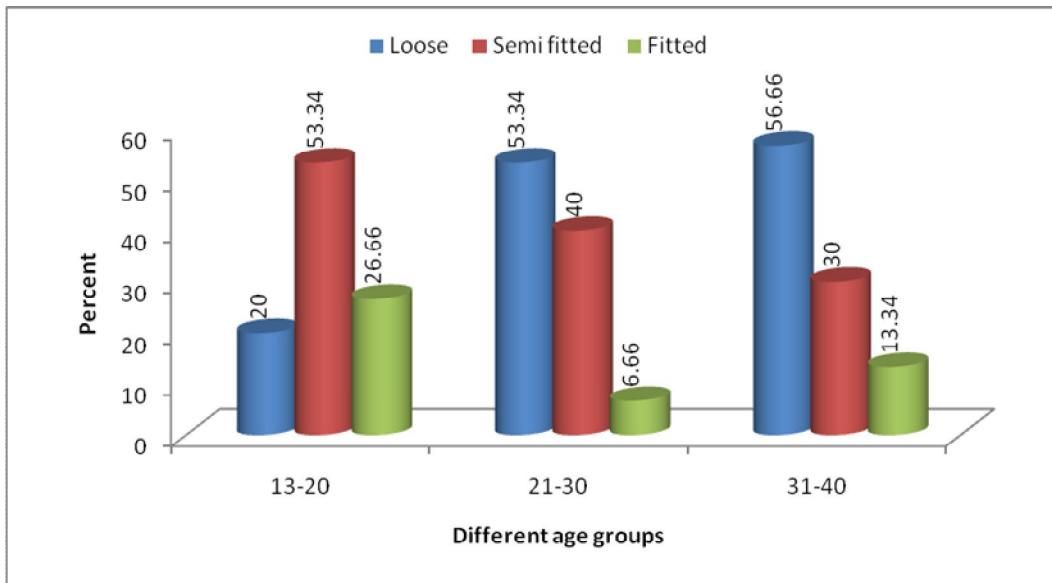
**Table 4.4: Distribution of respondents according to the preference of the fitness of the upper garment (Blouse) n=90**

S.No.	Variable	Age Groups (in years)			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1)	<b>Loose</b>	6 (20)	16 (53.34)	17 (56.66)	39 (43.33)
2)	<b>Semi fitted</b>	16 (53.34)	12 (40)	9 (30)	37 (41.11)
3)	<b>Fitted</b>	8 (26.66)	2 (6.66)	4 (13.34)	14 (15.55)

The data in Table 4.4 indicate that more than half (53.34%) of respondents of age group 13-20 years preferred the semi fitted blouses while preference was given to the loose fitting of blouses by rest of the respondents.

The neckline of the blouse may vary, but for daily wear it is generally square or round in shape and medium in depth. It may or may not have an opening, but if present, it is facilitated with snap buttons and hooks. The sleeve length may vary but often kept half. There are waist darts to provide good fitness. Depending upon the wearer’s choice, it may or may not have a side pocket and slits (1.5-2.5 inches) on both side seams. Edge finishings are done with piping and hemming, the former being more popular as it gives the costumes

a more decorative effect. The average fabric required for the construction of a blouse is one metre.



**Fig. 4.2: Distribution of respondents according to the fit of the upper garment preferred**

Now-a-days, for daily wear, blouses are substituted with readymade knitted T-shirts. It is especially during the winter season when ladies wear full sleeve warmers as upper bodice.

**Blouse with no front opening**

**Blouse with front opening**

**Jabla  
(For younger girls)**

**Fit T-shirt**

**Loose T-shirt**

**Plate 4.1: Upper garments of Bohra Female**



**Table 4.5: Distribution of respondents according to the variety of upper garments worn by women**

n=90



S.No.	Variable	Age Groups (in years)			Total f* (%)
		13-20 f* (%)	21-30 f* (%)	31-40 f* (%)	
1)	Blouse	30 (100)	30 (100)	30 (100)	90 (100)
2)	T-Shirt	17 (53.33)	20 (66.66)	25 (83.33)	62 (68.88)

\*multiple responses

The data in Table 4.5 depict that more preference is given to blouse with 100 per cent frequency by every age group.

#### 4.2.1.2 Lower Garment

The lower garment worn by females is “Lehenga”, a skirt like garment which is tied on the waist and measures upto the ankle length. The upper edge of lehenga has 1-1.5 inches of fold called “nepha” to insert the draw strings for tying. The upper left side has a slit of 3-4 inches which has fasteners: hooks and zippers to secure it, while on the right there is a side pocket. The following table shows the preference of the type of flare for the garment.

**Table 4.6: Distribution of respondents according to the preference of type of flare in lower garment**

n=90

S. No.	Variable	Age Groups (in years)			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1)	Gathered	6 (20)	9 (30)	13 (43.33)	28 (31.11)
2)	Pleated	12 (40)	10 (33.33)	14 (46.67)	36 (40)
3)	A-Line	12 (40)	11 (36.67)	3 (10)	26 (28.89)

Perusal of Table 4.6 portrays that in totality maximum percentage (40%) of respondents from preferred wearing pleated lehenga. The A-line style was found more popular among the adolescents (40%). The flares on the Lehenga are produced either by gathers or pleats. Either one or both (side pleats and box pleats) are applied to it. When both are applied, there is a box pleat in the middle and three side pleats on either side in outer direction.

The fit of the garment is loose. The average fabric required for the construction of the garment is two and a half to three metres.

#### 4.2.1.3. Specification of upper and lower garments

A wide variety of fabrics and designs are used by women for the garments. Various decorating materials and techniques are also applied to embellish them and enhance their appeal.

#### **Fabric**

The choice of the fabric depends upon the end use. For daily wear, cottons, synthetics and its blends are preferred. The table given below describes the preference of the fabric among the respondents.

**Table 4.7: Distribution of respondents according to preference of fabric (for daily wear)**

n=90

S. No.	Fabrics	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1)	Cotton	11 (36.67)	10 (33.33)	15 (50)	36 (40)
2)	Synthetic	7 (23.33)	3 (10)	4 (13.33)	14 (15.56)
3)	Cotton-synthetic blends	12 (40)	17 (56.67)	11 (36.67)	40 (44.45)

The data depict that in the age groups 13-20 and 21-30; maximum respondents (40% and 56.66%, respectively) preferred cotton-synthetic blends. The reason given behind it was their easy care, good durability and trendy looks. Half of the respondents (50%) from 31-40 years preferred cotton due to its high comfort.

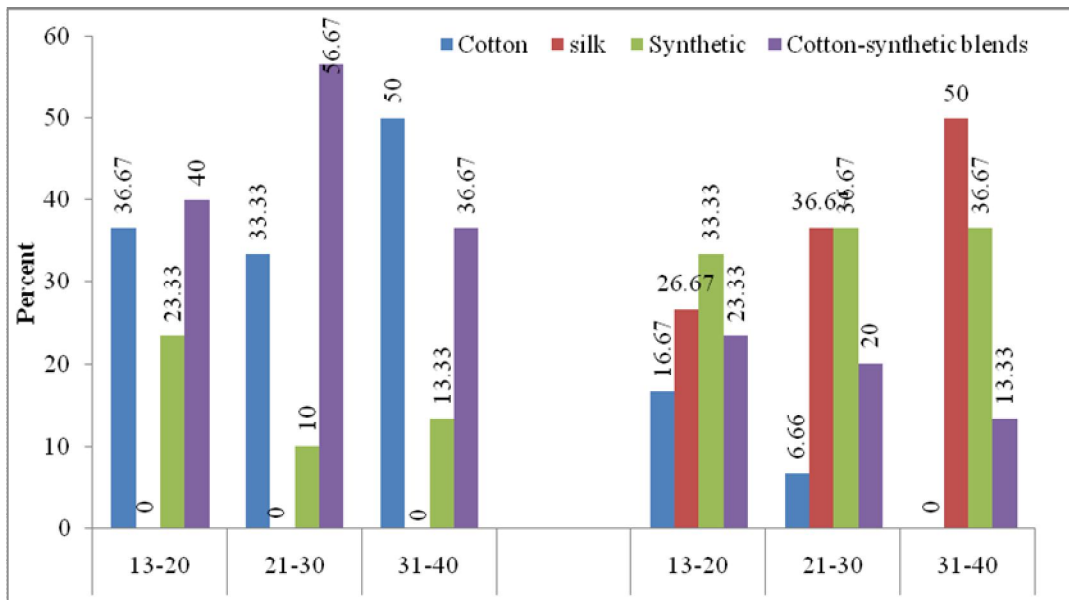


For occasions, there is a wide variety of fabrics available from fine cotton and silks to every quality of synthetics and blends like art-silk, light and heavy brocades, tissue fabrics, velvets etc. Table 4.8 states the purchase preference of fabrics for the occasions.

**Table 4.8: Distribution of respondents according to preference of fabric (for occasions)**  
n=90

S. No.	Fabrics	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1)	Cotton	5 (16.67)	2 (6.66)	-	7 (7.77)
2)	Silk	8 (26.67)	11 (36.67)	15 (50)	34 (37.78)
3)	Synthetics	10 (33.33)	11 (36.67)	11 (36.67)	32 (35.56)
4)	Cotton-synthetic blends	7 (23.33)	6 (20)	4 (13.33)	17 (18.89)

The data in Table 4.8 give a picture that for occasions one-third (33.33%) of adolescent females preferred synthetics for traditional costumes; while respondents of 21-30 years use both silk and synthetics equally i.e. 36.67 percent. Half of the adult respondents preferred silk fabric followed by synthetics (36.67%), whereas none of them chose cotton fabric for costumes for occasions.



**Fig. 4.3: Distribution of respondents according to choice of fabrics for daily and occasional wears**

## Motifs and prints

The motifs found on the fabric are floral and geometrical. No animal or human figure is ever found on any cloth. Only 2.22 percent women said that peacock, camel and horse motifs are allowed (if not in apparels then other textiles) as they are considered auspicious. Apart from machine prints techniques like tie and dye, batik and block prints are also used developing designs.

## Embellishment

Dawoodi women are fond of decorated clothes. They decorate the blouse or choli with colourful laces, pipings and gota on hemline, necklines and borders of sleeves. On the hemline of Lehenga, multiple laces are often applied; stripes of fabric are also applied and are called “panels”. These panels could be single or multiple and could be narrow to wide. Appliqués are used to create motifs on the garments which are tucked either with machine stitches or using embroideries. Beautiful figures like *bel*, *phool-patti*, *bute* as floral and stars and fruit designs are made using chain stitch, cross stitch, running stitch embellish with sequins, stones and beads. Fabric painting is also done to enrich the surface.

## Changes according to season

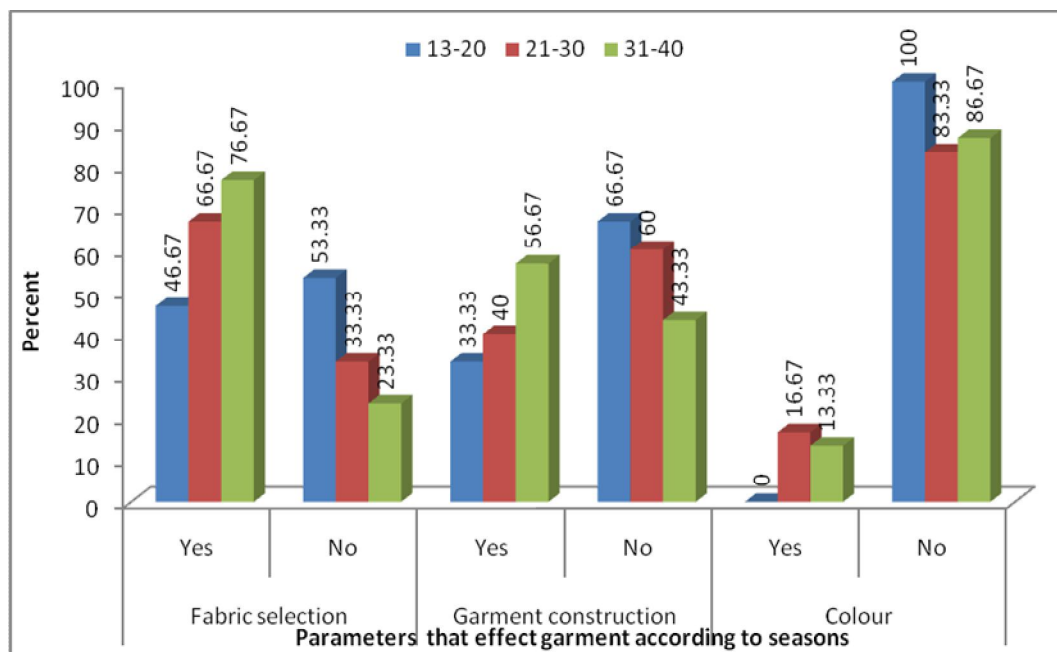
The table given below describes the extent of changes taking place in the following features according to the change in season.

**Table 4.9: Distribution of respondents according to the changes in garments features in respect to change in season n=90**

S. No.	Garment features		Age in years			Total f (%)
			13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Fabric selection	Yes	14 (46.67)	20 (66.67)	23 (76.67)	57 (63.33)
		No	16 (53.33)	10 (33.33)	7 (23.33)	33 (36.67)
2.	Garment construction	Yes	10 (33.33)	12 (40)	17 (56.67)	39 (43.33)
		No	20 (66.67)	18 (60)	13 (43.33)	51 (56.67)
3.	Colour	Yes	-	5 (16.67)	4 (13.33)	9 (10)
		No	30 (100)	25	26	81 (90)

				(83.33)	(86.67)	
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The data in Table 4.9 conclude that maximum percentage (63.33%) of respondents select fabrics according to season, among them the percentage of age group of 31-40 years (76.67%) is highest. They use thicker fabrics for winters and fine cottons for summers. In comparison to fabric selection, the emphasis laid to the variation in garment construction is just 43.33 per cent which is 20 per cent less than former. Here also, the maximum percentage (56.67%) belonged to the age group 31-40 years. The changes brought are smaller necklines and longer sleeves of the blouse; no change in Lehenga is made. In respect to the changes in colour, it can be noticed that maximum respondents do not show any significant concern to the selection of colours. Only few (10%) choose light shades for summers and dark for winters.



**Fig. 4.4: Distribution of respondents with respect to change in garment features with change in season**

**Table 4.10: Percentage distribution of respondents according to mode of garment construction**

S. No.	Variables	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20	21-30	31-40	
		f (%)	f (%)	f (%)	
1.	Home made	11 (36.67)	8 (26.67)	16 (53.33)	35 (38.89)

2.	Tailor made	12 (40)	9 (30)	6 (20)	27 (30)
3.	Both	7 (23.33)	13 (43.33)	8 (26.67)	28 (31.11)

From the data in Table 4.10 it can be stated that the highest percentage of homemade garments is among age group 31-40 years (53.33%) and that for tailor made garments is with age group 13-20 years (40%). The group of 21-30 years scores highest for both the type of modes of garment construction (43.33%).

#### 4.2.1.4 Outer Garment

Traditionally, the Muslim women all over the world put on a veil, called hijab or niqaab as an outer garment while moving out of their homes. Hoodfar (1997) referred veil as clothing which covers and conceals the body from head to ankles, with the exception of the face, hands and feet. The type and colour of the veil varies from different regions to different sub-castes.

The outer garment for a Dawoodi Bohra woman is called “Rida”. It is two piece garment, the upper is called Pardi and the lower is called Lehenga.

Pardi is a poncho like garment which covers the head, neck, shoulders and ends at the waist line. Only the face and wrists of the wearer are visible. On the top portion of pardi, there is a flap which measures approximately one foot in length and three-fourth feet in width, and has a rounded lower edge. According to customs, the purpose of the flap is to cover the side face if needed; normally women fold it inside. On each side of the head piece which is bordering the face, strings are present, which are tied under the chin to hold the pardi in place. The head piece is extended into a somewhat “U” shape both in front and back, having a depth of six to six and a half inches. Attached to this shape is a panel which is gathered on the point of attachment.

The Lehenga of the rida measures from waist to ankle. Similar to the Lehenga of the Jodi, it has draw strings at the waist for tying, one pocket on the right side and three to four inches of slit opening on the left side seam which is fastened with zipper. It usually has pleats and has limited flare giving it an A-line appearance. Traditionally, Lehenga is loose to prevent from revealing any silhouette, but due to fashion, younger generations like to wear semi-fitted ones. This is shown in the table given below.

**Table 4.11: Percentage distribution of respondents in respect to the fit of outer garment**

n=90

S. No.	Fit of the outer garment	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Loose	20 (66.67)	12 (40)	21 (70)	53 (58.89)
2	Semi fitted	10 (33.33)	18 (60)	9 (30)	37 (41.11)

The data reveal that more than half of the females (58.89%) preferred loose Lehenga. Maximum respondents in the favour of semi-fitted Lehenga belong to the age category of 21 to 30 years (60%) while it was favoured least by the age group 31 to 40 years (30%). This shows a clear difference in the choices of the different age groups. The semi fitted feature is created by keeping fewer pleats and with less flare, stitching pleats with underlaying fabric upto the hip line, introducing tucks and smocking effect in the upper portion of the Lehenga, etc. Beneath the Lehenga, women wear trousers which are known as Izaar. These days Izaars of mid-calf length are quiet popular, though full length izaars are also worn equally. The former have elastics on waists and are finished with matching laces on the edges. Few old age women preferred wearing petticoats instead of Izaar.

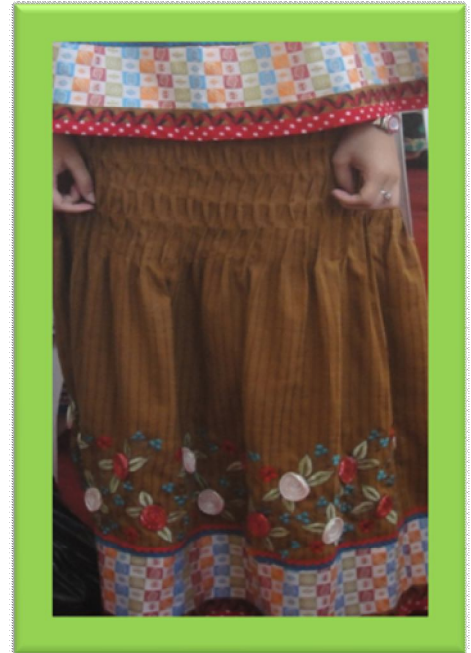
According to Datta (2010) unlike the hijab, the rida is usually a complex sartorial affair involving various kinds of embroidery, lace and sequins. Ridas are colourful and have beautiful designs. These also contradict to the black coloured burqas of the Sunni Muslims as black is prohibited in the dresses of Dawoodi Bohras.

### **Fabric**

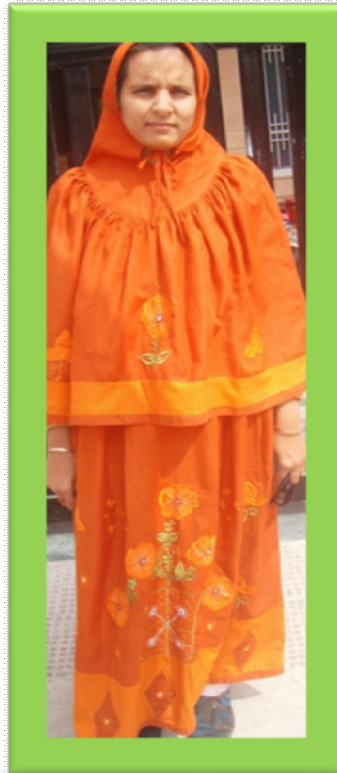
All types of fabrics like cotton, silk and their blends, man-made and synthetics like rayon, polyester, art-silk etc. and different blends are used for Ridas. Not only the basic weave forms but the decorative and fancy ones like brocade, doobby, velvets, nets etc. are also brought to use.



**Pleats stitched in lehenga of rida**



**Design created with Tucks in lehenga**



**A woman wearing rida**

**Plate 4.3: Outer garment of Bohra woman**



**Motifs**



**Laces**



**Left: Hand made lace  
Right: Makkhi work on  
Hem of Lehenga**

**Plate 4.4: Embellishments used in Outer Garments of Female**

### Motifs and prints

Following the Islamic norms, no animal and human figure is ever used. Floral motifs (in natural, stylized and contemporary styles) like flowers, creepers, cherries and grapes as well as geometrical prints like polka dots, stripes and checks are preferred.

### Embellishment

These days appliques are used immensely for decorating the garment. In the hem line of Lehenga, panels are attached in the same way as in the Lehenga for the Jodi. Appliqués of flower motifs are not only created in two dimensions but with three-dimensional effect too. Use of varied and colourful ribbons and laces right from simple net laces to sequined and shimmering ones, is in vogue. Sequins, stones and bead work are liked enormously specially during the festive time. Ladies at homes decorate the borders of the garments with the traditional style of crochet known as “Makkhi” work. Different forms of embroidery like cross stitch, chain stitch are also done; zardosi is famous for the occasional wears.

**Table 4.12: Type of embellishment preferred by females for their garments (both Rida and Jodi)**

**n=90**

S. No.	Embellishment	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Patch & applique	10 (33.33)	16 (53.33)	16 (53.33)	42 (46.67)
2.	Embroidery	7 (23.33)	2 (6.67)	9 (30)	18 (20)
3.	Net and laces	13 (43.34)	12 (40)	5 (16.67)	30 (33.33)

The data in Table 4.12 show that more preference was given to patch and applique work (46.67%) which was followed by net and lace materials (33.33%). Only 20 per cent women chose embroidery work, depicting its less demand.

**Table 4.13: Percentage distribution of respondents according to mode of garment construction (Rida)**

n=90

S.No.	Variables	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Home made	6 (20)	9 (30)	10 (33.33)	25 (27.78)
2.	Tailor made	18 (60)	12 (40)	13 (43.34)	43 (47.78)
3.	Both	6 (20)	9 (30)	7 (23.33)	22 (24.44)

The above table concludes that 47.78 per cent of females preferred tailor made garments.

#### 4.2.1.5. Coiffure

The headgear for the woman is called the chunni or dupatta. The length varies from 2.25 to 2.5 metres with a width from 1 to 1.15 metres. The chunni comes along with the set of Lehenga and blouse. It is generally made of cotton, could be of georgette and other materials too. The main feature of dupattas is that they must not be translucent or see through fabric but opaque enough to cover the underlying body part. The colours of the dupattas are matching to the colours of the Lehenga.

In order to embellish them, women apply colourful and golden-silver laces in the borders and edges of chunni and call it “Koran” or “kinari”. They also make borders with crochet instead of Koran. It is must for every woman to cover their heads in front of guests, while eating food and during Namaaz (offering prayers). The style of draping the dupatta is quiet simple. By holding the chunni (at back) from both the hands, it is kept on the head disproportionately so that the edge on the left shoulder is smaller than the right. Now the right part is loosely draped over the left shoulders such that it covers the breasts.

The young girls put on scarves and colourful skull caps (or topi) not only while dining and praying but also while moving out of the house (for which the elder girls and women put on the outer garments) and during occasions.



males

**Coiffures (topi) for young girls**

**Plate  
Coiffures  
by Bohra  
female**



**4.5:  
used**

#### **4.2.2. COSTUMES OF MALE DAWOODI BOHRA**

The modesty in clothing is not only a feature of women's clothing but for men's also. In this respect, Blank (2001) quoted that at all time, even in the privacy of one's own home, it is considered indecent for a man to display any part of his body between the waist and mid-thigh. The clothing for men is called "Libaas-UI-Anwar" which consists of three piece outfit- a Kurta (a long tunic), Saya (a long over coat) and Pyjama (trousers). Traditionally, Libaas-UI-Anwar must be white in colour.

According to Blank (2001), the Fatimid Caliphs (ancestors to Bohras) adopted white (said to be a colour favoured by the Prophet Muhammad) as their own symbolic hue in order to indicate a polar opposition to their rivals. In a modern context, the Bohras' use of white makes them immediately distinguishable from Ithna-Ashari Shia' who often favour black clothing for both men and women. The details of the male costumes are discussed under the following heads-

- Upper garment
- Lower garment
- Outer garment
- Coiffure

##### **4.2.2.1. Upper Garment**

The upper garment for males is Kurta, which is called "Jubba". Pandey (2010) in an article mentioned that the Kurta of Dawoodi Bohras is distinct from the awami suits with curved cuts that are worn by other Muslims.

Jubba is a loose garment whose length is usually below the knees but few respondents preferred upto knee lengths. It can be noticed that all the respondents above the age 31 years favoured the length of Jubbas two to three inches below knees. The table given below shows the percentage distribution of respondents in respect to the length of the Jubba.

**Table 4.14: Percentage distribution of male respondents according to the length of Jubba** **n=90**

S. No.	Length of Jubba	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Upto knee	6 (20)	8 (26.67)	-	14 (15.56)
2	Below knee	24 (80)	22 (73.33)	30 (100)	76 (84.44)

Table 4.14 shows that majority of males (84.44%) preferred the length of Jubba below knee. The respondents who preferred Jubba upto the knee length (15.56%) did not include any respondent from the age group of 31 to 40 years.

Jubba has a Chinese collar, full sleeves and side pockets which could either be single or on both sides. If a single pocket is present then it is on the right side. A front pocket may also be present but only few people appreciate.

**Table 4.15: Percentage distribution of male respondents according to the number of pockets preferred in the upper garment**

S. No.	No. of pockets	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Single pocket	5 (16.67)	11 (36.67)	7 (23.33)	23 (25.56)
2	Two pockets	25 (83.33)	19 (63.33)	23 (76.67)	67 (74.44)

Table 4.15 highlights that majority of respondents (74.44%) belonged to the category who like two pockets in Jubba. Among the single pocket preferring respondents, the per cent from the age group of 21-30 years is the highest i.e. 36.67 per cent.

**Table 4.16: Percentage distribution of male respondents according to the preference of front pocket in the upper garment**

S.No.	Placement of front pocket	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Yes	-	7 (23.33)	8 (26.67)	15

					(16.67)
2	No	30 (100)	23 (76.67)	22 (73.33)	75 (83.33)

The data in Table 4.16 portray that about 16.67 per cent respondents add front pockets to their upper garments. There was no respondent from the age group 13-20 years who preferred to apply it.

The placket of the Jubba usually has three to four buttons which may vary from simple matching to silver and golden to gem stone studs. The selection and application may be affected either due to the occasion of wearing (daily wear or ceremonial wear) or by the socio-economic status of the wearer.

The traditional colour for Jubba is white (which also is available in variations of ivory, off-white etc.) but these days, people also wear light shades of brown, grey and blue (in daily wear). The fabric is available in designs of small chintz to lines and checks. The designs of lines and checks are usually fine and lighter in colour or of the same colour as of the base fabric. Embroidery may be present either all-over the fabric or at the borders like the collars, plackets, cuffs of sleeves and side cuts and sometimes at the hem lines too. An embroidered pattern may also be present at the centre back, few inches below the neck. The embroidery is mostly machine made and either comes readymade on the fabric or is done by the tailor. Embroidery is sometimes applied with matching sequins and stone work. Chikankari (a famous embroidery from Uttar Pradesh) and doobby weaved fabrics are quiet famous.

Finishing of the borders i.e. edges of collars, plackets and cuffs is also done with crochet, called makkhi work. This work is done by the women at home with fine colourful threads, usually blue and brown.

The average fabric required for the construction of Jubba is three to three and a half metres. In respect to change in season, no change was observed in fabric selection, garment construction and colour of the fabric.

#### **4.2.2.2 Lower Garment**

The lower garment for the males is Izaar (pyjama). It is usually white when worn for communal functions and may be coloured when worn with matching coloured Jubba. A famous fabric for Izaar is called “Suzi” fabric which has very fine blue or brown lines on white base. It is used for casual and daily wears and not for communal gatherings.

Izaar is the basic gent's trouser (or pyjama) which is loose and measures from waist to ankle, with drawstrings in the waistline fold to tie and hold the garment. It may have one or two side pockets.

**Table 4.17 Distribution of male respondents according to the choice of side pocket in the lower garment**

**n=90**

S. No.	Number of side pocket in Izaar	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	One	6 (20)	4 (13.33)	5 (16.67)	15 (16.67)
2	Two	24 (80)	26 (86.67)	25 (83.33)	75(83.33)

The above data show that there is a majority (83.33%) of respondents for Izaar with two side pockets. The margin of difference among the three age groups is very minor, the highest percentage (86.67%) complying with the respondents of the age 21-30 years. The pyjama may or may not have crotch added, depending upon the personal preferences. The average fabric required for the construction of Izaar is two metres. There is seldom any change in the fabric selection or garment construction in respect to the changes in the season.

#### **4.2.2.3. Outer Garment**

The outer garment for males is Saya. It is a loose over coat like garment, worn over the Jubba. The construction details of Saya are similar to Jubba except the feature that Saya is two to four inches lengthier (reaching the mid-calf) and does not have any buttons in the opening. A pocket in the inner side of the front left panel may be present to keep items such as mobile.



Embroidered Collars and Placket of Jubba



Respondents wearing Jubba, Saya & Izaar



“Makhi” work on Jubba

**Plate 4.6: Costumes of Bohra Males**

The traditional colour for Saya is necessarily white, but due to fashion, golden, off-white and a few lighter shades are also available for ceremonial purposes. The fabric for Saya usually comes in a set with Jubba and Izaar and thus may share the design and embellishment matching to them. The average fabric required for the construction of Saya is three and a half metres.

Furthermore, in winters, the sweaters are worn beneath Saya while jacket is put on over it.

### **Mode of garment stitching**

Most men preferred the tailor made garments, especially the ones worn at outside home.

#### **4.2.2.4. Coiffures**

There are four types of headgears worn by the Dawoodi Bohra males. These are topi, pagri, safa and pheta.

**Topi-** It is the standard cap for Bohras, made by women at homes using crochet technique. They use fine needles and cones of fine white and golden threads. To give cap its shape, molds are used which come in various sizes. On an average, one and a half to two cones are consumed in making of a topi. The topi is made in three types-

- Pure white- it is worn on mourning. It has no or very rare gold work usually on the rim.
- White and golden- for daily wear.
- Golden (or sunheri topi) also called kasab wali topi- made of less white and more golden thread called kasab. It is worn on occasions and festivals.

It is noticed that with the increase of kasab in the cap, the stiffness also increases. Thus, the golden topi is the stiffest while the plain white topi is flexible enough to be folded easily. Few people add a single line of dark blue and green in the very bottom of the topi. It was found that there is an endless variation in the motifs made on the cap, from flower, leaves, bel (or creepers), flower pots to straight and diagonal stripes, diamonds, circles etc.

According to Pandey (2012) the elaborately embroidered topis in white and gold thread worn by Dawoodi Bohras are completely different from the skull cap of Muslims otherwise. These bore resemblance to caps in the Arab and Egyptian traditions.

**Pagri-** It is a headgear white in colour and made of fine mulmul fabric. It is of three types. First two types are worn by the clergy men- one with red and green core and another with golden conical shape in the centre. This core or the central part is actually a cap itself around which the pagri is draped. The third type is worn by the general masses during celebrations. It has narrow golden silver borders.

These pagris are usually pre-formed readymade but if one has to drape, it consumes 5-6 metres of fabric. The colourful Mewari pagris of Rajasthan are also worn during the occasions.

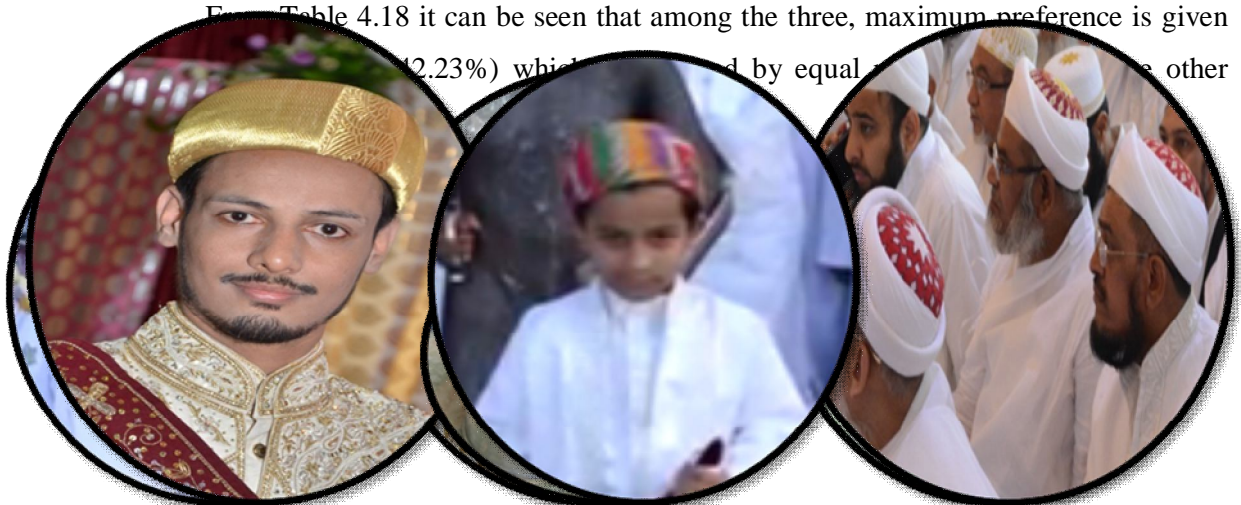
**Safa-** Worn on special occasions, it is draped such that one small end is kept protruding out from left side of the pagri and another falls as the long sash in the back. Common colours are pink and white, plain with no print. Line(s) of golden or silver may border the edge. Red and green bandhani (tie and dyed) fabric is also considered auspicious. The fabric used is fine cotton of 6 metres length.

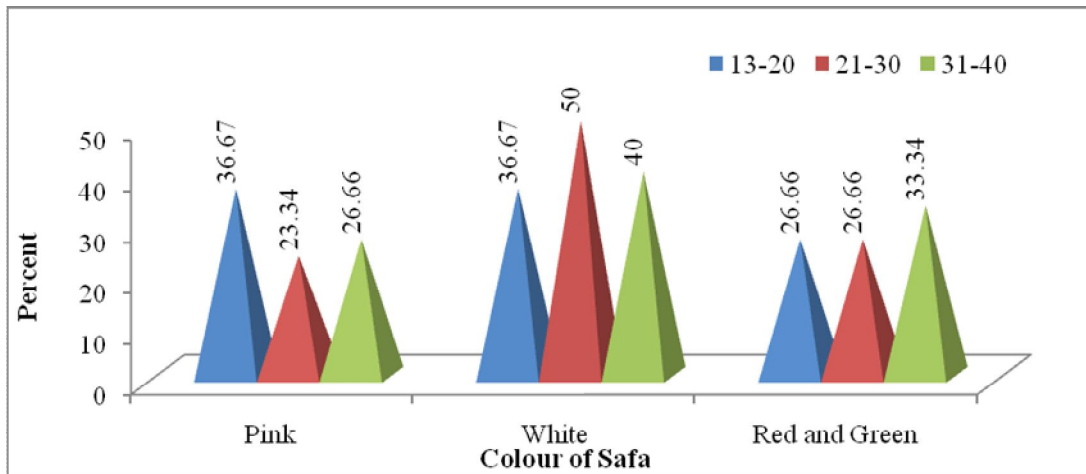
The table given below shows the preferences of respondents regarding the choice of colour for the safas.

**Table 4.18: Distribution of male respondents according to the choice of colour for safa**  
n=90

S. No.	Colours	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Pink	11 (36.67)	7 (23.34)	8 (26.66)	26 (28.88)
2.	White	11 (36.67)	15 (50)	12 (40)	38 (42.23)
3.	Red and green (bandhani fabric)	8 (26.66)	8 (26.66)	10 (33.34)	26 (28.88)

From Table 4.18 it can be seen that among the three, maximum preference is given to White (42.23%) which is followed by equal preference for Pink and Red and green (28.88%) each.





**Fig. 4.5: Distribution of male respondents according to the colour preferred for Safa**

**Pheta-** It is a golden coloured head gear worn by the groom during the wedding. The father of the bride and the close relatives may also wear it. It is available in ready to wear form, i.e. does not require any draping. Turra, a jeweled brooch is attached in the centre of pheta to enrich its appearance.

With reference to the Pagris having red and green core, Blank (2001) said that these Pagris are worn only during the waaz or majlis (community gatherings) and are strictly limited to graduates of Aljamea-tus Saifiyah (an educational institute of Dawoodi Bohra community) and clerics. They come to the mosque wearing their topis and change their headgear just before the highlight of a religious observance. Unlike the permanently formed Pheta, the Pagri is a genuine turban which is five metres long and draped around a red or green cap. Winding a Pagri is laborious and takes considerable time, so wearers preserve their shape by keeping them coiled around a metal dish and wrap in protective cloth. While leading imamate namaz Sydena wears a special conical turban which is reserved for the use of Qasr-e Ali members (the clerical “royal family” of the Bohra community). All other males wear topi, pheta or pagris.

### **4.3 ACCESSORIES AND GROOMING**

The act of self adornment is probably the earliest human activity that did not arise out of a practical need but from the one characteristic that differentiates man from beast- the notion of self awareness.

The various items covered under this are-

- Jewellery
- Other accessories
- Footwears
- Hairstyles
- Body adornment

#### **4.3.1. Jewellery**

Jewellery has been an essential part of dress from the very beginning. More than just personal decoration, jewellery symbolized social and economic status. The features of the ornaments vary from difference in regions and religions.

##### **4.3.1.1. Jewellery for women**

The Dawoodi Bohra females wear jewelleries made of gold and silver only as these are considered pure and sacred. No other metal, glass, plastics or artificial jewellery, which is so much in trend, are allowed to be used. Even the materials like ivory and lac which are quiet popular in the state of Rajasthan are not worn.

However, there are certain exceptions too. Respondents, who could not afford gold, wear gold plated or golden coloured ornaments to comply with the cultural norms. Young and unmarried girls are allowed to wear non-golden artificial ornaments but those are to be removed at the time of namaaz (offering prayers). Some women may also occasionally wear artificial rings and bracelets. Given below is the table for percentage distribution of respondents according to the type of jewellery worn. There was none who does not wear gold, but the table shows the amount and variation with which the other available materials are also used.

**Table 4.19 Distribution of female respondents according to the type of jewellery worn****n=90**

S. No.	Metal/ material	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Gold	22 (73.33)	15 (50)	17 (56.67)	54 (60)
2.	Silver	3 (10)	2 (6.67)	-	5 (5.56)
3.	Gold plated/golden coloured	-	5 (16.67)	8 (26.66)	13(14.44)
4.	Other	5 (16.67)	8 (26.66)	5 (16.67)	18 (20)

The data reveal that a total of 60 per cent of respondents wore jewellery made of only gold. Among these, the respondents between the ages 13 to 20 years rank highest with 73.33 per cent. It was also found that none of them wore gold plated ornaments. The highest percentage for this category goes to the age group of 31 to 40 years (26.66%).

Given below is the list of the jewellery with the concerned body parts.

S.No.	Body parts	Ornaments
1.	Forehead	Tika
2.	Ears	Tops, Bali, Jhumke, latkan, bunde
3.	Neck	Chains, necklace (of all types)
4.	Arm	Baajuband
5.	Wrists	Chudi, kade, bracelets
6.	Fingers	Rings

It was reported that no ornament is worn at waist and below it, i.e. on legs and feet. Also, the ornament on forehead is worn by the bride only (on her marriage). No ornament is worn on the nose either, but there are few older women who put on nose pins (called "long"). Multiple piercing of ears is generally not followed. The necklace held close to the neck, i.e. the choker, is worn on auspicious days, especially during the marriage and is known as "bajanti".

Gemstone rings are commonly worn by the females, with ruby (Maanak) being the most prominent of the gems. The others were Pukhraj, Neelam, Diamond and white Pearls.

There are certain designs where pendants are inscribed with “Dua” (prayer), wishes, like “Allah Ho”, image of Mecca-Medina (the holy land) or names of the holy persons like Ali, Mohammed, Fatima and Hussain.

It was also reported that every female has to adorn the neck or hands atleast with an ornament, especially while offering namaz. If ornament is not available, a thin thread could be tied but the body parts should not be left bared.

#### **4.3.1.2. Jewellery for men**

As far as the jewelleries for the males is concerned it was found that no man is allowed to wear gold except for the necklace the groom wears during marriage. After the marriage, the necklace is the property of wife. Body ornamentation is considered as an activity by the females, thus no jewels are available for men apart from a silver ring of ruby, known as “Akik”, which is worn by almost every Dawoodi Bohra man on the little finger of the right hand.

#### **4.3.2. Other Accessories**

Datta (2010) in an article quotes that Rida has become so fashionable that women often pair their outfits with matching bags and accessories like matching rings, a bracelet, glasses and sandals.

The women carry different kinds of purses and handbags for different occasions. They use clutches, hobo bags, satchels, shoppers bag etc. made of cloth, rexine and leather, while men carry wallets. The important items (having religious significance) respondents carry in their bags are-

- Dua (prayer)





Pendants inscribed with "Dua"



Necklace and Earrings

Plate 4.9: Neck and Ear ornaments worn among Bohras



**Plate 4.10: Different hand bags used by Bohra woman**



**Plate 4.11: Different footwears for Bohras**

- Nazrul mukaam (coins for wish)
- Community Id. Card

Other accessories like fashion watches and sunglasses are worn both by men and women. Colourful hankerchiefs which are worked with beads, laces, embroidery etc. are carried by the women while men go with the simpler ones.

**4.3.3. Footwears:** Special footwear found in every Dawoodi Bohras house (outside the toilet) is called “chakdi” or “paavli”. These are made up of wood with rubber grips on the lower sole.

For daily wear, the respondents use simpler footwear. Women wear fancy slippers, sandals and bellies and shoes (for winters). High heels are not followed, but with the changing fashion, youngsters are opting for them. Men wear leather sandals and loafers. Some wear sport shoes too to match up with the jeans.

For occasions like marriages and festivals, both men and women use the traditional footwear of Rajasthan, the mojaris (or jutties). These are made of leather and synthetic materials like rexine and are available in simplest to highly decorated patterns. These patterns are made from hand and machine embroideries with colourful threads, beads, stones, etc.

#### **4.3.4. Hair styles**

The findings reveal that hair cutting is preferred by cent per cent male respondents. They keep short hair; few youngsters reported that the hair on central head portion which is covered due to the head gear (or topi) may have a good growth (as it is hidden) but outside that circumference they necessarily have to be short. On an average regular trimming is given at 25 days to a month. Left to right parting of hair is followed with very few older men preferring the middle partition.

Through extensive literature survey it was found that Dawoodi Bohra men are supposed to keep beard but it was observed that few young boys and adults did not have beard because of their personal preference. Cent per cent male respondents (above the age of 17 years) grow moustaches.

As far as the hair styles of the females are concerned, they can choose any; the ones in the elder ages preferred keeping braids. There are different opinions about the cutting of hair. The table below gives the account of it.

**Table 4.20: Distribution of female respondents for their opinion on hair cutting**

**n=90**

S. No.	Hair cutting	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Allowed	22 (73.33)	15 (50)	12 (40)	49 (54.44)
2.	Not allowed	8 (26.67)	15 (50)	18 (60)	41 (45.56)

Table 4.20 highlights that more than half of the respondents (54.44%) reported that hair cutting is allowed as per the personal choice. While few from the ones who did not agree to this said that although hair cutting is not allowed, minor trims may be given occasionally. The respondents used hair pins, clutches, clips and grips to set their hair. Furthermore, the respondents conveyed that whatever the style may be, it is covered under the headgear and should be such that no flicks or loose hair of any sort fall on the face. If it happens, it is considered indecent.

#### 4.3.5. Body adornment

Nearly all women apply kajal daily on their eyes. This sometimes is substituted with surma. While men use them very occasionally, usually on the rituals and festivals, for instance, during marriage the sister of the groom applies kajal on his eyes.

The other important thing to adorn the body with is Mehendi (Henna) of which the women are very fond of. It is applied on the hands and feet by both the married and the unmarried. They compulsorily apply mehendi on the day of Alpha (i.e. one day before the Eid of Ramzaan) and on the events like birthdays and marriages. Normally, mehendi can be applied anytime round the year, except for the month of Moharram or for a few time after the death of a person. An example to this was found during the survey when none of the women applied mehendi as those were the mourning days of the death of their spiritual leader, but a few days later, to his celebrate his birthday, women decked up their hands.

Moreover, it was reported that it is compulsory to colour the nails with mehendi as without it no married lady could take namaz. Men apply henna (just hands) only on the day of their marriage.

Respondents hold different believes about the colouring of hair. The table below discusses it.

**Table 4.21: Distribution of female respondents on their opinion for hair colouring**

**n=90**

S. No.	Hair colouring	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Allowed	24 (80)	20 (66.67)	25 (83.33)	69 (76.67)
2.	Not allowed	6 (20)	10 (33.33)	5 (16.67)	21 (23.33)

The data highlight that majority of respondents (76.67%) said that hair colouring is allowed. In addition, they said that only henna can be applied as colour, no synthetic dye is ever used. Men generally do not colour their hair.

Except these two body adornments, no other items are applied on the skin to enhance the appeal. Items like nail polish and lipstick are strictly prohibited as they contain alcohol. Even if these are applied, they have to be removed before offering namaz. Another reason is that even if they do not contain objectionable ingredient, when wudu (pre-prayer ritual of washing) is performed, the water is able to reach neither the base of the nail nor the surface skin of the lips (a layer of lipstick settles on it) thus, leaving them dirty. In order to have a valid wudu, a woman would have to remove them while performing wudu but could reapply afterwards (Hussain, 2004; Islamopedia, 2010).

#### **4.4. DRESSES FOR SPECIAL OCCASIONS**

It includes the dresses for-

- Namaz
- Festivals and occasions
- Rituals and ceremonies

##### **4.4.1. Dress for Namaz**

Unlike the other Muslims who offer namaz five times a day, Dawoodi Bohras offer three times a day and keep a different set of clothes for it, called the Namazi Jodi.

During the prayers, the respondents spread a place mat (or fabric sheet), known as Musallah, on the ground and sit on it. It is made by joining two fabric pieces of an average size of one metre length and about three-fourth metre width. For males, it is of white colour, while colourful and lightly embellished are available for females. Women do makkhi work on it covering the borders and a corner. Furthermore the respondents explained that the

Musallah is considered sacred, thus should be placed on a clean surface and should be taken care off in a holy manner.

### **Female dress**

At home women wear the Jodi (lehenga, choli and dupatta) while visiting mosque, they should wear Rida. They should be dressed in such a manner that it should cover the head and the entire body. A woman should never pray without wearing any ornament and applying mehendi on nails. If no jewellery is available, they atleast should have a thread tied round the neck.

### **Male dress**

Men wear a specific upper garment, especially made for prayers, called peheran. It is very loose and he length measures upto the mid-calf. It has round neckline with no collars, no side cuts and has cloth buttons. But these days, plastic buttons are also used as they are more convenient to apply. A peheran generally has six to eight panels, with central front and central back being the broadest and full sleeves with no cuffs. It is always made of fine voile fabric.

Sometimes, people may also wear Kurta-saya instead of peheran, but those should be simplest in work. As lower garment Izaar and as coiffure topi is worn. Wearing topi during the namaz is of utmost importance. The clothes for namaz should always be white or off-white in colour.

#### **4.4.2. Dress for Festivals and Occasions**

The main festivals celebrated by the Dawoodi Bohra community are Eid, Bakri Eid, Bara wafat and Moharram. The birthday of the spiritual leader, the Syedna, is also celebrated as a great occasion. There are community functions where people wear new clothes. Men dress themselves in the auspicious white kurta saya and angrakhis while women go with the colourful Ridas. Safas and Pagris (especially the Mewari pagri) hold the main attractions.

On the contrast to this, during the month of Moharram, people follow simple clothing, as the occasion expresses mourning. Men wear only white caps, i.e. caps with no or meager golden work on rims. Even the clothing is simple, like shirts and pants or Jubba-Izaar are expected to be white or any light coloured with simple construction. Women wear less embellished attire and do not apply mehendi.

### **4.4.3. Dress for Rituals and Ceremonies**

#### **4.4.3.1. Milad**

The word milad refers to the celebration of an individual's birthday. As a special wear, males may wear Rajasthani angrakhi and churidaars while females don themselves in new jodis.

#### **4.4.3.2. Misaaq**

It is a very important ritual which is followed in every Dawoodi Bohra's life. After misaaq, the child has to follow all the cultural norms as those by the adults, like, praying three times a day and following the proper dress code.

For females, the misaaq is celebrated at the age of 12 to 13 years. This is the time when the girl enters the puberty and starts developing her breasts and thus needs to properly cover the body. This is the time when rida is introduced. The first rida is generally heavily worked and thus expensive.

In males, the first misaaq is held at the age of 14 to 15 years. Now, it becomes mandatory for them to wear the topi all the time, the traditional dress atleast during the community gatherings, rituals and festivals.

#### **4.4.3.3. Marriage**

##### **Attire of the groom**

During the marriage, the groom wears sherwani as upper garment, churidar pyjama as lower garment and the golden pheta as the coiffure. Some grooms even wear Rajasthani Angrakhi instead of Sherwani. The colours for the attire are often golden, silver, cream and maroon. The fabric used is brocade which is heavily worked with embroideries, sequin and stone works. On the centre of the pheta, an ornament of gems is worn and is called Kalangi (or turra).

It was also told that there are certain accessories which are necessary to bear during the wedding. These are maroon in colour, made of velvet fabric and are beautifully decorated. Locally known as "dulhe ka set" these four in number. On these accessories, the names of the "Panjtan Paak" i.e. the five holy personalities is written. These names are- Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hasan and Hussain.

- Kamarband- consists of two parts; one is the shoulder belt which is worn across the chest from the right shoulder. Another is the waist belt which is worn round the waist. Both the belts have the same width of three inches.
- Sehera- it is a band of 2 X 8 sq. inch which from protrude numerous long strings of golden and silver. It is worn on the forehead, over the pheta and the strings cover up the face.
- Baajuband- this band is the same as the sehera, except that it does not have the strings. It is worn on the arm of the right hand.
- Dushala- it is a dual layered fabric of 1 X 1.2 sq. feet dimension. It is worn on the right hand by passing it through the opening on the upper end. When worn, the hand is kept parallel to the ground so that it covers the hand from the wrist to elbow.

During the wedding rituals, the groom and the father of the bride hold hands and chant some vows. The hands are covered with a special red coloured square fabric called “Rumal”.



**Musallah for females**



**Musallah for males**



**Peheran**

**Plate 4.12: Textile articles for Namaz used by Bohras**



**Attires of males and females during a marriage**

**Costume of a male during a community function**



**Groom is wearing Baajuband on right arm and Sehera over Pheta having a feathery “Turra”.**

**Groom is wearing golden Pheta and Necklace. Bride is decked with armband and Tika besides other ornaments.**

**Plate 4.13: Dress of Bohras during various occasions**



**Sehera**

**Baajuband**

**Kamarband**

**Dushala**

**Rumal**

**Plate 4.14: Accessories used by Bridegroom during wedding rituals**

### Other accessories

Though wearing gold by men is not permitted for Dawoodi Bohras, it is allowed for the day of wedding. The groom can put on a gold chain or necklace. Among the footwear, most men prefer wearing mojaris.

### Attire of the bride

The bride wears Lehenga as lower garment, choli as upper and odhani as coiffure. This is generally preferred in red and maroon colour but may vary with personal preferences. The odhani is wider than the ordinary dupatta; its approximate dimensions are 3 X 1.2 sq. metres. The style of draping the coiffure can be any, keeping in mind that it should cover the head and breasts. There should not be revealing of the waist.

As far as accessories are concerned, some are liberal towards the artificial jewellery while rest report that only gold is worn. The Table below shows the opinion of the respondents.

**Table 4.22 Distribution of female respondents in respect to permission of artificial jewellery for bride**

n=90

S. No.	Artificial jewellery for bride	Age in years			Total f (%)
		13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Allowed	20 (66.66)	22 (73.33)	19 (63.33)	61 (67.78)
2.	Not allowed	10 (33.33)	8(26.67)	11 (36.67)	29 (32.22)

Table 4.22 shows that a majority of respondents are liberal towards the selection of metal for bride's jewellery. Liberty is also given for the other make-up items. The jewelleryes worn are tika, earrings, necklace, rings, armllet, bangles and bracelets. No ornament on nose, waist and legs are worn.

The female relatives who are close to the bride can attend the function in the traditional Jodi instead of rida. The father of the bride may wear pheta as coiffure.

### 4.5 TABOOS

On answer to the question of any colour restricted from wearing, the respondents replied that black colour is prohibited. Though some people include it in their casual wears, it is not allowed for the traditional garments (except for the border lines or minor proportions).

**Table 4.23: Distribution of respondents according to the use of black colour in garments**

n=180

S. No.	Black colour		Age in years			Total f (%)
			13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Wear	M	-	5 (16.67)	8 (26.67)	13 (14.44)
		F	-	-	2 (6.67)	2 (2.22)
2.	Do not wear	M	30 (100)	25 (83.33)	22 (73.33)	77 (85.56)
		F	30 (100)	30 (100)	28 (93.33)	88 (97.78)

The data reveal that majority of men and women do not wear black colour in casual wears. Furthermore, the proportion of males who wear black (14.44%) is quiet larger than those of females (2.22%).

Another custom is related to the dress of a widow. After the husband's death, the woman has to wear only white clothes for four months and twenty days. This period is called "iddat". Not only the clothes are white but the entire linens, draperies and other textiles are also of the same colour. Body adorning product of any sort is restricted. Except for her own children, she cannot meet any male member and has to spend the maximum time in the respective room. After the completion of iddat, the woman can put on the normal (coloured) attire.

#### 4.6. Sourcing of Fabric for Garment

The Dawoodi Bohras source fabrics not only from Udaipur but from other cities also. These cities are mainly Surat, Mumbai and Bhilwara. Fabrics are also sourced from abroad like Kuwait, Doha etc. by few.

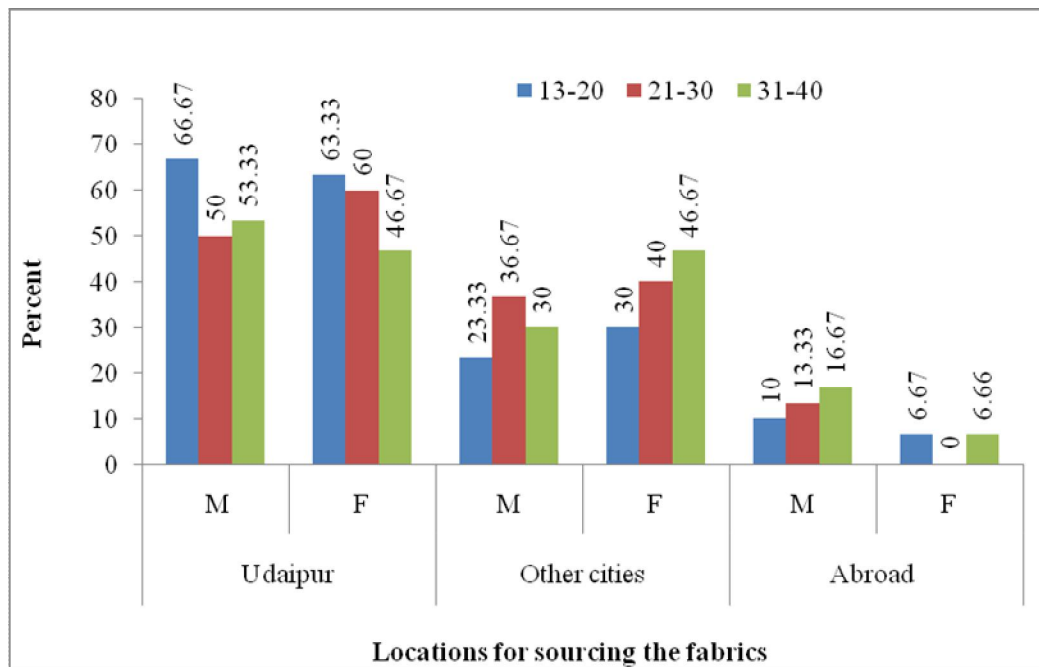
**Table 4.24: Distribution of respondents (both males and females) according to the purchase of the fabric for garment**

N=180

S.	Places	Age in years	Total
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No.			13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	f (%)
1.	Udaipur	M	20 (66.67)	15 (50)	16 (53.33)	51 (28.33)
		F	19 (63.33)	18 (60)	14 (46.67)	51 (28.33)
2.	Other cities	M	7 (23.33)	11 (36.67)	9 (30)	27 (15)
		F	9 (30)	12 (40)	14 (46.67)	35 (21.11)
3.	Abroad	M	3 (10)	4 (13.33)	5 (16.67)	12 (6.66)
		F	2 (6.67)	-	2 (6.66)	4 (2.22)

Table 4.24 highlights that both males and females equally (28.33%) preferred Udaipur for purchasing the fabric for their garments. The percentage of fabric procured from other cities is higher for females (21.11%) in comparison to males (15%) while this ratio reciprocates for the sourcing from abroad, with males (6.66%) and females (2.22%).



**Fig. 4.6: Distribution of respondents according to the locations preferred for sourcing fabrics**

#### 4.7 Regularity of wearing the Traditional Costumes

The females wear outer garments the most. Whenever they move out of their homes, they necessarily put on the outer garment Rida. At homes, they may wear Kurta-salwar as

alternative to Jodi. For men, to wear the traditional coiffure- the white and golden Topi is of utmost importance and so they wear it even on western outfits. The community members wear the traditional dress daily, though it might be for some time.

Not all people follow the traditional attire everywhere. The table given below shows the frequencies.

**Table 4.25: Distribution of respondents according to the regularity of wearing the traditional garment**

**n=180**

S. No.	Variables		Age in years			Total f (%)
			13-20 f (%)	21-30 f (%)	31-40 f (%)	
1.	Community only	M	6 (20)	8 (26.67)	8 (26.67)	22 (12.22)
		F	-	3 (10)	-	3 (1.67)
2.	Everywhere	M	24 (80)	22 (73.33)	22 (73.33)	68 (37.78)
		F	30 (100)	27 (90)	30 (100)	87 (48.33)

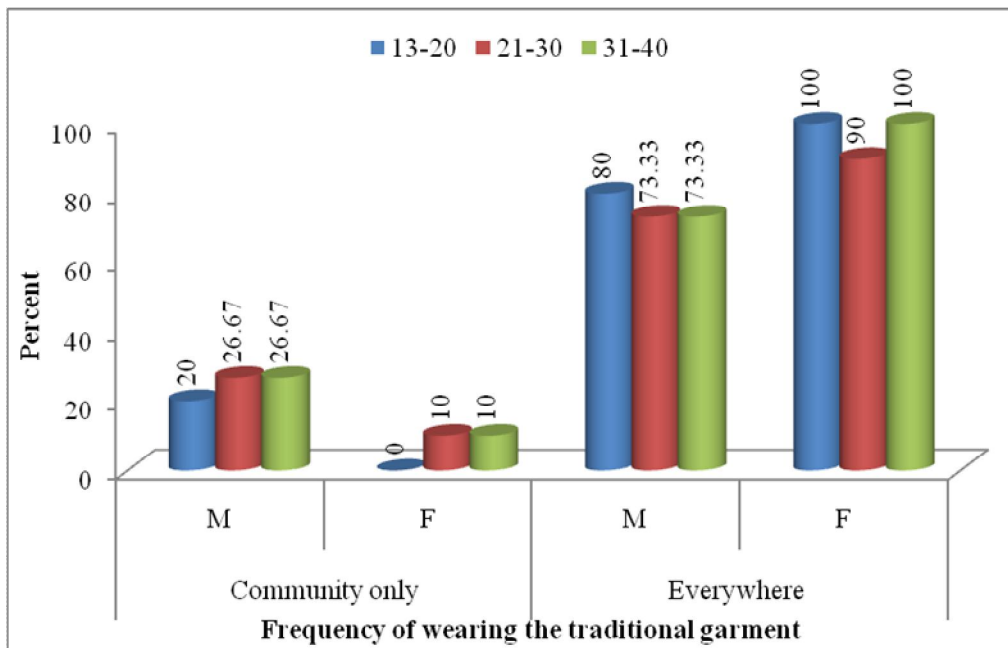
The above Table shows that in Udaipur (37.78% males and 48.33% females) wear the traditional attire not only in the community but elsewhere also, though it for some, it may be sometimes and for other every time.

Singh (2003) in support to women's traditional outfit said that wearing of rida is compulsory while attending the community gatherings.

Dave and Shrivastava (2013) in a study reported that unlike the other sub groups of Muslim communities in Udaipur, Bohra women wear Burqa everywhere.

Furthermore, it was also found that though not all men wear the traditional attire every time, they necessarily bear the cap (or topi) all the time. Instead of the traditional dress they wear modern outfits, shirt as upper and pant as lower garment. Some women go for Kurta salwar and young girls with kurti leggings, at home.

The respondents whose family members or relatives reside in foreign countries said that except for the workplace, as these have specific uniforms, they follow their religious dress codes everywhere.



**Fig. 4.7: Distribution of respondents according to the regularity of wearing the traditional garment**

Overall, it can be concluded that like other Muslim communities though the Dawoodi women too veil themselves, their freedom to colours, designs and patterns is far more liberal than any other. Not adhering just to their own attire, this sect also shows acceptance to the regional clothing (for example- the Angrakhi and the Mewari Pagri). The community believes in simplicity of appearance and follow the traditional attire in whichever corner of the world they are.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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India is a land of cultures. It is an amalgamation of various races, languages, customs and religions. Islam which is the second largest religion in the world is also the second most dominant religion in India with 13.4 percent Muslim population (Census of India, 2001). Their population in India is the third largest in the world. The Muslim religion is categorized into two major divisions: the Shias (with population in India being third largest in the world) and the Sunnis. These divisions are further divided into several sub sects; one of them being Bohra- a sub sect to Shia Islam. It is a small, tight-knit community, presently distributed in the states of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal; majority being residing in west India. In Rajasthan, the Bohra live in the districts of Udaipur, Dungarpur, Chittorgarh, Banswara, Jaipur, Kota, Bundi and Ajmer. Urdu is their mother tongue and Perso-Arabic script is used. They are also conversant with the local Mewari language and use of Devanagari script (Singh and Khan, 2001). Udaipur, once the capital of the Ranas of Mewar, harbors a sizable population of around 12,000 to 13000 of the Dawoodi Bohras. In terms of population, the city ranks third after Mumbai (Engineer, 2013).

The term “Bohra” applies most commonly to Dawoodi Bohras, who are reputed to be the best organized and wealthiest of all Bohras. Bohra (also spelled Bohora or Vohra) is derived from the Gujrati word “vohorvu” or “vyavahar”, meaning "to trade" in reference to their traditional profession while the term “Dawoodi” refers to their support for 27<sup>th</sup> dai al-Mutlaq (the spiritual leader) [Dawood Bin Qutubshah](#). The Dawoodi Bohra trace their belief system back to [Yemen](#), where it evolved from the [Fatimid Caliphate](#) and where they were persecuted due to their differences from mainstream [Sunni Islam](#) and [Zaydi Shia Islam](#). As Shi'i Muslims, Bohras believe that their Imams are descendants of the Islamic prophet [Muhammad](#) by way of his daughter [Fatimah](#) and her husband [Ali](#), and also that Muhammad chose Ali as his successor. Ismailis inhabited regions of Gujarat as traders in around the 11th Century and followed the Fatimid Tayyibi dawah of Yemen under the emissaries from Yemen in India. It was in 1567 AD the Dawat (mission) was transferred to India from Yemen by 23rd Dai-al-Mutlaq. Following the death of the 26th Dai in 1591, a leadership dispute divided the Tayyibi sect, creating the followers of Dawoodi Bin Qutubshah (the 27<sup>th</sup> dai) becoming the Dawoodi Bohra. Further, more factions separated out of Bohras, but Dawoodis remained the main branch.

At present, Dawoodi Bohras are spreaded all over the world with a population of about one million, making a maJodity proportion of adherents in India. They are largely into trading and business. Their traditional occupation was cloth painting and weaving but now they are primarily engaged in textiles and metal trade, selling machinery parts, working in oil factories and petrol pumps etc. In Mumbai, lies the head quarters of the community and also the home to His Holiness Dr. Syedna Mohammed Burhanuddin, the present (52<sup>nd</sup>) dai al-Mutlaq (spiritual leader). It was from his orders in 1970 that the dresses of the women of the community were modified so as to mark a distinction from the reformist group. The “rida”, a distinctive form of the commonly known [burqa](#) was introduced which is distinguished from other forms of the veil due to the variations in color and decorations with patterns and laces. The rida additionally differs from the burqa in that the rida does not call for covering of women's faces like the traditional veil. It has a flap called the pardi that is usually folded to one side to facilitate visibility, but can also be worn over the face if so desired. As far as the attire for men is concerned, they wear a traditional white three piece outfit, plus a white and gold cap called a topi. This uniform way of appearance of the community members makes them recognizable the world over and has become a symbol of their religious identity. This inspires the investigator in knowing further about their costumes and the socio-cultural aspects related to them. Since the community forms a minor group among Muslims in India (less than a percent), that too located on specific regions only; not many people are aware about them and their traditions. Moreover, till date no research has been done on subjects depicting their traditional costumes which necessitate the investigator for the urgency of selecting the proposed topic. Udaipur, being the city third largest for their population in India, justifies being a good locale for the study.

The objectives of the study are-

1. To study the traditional costumes of males and females of Bohra community.
2. To learn about the coiffures prevalent among them.
3. To find out their traditional and contemporary accessories.

### **Methodology**

The survey was conducted within the municipal limits of Udaipur. The locale of the study was selected purposively. The regions of higher population concentration were chosen and those were Bohrwadi, Fatehpura, Hathipole, Loha bazaar, Khanjipeer and Ashwini Bazar. The Community school was also contacted.

The selection of samples was done randomly. The total number of respondents selected were 180 (90 males and 90 females), who were divided equally among the three

different age groups 13- 20 years, 21-30 years and 31-40 years, thus allotting 30 males and 30 females for each category.

A structured interview schedule was used to collect the information. It comprised of both open ended and close ended questions which were based on the general information of the respondents and detail information about their traditional costumes, coiffures and accessories.

The data was analyzed by calculating frequency distributions and percentages of the information obtained.

### **Major findings**

1. The costumes of a female Dawoodi Bohra are such that there is minimum exposure of the body parts, like face, hands and feet so as to maintain modesty in appearance. The traditional costumes worn by a Dawoodi Bohra woman in Udaipur is Lehenga, blouse and chunni (collectively called Jodi). For occasions, young girls may opt for a variation like Anarkali suits and Angarakhi style tunics with Churidaar pyjamas.
2. The upper garment for the female Bohra is “blouse” (choli). It is a top like garment reaching upto the waist. Its fit is usually loose. Now-a-days, for daily wear, blouses are substituted with readymade knitted T-shirts in summers and full sleeved warmers in winters.
3. The lower garment worn by the females is “lehenga”, a skirt like garment which is tied on the waist and measures upto the ankle length. The flairs on the lehenga are produced either by gathers or pleats.
4. The selection of fabric for Jodi varies among the respondents. In the age groups of year 13-20 and 21-30, maximum respondents preferred cotton-synthetic blends with 40 percent and 56.66 percent, respectively. The reason given behind it was their easy care, good durability and trendy looks. The majority of respondents of 31-40 years preferred cotton due to its high comfort. For occasions, there is a wide variety of fabrics available from fine cotton and silks to every quality of synthetics and blends like art-silk, light and heavy brocades, tissue fabrics, and velvets.
5. The motifs found on the fabrics are floral and geometrical. No animal or human figure is ever found. Only 2.22 percent women said that peacock, camel and horse motifs are allowed (if not in apparels then other textiles) as they are considered auspicious.
6. The headgear for the woman is called the “chunni” or “dupatta”. It is generally of cotton fabric, could be of georgette and other materials too. The main feature of

dupatta is that they must not be translucent or see through fabric but opaque enough to cover the underlying body part.

7. It is must for every woman to cover their heads in front of guests, while eating food and during Namaaz (offering prayers). The young girls put on scarves and colourful skull caps (or topi).
8. The outer garment (veil) for a Dawoodi Bohra woman is called Rida. It is two piece garment, the upper is called Pardi and the lower is called Lehenga. Pardi is a poncho like garment which covers the head, neck, shoulders and ends at the waist line. Only the face and wrists of the wearer are visible.
9. The lehenga of the rida measures from waist to ankle. Similar to the lehenga of the Jodi, it has draw strings at the waist for tying, one pocket on the right side and three to four inches of slit opening on the left side seam which is fastened with zipper. It usually has pleats and has limited flair giving it an A-line appearance. Traditionally, lehenga is loose to prevent from revealing any silhouette, but due to fashion, younger generations like to wear semi-fitted ones. This is shown in the table given below.
10. Beneath the lehenga, women wear trousers which are known as Izaar. These days izaars of mid-calf length are quiet popular, though full length izaars are also worn equally.
11. It was found that for embellishment of Rida more preference was given to patch and appliqué work (46.66%) which is followed by net and lace materials (33.33%). Only 20 per cent women chose embroidery work, picturing a less vogue.
12. The clothing for men is called “Libaas-UI-Anwar” which consists of the three piece outfit- a kurta (a long tunic), saya (a long over coat) and pyjama (trousers). Traditionally, Libaas-UI-Anwar must be white in colour.
13. Majority of males (84.44%) preferred the lengths below knee. The respondents who preferred upto the knee length (15.55%) did not include any respondent from the age group of 31 to 40 years.
14. The placket of the Jubba usually has three to four buttons which may vary from simple matching to silver and golden to gem stone studs. The selection and application may be affected either due to the occasion of wearing (daily wear or ceremonial wear) or by the socio-economic status of the wearer. Finishing of the borders i.e. edges of collars, plackets and cuffs is also done with crochet, called “makkhi” work. This work is done by the women at home with fine colourful threads, usually blue and brown.

15. A famous fabric for izaar is called “Suzi” fabric which has very fine blue or brown lines on white base. It is used for casual and daily wears and not for the communal gatherings.
16. The outer garment for males is Saya. Worn over Jubba it is a loose over coat which does not have any buttons in the opening and is two to four inches lengthier (reaching the mid-calf) than it.
17. There are four types of headgears worn by the Dawoodi Bohra males. These are topi, pagri, safa and pheta. Topi is the standard cap for Bohras, made by women at homes using crochet technique. Pure white is worn on mourning, white and golden- for daily wear and golden (or sunheri topi) also called “kasab wali topi” made of less white and more golden thread called kasab, worn on occasions and festivals. Pagri is a headgear white in colour and made of fine mulmul fabric. The colourful Mewari pagris of Rajasthan are also worn during the occasions. Safa is draped on special occasions. Common colours are pink and white, plain with no print. Red and green bandhani (tie and dyed) fabric is also considered auspicious. Pheta is a golden coloured head gear worn by the groom on the wedding day. Turra, a jeweled brooch is attached in the centre of Pheta.
18. The Dawoodi Bohra females wear jewellerys made of gold and silver only as these are considered pure and sacred. No other metal, glass, plastics or artificial jewellery, which is so much in trend, are allowed to be used. The jewellerys worn are- Tika on forehead, Tops, Bali, Jhumke, latkan, bunde on ears, Chains and necklace on neck, Baajuband on arms, Chudi, kade and bracelets on wrists and Rings on fingers. No ornament is worn on waist, legs and feet; the tika on forehead is worn only by the bride. The data reveal that a total of 60 per cent of respondents wear jewellerys made of only gold. There are certain designs where pendants are inscripted with names of the holy persons.
19. No jewels are available for men apart from a silver ring of ruby, known as “Akik”, which is worn almost by every Dawoodi Bohra man on the little finger of the right hand.
20. The women carry different kinds of purses and handbags for different occasions. Fashion watches and sunglasses are worn both by men and women. Women wear fancy slippers, sandals and bellies and shoes. Men wear leather sandals and loafers. Special footwear used for toilets is called “chakdi” or “paavli”. During marriages and festivals the jutties are worn.

21. Among Bohra men short hair are kept with left to right parting. Everyone is supposed to keep beard and moustaches. Among women more than half of the respondents (54.44%) said that hair cutting is allowed as per the personal choice. While the few who did not agree to this said that although hair cutting is not allowed, minor trims may be given occasionally. Females use hair pins, clutches, clips and grips to set their hair. Nearly all women apply kajal daily on their eyes; men use them very occasionally. Women apply mehendi on feativals and occasions. Items like nail polish and lipstick are strictly prohibited as they contain alcohol. Even if these are applied, they have to be removed before offering namaz.
22. Men wear a specific upper garment, especially made for prayers, called Peheran. It is very loose and measures upto the mid-calf. It has round neckline with no collars, no side cuts and has cloth buttons. Wearing topi during the namaz is of utmost importance. At home the women wear the Jodi (lehenga, choli and dupatta) while visiting mosque, they should wear rida. They should be dressed in such a manner that it should cover the head and the entire body. A woman should pray wearing atleast an ornament and applying mehendi on nails.
23. A place mat known as Musallah is spread on the ground for namaz. It is of white colour for males and colourful for females.
24. The dress for the groom is Sherwani as upper garment, Churidar pyjama as lower garment and the golden Pheta as the coiffure. Some grooms even wear Rajasthani Angrakhi instead of Sherwani. The colours for the attire are often golden, silver, cream and maroon. Certain accessories Kamarband, Sehera, Baajuband, Dushala and gold necklace. The bride wears lehenga as lower garment, choli as upper and odhani as coiffure.
25. In festivals, Men dress themselves in the auspicious white Kurta, Saya and Angrakhis and Safas and Pagris (especially the Mewari pagri) while women go with the colourful ridas. During Moharram, people follow simple clothing. Men wear white caps and women wear less embellished attire and do not apply mehendi.
26. Traditionally, wearing black colour is prohibited. Though some people include it in their casual wears. The proportion of males who wear black (14.44%) is quiet larger than those of females (2.22%). After the husband's death, the woman has to wear only white clothes for four months and twenty days.
27. The respondents procure fabrics not only from Udaipur but other places also. It was found that some percentage (28.33%) of males and females equally preferred fabric

purchasing from Udaipur. The percentage of fabric procured from other cities is higher for females (21.11%) in comparison to males (15%) while this ratio reciprocates for the sourcing from abroad, with males (6.66%) and females (2.22%).

28. Majority of respondents (37.78% males and 48.33% females) wear the traditional attire everywhere. Not all men wear the traditional attire every time but necessarily bear the cap (or topi). The respondents whose family members or relatives reside in foreign countries said that except for the workplace, as these have specific uniforms, they follow their religious dress codes everywhere.

Thus, it can be concluded that immense prospects of creativity are found in the Bohra attire. This is not only attested in their traditional garments but also reflected through their acceptance of the regional dress. The community firmly believes in the refined yet appealing appearance along with adherence to the religious and cultural norms.

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