## Contents

**LIST OF FIGURES**

**LIST OF APPENDICES**

1. **INTRODUCTION**
   1.1. *Frame of the research*
   1.1.1. Mauritian History
   1.1.2. Marathi people in Mauritius
   1.2. *Definition of main concepts*
   1.2.1. Identity
   1.2.2. Ethnicity
   1.2.3. Culture
   1.2.4. Multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism
   1.2.5. Acculturation and assimilation
   1.2.6. Cultural creolisation and interculturality
   1.2.7. Preservation
   1.2.8. Ancestrality
   1.2.9. Rites
   1.2.10. Oral traditions
   1.2.11. Heritage
   1.2.12. *Lieu de mémoire (Memory place)*
   1.3. *Methodology*
   1.3.1. Sampling process
   1.3.2. Research methods
   1.3.3. Interview guide
   1.3.4. The team
   1.3.5. Constraints
   1.3.6. Treatment of data

2. **SETTLEMENT OF MARATHI PEOPLE IN MAURITIUS**
   2.1. *Marathi migrations*
   2.1.1. Relationships between villages
   2.2. *Memory of settlement*
   2.2.1. Black River District
   2.2.2. Savanne District
   2.2.3. Grand Port District
   2.2.4. Plaines Wilhems District
   2.2.5. Port Louis District
   2.2.6. Flacq District
   2.2.7. Moka District
3. IDENTIFICATION OF SYMBOLIC PLACES  

3.1. Cultural sites  
3.1.1. Settlement places  
3.1.2. Structures and materials  
3.1.3. Religious sites  
3.2. Natural sites  
3.2.1. Planted trees  
3.2.2. Cave  

4. LIFESTYLE OF THE PAST  

4.1. General picture of past lifestyle  

5. MARATHI INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE  

5.1. Identity  
5.2. Language  
5.3. Community life  
5.4. Dress  
5.5. Houses  
5.6. Food habits  
5.7. Music, songs, dances  
5.8. Traditional medicine  
5.9. Sorcery  
5.10. Oral traditions  
5.11. Religious rituals and festivals  
5.11.1. Iswoti  
5.11.2. Bhajan  
5.11.3. Ganpati  
5.11.4. Jatra  
5.11.5. Gondal  
5.11.6. Jaagran  
5.11.7. Dashawtar  
5.11.8. Mhaal  
5.11.9. Nagpanchami  
5.11.10. Shivaratree  
5.11.11. Anushtan  
5.11.12. Ramjanam  
5.11.13. Gowri  
5.11.14. Shani Mahatma  
5.11.15. Hawan  
5.11.16. Satsang
6. CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

7. GLOSSARY

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDICES
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Mauritius in the South-West Indian Ocean ...................................................... 10
Figure 2: Main ports of origin of Indian indentured ....................................................... 11
Figure 3a: Situation of Maharashtra in India ................................................................. 12
Figure 3b: Map of Maharashtra district ........................................................................ 122
Figure 4a: Document from MGI Archives showing the arrival of labourers from the port of Bombay as from 1834 .................................................. 123

Figure 4b: Photos of Marathi immigrants from PE Series ............................................... 124
Figure 5: Map of Marathi settlements in Mauritius ......................................................... 333
Figure 6: Marathi settlements in Black River District .................................................... 344
Figure 7: Sketch map of the Gorges ............................................................................. 366
Figure 8: Basin Zegret .................................................................................................. 388
Figure 9: Low stone-walls at Marmite Cassée in the Gorges ......................................... 389
Figure 10: The “three steps rock” in the Gorges ............................................................ 40
Figure 11: Kalimay of the Gorges .................................................................................. 41
Figure 12: Mandir of Cascavelle ................................................................................... 444
Figure 13: Kalimay of La Gaulette ............................................................................... 477
Figure 14: Former kalimay of Coteau Raffin ................................................................. 477
Figure 15: Kalimay of Coteau Raffin ........................................................................... 477
Figure 16: Mandir of La Gaulette ................................................................................. 477
Figure 17: Le Morne Mountain ...................................................................................... 488
Figure 18: Map of Staub estate .................................................................................... 50
Figure 19: Marathi settlement in Savanne District ......................................................... 533
Figure 20: Kalimay of Dan Koko .................................................................................. 544
Figure 21: Marathi settlement in Grand Port District ..................................................... 566
Figure 22: Marathi settlement in Plaines Wilhems District ............................................. 599
Figure 23: Mr Bhiwajee in front of the house of the keeper .......................................... 61
Figure 24: Mr. Coocaram on the second dam ............................................................... 62
Figure 25: Kalimay of Sept Cascades .......................................................................... 62
Figure 26: Rwiso dimans ............................................................................................. 633
Figure 27: Simonet Mountain ...................................................................................... 633
Figure 28: Installations for the CEB ............................................................................. 644
Figure 29: Grapefruit tree planted by Mr. Coocaram .................................................... 644
Figure 30: Low stone-walls in Sept Cascades ............................................................... 644
Figure 31: Marathi settlements in Port Louis District .................................................... 677
Figure 32: Marathi settlements in Flacq District ............................................................ 688
Figure 33: Marathi settlements in Moka District ............................................................ 70
Figure 34: Map of symbolic places ............................................................................... 733
Figure 35: Jata (maize crusher) .................................................................................... 91
Figure 36: An old marmit .............................................................................................. 91
Figure 37: Moorti of Lord Ganesh .............................................................................. 977
Figure 38: All the women of the extended family cook together .................................... 977
Figure 39: Preparation of kanawla ............................................................................... 977
Figure 40: Lord Ganesh is settled on the shrine ............................................................ 977
Figure 41: Mrs. and Mr. Govinda ............................................................................... 988
Figure 42: Devotees praying Lord Ganesh ................................................................. 988
Figure 43: Devotees dancing and singing aarti at the arrival in Flic en Flac .................. 988
Figure 44: Prayers and rituals done in honor of Lord Ganesh ..................................... 988
Figure 45: Lord Ganesh before the immersion ............................................................... 988
Figure 46: Bamboo baskets and flags used in jatra ceremonies ................................... 999
LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - Guideline .................................................................................................................. p.123
Appendix 2 - List of informants .................................................................................................... p.126
Appendix 3 - Informant’s birth place by district ........................................................................... p.128
Appendix 4 - Table of informants ................................................................................................ p.137
Appendix 5 - Family tree of Ittoo Bappoo .................................................................................... p.142
Appendix 6 - Family tree of Chawan Family ................................................................................ p.143
Appendix 7 - Database of immigrants ......................................................................................... p.144


1. INTRODUCTION

This research ordered by the Mauritius Marathi Cultural Centre Trust focused on “A study of Marathi History and settlement in Mauritius”.

The research aimed at gathering oral and written data pertaining to Marathi settlement patterns in Mauritius: history of settlement, family history, and identification of first places of Marathi settlements. It was expected also through the analysis of the generated data to identify a symbolic place appropriate and acceptable to the community, for the erection of a commemorative monument marking the arrival of Marathi people in Mauritius.

Moreover, the research was also the opportunity to identify elements of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Marathi community, opening at the same instance a reflection on the perspectives for future in-depth investigation and analysis of same. It is undeniable that these elements constitute important means of preserving and promoting the Marathi culture and heritage.

The research was, moreover, founded upon some key questions namely:

1. How did Marathi settlement in Mauritius occur and evolve?
2. Is memory of this settlement still alive amongst the 21st century Marathi people?
3. What can be a symbolic place for Marathi people in Mauritius?

Furthermore, questions relating to cultural identity and heritage were also raised such as:

1. What is the intangible cultural heritage of Marathi people which is part of the cultural identity of Marathi people?
2. What is the specificity of this cultural identity?
3. Can this identity be surveyed?
4. How is it transmitted through generation?
5. Are there some elements of this heritage that have already disappeared?

This research built on the grounds of methodologies and concepts blending history, oral history, memory, traditions, heritage and anthropology tries to delve with the above questions.

Structure of the account

The introductory chapter introduces the research: its goals and objectives, domains of the research, questioning, interests of the research. It further, defines the structure of the research: historical context, presentation of the Marathi population and definitions of main concepts such as cultural identity, ancestality, heritage, memory place and oral traditions. The last section focuses on the methods used to gather data and for the treatment of data.

The second chapter on Marathi settlement and migrations provides along with an overview of the main sites Marathi people settled in Mauritius, the different waves of migration. It tries to
reconstitute a map of settling places and movements of population through the 20th century. Its objective is to identify a symbolic site for Marathi.

The third chapter describes the lifestyle of the Marathi people in the past. It offers an overview of social and economic life as it was in the past based on oral history.

Fourth chapter is on intangible cultural heritage, it is an overview trying to launch a list of domains to be studied in a second phase.

The report concludes with a chapter highlighting further avenues of research and portent of new perspectives.
1.1. Frame of the research

To have a better understanding of the subject it is important to situate the frame of the research. As mentioned in the introduction, this research is touching different domains of research. A definition of the main concepts used in this research is provided to have a better understanding of the orientation of the analysis, such as cultural identity, heritage, oral traditions and memory place.

It is important to first contextualize this population both historically and culturally. Therefore we will have an overview of the Mauritian historical context and in particular that of Marathi people.

1.1.1. Mauritian History

![Figure 1: Mauritius in the South-West Indian Ocean](http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/images/Ocean_Indien-carte.gif)

The Mauritian society has been formed by different waves of migration since the first colonial settlement of the Dutch in 1598 to 1710, during French rule from 1715 to 1810 and British rule from 1810, to the independence of the Island in 1968. The first colonists brought slaves mainly from Africa and Madagascar to work for them in the building of a society on this very strategic island situated on the South West of the Indian Ocean. At that time, slaves from India were brought in very small number: only 13% from India (Talingas, Bengalis and Malabars) (Filliot 1989).

Sugar industry was in expansion when, in 1835, the abolition of slavery was declared. Landowners therefore had to turn to a new source of workers. They opted for indentured labourers. The latter

---

were brought to the island on a five year based contract. The origin of Indentured workers was heterogeneous. They came from Africa, Madagascar, China, and South-East Asia and mainly from India.

Indian Indentured came from diverse parts of India. While a greater number came from the now states of Bihar, Jharkhand, Bengal, Uttar and Madhya Pradesh many also came from the ports of Madras and Bombay. The Marathis in Mauritius mainly trace their roots from the people who came from the port of Bombay from the districts of Konkan and Ratnagiri.

This Mauritian population was thus, recomposed to include ex-Slaves, Colons (white people), Coloured Free people, and Indentured. Rapidly Indian people became the majority of the Mauritian population: between 1835 and 1879 some 411,896 arrivals of indentured were recorded.

The indentured system ended in 1910. Amongst the 368,791 inhabitants of the island, there were some 257,697 Indians, or 70% of the population (Romaine 2003).

---

1.1.2. Marathi people in Mauritius

In Mauritius the term “Marathi” commonly refers to Marathi-speaking Indo-Mauritians of Hindu faith. They were and continue to be referred to as “Bombay” people due to their port of embarkation namely, Bombay (Mumbai).

Figure 3a: Situation of Maharashtra in India

More than 40,000 labourers were brought the port of Bombay to Mauritius between 1835 and 1910. They came from different regions of Maharashtra, mainly from: the Konkan coast, including Ratnagiri and Rajapur, but also from Pune, Satara and Kolhapur, to name some. Mahatma Gandhi Institute (MGI) Immigration Archives Records and the Marathi Immigrants indicate that the labourers were already coming to Mauritius as from 1834.

Figure 3b: Map of Maharashtra district

---

4 Source: http://maps.newkerala.com/Maharashtra-Travel-Map.jpg (Consulted on 21.07.2011)
Figure 4a: Document from MGI Archives showing the arrival of labourers from the port of Bombay as from 1834

The PE I series from the MGI archives further provide data regarding the arrival of Marathis Immigrants from the port of Bombay. Thus, it appears that some 272 Marathi immigrants from the port of Bombay arrived between 1834 and 1839. Some names are provided below:

1. Maybadee No.5348
2. Lallgy No.2379
3. Ramah No.1152
4. Japeeah No.1607
5. Madoosida No.9757
6. Rowjee No.1776
7. Herou No.1777
8. Rhadjon No.1958

The Mertoun from Bombay which brought 285 men and boys and 4 women out of which 173 of the indentured labourers were Marathis and arrived in Port Louis on 15th June 1843. Names of Marathi immigrants who came on the ship can be consulted from the PE series, namely in PE 5 and PE 6. Thus the names of Dusruth No.5971, and Dakoo,No.5966 appear as Immigrants of Marathi origin. The names of Marathi immigrants who came to Mauritius during the 1850s, PE series:

1. Rama No.226603
2. Babajee No.226602
3. Goonajee No.226610 (Photo No. 102983 in the PG Series)
4. Dewoo No.226614 (Photo No.102977 in the PG Series)

The list of Marathi immigrants who arrived in the 1860s and their photos were taken in the 1870s or 1880s. There are hundreds of pictures of Marathis in the PG Series in Volumes 1 to Volumes 65, the photo numbers can be obtained from the ship arrival list in the PE series for the 1860s:
Moreover a database of immigrants who came on 14 ships in the 1860s is attached in appendix. This database could be used for further research eventually.

Marathi people can also be defined according to their ancestral language as non Hindi speaking Indo-Mauritians or Marathi-speaking. According to census there are 1,888 people who declared that Marathi is the language they usually speak at home and 1,656 who declared Creole and Marathi as their language they usually speak at home. Some 86 people declared Bhojpuri and Marathi, 8 people Marathi and Tamil, and 3 people Marathi and other oriental language (CSO 2000). Different dialects exist amongst Marathi language but those are not recorded officially.

According to Sisisky (2005), the Marathis’ mother-tongue knew a decline during the last decades, as younger generations did not learn and speak Marathi at home. Moreover, the Mauritius Marathi Mandali Federation was indeed created in 1960, to encourage and promote the language, culture and religious practices of Marathi amongst young people.

In addition, we can differentiate Marathi people who continue to practise their ancestral culture and perpetuated their rites, language and customs, from Mauritians of Marathi origin whose ancestors or who have themselves converted to Catholicism. While the former have preserved their ethnic culture and identity by the practice of endogamous marriages and forming closed intra community ties in Mauritius, the latter (constituting a small minority) are generally of mixed origins and have lost many cultural specificities of their ancestral Marathi cultural heritage.

---

5 See appendix 6 - Database of immigrants, p. 135.
6 Endogamous marriages: the practice of marrying within a specific ethnic group (Wikipedia, 2011.)
1.2. Definition of main concepts

To have a better understanding of the theoretical context, it seems important to define the main concepts useful for this research.

1.2.1. Identity

Individuals have multiple identities. They have a personal identity (gender, age, filiations) but also cultural and social identity (ethnic identity, class and group). Participation in different activities of the society may help in promoting cultural identity.

In their daily interactions individuals mark their identities by revealing certain features such as symbols: clothing, language, etc. These influence the way they are perceived, hence asserting a certain identity.

Identity is not static; it is the result of a dynamic process. The identification process is linked to the categorisation of people. Identity is relational, which means that we take consciousness of our identity by getting into contact with other groups of people, we share some similarities with some people and contrasts from others. Cultural and social values and norms are interiorised and shared by people belonging to a same cultural or social group. It binds them closer by sharing a common identity.

The building process of identity is passing through an area, a territory. It can be rooted in indigenousness when individuals define their identity with relation to the territory they are living and in which they are rooted. But for migrant populations this identity linked to a territory is situated in another place, not where they are living, in “periphery”; they will than define their identity by referring themselves to their ancestral country, elsewhere (Marié 1993).

1.2.2. Ethnicity

Ethnic identity is one of the various identities of a person. The ethnic group can be defined as a population whose members share the same origins and same cultural traditions.

An ethnic group is a group of people who believe they share a common history, culture or ancestry. It can be defined as a population whose members refer to the same origin and have a common cultural tradition. They are conscious of being members of the same group, the unity of which leans generally on a common language, a territory and an identical history. An identity is henceforth developed, inherited from their ancestors.

Ethnicity is the feeling of sharing a common ancestry, whether it is because of the language, the customs, of physical resemblances or the lived history. It is based on perceived differences in ancestral origins or descent and shared historical and cultural heritage. It refers to the cultural differences among populations, usually based on attributes such as language, religion, clothing, lifestyle, and ideas regarding common descent or specific territory.

Ethnicity is relational; each group defines itself by referring to another group. Ethnicity in interethnic interactions will delineate boundaries between insiders and outsiders: between members of the group and foreigners to the group. Ethnicity is a contextual phenomenon. It varies historically, geographically and contextually.
Ethnic symbols are used to stress the distinction of an ethnic group with another. Such as the use of a certain language, religion, dress style, etc. These ethnic symbols mark the identity and are used to make distinctions between “us” and “them”.

Mauritians have to manage with a national identity and ethnic identity which seems important for their identity definition.

1.2.3. Culture

Culture is “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.”

Culture is then the set of traditions, rules, symbols and customs learned and transmitted through generations that guide beliefs and behaviours of people that are exposed to them. Culture includes elements such as values, customs, behaviour, beliefs, thought, etc.

Every society has a culture. There is as much culture as there are societies. Culture is the particular and unique result of the adaptation of each society to its environment through its own history.

Culture forms a system, cultural systems are composed for example of language, music, cooking traditions, traditional medicine, oral traditions, social representations, kinship, etc. Members of a same people share the same culture, values, norms and behaviours that give them a shared cultural identity.

Culture is not innate; it is learned through the process of enculturation. This process allows acquiring and transmitting a culture through generations. It makes each one rooted to a culture by shaping a cultural identity. People belonging to the same cultural identity share experiences, memories, values, rules, beliefs. This is the result of a shared enculturation.

Culture is not static; it is evolving and changing through time, according to historical events, contact between cultures, innovations, and adaptation to the natural environment. All cultures change with time. Some parts of culture can disappear, may not be transmitted or transformed.

Cultures are not closed and isolated; these are permanently in contact. These cultural contacts influence the construction and development of a culture. It may bring some juxtaposition.

1.2.4. Multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism

Some societies are ethnically diversified. This means that different ethnic groups, having their own cultures and traditions are living together within the same society. Resulting from migrations, colonization, conquests, this heterogeneity characterise multiethnic societies. These are known as multicultural or plural societies.

The Mauritian society is such an example. It is composed of different ethnic and religious communities (kominote), which migrated to the island and kept alive some of their traditions and cultures, to make a multicultural society.

---

1.2.5. Acculturation and assimilation

Societies composed of different cultural groups know phenomenon of acculturation. There can be a dominant cultural group (by number or economic or social power) which forces other group to abandon their cultural traditions and adopt that of the dominant culture. This is known as assimilation process. It is the case of many colonial societies whereby colons forced their slaves to adopt their culture, religion, and language. This phenomenon of acculturation gave birth to some identity malaise for people who do not know their roots, who forgot through generations its history, its memory, its culture.

People who suffer of acculturation and assimilation generally do not let go of their original culture, thereby preserving the essential elements and resisting to acculturation throughout the generations.

1.2.6. Cultural creolisation and interculturality

Creolisation and creolity is often used to define a group of person of mixed origin or a kind of language. But the concept of “cultural creolisation” (Hannerz 1992) is also used by anthropologists to refer to the process of social and cultural change that happens in Creole societies by the contact between different culture to the creation of a new and autonomous cultural system. It is the result of the interconnection and mixing of two or several traditions and cultures formerly distinct.

However in Mauritius some speak of “mauritianisation” rather than “creolisation”, as this concept is generally ethicised and to avoid any confusion with associating creolisation to a process touching only Creole people.\(^8\)

In this context of contact of culture, we can also speak of syncretism, process generally used to describe religious phenomenon of mixing of beliefs and practices, to form a new religion. The fusion of cultural systems originally autonomous brings some cultural mixing and the creation of new cultural systems. It brings to the formation of an intercultural area where the different cultures in presence participate.

Interculturality allowed the formation of a new culture and identity answering to acculturation process. This way, a new identity, different from the one of origin and the dominant one, is created, along with a new culture. This new identity is in continuity with the old one, and different from the dominant one. This way some old rites survived, others were forgotten and new ones were created. This new identity, this Creole identity (not in the ethnic sense as it is used in Mauritius, but as a mix of cultures and mix of origin to form an original culture) is influenced from cultures in contact. In the case of Mauritius, the Mauritian culture incorporates in an original culture all the influences from Europe, Africa and Asia.

1.2.7. Preservation

Facing this acculturation, the cut with their ancestral culture and land, migrant people tried to resist. Some ethnic groups preserved more their roots by having less contact with other groups, such as endogamous marriage\(^9\), a more pregnant religion in daily life, which binds together the community; make stronger links and relation inside the ethnic group. These have helped in

\(^8\) Creole people: in Mauritius are commonly defined as people of African and slave origin of Christian faith.
\(^9\) Endogamous marriage: the practice of marrying within the group (Wikipedia, 2011.)
emphasizing more in keeping their language alive, promoting cultural traits such as dance, songs, music, by developing cultural centres, or have some symbolic places that make stronger the cultural identity of the group, called memory place (see later). We can also underline the importance of rites in the identity definition (see later).

1.2.8. Ancestrality

As mentioned before, the ascendance and ancestors of a person have an important place in the building of its identity. Continuity of lineage is central. Ancestors vouch for social order, they protect from disorder, define rites and taboos that must be respected.

Ancestors protect their descendants; rites are organized for them in many cultures, reinforcing links between living people and their ancestors. They allow affirming and reinforcing the feeling to belong to a community claiming the same filiations and a common identity.

Reference to ancestors can be used as an identity founding myth (Palmyre-Florigny 2003). The existence of a mythical ancestor allow people to claim the belonging to a community, in case of acculturated people, this mythical ancestor, fictive, is filling the gap of unknown ancestors. It will make stronger the link to its ancestral land or to the land of migration, establishing it as an ancestral one to fill the amnesia. It allows the person to build a new identity and filiation.

1.2.9. Rites

Rituals are stylized and usually repetitive acts that take place at a set time and location. They almost always involve the use of symbolic objects, words, and actions. The performance of rituals is an integral part of all religions. However all rituals are not religious ones.

A ritual is a set of actions, performed mainly for their symbolic value, which is prescribed by a religion or by the traditions of a community. A ritual may be performed on specific occasions, or at the discretion of individuals or communities. It may be performed by a single individual, by a group, or by the entire community; in arbitrary places, or in places especially reserved for it; either in public, in private, or before specific people. A ritual may be restricted to a certain subset of the community, and may enable or underscore the passage between religious or social states.

Rituals of various kinds are a feature of almost all known human societies, past or present. Anthropologists have classified different types of rituals: purification rites, which are performed to remove specifically defined impurities prior to a particular type of activity, and especially prior to the worship of a deity; rites if intensification, which take place in crisis context and are performed to unite people; the rites of passage, associated with the life cycle and the movement of people between different age-status levels. It marks the transition between one status and social state to another, such as birth rites, naming ceremonies, puberty rites, wedding, death, etc.

Rituals can have a basic social function in expressing, fixing and reinforcing the shared values and beliefs of a society. They can also participate in creating a firm sense of group identity. These strengthen the identity definition. Initiation rituals, taking place for main steps of life, passage from a status to another, marking the change of social status of a person are some of these examples. These are all rites that make stronger links between people belonging to a same community and also to confirm the belonging of a person to the group.
1.2.10. Oral traditions

As we will work on oral traditions in this research, collecting oral testimonies, oral traditions and oral history it seems important to define these notions:

In a general sense, oral tradition refers to the transmission of cultural material through oral medium. It refers to a set of practices by which societies communicate their knowledge and culture without writing such as storytelling, songs, dance, art, ritual. One of the ways culture may be passed on is as verbal arts such as tales, legends, myths, poems, songs, proverbs and so on. These practices are a means to transmit knowledge, values, symbols and the culture of a particular group and play an essential role in cultural vitality.

Oral traditions and expressions are typically passed on by word of mouth, which usually entails variation, in lesser or greater degree. Their enactment involves a combination (differing from genre to genre, from context to context and from performer to performer) of reproduction, improvisation and creation. This combination renders oral traditions and expressions particularly vibrant and attractive but also sometimes fragile, as their survival depends on an uninterrupted chain of transmission. Hence, when collecting oral traditions it is important to collect different versions, to compare and analyse them whilst taking into consideration every modifications.

Myth
A myth can be defined as “a sacred narrative explaining how the world came to be in its present form.” These “récits fondateurs” (founding myths) are transmitted throughout generations. For a myth to be perpetuated such as ‘a myth of origin’ (a myth that describes the origin of the world), people have to believe in the myth which has to be accepted. Myths can express people’s view of the world. Myths are at the origin of rites, rites are reproducing the original myth.

Legend
The term legend refers to ‘a story from the past about a subject that was or is believed to have been, historical. Legends concern people, places, and events. Usually, the subject is a saint, a king, a hero, a famous person, or a war. Legends are “stories told as true, set in the post-creation world”.

People need myths and legend, mythical heroes or legendary ones to build their identity and their feeling to belong to a group and culture.

1.2.11. Heritage

The concept of heritage refers to any property which is and can be inherited from one’s ancestors, in other words, which can be passed on from generation to generation. An inheritance can be both tangible and intangible, such as a patronymic name, customs, values or wealth. There it refers not only to a property passed on to an heir but also to traditions and culture, which are legacies of past generations.

---

Nora (1997) distinguishes the concepts of cultural heritage which embraces legends, memories, language tradition, customs and practices inherited from ancestors, and natural or ecological heritage which refers to the endearing, sensitive and vital characteristics of nature.

Cultural heritage and natural heritage are on the brink of disappearing as a consequence of traditional causes of degradation and modern socio-economic evolution.

The heritage that survives from the past is often unique and irreplaceable, which places the responsibility of preservation on the current generation. Significant was the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage that was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1972.

Cultural heritage is the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations.

Cultural heritage is composed of tangible and intangible heritage.

Physical or "tangible cultural heritage": includes buildings and historic places, monuments, artifacts, etc., that are considered worthy of preservation for the future. These include objects significant to the archaeology, architecture, science or technology of a specific culture.

Intangible cultural heritage (ICH): This concept emerged in the 1990s. According to the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the intangible cultural heritage (ICH) - or living heritage - is the mainspring of our cultural diversity and its maintenance a guarantee for continuing creativity. It is defined as follows:

"The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity."

The Convention states that the “intangible cultural heritage”, is manifested inter alia, in the following domains:

- (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- (b) performing arts;
- (c) social practices, rituals and festive events;
- (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- (e) traditional craftsmanship.

---

13 UNESCO convention for safeguarding intangible heritage [on line].
http://portal.unesco.org/culture
This intangible cultural heritage:

- is transmitted from generation to generation;
- is constantly recreated by communities and groups, in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their history;
- provides communities and groups with a sense of identity and continuity;
- promotes respect for cultural diversity and human creativity;
- is compatible with international human rights instruments;
- complies with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, and of sustainable development.

The ICH is mainly transmitted orally. The depository of this heritage is the human mind, the human body being the main instrument for its enactment, or - literally - embodiment. The knowledge and skills are often shared within a community, and manifestations of ICH often are performed collectively.

The Convention speaks about communities and groups of tradition bearers. Intangible cultural heritage is passed orally within a community, and while there may be individuals who are known tradition bearers, ICH is often broader than one individual's own skills or knowledge.

Many elements of the ICH are endangered, due to effects of globalization, uniformisation policies, and lack of means, appreciation and understanding which - taken together - may lead to the erosion of functions and values of such elements and to lack of interest among the younger generations.

The processes involved in the continuation of this traditional knowledge constitute one of the most interesting aspects of our living heritage. Each member of the community possesses a piece of the shared knowledge. Crucial knowledge is passed on during community activities, frequently without any conscious attention to the process.

""Safeguarding" means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage."

To ensure the safeguarding, development and promotion of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory it is necessary to inventory the ICH, to ensure identification with a view to safeguarding; to foster scientific studies, with a view to effective safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage; to foster the creation or strengthening of institutions for training in the management of the intangible cultural heritage and the transmission of such heritage through forums and spaces intended for the performance or expression thereof; ensuring access to the intangible cultural heritage while respecting customary practices governing access to specific aspects of such heritage; establishing documentation institutions for the intangible cultural heritage and facilitating access to them; To have education: Awareness-raising and capacity-building; to promote the participation of communities, groups and individuals: Within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management.
1.2.12. *Lieu de mémoire* (Memory place)

As this research aims at identifying a symbolic place to build a commemorative monument, it seems important to define the notion of memory place.

For Nora (1997), memory is living and alive, unifying social groups and is in constant evolution, opened to changes and transformations. There are as many memories as social groups and thus memory is multiple, collective and plural. He opposes history to memory. Memory is an idiosyncratic process with an affective and magical connotation; it makes the best out of pleasant, comforting and symbolic reminiscences to build a peculiar rapport with the past. It finds its roots in concrete events, spaces, gestures, objects and images, where as history is an intellectual operation which appeals to everyone. It is a universal representation of the past and does not necessarily appeal to an individual’s eccentric experience.

According to the author, a place of memory is tangible, symbolic and functional at same time but at varying degrees. The places which people consider as place of memory do not in and of themselves contain memory. A place is a realm of memory as long as it is bestowed a symbolic meaning resulting from human will or because with time it has become symbolic. Furthermore, memory requires a believing subject, and these beliefs are made manifest, transmitted and cultivated via places of memory. These sites are traces where “a commemorative consciousness” subsists.
1.3. Methodology

As little written data exist on the subject it was necessary to gather first hand information with Marathi people. This report is based primarily on two months ethnographic fieldwork and one month of analysis. The focus of our attention was the elderly Marathi of South-West of the island.

Most interviews were conducted in Creole, as it is the language in which most of the interviewees were comfortable. However some parts of interviews were conducted in Marathi language with those who felt more at ease in this medium.

The interviews were conducted in the home of the informants for them to feel at ease and to talk openly in a familiar setting and for the experience to be pleasant and satisfying for the interviewees.

Two research assistants have been trained by the cultural anthropologist to the fieldwork and ethnographic methods of interview, observation and transcription. The training also gave ethical consideration of the fieldworker, underlined the behaviour the researcher have to adopt on the field, how to gain trust and build a relationship with informants to allow the good conduct of the interviews.

The interviews have been conducted in an ethical way as per the code of ethics of the American Anthropological Association (AAA). This included explaining the aims of the project, the procedure related to copyright, right to anonymity, etc. A written consent form was obtained to ensure that the anonymity of the informants and their copyright privileges would be respected. To express our gratitude for sharing their valuable information with us we informed the informants that a copy of their interviews with its transcription would be given to them at the end of the project.

1.3.1. Sampling process

Forty-four people have been interviewed. The informants have been chosen according to some qualities: to be of Marathi origin, to be aged of more than 60 years, with a priority to those aged more than 80, to be encultured in the culture investigated. They were chosen with the help of local facilitators of different areas of the island along with the Oral History Project Monitoring Committee of the Mauritius Marathi Cultural Centre Trust. We also took care to choose informant of both genders (23 female and 21 male) and from different area of the island despite a focus was on people from South West part of the island.

Out of these 44 informants some 36 formal semi-structured interviews of forty minutes to two-hour-long were organised. These included 8 informal focus group discussions and 28 face-to-face interviews. Two site visits were undertaken with some informants and one religious festival formally observed.
1.3.2. Research methods

A combination of qualitative research methods has been used for data collection including:

- **Written sources**: information derived from the historical survey was used for this anthropological report. Other written sources were consulted to build the theoretical content and define main concepts.

- **Face-to-face semi-structured interviews**: this method is considered effective in yielding insights into people’s personal opinions, attitudes and values and expressed in their own words. In addition, since most of the informants have a low literacy level, they usually felt more confident when using their verbal aptitudes than writing skills. A better response rate was thus obtained.

- **Informal semi-structured focus group discussions**: group discussions were conducted when family members joined the face-to-face interview. Past memories were confronted and compared, and in some cases the young people interacted and confronted different generation’s memory.

- **Observation**: the celebration observed was a religious celebration of *Ganesh Chaturthi* (annual celebration to the Hindu Goddess Ganesh) in a Marathi family of Palma. This event helped the researchers to gain a better understanding of the socio-cultural life in the community.

- **Site visits**: some site visits were organised; site visits of significant and symbolic places mentioned in the interviews. The researchers were accompanied by some informants. The site visits supplemented the information gathered in the face-to-face interviews and helped to identify symbolic and historic sites.

The formal interviews were audio recorded and videotaped to allow the archiving of data and for analysis purposes. The interviews were then transcribed by research assistants before being analysed by the Cultural Anthropologist.

1.3.3. Interview guide

Interview guide was designed for the face-to-face interviews. Open ended questions were chosen to encourage the informants to talk freely about the subject identified for each specific domain.

Main themes identified were:

- **Oral history**: family history, genealogical information, memory of settlement and migrations, landownership, identification of symbolic places.

- **Life history**: social organisation, identity, subsistence and economic activities and occupations.

- **Intangible heritage**: Identification of Intangible cultural heritage, prospects and development.

**See appendix 1 - Guideline, p.115.**
1.3.4. The team

Mr. Sanraj Luximon, Chairperson of the Oral History Committee:
Banker by profession. Holder of a BSc(Hons) and a Masters degree in Business Administration and is a Fellow member of the Association of Chartered Certified Accountants. He has been active since young age in socio cultural/religious activities. Has been President of Socio-cultural association and Vice President of the Mauritius Marathi Mandali Federation. Board member of the Marathi Cultural Centre Trust since March 2009.

Mr. Christ Paddia, Board member: Holder of a Masters degree in Economic Policy Management at the University of Clermont Ferrand, works as Lead Analyst at the Ministry of Finance & Economic Development. He has been a Board member of the Mauritius Marathi Cultural Centre Trust since March 2009 and is actively engaged in socio-cultural and religious activities

Mrs Chentabye Ramah, Board Member: Board Member of the Mauritius Marathi Cultural Centre Trust since March 2009. Assistant Secretary at the Ministry of Arts and Culture.

Mr. Manoj Pitteea, Board Member: Board Member of the Mauritius Marathi Cultural Centre Trust since March 2009. Active in socio-cultural activities. He is currently the president of Marathi Oopkaree Sabha.

Mr. Anand Mulloo, Resource Person: Former Head of Department of History at John Kennedy College, lecturer and researcher at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute. Author of several books, the most famous ones being: Marathi Settlements in Mauritius (1991); Father of the Nation (2000); Voices of Indian Diaspora (2005); Hinduism Unveiled (2007). Presently in retirement.

Mr. Kreshan Narroo, Resource Person: Company Secretary by Profession. Presently President of the Marathi Mandal Quatre Bornes. Member of the Managing Committee of the Mauritius Marathi Mandal Federation since 1998. Has been delivering talks in various Marathi associations throughout the island, on the “History & Greatness of the Marathi people.”

Mr. Vikram Mugon: Project Coordinator. He is currently employed as a researcher at the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund. He has worked in several projects related to the history, archaeology and oral history of Mauritius.

Dr Maya de Salle-Essoo: Cultural anthropologist of Belgian origin living in Mauritius since 2003 married to a Mauritian. She has 8 years professional experiences in Mauritius, mainly on anthropological and oral history researches, fieldwork and teaching. She is highly accustomed with Mauritian culture, Creole language, and with South West region of the Island, especially Le Morne area, La Gaulette and Coteau Raffin.
1.3.5. Constraints

A relationship of trust was built during the fieldwork between researchers and informants. It allowed an easier approach, informants felt more at ease to answer the questions, and they felt more confident.

There are some constraints with oral data as memory is not free of influence, events are transformed and they tend to forget details. But oral data collection is also an important method to fill written data, to give voice to ordinary people and have another version of history.

Information on family history was more or less easily obtained and some family trees were constructed. But knowledge of family history still remained limited to one or two generations for many people because of a limited genealogical memory.

Furthermore, the informants interviewed were essentially elders and sometimes mixed up names of people and had memory problems. Genealogical research were then limited. Further in-depth research needs to be carried out on family history using written sources.

Several accounts and versions of a story were collected. They are all presented in this report, as all these versions are important in the collective memory. The confrontation and analysis of data gave us the opportunity to identify those that were improbable.

The difficulty with oral testimonies was also to be able to date precisely the facts or places referred to by informants. Information collected was verified and chronological discrepancies...
clarified as far as possible. It must be noted that we tried to date some events in a hypothetical way, on the assumption that one generation is of 25 years.

Other constraints we met were linked to the bias the researcher bring with him on the field. The researcher can influence the information gathered according to his status, his gender, the image he reflects and informants have of him.

Finally, many precautions were taken from research assistant as they are Marathi studying in a Marathi context. Auto-ethnography is difficult to do; researchers have always to see old events with new eyes, to act as if they didn’t know anything about the subject of the research and stay neutral and objective.

1.3.6. Treatment of data

Field notes and transcripts of interviews were used to write this report. Analysis of data was done according to anthropological methods of treatment. A systematic analysis and comparison of data was done to offer a descriptive presentation of data and analyse of content.

After a first treatment of oral data, research assistants get back to written sources to fill in the gaps of orality, confirm and check the viability of oral data. As far as possible we cross oral and written data. Disparities between oral and written data must be highlighted.

Relevant extracts of informants’ testimonies have been included in the report to illustrate and to underline the relevance of some subjects. These extracts are in the language used in the interview followed by a translation in English in foot note. Initials were used to refer to informants. The complete list of informants’ names and initials is available in appendix15.

Some local cultural notions in Creole and Marathi have not been translated because these terms do not have a corresponding word in English. Translating those local idioms would have been problematical because the meaning would have been altered. These idioms can only be understood in their local and cultural context.

All non-English terms, are written in italics in the report. For ease of understanding, the translation or meaning in English is given in foot notes at its first appearance in the text.

The spelling code used for the Creole spelling was the standardised format employed in the Diksioner Morisien (Carpooran 2009).
2. SETTLEMENT OF MARATHI PEOPLE IN MAURITIUS

As mentioned earlier this study attempts at reconstructing the history of Marathi settlement in Mauritius. For this purpose the areas having presently the largest concentration of Marathi were identified. The research team expected thus to find through oral history and anthropological research methods:

- the original main places of settlement;
- periods at which they were settled;
- the size of the settlement and
- the main intra-land migration waves along with their reasons

This chapter describes these sites identified during fieldwork.

2.1. Marathi migrations

Various reasons account for the migration of Marathis. While they were sometimes of voluntary nature, at other times they were forced in both cases socio economic reasons were determinant contributing factors. Thus three main waves of migration waves were identified:

- Migration of Marathi indentured labourers in Mauritius from Maharashtra who settled in camps on sugar estates for whom they worked;
- Migration leading to leave the camps to settle in villages;
- 20th century urban exodus.

It is difficult to date the exact dates of the last two waves of migration. However for purpose of the study the dates will be based on the data collected during the oral interviews.

Indentured Marathis and camps

The first migration of the Marathis to Mauritius dates back to the indentured period under the British administration. The first ship coming from Bombay has been identified as reaching Mauritius in 1834. Marathis came to Mauritius as indentured labourers but also as free passengers.

The indentured workers lived mainly in the camps (kan) situated on the sugar estates (tablisman) for which they worked. The camps were usually held by the landowner, mainly Franco-Mauritians, near the plantations. Oral data collected, reveal that the sugar estates of Le Val, La Rosa, Virginia, La Réunion and Alma welcomed numerous Marathis since the mid of the 19th century.

Often, camps gathered people of same ethnic origin. Some camps were thus, named according to the ethnic identity of its inhabitants, such as the “kan Bombay” (Marathi camp) in La Gaulette. Furthermore, these inhabitants would be often related to each other forming thus a large extended family. Such close kinship further, contributed to the strengthening of the bonds of the community.
The camps were temporary settlements and evolved according to economic life of the region and the demand for labour. Individuals could then move from one camp to another depending on job opportunities. Landowners encouraged workers to settle on their land by working for them, giving wood to build their house and by offering them the possibility of planting vegetables and breeding animals for their livelihood on a plot of land that they could lease.

The camps were the main way of organization of habitat in Mauritius for many years. It seems that they disappeared mostly in the 1960s. This date of migration from camps to villages often coincides with the destruction of the camps by cyclone Carol, but also with an economic transition in big estates.

**From camps to villages**

The migration from camps to villages cannot be dated precisely to a unique period. As a matter of fact, we find that between 1900 and 1960 there has been a gradual disappearance of the camps on the properties and inversely increasing migratory wave of Marathis from estates to land belonging to the government. Thus, identified different waves of migration from camps to villages were identified in course of the anthropological research:

- **1850s to 1900s**

A first phase of migration from camps to villages can be felt at the end of the 5 year contracts of the indentured. The indentured labourer left their master and the camps where they were staying. Some left for India, while others continued to work on estates, therefore staying in the camps. A third option appears to have been that of a part of the Marathis. We have therefore encountered several cases of our informants (born in the years 1925-1935), whose grandparents left the estates to settle in remote areas on lands belonging to the government, such as the Gorges (in the years 1865 to 1890). So they withdrew themselves away from a colonial hierarchical society, in an attempt to live on their own, in self-sufficiency of their crops and animal rearing. As Mulloo (1991) has highlighted in his book, the Marathis were trying to find the natural environment that they had left behind in India, by seeking refuge in the mountains and woods.

- **Early 20th century**

This second phase marks the departure of the Marathis from the Gorges in the years 1930-1940 and from Sept Cascades in the years 1945-1950.

- **Mid 20th century:** This third phase occurred particularly after the famous cyclone Carol in 1960. Many camps where destroyed. In parallel, big estates that developed for example hunting ground (sase) also wanted to take back their property.

The inhabitants lost their houses and were moved from estates and allocated a plot on crown land. Cases of such nature can be found at La Gaulette, Coteau Raffin, Le Morne as well as Bois Noury. This had a significant impact on the ex camp dwellers’ livelihood, activities and subsistence mode. They were suddenly deprived of the possibility of having access to land for crops and animal rearing.
Urban exodus

The third migratory wave identified, seems to have occurred in the 1940s when the Marathis moved from rural to urban areas of Palma, Vacoas, Quatre Bornes and Beau Bassin due to diverse reasons namely:

- the prospect of better job prospects in towns;
- the prospect of better access to schools and education. It is noteworthy to point out that the increasing awareness of the importance of education as a means of social mobility among the community members against the lack of schools and limited access to transport facilities was a key factor many times to encourage intra-land migration towards the urban areas;
- the prospect of easier communication through the road network;
- by marriage; migrations occurring after marriage, i.e. the bride moving to live in her husband’s family after the wedding as current in patrilocal cultures. Hence, following the wedding, the bride leaves her family to settle with her husband’s family. Thus, it is a patrilineal system and lands inherited from father to son are of main importance.
- by adoption as their parents had died when they were infants.

2.1.1. Relationships between villages

In addition to the permanent migrations, we can highlight the numerous relationships and contacts that existed between the different places inhabited by Marathis. It seems important to highlight such links to get a more complete picture of settlement patterns. These relationships were of an economic, social and cultural nature.

Thus these relationships could be built on:

- Kinship relations (to visit neighbouring relatives)
- Social networks (to visit friends)
- Socio-economic activities (to go to work in estates daily, in gardens, to gather fruits, to fetch water, for commerce (to buy or sell goods), to go to the shop (boutik), to fish or hunt)
- Socio-cultural activities (to go to school, to go to temple, to participate in festivals, marriages)

---

16 Patrilocal: having or relating to a marriage pattern in which the couple lives with the husband’s family
17 Patrilineal system: line of descent traced through the paternal side of the family
2.2. Memory of settlement

This chapter offers an overview of main Marathi settlement area in Mauritius. We identified the South-West area of the island as the main region of Marathi settlement. However, Marathis settled also in other parts of the island.

According to Mulloo (1991), Marathi immigrants came mainly from the district of Ratnaagiri in Maharashtra, India. “Since the Marathas preferred to live on their own away from the white man’s rule, into forests and mountains slopes, it is likely that the white planters were not terribly keen to engage them in their sugar estates overseas.”

“The call of the ancestral motherland” brought them to settle in mountains, hills, valleys, cascade depths, precipices, rivers, flat land, and plains, of the Black River Gorges. “There, the hardy Retnagiri folks first planted their flag on the Moras soil. They spread over the valleys, hills, both sides along the river, further up to the depths of Sept Cascades, over the hills across Henrietta overlooking the Gorges.”

“Others occupied the neighbouring land at Casela, Majenta, Palmiers, the Gorges, and Cascavelle. Later, they overflowed into the coastal villages of Black River westward into La Gaulette, Case Noyale, Black River, Tamarin, northward into Palma, Quatre Bornes, Bambous, southward into Choisy, Baie du Cap, Chamouny, Chemin Grenier, New Grove, Rose Belle, across the central plateau into Glen Park, Reunion (camp Bombaye), Vacoas, Midlands.”

We will present the data collected on the field on the different places of settlement in district order. In some places we have gathered few data and some not at all; this is because they have only been mentioned during the interviews as being a place where Marathis settled. For the other places we were able to gather more data on the settlement period, the families who were living there, the lifestyle they had and finally the reasons for migration. An inventory of these settlement places that we introduce in this chapter will allow us to analyze the data to highlight the oldest areas, those which were most populated and those of main importance and the most symbolic ones.

It is important to highlight that these are data based on a sample of oral testimonies. While considerable effort has been put into the sampling methods in order to gather as many places of Marathi settlement, this study does not pretend to constitute an exhaustive inventory. Thus while areas such as Queen Victoria and Belle Terre although being areas with important Marathi communities in terms of numbers and cultural presence, were never mentioned in course of interviews, they were nevertheless integrated in the report. It needs to be reckoned that oral history relies essentially on human memory and the construction of personal memories.

---

2.2.1. Figure 4: Map of Marathi settlements in Mauritius
Black River District

As per Oral History, Black River district is believed to contain the oldest as well as the greatest number of settlement places pertaining to the Marathi community. Thus, the following places were identified namely, the Gorges, Rivière Noire, Tamarin, Casinat, Magenta, Yemen, Clarence, Xavier, Cascavelle, Bambous, Médine, Palma, Case Noyale, La Gaulette, Coteau Raffin, Le Morne, Chamarel, Moka, Mont sur Mont, Bois Noury, Staub and Bel Air.

Moutou (2002) highlights that a flow of immigrants from Maharashtra settled in 1870 in the region of La Gaulette and the Gorges, on the Black River coast. They were initially allocated on sugar estates of the high Plaines Wilhems, but then settled on the coast following the recession of the industry in the 1870s. This date seems to match with testimonies recorded on settlement of our informant’s grandparents in the area.

Figure 5: Marathi settlements in Black River District
2.2.1.1. Gorges

The Gorges appears to be a central point of Marathi settlement in Mauritius. In the course of field work recurring reference was made to this site by several informants as being probably the most important historic and symbolic site for Marathi settlements in Mauritius. They considered the latter place as the oldest place of Marathi settlement


While some of the informants born in the Gorges do not have any vivid memories of the Gorges, having left the areas in their early childhood, they moreover, recall the stories shared to them by their parents or grandparents. Furthermore, a picture of the area has also been constructed from the experiences of informants who worked in Gorz as forest ranger or guardian

The informants born in the Gorges were born between 1924 and 1937. They left the site between 1930 and 1940. According to their testimonies, their parents were themselves born in the Gorges (probably in the 1900s). They believe that either their grandparents or great-grandparents came from India and moved into the Gorges (from 1865 to 1890s). As such the informants are the third or fourth generation of their family living in Mauritius and the last generation having known settlement in the Gorges.

They left the Gorges for less isolated places which offered employment opportunities, such as Black River, La Gaulette, Tamarin, Case Noyale, Le Morne, Bois Noury, Cascavelle or Sept Cascades. The reasons for their migrations that were evoked were primarily because of the need to have easy and closer access to food facilities, to be as remote as possible, the need to educate their children, because of the very limited transports facilities and floods caused by cyclones. Some informants also told that the Marathis left the Gorges because the government did not allow them to cultivate gardens anymore.

In fact, to go to school, children had to walk either to Tamarin or Case Noyale. Very few children from the Gorges attended schools.

The origin of settlement in the Gorges remains hypothetical for now. We evoke various reasons which were highlighted from our interviews: the Marathi wanted to live in isolation, in all independence and freedom, far from the dominant colonial system. Some point out to the settlement of Marathis in this place at the end of their indenture contract. Others believe they were maroons having fled the estate where they were placed. Another hypothesis is that during the French era, there was a sugar mill in the Gorges called the "Moulin Rivière Noire," which was located at the entrance of the Gorges and which would be the origin of the Marathi settlement in the Gorges, who came to work in that mill.

According to Rouillard (1964-1979), « les essais de sucreries ont peu réussi dans cette partie de l’île et les habitants semblent devoir se former à la culture du manioc, des patates, du coton, des épiceries et aux soins du jardinage et des troupeaux. » The author certifies that there was in the

21 Translation: “Ml: I think it was the first generation who staid in Gorges. Rl: yes they all get birth in Gorges. Ml: their parents must certainly be there also. Rl: there.” Interview with SL, La Preneuse, 6 August 2011, p.16, line 488-491.
18th century sugar estates in the region, but we were unable to precisely identify the sugar mill of the Gorges and its owner. However since 1916 Médine was the only sugar estate of the Black River district.

We can point out that some informants mentioned the existence of a landing station at Rivière Noire, where the first Marathis who came to settle at the Gorges landed. At this stage of the research we are assuming that they had been transported from the immigration depot of the Aapravasi Ghat by boat to be allocated to a property in the area.

We had the opportunity to go on a site visit to the Gorges with 3 informants who were themselves born in this place: Luximan Chrishna (born 1926), Baliram Luximon (born 1939), Luximon Saccaram (born 1937). This allowed us to compile a general picture of the area, to identify the places where the latter lived, where they went to the river, their lifestyle, the material remains of their settlement and other symbolic memory sites.

Our informants have distinguished what they call « ti Gorz » (small Gorges) and « gran Gorz » (grand Gorges). We have been able to access to the grand Gorges only, land belonging to the government on which the Marathis lived. It seems that small Gorges are located further north and were not inhabited. It consisted solely of sugar cane fields belonging to the property of de Senneville (tablisme de Senneville).

Figure 6: Sketch map of the Gorges
We can distinguish three main areas in the Gorges:

- **First zone:** on the road leading to the Gorges, from Rivière Noire, before reaching the government land, we drove through the private property belonging to the Lagesse family (*tablisman Lagesse*). This zone is already referred to as the “Gorges”. A portion was allocated to sugar cane plantations and the other one was occupied by the Marathis. Two of our informants were born in that zone. There is a *kalimay* in this area which was installed by the very first settlers of the Gorges according to our informants. A pond was also identified in this area, called "Basin Zegret." Our third informant was born in the area near the pond.

- **Second zone:** we reach the car park at the entrance of the Gorges, at the barrier begins the government land. This place is also called the Gorges. There were some Marathis who lived in the area as well. Our informants mentioned that in the past existed a house (*kampman*) that belonged to the Pilot family, who leased the crown land, at the actual parking, as well as the house of the forest guardian.

- **Third zone:** we come to the grand Gorges, further more in deep area of the Gorges, in a dense forest. In this area we have identified the several settlement areas of Mare aux Joncs, *Macabe* and « *Marmite Cassée* ». According to one of our informants, the generation of their grandparents lived in that area, on the hills of the Gorges, while their parents then settled down further lower in the less hilly part of the Gorges more precisely in the first and second area that were identified. This migration within the Gorges seems to be due to the fact that there was a too long distance from the neighbouring village of Rivière Noire, as well as for the possibility to cultivate food crops on land they rented to the *tablisman* further below.

It is difficult to estimate the number of people which lived in the Gorges. While some informants believe that there should have been some 50 to 60 Marathi families living in the Gorges in 1930, others say that there were some 4 to 5 houses in the grand Gorges at the top and some 7 or 8 houses in the lower Gorges. However, we collected some 16 Marathi family names that inhabited the Gorges and there must be more.

They lived in straw huts (*lakaz lapay*), quite spaced from each other, with a few animals they raised around their houses, such as cows and oxen, and gardens where they grew vegetables enabling them to feed themselves such as potatoes (*batat*), cassava (*maniok*), beans, maize (*may*), and *violet* (a kind of taro). Our informants also witnessed that they have found in the 1950s traces of vanilla plantations, brown ginger, green saffron and coconut trees. They hunted wild animals such as hares and deer. They also fished in the rivers and ponds found in the Gorges.

According to the testimonies, there were much fewer trees in the past; the Gorges were made of green meadows. Only a few fruit trees had been planted by the Marathis, they are in fact still visible, before the “Bois et Forêts” department planted more trees in the area.

In the Gorges, the inhabitants moved around on small footpaths. A main road which was allowed oxen carts to pass through was called "sime saret" (cart-path).

We have identified numerous ponds, rivers and streams running through the Gorges, such as "Basin Zegret", "Mare aux Joncs" and "Rivière Mare aux Joncs", "Rivière Ti Gorz", and "Rivière Gran Gorz". These allowed the inhabitants of the Gorges to bath, wash their clothes, to have access to
drinking water. However as per our informants, the beds of these rivers have been displaced following the cyclone Carol (1960).

Figure 7: Basin Zegret

Most people seemed to operate in self-sufficiency in the Gorges: they worked in their gardens and looked after their animals; they sold the bulls, the surplus of their crops and milk. However, others were also working in the sugar cane fields which belonged to the Lagesse family or in the aloe mill (Moulin laloa) which was located at the entrance of the Gorges, also belonging to the Lagesse family. It seems that it was primarily men who worked in the tablisman around, such as in sugar cane plantations, the “chassé” where they were turn beaters in return for a piece of deer meat once a month; While women took care mainly of gardens, animals and looked after children at home.

The inhabitants of the Gorges were almost self-sufficient with a once monthly visit to the store found at Trois Bras, Rivière Noire to buy the “rasion” or provisions which they most probably could not produce themselves. They would then walk back to the Gorges carrying sacks of rice on their heads or whenever the chance was there, take the advantage of an ox-cart back to the Gorges.

One of our informants, Mr. Luximon, was the guardian of the Gorges in the years 1950-1960, for 14 years, as well as his elder brother. The latter reared cows, oxen, goats and sold milk in the shop at Trois Bras. They planted beans, taro leaves (bred), fished in the river, and sold fruits and vegetables at the shop. They lived with their families in the Gorges, but there was at that time, no more, the village, only a few labourers such as the woodcutters who came in the vicinity daily.

We have identified in the Gorges a few historical remains, evidence of Marathi settlement in the region. For example, we identified some low stone-walls that have been handmade, dating back probably to the period the area was occupied by the Marathis. These had been built, according to our informants, to protect homes from being destroyed from the flooding rivers. We identified such walls in Macabe (near the kiosk) and Marmite Cassée in the dense forest of the Gorges.
Our two informants who worked many years in the “Bois et Forets” department reported to have found in the 1950s traces of dwelling and occupancy of the Gorges, such as an old manual maize crusher (jata), a broken marmite (cast-iron cooking pots), traces of houses consisting by stones placed to mark the house and wooden stakes in bwa de rond (erythroxylum) serving as structure for the house in the area of Mare aux Joncs, Grand Gorz, Macabe. However, during the site visit we could not see them; this would require in-depth archaeological work.

“Ladan tiena bann pike bwa de rond zot ranz lakaz, nou trouv sa bann tras-la, mo pa kapav dir ou selman kisanla ti res la. Me mo dir ou selman bizin enn dimounn ti res la. Me selman pa kone kisanla. Me partou dan sa karo-la tiena lakaz.”

Another tangible evidence of the Marathi settlement in the Gorges is fruit trees such as mangoes, lychees, longans, which were planted by the Marathis for their subsistence. One of these fruit trees in particular was identified as being the place where was held the panchayat, a sort of village council, involving the villagers and presided by a council of elders, to settle and resolve disputes. It is therefore a kind of popular court also called “lakour” (the court).

We have also identified a stone on which there are oval traces. These are believed by the Marathis as being the footprints of the three deities: Madev, Parvati and Ganpathi, who came on earth in this particular place and have left their traces. Informants believed this to have appeared by divine will. It seems that this “three steps rock” exists since a long time ago. The grandparents of our informants have always known it and have passed on this myth to them. This rock had disappeared according to several informants. It was moved with by the cyclone Carol.

“ME: ek bann gran-dimounn ki zot ti dir lor la? NS: bann gran-dimounn dir enn bondie enn Mahadeo enn pou sa... NK : enn bondie inn met enn tras. NS: enn pou Parvati, enn pou Ganpathi. BL: anfin li ti touzour koumsa.”

Another informant believes that this trace is the right foot of Lord Ram. She certifies that the Marathi ancestors came to this place to pray.

---

23 Translation: “Here there was some stakes in bwa de rond they used to built houses, we found these traces, however I cannot tell you who was staying there. But there must be people living there. But I don’t know who. However in this area there used to have houses.” Site Visit 1, Black River Gorges, 25 September 2011, p.22.

24 Translation: “ME: what did the elders say about it ? NS: the elders said it belonged to god, one for Mahadeo, one for... NK: a god left his trace. NS: one for Parvati, one for Ganpathi. BL: it was always like this.” Site Visit 1, Black River Gorges, 25 September 2011, p.8.
Informants also said there is a trace of a snake on the rock, Shiva’s snake. But we could not see it as the rock was partly covered by moss and vegetation.

![Figure 10: The “three steps rock” in the Gorges](image)

We have also identified the location of the “lakaz danse”, a house where the Gorges dwellers used to gather to learn to dance, to repeat traditional dances as well as offer prayers and rituals such as Ganpathi.

Finally, we have identified the kalimay, probably dating from the time the first Marathi settled in the Gorges. According to informants it had been abandoned for many years, until a Tamil man came to ask for a promise in that place. In return for his prayers, he cleaned the kalimay and he performed a prayer for which he offered seven goats. Since then, the kalimay is still in use.

---

25 Translation: “SS: we went there to get Ram’s foot on a rock. There is his mark. MS: where? SS: his right foot is on that rock. Five toes. MS: where was it? SS: in Gorges. They were doing puja there. This place. When we went there, there were flowers, koumkoum [red powder (sinndoor) used in religious rituals], next time we went it was after Carol the rock moved I don’t know where … we didn’t find it.” Interview with SS, Black River, 18 August 2011, p.32, line 974-980.
2.2.1.2. Rivière Noire

The informants who live in Black River were generally those who migrated from the Gorges and other places of the area to settle in this village in the years 1930-1940. It seems however, that at first the village was located further up from where it is situated presently more precisely near the junction of the shop “Trois Bras” where the Marathis lived in a camp situated on estate land belonging initially to Mr. Albert and then taken over by Mr. Ramdanee. In 1960, following cyclone Carol, they have moved and government allocated state land at the current location of the village.

It seems that at that time several Marathi families living on estate lands were working in the aloes mill for the manufacture of the gunny (goni) found in the actual cane fields at the entrance of the Gorges. They mostly had vegetable gardens, raised oxen, bulls, and cows and sold milk. It was revealed that the Marathis were working particularly in the sugar cane fields, while the Creoles of the village were rather fishermen.

There were then two shops in the village: the first and the oldest one being “Trois Bras” and the second was the store “Ah Kong”, near the bus stop. There is a Marathi temple: the Black River Ganesh Mandir.

2.2.1.3. Tamarin

Some informants came to settle in Tamarin in their childhood with their parents in camps found on Maingard family’s land (tablisman Maingard). The latter owned plots of land from Yemen to Black River, and including salt pans, sugar cane fields and a “chassé”, for whom the Marathi people worked. Some came from the Gorges to settle in Tamarin in the years 1930-1940. They reared animals like cows and bulls and sold milk and bulls.

It was only after cyclone Carol in 1960 that state lands have been allocated and that estate lands were closed to access. At the time, Tamarin was much more wooded. It was only a small village located on crown lands; nobody used to live on the mountain “La Tourelle De Tamarin”. The population was composed of Marathis, non Marathis of Indian origin and Creoles. The Creoles were mostly fishermen and the Marathis worked mainly in the salt pans and in the sugar cane fields. They used to fetch water from the fountain situated in the village or at the river when they would wash their clothes on Sundays. They would get their “rasion” at the Chinese shop, the only shop in the village. There was a kalimay near the sea.
As state lands were closed to access the Marathis who reared cows were compelled to go further and further in search for grass to feed their animals. Some of them mentioned that they had to go to the Gorges to collect grass. Thus the Marathis stopped animals breeding.

2.2.1.4. Casinat / Magenta/ Yemen

When coming from Tamarin and going towards Port Louis, we arrive at a crossroads, where there was the Tamarin train station between 1904 and 1929. When we enter the site, more in-land, we come to Magenta, Yemen and Casinat before reaching the lands of Sept Cascades.

We have identified a kalimay still used near the old station.

Casinat: on the way to Yemen, we have identified a place called Casinat, which was inhabited by the Marathis early 20th century. According to informants they used to stay in the Gorges and left Casinat premises to move to Sept Cascades before 1945.

It seems that this place takes its name from its owner, Mr. Casinat, of Indian origin. In this estate, Marathis as well as non Marathis of Indian origin used to work in sugar cane fields. There were gardens and there was a shop nearby. This village no longer exists.

Magenta: the Marathis who came to live in Magenta were living on Palmyre’s estate. According to our informants dwellers came from the Gorges, Case Noyale and Chamarel early 20th century. They left this site to go to Sept Cascades, Henrietta, and Chemin Grenier when the estate closed. In this site, our informants reported that there must have been some fifty houses as well as vegetable gardens and rice plantations. This village no longer exists.

In the vicinity of Magenta, there is a pool called “Basin Sale”. Our informants pointed out that there was a very old kalimay next to this pond. Today it has disappeared.

Yemen: this place was also inhabited by Marathis; however we do not have more data on the area. According to Rouillard (1964-1979), in 1916 Médine sold land in four different locations: Tamarin, Clarence, Wolmar and Yemen. The sugar mill of Yemen dated back to 1822 and stopped its activities in 1880. Sugar cane culture was abandoned and then started again in 1950. Most of these lands were owned by La Réunion sugar estate in 1942 and one part by Médine in 1933.

2.2.1.5. Clarence

There was some Marathis who lived in Clarence in the 1940s. There was a catholic church, a shop, and a camp in Clarence. According to our informants the estate destroyed everything and this village no longer exists. However the kalimay is still there. The Marathis who used to live there have left for Cascavelle, Bambous, Palma and Quatre Bornes as they were too far from schools and transports facilities.

2.2.1.6. Xavier

It seems that only one Marathi family lived in Xavier since the 1900s. The village consisted mainly of Indians and Creoles. However, we have been able to identify the shop at Xavier being ran and managed by a Chinese family actually belonged to a Marathi family, more specifically to the grandparents of Rammabye Ramma, maiden name Pama.

In Xavier they cultivated gardens, cut grass to feed animals and sold their cows milk. The village still exists today.
2.2.1.7. Cascavelle

It seems that the village of Cascavelle is a highly symbolic place for the Marathis, on one hand because it was in this particular place that the first Marathi Mandir was built namely the Marathi Prem Wardhak Mandal by the end of the 19th century. On the other hand it stands as a symbolic place because of the early Marathi settlement in this village. We met several informants born at Cascavelle in the years 1925-1930 and whose parents were also born in the village in the years 1900s. It seems that it is in the years 1890 that their grandparents left India to settle in Cascavelle. Several Marathis are landowners in this village.

It looks like in the 1940s there were many more Marathi families living in Cascavelle than in the present era. These families have left the village for La Louise, Bambous or Quatre Bornes. Compared to these towns, Cascavelle was too remote, isolated, far from the public transport. The nearest schools which could be found were at Bambous.

In fact, at that time the Marathis were living on a camp located on the Médine estate found in the woods near the Mandir. Further up there was a “Camp Créole”. They were working primarily in the sugar cane fields for the tablismen Dareti (who became later Médine) Wolmar and Palmyre. But they also had some gardens of their own and raised animals such as goats, cows and oxen. The women’s task consisted of grass cutting to feed the animals. The butcher used to come to buy the oxen and the milk was sold as well. Some testify that they have also worked in the tobacco fields of the estate and in the stables at Flic en Flac. At that time, only one shop could be found at Cascavelle which was being run by a Chinese.

Our informants testified that there was, amongst the sugar cane field, a kalimay found at the foot of a tree. It has been moved thereafter by the landowners and placed near the Mandir.

As mentioned earlier, Cascavelle is particularly known for its Mandir. According to one informant, the association was originally called the Marathi Ray Wardhak Mandal Cascavelle, now known as the Marathi Prem Wardhak Mandal which has the first temple namely the Pandurang Kshetra Mandir, built for the Marathis in Mauritius (the association was founded in 1902, but the temple must have been built between 1890 and 1902). At first, it seems that a Marathi society started to be created there and developed. The collection of funds in this society opened the possibility to build the Mandir. It was built on land partly given by Médine. At first it was made out of straw, bordered with aloe stick and glassed with cow-dung. Then it was made out of stones and painted in white. Later the mandir was built in concrete with the structure being made with retrieved railway rails that were collected with the estate. The two domes were then made of lime and red soil. These are currently under renovation.
The Mandir has been erected in Cascavelle as there were many Marathis who lived in this village, and also it acted as a central location where all the Marathis living in the South, the West and Centre of the island could easily get access there. They came from the different parts of the island on foot to perform the rituals. Siwram Jankoo, a Marathi owning a bus company, provided free buses to the various places inhabited by the Marathis to allow them to come to the Mandir at Cascavelle.

It is said also that the Mandir was built in this specific place because the divine foot of a deity (Lord Vithal) appeared there.

« Enn bondie so lipie finn paret laba… kot sa mandir-la ete… avan sa mandir-la ranze… so lipie ti paret. (…) wi ti paret laba… lerla zot inn gete zot inn dir bizin fer enn Mandir laba… »

This Mandir appears to remain the most important temple on the island for the Marathi community.

2.2.1.8. Bambous / Médine

We have not gathered much data on the village of Bambous. However it was mentioned that the Marathis used to live there as well. However, it seems that migrations of the Marathis to Bambous occurred relatively recently, most probably in the second half of the 20th century.

---

26 Translation: “the foot of a god appeared there... at the actual place of the mandir... before they built it... his foot appeared. (…) Yes it appeared there... than they look at this and they said they have to build a mandir there...” Interview with RR, Cascavelle, 24 July 2011, p.16, line 488-493.
2.2.1.9. Palma

The migrations of Marathis to Palma also appear to be a more recent phenomenon and dates back in the second half of the 20th century (in the 1970s). According to our informants, these migrations took place primarily for easy access to schools for the children. We have nevertheless encountered informants born in this place in the 1930s. According to our informants, there were many Marathis living in Palma, they were working for Trianon sugar estate or Médine sugar estate. There are two Marathi temples in Palma, known as the Palma Marathi Sabha and the Shiv Ganesh Mandir and a cultural association namely the Marathi Vidya Pracharini Sabha.

2.2.1.10. Case Noyale

Case Noyale has been mentioned as a village where many Marathis lived. However we bear the testimony of only one Marathi family who lived in this village who are the Coocaram family. Our informant was born in the 1930s and his father was also born there in the early 20th century. It was our informant’s grandparents who came from India and settled in Case Noyale in the late 19th century.

There was a “Moulin laloo” (aloe mill) in the village of Case Noyale, belonging to the Case Noyale property. The locals used to work there. The father of Dasruth Coocaram was himself a cart driver. He owned two ox-carts and his duty consisted of cutting the aloe and then transports it to the mill.

2.2.1.11. La Gaulette / Coteau Raffin

According to the oral statements gathered, we can note that the first migrations to La Gaulette/ Coteau Raffin took place in the 1900-1920s. This occurred when the parents of our informants (born in 1920-1930) came to settle in La Gaulette. The Marathis who settled in these two villages were mainly from the Gorges, Bois Noury, Choisy, Case Noyale, Cascavelle and Le Morne.

We have identified different places where Marathi settled in these two villages:

Before the 1960, most of the inhabitants of these villages lived in Coteau Raffin on the lands belonging to the Dr. Keisler (since 1880, the latter owned lands from La Gaulette to Baie du Cap, including L’Embrasure, Le Morne and Coteau Raffin. The present landowner is the descendant of Dr. Keisler, Alan Cambier, the son of Hugh Cambier and Mauricia Keisler (Dr. Keisler’s daughter).) Both the Marathis and Creoles used to live on the foot of the mountain “Laport” on the land belonging to the estate. It was only after 1960 that the inhabitants were dislodged to crown land near the sea.

Before 1960 the people from La Gaulette were staying mainly in camps on the estate. Different Marathis camps have been identified:
Kan dan kali, also known as Kan Bonbay was occupied only by the Marathis. It is found near the community centre, where the Morcellement Petit Morne currently exists. This camp was located partly on the crown land and partly on the land owned by Mr. Cambier. They were moved by Mr. Cambier in 1960.

Kan banwar, also known as Kan La Gaulette was inhabited by both the Marathis and Creoles. The current primary school has been built on that camp which is a crown land.

Kan Marathi or Kan banwar, this is situated on the other side of the main road on the land belonging to Mr. Forget’s estate. There were four to seven families according to some informants, ten houses according to others. The CEB is currently found there.

Kan dan verze, this camp lies on the plots of lands belonging to the Forget family. It is close to the kalimay, where sugar cane fields and Morcellement La Fleche can be found. This appears to be the first Marathi camp at La Gaulette. According to testimonies gathered from the informants, this camp has been installed before 1920. It consisted of 10 to 12 houses according to our informants.

At La Gaulette/ Coteau Raffin there were also some other living areas, such as Kan Kreol, or Dan Zak; areas occupied only by the Creoles.

Men of these villages used to work for the government, in roads construction. This is known as “rosbann.” They also worked for estate in the sugar cane industry, as charcoal makers or in the aloe mill at Case Noyale. Some Marathis tried to gain a living by fishing, but it looks like the Creoles were much more in that activity than were the Marathis. Women worked mostly in cultivating vegetable on plots of lands that were leased to them by the estate. For example they cultivated maize, potatoes, cassava, yam, bananas, jambolan and avocado, vavang and coeur de bœuf. They also raised a few animals like oxen, cows, chickens and sold eggs and milk.

We can underline the impact of the dislocation of the inhabitants of La Gaulette and Coteau Raffin from the estate land to that of the crown land in the 1960s; when the estate fenced his land, and converted the former camps and cultivation lands into hunting grounds and sugar cane fields. They were no longer granted a place to cultivate their gardens and this in turn had a considerable impact on the livelihood of the villagers and their subsistence pattern.

At that period, very few children could go to schools. In general it was mostly the boys who went to school and the latter attended the lower classes only at the Case Noyale primary school before they dropped out of school early.

The village houses were made out of straw, aloe and cow-dung until the years 1960s. There were no electricity; they would light petrol lamps. In order to fetch water, they had to go to the village’s public fountain.

In La Gaulette, there is a kalimaye behind the actual Morcellement La Flèche. The kalimay of Coteau Raffin has been recently relocated (2008) because it was found on the estate land which planned to develop an IRS project. The original location of this kalimay found at the foot of a large banyan tree, is still considered, by the people of that region, as sacred and important.
The La Gaulette Marathi Alandi Mandir, was built in 1965, under the presidency of Isnoo Govinda. This land was given by the Bel Ombre Sugar Estate. Before the existence of this Marathi temple in La Gaulette, the villagers used to go to the Cascavelle Mandir.

![Figure 9: Kalimay of La Gaulette](image1)

![Figure 10: Former kalimay of Coteau Raffin](image2)

![Figure 11: Kalimaye of Coteau Raffin](image3)

![Figure 12: Mandir of La Gaulette](image4)

2.2.1.12. Le Morne

We have collected some testimonies from the Marathis who were born or who actually live in Le Morne. According to these testimonies, Marathi settlement occurred over a long phase in the area. In fact our earliest testimonies certify that the first settlement took place in L'Embrasure in the years 1900-1910 and the more recent ones happened in the 1950s.

The Cambier property at Le Morne was very active - employing most of the inhabitants living in the various surrounding camps and villages, it carried out a multitude of economic activities such as charcoal making, wood cutting, cotton and coconut plantations, salt pans and animal rearing. The goods produced were sent to Port Louis to be sold. Land for vegetable cultivation that could be leased was abundant and attractive. It seems that the Marathis who settled at Le Morne in the years 1930-1940 came primarily to find work in Mr. Cambier’s estate and to cultivate gardens where they grew maize, beans and onions.
We have identified various places which were settled at different eras in Le Morne:

- **Trou Chenille**: known as being the very first village of Le Morne, Trou Chenille was a village largely occupied by the Creoles. It was located on the foot of Le Morne Mountain on the lands of Mr. Cambier. In 1945, the people of Trou Chenille have been moved since Mr. Cambier wanted to convert his property into a hunting ground.

- **L'Embrasure**: it seems that before 1945, there were already some Creoles and Marathis who were living together at L'Embrasure, in the area of the junction of the Royal Road with the road leading to Trou Chenille on the lands of Mr. Cambier. As from 1945 the number of residents in L'Embrasure increased drastically since the inhabitants of Trou Chenille have been moved away. In 1933, Mr. Cambier built the church Stella Maris at L'Embrasure which was destroyed by the cyclone Gervaise in 1975. There was also a fountain in the area, the river known as Rivière L'Embrasure and a maize thresher belonging to Mr. Cambier. The maize thresher attracted many growers of maize of the area. There were also many gardens in L'Embrasure. Some were kept by inhabitants of L'Embrasure and others by the inhabitants of the area, such as from Choisy, who were then sleeping on their plantations occasionally during the harvest, in sheds (langar). There was also a shop called “boutik Edward”. People of the doorway were evicted in 1960, following cyclone Carol. Mr. Cambier wanted to convert these lands into cane fields. Most people in the doorway were relocated to the present village of Le Morne on government land, while others have gone to Coteau Raffin and La Gaulette.

- **Le Morne Village**: Le Morne village started developing in the 1960s, when the inhabitants of L'Embrasure, then living on the lands of Mr. Cambier, have been displaced following the cyclone Carol, to live on state land. The village has therefore developed around a housing estate where the government had built “longer” (simple
long shelters made of corrugated iron sheets). At that time the villagers had vegetable
gardens as well as animals which were found at the back of the village near the foot of
the mountain “Cabri”. That was until Mr. Desvaux de Marigny become the new owner
of the land in 1986 (Mr. Cambier sold the land stretching from La Prairie to Coteau
Raffin to the Company Le Petit Morne Ltd owned by Mr. Desvaux de Marigny. As a
result of the marriage between the two families, Miss Desvaux to Mr. Levieux, the
property passed into the Levieux family) and the land was then used for cane
cultivation.

- **Dilo Pouri**: this living area existed well before the development of Le Morne village in
1960. It seems that some Marathis already used to live in Dilo Pouri before 1945. In the
beginning only one family was living there and in 1945 other members of the extended
family from Baie Du Cap joined in Dilo Pouri to cultivate the gardens. They had some 7
to 8 acres of lands on which they cultivated vegetables. The children of this family still
live in this place which is known today as “Kan Indien”. It was only after 1960 that this
area of Le Morne village has been developed.

- **Kan laport rouz**: the place known as “Laport rouz” (the red door) is found near the
intersection leading to the hotels. This area was inhabited by small farmers of Marathi
origin and some Marathis from La Gaulette came to work there every day as they had
gardens in this area.

There were other camps and places of settlement further North of Le Morne Mountain. These were
mainly inhabited by the Creoles. For example the Macaque family was living in the area known as
Macaque and the Labonte family used to live near the lime factory.

2.2.1.13. Chamarel

Testimonies attest that there were many Marathis living in Chamarel. Some were landowners. However, we did not meet any informants who could inform us of having a family member in this
village. Therefore, it is difficult to confirm. The only nickname mentioned is that of Ton Balseth, a
Marathi resident of Chamarel.

2.2.1.14. Moka

Further on the top of La Gaulette, on the Mountain “Laport” lies Moka. We did not gather any
concrete and specific testimonies on Marathi families living there.

This camp was found on lands belonging to the Staub family. Staub estate extended from Macondé
to Moka, including La Prairie, Staub, Mont sur Mont and Bois Noury. D’Hotman family is
descendants of the Staub family. They are landowners in this area since 1781. This property is
known as Baie du Cap estate and was administered since 1944 by Mr. Roland Desvaux, the husband
of Miss D’Hotman and their son, Mr. Jean Roland Desvaux.

According to testimonies, there was a shop in Moka. The villagers worked for the property mainly
in the sugar cane fields and as charcoal makers. They also had maize plantations. Although the
village no more exists, the land is currently owned by Emanuel D’Hotman on which he has built his
house. A *kalimay* can still be found there which attests that there were Hindu dwellers in the area
in the past.
2.2.1.1. Mont sur Mont

Figure 148: Map of Staub estate

Source: B9/A4.1/20B, Medical and Health Department, District of Black River, Malaria Eradication Scheme, 1950.
Mont sur Mont was a camp found on the property of Staub. We didn’t have accurate testimonies on Marathi families living there in the past. It seems it was mostly inhabited by Creole families. However, the remains of a kalimay in the area attest that there were people of Hindu origin living there.

2.2.1.2. Bois Noury

Bois Noury consisted of two camps on the land owned by the Staub family. It was found on the wooded mountain in a place accessible only by a small pedestrian road (pieton) from the “pon radie” (bridge) of Macondé.

One of these camps consisted of the Marathis and the other ones of Creoles. These camps were differentiated between ‘lower’ and ‘upper’ Bois Noury. Upper camp was older and more populous; it is in that camp that many Marathis were living. Among our informants, we had some families who were either born or have actually lived in Bois Noury between 1920-1940. It is also in upper Bois Noury that the shop of Mr. Théodore could be found. Lower Bois Noury was only settled by two or three houses, mainly Creole families. There was a source in that area. Some 15 to 20 minutes walking separated the two camps. Testimonies on the area were sometimes a bit confusing upper Bois Noury with Mont sur Mont and lower Bois Noury with Staub.

The inhabitants of Bois Noury used to work for the Staub property in the sugar cane fields and as charcoal makers. There was also a lime fabric in the area belonging to Staub property. But it seems they used to cultivate their own gardens as main activity (christophine, pineapple, maize, bananas, potatoes, cassava, onions which they were selling to the merchant) and they were also breeding animals (cows, goats, oxen which they were selling to the butcher when the latter would come to the camp.) They also used to have milk from their cows and made ghee out of it. They used to barter fruits and vegetables with their neighbours. They also fished for shrimps (kamaron) in the river. A bread seller would usually come to the village and fishermen from Le Morne would usually come to sell their fishes.

They lived in straw houses glassed with cow-dung. Some informants also described their houses as having walls made of rocks and straw roof. Since there was no electricity, they had to use the petrol lamps “lalamp petrol”. They fetched water further down the hill in Staub and to the “radie” and they also went there to wash their clothes.

Most of the children were not educated because of the long distance which separated their houses from the school. They had to walk some 1h30 to Baie du Cap. They often had to start working at the age of twelve. There was a kalimay in Bois Noury. Informants also attested there was a kind of baïtka28 in Bois Noury where elderly people used to teach Marathi language to youth generation.

Some informants told that in order to communicate events and news between Bois Noury and Choisy, this was being done by climbing on a specific rock known as “ros koze” in the lower camp and screaming so that the message can be passed on from one village to another; for example in case a religious ceremony or announcement of a funeral.

These camps were moved after the passage of cyclone Carol in 1960. Most of the villagers had then moved to Baie du Cap where they got some lands from the government. Some had also settled in La Gaulette and Choisy. However some certifies that in the 1950s there was a change in

---

28 Baïtka: informal school where spirituality, language and culture are taught.
ownership of the property (Staub passed on the ownership to Desvaux (married to Miss D’Hotman)), who then had moved the inhabitants from Bois Noury to extend the sugar cane field. In addition, our informants testify that they gradually left the place on their own because of the isolation they faced, the remoteness of the camp, the lack of development, job opportunities and the growing need to educate their children.

2.2.1.3. Staub

This place also belonged to the Staub property. Based on the testimonies, two camps could be found there: one consisted of the Marathi only and the other one of the Creole community only. Following the cyclone Carol in 1960 the inhabitants of these camps were evicted and went to Baie du Cap. Testimonies were sometimes confusing Staub and Bois Noury.

2.2.1.4. Bel Air

According to the testimonies, it was found out that this land belonged to Mr. de Chalain and that it was later sold to D’Hotman. Only some labourers from Choisy used to come to cultivate gardens there and as such this land was not inhabited. Testimonies attested that in the past there was no bridge in Macondé, near Bel Air. People used to cross the river on a small embarkation (pirog).
2.2.2. Savanne District

We have identified various places related to Marathi settlement in the district of Savanne such as Chamouny, Cascade Sabani (Mme Belle), Choisy, Baie du Cap, Chemin Grenier, Britannia, Château Bénarès, Rivière des Anguilles or Bois Chéri.

![Map of Savanne District](image)

Figure 159: Marathi settlement in Savanne District

2.2.2.1. Chamouny / Cascade Sabani (Mme Belle)

The village of Chamouny was inhabited by many Marathis according to testimonies collected. Some informants we met were born in Chamouny between 1920 and 1940. Their parents were also born in this place (between 1895 and 1915). It was their grandparents who came from India to settle in Chamouny at the end of the 19th century.

According to Rouillard (1964-1979), in 1833, there was a sugar industry on the estate of *Deux Frères* who was named Chamouny in 1850. That time the property was in a very bad state and was renewed during the years 1856-1858. Later, in 1940 the estate was taken over by St Felix.

This village was woody and the Marathis who lived there worked mainly in sugar cane plantations for the St Felix property. They also had gardens in which they worked with their children; they would sell their vegetables and raise a few animals. Very few children were in school. There was a Chinese shop in the village where they could buy their groceries. They were living in houses made of straw and after the cyclone Carol they constructed their houses with concrete. They received electricity at certain times of the day only.

Some informants indicated that the Rama family, who owned Eau Bleue Rama, also had some lands and a mill in Chamouny.

There was a *baïtka* in the village, where elderly people used to educate the younger generations by preaching them scriptures in the Marathi books and by emphasizing on the preservation of the
Marathi culture. Later on the Chamouny Marathi Vishwanath Mandir was built in the village (registered in 1964). It has also been mentioned that there is a kalimay in Chamouny.

Cascade Sabani (Mme Belle): we could not identify clearly this location, we have only one testimony, that from Narain Tooccaram born in this place in 1908. The Marathis who were living there then had to move to Chamouny and Chemin Grenier.

2.2.2.2. Choisy

According to some informants many Marathis used to live in this place which was located on the land belonging to Staub. They were mainly working in sugar cane industry for the estate and they used to grow some fruits and vegetables such as bananas, maize or beans, they reared animals and had to cut grass to feed them, they were also selling some milk. We have many testimonials from people stating that some Marathis from Choisy used to come to do gardening at L’Embrasure and at Bel Air. As previously mentioned, the people from Choisy communicated with those in Bois Noury, by screaming from one hill to another. After cyclone Carol the straw houses of Choisy were destroyed and main part of the inhabitants left this camp to go to Baie du Cap and other villages of the area.

2.2.2.3. Baie du Cap

Although we have encountered some informants born in Baie du Cap in the years 1920-1930, it seems that this village has been basically developed only when the inhabitants from the camps on the Staub property (Choisy, Bois Noury, Mont sur Mont, Staub) have been removed from estate lands and settled on the government land after the passage of cyclone Carol in the 1960s. The testimonies confirmed that many Marathis settled that period into this village.

Baie du Cap was an important village in this region. It was less isolated and moreover there was a school. There was also a shop belonging to Mr. Pierre. The villagers would usually buy their groceries there as well as people of the surrounding areas. There is a Marathi temple in Baie Du Cap, known as the Marathi Kaylashnath Mandir.

Dan koko: An area of Baie du Cap known as “Dan koko” seems to have been particularly populated by the Marathis. Strong evidence is the existence of a kalimay in this place.

![Figure 20: Kalimay of Dan Koko](image_url)
2.2.2.4. Chemin Grenier

We only met one informant whose mother was born there in the 1900s. Another informant from the Gunnoo family migrated to Chemin Grenier from Le Val in his childhood with his parents (in the 1940s). According to these testimonies Marathis of Chemin Grenier were working for St Félix estate and Bel Ombre estate mainly. Moreover they were rearing animals. Some had a cart to transport vegetables to be sold. Informants spoke also of some rice and maize plantations grown on plots of lands of a Marathi owner, but no more information were gathered on the subject. Very few children went school in Chemin Grenier.

2.2.2.5. Britannia

Few data have been collected on Marathi settlement in this village. We only met one informant whose mother was born there in 1913.

2.2.2.6. Château Bénarès

We have very little data on this site as well. We can only certify that the Babboo family, a Marathi family from Le Val, came to live at Chateau Bénarès in the years 1935s.

2.2.2.7. Rivière des Anguilles

We do not have any further details on this village. It has only been cited as a village where some Marathis used to live.

2.2.2.8. Bois Chéri

We do not have many data on this village. We only met one informant whose husband was living there. According to her few Marathis were living there.
2.2.3. Grand Port District

In the Grand Port district, the main places which our informants made reference to are: St Hubert, Le Val, Eau Bleue (Rama), Cluny, Riche en eau, New Grove, La Rosa, L’Escalier, La Foret, Ferney, Nouvelle France and Virginia.

Figure 21: Marathi settlement in Grand Port District

2.2.3.1. St Hubert

We did not gather details on this village. It has only been cited as a village where the Marathis used to live. Some came from Le Val in 1945 as they received some plots of land from the estate to settle and gardening. It was mentioned that there was a shop and a school in the village. There is also Mandir known as the St Hubert Dash Avatar Mandir.

2.2.3.2. Le Val

Le Val seems to be a sugar estate on which the Marathis used to stay as from the earliest days. According to our estimations, based on the oral data collected, it seems that this place evokes the oldest testimonies from our informants. In fact, it seems that the great-grandparents of our informants came from India and settled in Le Val as early as the 1850s-1860s. It seems that many Marathis settled in this sugar estate. They worked in the sugar cane industry for the estate owned by Rama family. Moreover the estate had some maize cultures and other vegetables such as cassava and violet (a kind of taro). Informants differentiated two camps in the area: Kan Bonbay, near the mill, on the mountain, also called Kan Mouslaya. And a bit farther, behind the mill, a Creole camp called Kan Kreol. Inhabitants of Le Val had to go to the shop and the school of St Hubert. There was a baitka in Le Val; classes were taught to 101 pupils by an informant’s father,
Some inhabitants of Le Val left the area after the cyclone of 1945 to settle in St Hubert, Riche en Eau, Cluny, Vacoas, etc.

According to Rouillard (1964-1979), the sugar estate of Le Val was built in 1875. It was under the ownership of Rama family since 1930 when they bought it from Mr. Dalais and closed in 1943. Before 1944 Eau Bleue estate was also part of Le Val property. It was taken in 1960 by Rose Belle.

2.2.3.3. Eau Bleue Rama

According to Rouillard (1964-1979), the mill of Eau Bleue was built in 1851 and it closed in 1899. Lands were then bought by Valonna (Le Val estate) and until 1944 Eau Bleue estate was part of Le Val estate. It was taken then by Rose Belle in 1950.

The informants who mentioned this property seem to have lived in Eau Bleu in the years 1910. That time this estate belonged to a Marathi family: the Rama family. The Marathis who were working for the estate lived on the property in camps in straw houses.

It seems that this Marathi family also owned lands in Le Val, Chamouny and Beau Bassin. It has often been stated that this family was the first Marathi family owning an estate. Moreover, according to some informants they were the first Indo-Mauritians owners.

2.2.3.4. Cluny

According to Rouillard (1964-1979), the sugar mill of Cluny was built in 1856 and closed in 1886. A part of the lands was then sold to Valonna (Le Val) and later bought by Eau Bleue Ltd in 1944. It was then taken by Rose Belle estate in 1950.

The village of Cluny was mentioned only by one informant. The latter was born in this place in 1937. According to this informant, her father, Goind Sonoo, had bought a land in that village and he had built a school as well as a baïtka to help spreading and promoting the Marathi culture. This baïtka was then transformed into a Mandir registered in 1965 which is today known as the Cluny Shri Krishna Mandir.

2.2.3.5. Riche en Eau

It has been mentioned that there were Marathi labourers on this sugar estate. However we do not have any further data on this place.

2.2.3.6. New Grove (La Rosa)

The mill of La Rosa was built in 1852. It was bought in 1882 by the Central Sugar Estates Co Ltd and the mill closed in 1885 to concentrate all the production in Rose Belle’s mill (Rouillard 1964-1979). The estate of La Rosa in New Grove was mentioned by informants as a sugar estate where the Marathis came to work in the 1860s. Mr. Gungah was also cited by the informants. This man bought La Rosa section from the Mauritian Agricultural & industrial Company in 1920, who was in charge of Rose Belle industry (Rouillard 1964-1979). According to our informants both the men and the women were labourers, or were working in the tea plantations at Baie du Cap and Choisy.

The Marathis living on the estate had their own gardens and sold their vegetables after having cultivated them. They raised a few animals: cows and chickens. They used to fetch water from the village fountain and they benefitted of electricity power only during some specific hours.
In this village, there was a baîtka which was created by Mr. Mahadoo in his own yard to help transmitting the Marathi language and perpetuating the rituals.

2.2.3.7. L’Escalier / La Foret

La Foret was occupied by labourers working on the sugar estate. We have only met an informant whose father and himself were born there in 1919 and 1944 respectively. Moreover his grandfather was also born at la Foret in the year 1894. In the late 1940s, it seems that everybody left La Foret for L’Escalier.

2.2.3.8. Ferney

We did not gather details on this village. We only met one informant who was born in Ferney in 1939. According to him some Marathis were living there, they were working on the estate.

2.2.3.9. Nouvelle France

Little information was gathered on this village. We only met one informant born in Nouvelle France in 1926, whose father also was born there in the 1900s. According to that informant only few Marathis were living in Nouvelle France. There was more Indo-Mauritian of other ethnic groups. Consequently this Marathi family used to speak mainly Bhojpuri. They were mainly working in tea plantations for the estate.

2.2.3.10. Virginia

We have only one testimony regarding this estate. The grandfather of one informant came from India in the 1880s-1890s to settle in Virginia as a sirdar (a kind of foreman on sugar cane fields) before moving to La Foret (before 1894).
2.2.4. Plaines Wilhems District

In the Plaines Wilhems district, the following places can be cited with regards to Marathi settlement: Sept Cascades, Henrietta (Bord Cascade), Camp Roches, Camp Mapou, Glen Park, Vacoas (Dharmic Sabha), La Réunion, Quinze Cantons, La Marie, Paillote and Beau Bassin.

![Map of Marathi settlement in Plaines Wilhems District]

Figure 162: Marathi settlement in Plaines Wilhems District

2.2.4.1. Sept Cascades

The Sept Cascades region is very popular among the Marathis. In fact, a high concentration of Marathis was living there until the 1950s. Although it was not the oldest place of settlement, this place is still linked to the Marathi settlement and till now it is of great importance in the eyes of the Marathis.

Based on the oral data, it seems that Sept Cascades began to be inhabited in the years 1900-1920. According to our informants, the first Marathi who settled in Sept Cascades must be Ittoo Bappoo who came from the Gorges in the 1900s. 29 As according to written data, one of the sons of Ittoo

---

29 See appendix 5 - Family tree of Ittoo Bappoo, p.134.
Bappoo, Kistna Bappoo was born in 1894 in Case Noyale. The Marathis who settled in Sept Cascades came mainly from the Gorges, Case Noyale, Chamarel, Casinat, Magenta, Yemen amongst others. The lands of Sept Cascades were state lands. Later on, these lands were leased to the government by the GES (General Electric Society), a company producing electricity that established itself in the region in 1903. Then, in the year of the independence (1968), the CEB (Central Electricity Board) took over the GES.

According to some informants, the Marathis settled there to plant vegetables and most probably to lead an independent life in an isolated place, far from the large sugar estates and a place where water and vegetation were in abundance. However other informants attested that the Marathis settled in Sept Cascade to work for the GES.

With the advent of the GES Company in the area followed by that of the CEB, many jobs were offered to the residents of Sept Cascades. For example, Mr. Bhiwajee began working for the GES at the age of 17 years (in 1943) and Mr. Cooccaram at the age of 12 years (in 1942). Other residents of Sept Cascades also worked for La Réunion sugar estate which is located not far from there. However, it seems that all the families in Sept Cascades had their own vegetable gardens and used to sell their fruits and vegetable in the market at Vacoas. They also sold the milk they produced from their small livestock. The land was very fertile; they planted saffron, bananas, mangoes, peaches, guavas, papayas, passion fruits, onions, maize, potatoes, cassava, jambolan, plums, ker de bef, zat, karanbol amongst others. They also used to plant medicinal plants.

They used to live in houses made of straw. The structure of the house was made with poles in bwa de rond and covered with vetiver (Chrysopogon zizanioides) and vacoas leaves. To buy their groceries, they used to go to the store further up in Henrietta, found on the top of the mountain, either to Maurice, which was a Chinese shop or to the Ducas shop. They also fished for the kamaron and eels in the rivers. They used the water from the source for drinking purposes and went to the river to wash clothes.

To go to school, they had to go to Glen Park. However, not all the children went to school. But nevertheless some of them had the opportunity to learn the basics of reading and writing due to Mr. Govind, who used to come to Sept Cascades to cut bananas which he then sold in Vacoas and who taught the basics to the young people of the region.

It was noted that the Marathis who lived in Sept Cascades were very active in the preservation of culture and religion.

According to our informants, there were some 25 to 50 houses in Sept Cascades between 1938 and 1940, the period at which there was the highest number of people living there. In 1945, there were some 10 to 12 houses, according to the testimonies. These people then left this place to primarily go to Henrietta, Bord Cascade, Glen Park, Camp Mapou, Vacoas, Palma and Melrose. According to our informants they had all left the premises during the same period since they find themselves too far away, too isolated and most importantly the growing need to educate children and to find a job. Moreover following the major damage caused by the cyclones to their homes, they all started moving away. This migration movement began in the 1930s after the cyclone of 1931 which had caused severe damage, and again after the cyclone of 1945. Jeewoo Govind was one of the last to leave the place along with Dasruth Coocaram in 1953. Some informants also mentioned that they left Sept Cascades as the area has to be transformed in a hunting ground.
We had the opportunity to go on a site visit in Sept Cascades with three informants who were themselves born there or grew up in this place: Devejee Essoo (born in 1936), Anunta Shankur Bhiwajee (born in 1926) and Dasruth Coocaram (born in 1931). This allowed us to have a general picture of the place and to identify the places where they used to live as well as locating some specific sites which were symbolic for them, places of memory, and the remains of the settlement. Based on these data we will try to reconstruct a description of this location.

When we arrive to Sept Cascades from Tamarin, we pass through Casinat, Magenta before reaching Sept Cascades. The site is currently under the control of the CEB for electricity production, all vehicles that enter the site are then monitored and controlled and for this reason we were accompanied by an officer of the CEB.

We come to a place where the villa of Mr. Dechalain was found. Further away, a house could be seen and this was occupied by the keeper. It was there that Mr. Bhiwajee worked. Some medicinal plants he used to drink are still there. We are here on the lands of Médine.

![Figure 173: Mr. Shankar Bhiwajee in front of the house of the keeper](image)

We reach the first day of the CEB, which is located on a crown land. At this place there used to be some vegetable gardens in the past according to our informants. We then reach a second dam. As from this place we now enter, what our informants call, the Sept Cascades.
Close by, when we enter into the woods, at the back of the kiosk found beside the river, there lies the kalimay. This was installed by Ittoo Bappoo well before 1930 according to our informants. There is a coconut tree which attracts our eyes. According to Mr. Bhiwajee this has been planted by his uncle, Siwa Arjoon. The latter brought a coconut to the kalimaye to pray, but he found that the coconut was sprouted and therefore not been able to use it for prayer purposes; he then planted the coconut in the 1960s. It was also there near the second dam where Marathi settlers of the area used to immerse the Lord Ganesh idol for the Ganesh Chaturthi festival.
When we arrive on the second dam, the Simonet Mountain can be seen. This is where Mr. Simonet, a French man, used to live. On the hill nearby, a waterfall, "Rwiso Dimans" (Sunday stream) can be found; this is where the Marathis used to go to catch kamaron on Sundays.

![Figure 206: Rwiso dimans](image1)

![Figure 217: Simonet Mountain](image2)

We reach a step further to the CEB. This place is a real artefact of the work accomplished by the Marathis who have stayed in this place and worked for the factory. In fact, each pipe was a reminder to our informants when they first installed them and build the bridges in the years 1953-1960.

In front of the factory, a grapefruit tree can be found. This was planted by Mr. Coocaram in the 1960s. Further, some other fruit trees could be seen and these were also planted by our informants.
At the back of the factory, on a hill, was the place where the Marathis used to live in Sept Cascades. Low stone-walls are still visible. These have been built by the dwellers to level the land for the plantations and the houses.

According to our informants, panchayat used to be organised up on the hill, more precisely in the house of Ittoo Bappoo. On the hill there was also a rock on which Mr. Govind has carved his name, but we did not go to this place during the site visit.
Some informants spoke of a big rock surrounding a kind of cave where inhabitants of Sept Cascades used to shelter during cyclones. This place was also known as being the first place where Ittoo Bappoo, first settler of the area, used to live before building his house.

### 2.2.4.2. Henrietta / Bord Cascade

It seems that the Marathis inhabitants of Henrietta dates back to the migration of the Marathis leaving in Sept Cascades who settled there in the years 1940-1950 as well as from other places in the same period. However, we have an informant whose father-in-law was born in Henrietta in the year 1911s. Another one came to settle in Bord Cascade after her wedding in 1938.

Lands of Henrietta were owned by La Réunion sugar estate in the past. Actually they own to Médine.

There is a *Mandir* in Henrietta known as the Maratha Mandir Henrietta built in 1972.

**Camp Roches:** this place was also mentioned for Marathi settlement but we do not have much data on this camp.

**Camp Mapou:** according to our informants, this camp was found in the sugar cane fields. Some Marathis living Sept Cascades have settled at Camp Mapou in the 1940s-1950s to work in the sugar cane industry. However we also have an informant whose mother was born in Camp Mapou in the 1900s.

### 2.2.4.3. Glen Park

We did not gather many details on this village. It has only been mentioned as a place where the Marathis lived. There is still a vast majority of Marathis who live there. For instance, Mr. Coocaram who grew up in Sept Cascades now lives in Glen Park.

Inhabitants of Sept Cascades used to come in Glen Park by a small path (*pieton*) to go to school and to the shop known as Longman.

There are presently two temples there: the Marathi Cultural Circle Bhawani Mandir and the GlenPark Vighneshwar Mandir

### 2.2.4.4. Vacoas (Dharma Sabha) / La Réunion

It seems that the La Réunion sugar estate hired many Marathis labourers in the 1880s. We hold a testimony from one of our informants who mentioned that his great-grandfather came from India to work in La Réunion sugar estate. The Marathis living in the vicinity mainly worked for that sugar estate.

Marathis inhabitants of La Réunion were living in a camp known as *Kan Bombay*. They used to work for the mill of La Réunion sugar estate. The mill was destroyed some 10 to 15 years ago. It was at the actual emplacement of the supermarket Winners of Vacoas. They were also rearing some cows and some were working in tea plantations in Curepipe. According to informants Mr. Langourois sold lands of the camps and Marathis bought it.

This place is important because this is where the second Marathi *mandir* was built on the island in 1929, known as the *Shri Marathi Dharmic Sabha*. This place was an important gathering place for the Marathis; in particular it helped in preserving the Marathi culture and to stand as a defence to
the community. An important figure in this struggle link to this place is the Pandit Sahadeo. According to some informants, when they were children they helped in the building of the Mandir after school hours. It was then made of lime, rocks and corrugated iron sheets.

2.2.4.5. Quinze Cantons

We did not gather much information on this place. However we met an informant who was born there in 1941 and whose father was born as well in Quinze Cantons in 1912.

2.2.4.6. La Marie

We did not gather much information on this place. However we met an informant whose mother was born in La Marie in the years 1906s.

2.2.4.7. Paillote

We have only one testimony from an informant on this place. She was born in Paillote in 1929.

According to her testimonial, her family used to work in Trianon sugar estate. They used to go in the estate’s train to reach the different cane fields to work, for instance at Highlands, Côte d’Or and Ebène. They then brought the sugar cane to the actual market of Quatre Bornes to weight them at the scale. Besides working in the sugar cane plantations, they also reared animals, cut grasses to feed them and sold their milk to earn a living.

2.2.4.8. Beau Bassin

We have met several informants from Beau Bassin. Some of them were born there in the 1930s. Others have migrated to Beau Bassin in the 1960s.

It seems there was no estate in the area. Marathis men were mainly working in sugar cane fields of Mr. Levieux or Mr. Dookun, but some had worked in other domains such as tailor. Women were mainly cutting grass to feed animals they reared in Cascade, such as cows and goat, they were selling the milk, they used to look for maize in Chebel, looked for fire wood. Children used to go to school. There was running water.

There is a temple in Beau Bassin known as Vinayak Mandir Beau Bassin. According to our informants there were many Marathis living in the area. Those used to live together with other families of various ethnic communities in some long straw houses called langar.
2.2.5. Port Louis District

In the district of Port Louis, we have revealed two places: Vallée des Prêtres and Port Louis.

![Map of Port Louis and Vallée des Prêtres](image)

Figure 31: Marathi settlement in Port Louis District

2.2.5.1. Vallée des Prêtres

We have only one testimonial on this region. Our informant was born at Vallée des Prêtres in 1929. His mother was born there as well in 1904 and his grandfather, from the maternal side, came from India to settle in Vallée des Prêtres in the 1900s. However we do not have any additional data on this area.

2.2.5.2. Port Louis

It has been mentioned in our interviews that there were also some Marathis who lived in Port Louis and who had not been brought to work on the sugar estates. They were staying in the street known as Maratha Street, as there were many Marathis living there. And they used to work in the port. However we could not get more information on this subject.
2.2.6. Flacq District

In the Flacq district, the main Marathi settlement places mentioned were Flacq, Mont Ida, Sébastopol, Montagne Blanche, Bel Air, Rivière Sèche, Belle Rose and St Julien.

![Figure 32: Marathi settlement in Flacq District](image)

2.2.6.1. Flacq

Marathi migrations to Flacq seem to have taken place at a later stage. Marathis settlers came from Dagotière, Montagne Blanche and Le Val primarily. However, we have an informant who testified that his grandfather was from Flacq (around the 1900s).

2.2.6.2. Mont Ida

The Marathis who settled in Mont Ida worked for the Leclezio estate. We do not have any further information on this region.

2.2.6.3. Sébastopol

We did not have any details on this village. This region was only known as a place where the Marathis used to live. However we had an informant who was born in Sebastopol in 1937 and whose mother was born there as well in the 1912s.
2.2.6.4. Montagne Blanche

We do not have any details on this village. This village was only cited as a place where the Marathis used to live.

2.2.6.5. Bel Air / Rivière Sèche

We did not have any details on these villages. This region has only been cited as a place where the Marathis used to live. However we had only one informant whose mother was born there in 1915.

2.2.6.6. Belle Rose

We do not have many data on this place. We only met two informants whose spouses were born in Belle Rose at the end of the 1930s. One of these informant’s mother also was born there in the 1900s.

2.2.6.7. St Julien

We do not have many data on this place. We only met one informant whose spouse was born in St Julien in the 1926s.
2.2.7. **Moka District**

In the Moka district, we have identified regions like Alma, Dagotière, L’Espérance, Melrose, Providence and Côte d’Or where the Marathis took settlement.

![Figure 243: Marathi settlement in Moka District](image)

2.2.7.1. **Alma**

The Marathis who lived in the Leclezio estate at Alma used to work in the sugar cane plantations. They also used to rear some animals. According to our informants many Marathis were living there. There was also a **baïtka** in Alma.

We have been able to go back through some very old dates. In fact the great-grandparent of one of our informant came from India to work in the Leclezio estate in the 1880s and both his grandfather and his father were born in Alma in 1890s and 1910s respectively. Another informant’s father was born in Alma in 1882 and his grandfather came from India to settle in Alma in the years 1875s.

2.2.7.2. **Dagotière**

We did not gather much information on this village. It has only been cited as a place where the Marathis used to live. We only met one informant whose mother was born at Dagotière in 1902.

2.2.7.3. **L’Espérance**

We did not gather much information on this village. It has only been cited as a place where the Marathis used to live.
2.2.7.4. Melrose

According to some informants, there were many Marathis in this region. However we collected a few data only.

2.2.7.5. Providence

We did not gather much information on this village. We only met one informant whose wife was born in Providence in the 1940s.

2.2.7.6. Côte D’Or

We do not have more information on this place. We only met one informant whose father was born there in the 1915s and was working in the area in sugar cane plantations.
Synthesis

In this section, we identified the major settlement places and living areas of the Marathis in Mauritius. We have tried to highlight the settlement dates and the departure dates of the families in these places as well as the different waves of migration and the reasons for these migrations to take place. We were also able to illustrate a picture of the landscape of the camps and the villages by observing how the Marathis used to live there through their daily lives, their homes, their occupations and so on.

We can underline that we did not gather any information in the districts of Pamplemousses and Rivière du Rempart. It seems that Marathi settlement was mainly centred in the district of Black River.

In particular, we have highlighted some places which seem linked to the oldest Marathi settlement: Le Val (1860-1880s), La Rosa/ New Grove (1860-1880s), Alma (1880-1890s).

Next, we have underline the importance of the Gorges, for its old settlement location and also because it was not an estate but a state land where the Marathis used to lived freely and independently (1870-1890s).

Settlement at Sept Cascades can also be emphasized in this sense that although settlement took place at a later stage according to history (1900-1920s), this place is still highly anchored in the collective memories of the Marathis.

Another site of major importance is that of Cascavelle whose population was large and quite ancient (1890s). In addition, it is in this particular region that the first Marathi temple of the island was built by the end of the 19th century, a powerful and historical symbol of the Marathi identity in Mauritius.

Dates mentioned are based on oral data collected on the field. Some oral data were completed or cross checked with archival data but some disparities between these data may exist and these should be verified by other literatures subsequently.
3. IDENTIFICATION OF SYMBOLIC PLACES

We have identified various symbolic places linked to Marathi settlement that can be potential sites for the erection of a commemorative monument. These can be organised in two main categories: cultural sites and natural sites.

These symbolic sites are of great significance for Mauritian Marathi culture and identity. We made a list of the symbolic sites we recorded during fieldwork and provided reasons why we have put them on the list, in which way they are symbolic and are of main importance regarding Marathi settlement.

![Figure 34: Map of symbolic places](image-url)
3.1. Cultural sites

Cultural sites are those built by human kind either in a material or in a symbolic way. We have identified three kinds of cultural sites: settlement places, buildings and structures, and religious sites.

3.1.1. Settlement places

Settling places are of main importance in the identity definition of individuals. This is particularly true for those whose parents or grandparents were born and lived there. Those settling places are part of the heritage and identity of a person. For the migrant Marathis from India, it is no different. They tend to get accustomed with the new country, to organise their community accordingly by adapting to the new environment. Through generations, Mauritius became the native country of the Marathi people. They became rooted in this island and especially in some places they settled. Referring to Marié’s theory of identity (1993) one can conclude that despite the fact that Marathis still refer Maharashtra as their ancestral territory, they also define their identity in reference to the Mauritian territory, as they participate with all the other Mauritian migrant communities to create a Mauritian indigenousness.

In the previous chapter we identified many Marathi settling places. Some of these places disappeared and are linked to the past. However these have been kept alive in the collective memory. Heritage components identified are all the camps and settling places mentioned that have actually disappeared or still exist where the elderly Marathi people were born and where their ancestors used to live.

Informants seem to be particularly attached to their place of birth or the place where they grew up as they all mentioned these places are of symbolic significances for them. However, according to oral data gathered, some settling places have been underlined and identified:

- **Le Val**: this camp on the sugar estate is a very ancient settling place of Marathis (in the years 1860-1880s).
- **La Rosa** (New Grove): this area is also a place of early Marathi settlement (in the years 1860-1880s).
- **Gorges**: this settling place is very ancient (in the years 1870-1890s), many Marathis settled there out of sugar estates, living on their own on crown land. It must be one of the first places that the Marathis took settlement out of estates. We must note that this place stood particularly alive in the Marathi collective memory. We would specially underline the area of the Gorges called *Marmite Cassée, Macabe* or *Mare aux Joncs*, as some tangible traces have been found there by some informants (see next section on structures and materials).
- **Alma**: was also an area mentioned for its early Marathi settlement (1880-1890s).
- **Cascavelle**: this camp was very ancient one also (in the years 1890s), many Marathis settled there, and it is highly symbolic as it is the very first place where the first Marathi *Mandir* was built by the end of the 19th century.
- **Sept Cascades**: this area was settled later (1900-1920s) but it remains of high importance for the Marathis as like the Gorges, it was a settling place on crown land, out of big estates, where the Marathis could live by themselves. We must note that this place stood particularly alive in the Marathi collective memory.
Moreover we have to underline the importance of some actual places of settlement that were mentioned by our informants such as Henrietta, Vacoas and Palma. Those places have a high concentration of Marathi families actually. Indeed they are not link to an old settlement such as the places mentioned previously; those are of main importance for Marathis as these are not misused places, with a difficult access. Those are still inhabited and for that reasons are symbolic places.

3.1.2. Structures and materials

Another category of cultural place refers to structures and materials. These are quite rare as structures built before the mid of 20th century were of a temporary nature. Consequently we were not able to find out some traces of houses, as they were straw huts. The permanent structures we were able to see were the religious structures (kalimay, Mandir), but we will come back on those structures in the next section.

Some informants working in the Gorges talked about traces of old Marathi houses they found in Marmite Cassée, Mare aux Joncs or Macabe area, such as stones alignment and wood stud used for house structures. But we were not able to find these material structures. Archaeological researches are required in specific places to dig out evidences. The informants also gave testimonies of other material elements they found, such as pieces of maize crushers (jata) or pieces of marmite (cast-iron cooking pots).

However we also identified some structures still visible that are tangible traces of Marathi settlement. We identified some low stone-walls handmade, supposed to be from the Marathis who constructed them originally. These low walls were found in Sept Cascades: according to our informants it was made to level the sloping ground to build houses and cultivate crops. Other walls were found in the Gorges: in Marmite Cassée and near the kiosk of Macabe: according to our informants these low walls are kinds of small dams that were built to protect houses from flooding coming from the various rivers of the area, especially during cyclonic period.

In this category of symbolic places we can also refer to the landing place of Black River village. This place was mentioned by some informants as the landing place where the very first Marathis landed when they were transferred from Port Louis to be distributed in the area on big estates. This place was not exactly localised and data must be confirmed, but it must have, apriori, a symbolic significance for Marathis such as Aapravasi Ghat at another level.

3.1.3. Religious sites

Others symbolic places identified amongst the Marathi are religious structures and sites. We refer here to kalimay and Mandir, but also to some other religious sites.

Mandir are Hindu temple dedicated to god Shiva. There are various Mandir in Mauritius. Those temples are specially linked to Marathis religious structures. The oldest and most symbolic Marathi Mandir of Mauritius is that of Cascavelle, the association was registered in the year 1902, but the temple must have been built around 1890-1900. Other Mandirs mentioned are those of Vacoas in 1929, Chamouny in 1964, Cluny in 1965, La Gaulette in 1965 and Henrietta in 1972, to name some.

Before these Mandir were built prayers and festivals were done at people’s place and at the kalimay. However we can note that there was originally a baïtka, informal schools where spirituality, language and culture were taught and founded at the actual site of Mandir, such as in
Chamouny or Cluny. Others baitka were organized in the house of a member of the Marathi community. An example would be at Mr. Mahadoo’s place in La Rosa.

In the Gorges we identified a place called « lakaz danse ». This was a straw hut which was used by Marathis from the Gorges to learn traditional dances and to perform rituals such as Ganpathi. We can view that site as a kind of baitka.

Behind the building of religious structures, Marathis societies scattered in numerous parts of the island. These associations not only brought the Marathis together but have also helped organizing festivals, developing community sense, transmitting and safeguarding Marathi culture. The Marathi societies and structures were built, and in the long run the Marathi federation by gathering together all the Marathis societies of the island, played a pivotal role in the maintenance and promotion of Marathi culture and identity.

Kalimaye are shrines dedicated to the goddess Kali (a form of Goddess Durga – feminine aspect representing the divine force) and its seven sisters (or planets). Most villages or estates have one. It is generally located near the outer limits of the village.

“The shrine consists of an altar containing seven stones, representing the seven sisters (or planets) of popular Hinduism and some sort of marked stone or small shrine to the goddess Kali, the main goddess of the Kalimay. Around the outskirts of the Kalimay are usually several trees that often house male gods, one of which is usually the protector god of the village, known as Dhi in Bhojpuri. The Kalimay shrines were some of the first sacred places created by the indentured labourers, for the protection of themselves and families in their sugar estate villages. The cult of Kalimay is still very strong today, especially in rural Mauritius.”

Devotees make offerings and pray for protection to the mother goddess who is believed to be watching over the village. These “places are considered to house the deities of the village and are also places where some villagers practice magic.” Traditionally, Marathis did jatra at the kalimay, also called Kali Puja. This annual festival implied animal sacrifices. But it seems that gradually this practice has significantly reduced.

We identified many kalimayes. In fact, in almost all Marathi places of settlement our informants did reference to a kalimay. Some of them are: the kalimay at the Gorges, the one of Sept Cascades, in “Basin Sale”, in Coteau Raffin, in La Galette, in Bois Noury, in Dan Koko, in Cascavelle.

Those religious sites are of main importance as they were the first ones created before Mandir. They occupy an integral part in the Marathi religious identity.

The “three steps rock”: another religious site highly symbolic identified is the « three steps rock » in the Gorges. This rock is known by some of our informants as having three oval traces they believe to be the footprint of the three main Marathi deities: Madev, Parvati and Ganpathi, who came on earth in this particular place and have left their traces. Our informants knew this

---

rock and the myth around it from the mouth of their parents and grandparents. This seems to be an important symbolic place linked to religion. But it is also highly symbolic as it is part of an orally transmitted heritage through generations. This natural place is a testimony of the way Marathis migrants brought their culture and religion with them in Mauritius and settled their goddesses in this land of welcome in a rock, creating new myths, allowing them to develop a new identity in this new country, out of their mother land.

3.2. Natural sites

As mentioned before, we also identified some natural sites.

3.2.1. Planted trees

These are some fruit trees which were planted by Marathis people while they were living there. These trees were particularly identified in the Gorges. Our informants believe that they were planted by the very first Marathi settlers of the area to gather fruits to eat such as mango, litchis or longans.

These trees are underlying the particular relation existing between man and nature. These are tangible traces of settlement in Gorges as these fruit trees did not grow up naturally. They were planted by the community. We can refer precisely to two mango trees: the one identified at Marmite Cassée and the one used for the panchayat.

We can underline the fact that mango trees have high symbolism in Hinduism. According to Pourchez (2000), in India, this tree is associated to fertility, it is considered as the living place of goddesses and soul. In the same way mango trees are known in Mauritius as being inhabited by dead souls, or as gates between the two worlds: the one of the living people and the one of dead people that have to be avoided at some particular hours such as 6.00, noon or midnight by living people to avoid any ‘contact’ with dead souls that can cause some illnesses (de Salle-Essoo, 2011). Pourchez (2000) and Benoist (2006) spoke of the important role of trees and particularly of mango trees in Reunionese Hindu traditions: “l’arbre assure la liaison entre les Deux mondes, l’univers souterrain, où selon de nombreuses légendes, résident les âmes des défunts ou celles des enfants à naître, et le monde supérieur, celui de l’existence humaine. La végétation a, au centre de cette cosmogonie, un rôle de médiateur.” Mango trees are frequently present in sacred places; in Mauritius, such as near kalimay where they are considered to be the living place of the guardian of the kalimay, dhi, who needs to be evoked, prayed and to ask permission to go to the kalimay.

Particularly we identified a mango tree in the Gorges where inhabitants of the area get together to do the panchayat. This is a kind of council, a local government existing in India at the villag level. It was chaired by elderly people of the village. This place was also called « lakour » in kreol (the court). It was the place where all the villagers can meet as the village was very extended,
houses were quite far from each other, to discuss the management of the area, to solve problems, to take decisions, to resolve disputes between individuals, such as in a couple. This place seems to be a very symbolic site for the area, as it is a testimony of the social organization of the local community, tangible trace of settlement in the area, heritage of Indian culture that the Marathis migrants brought with them.

3.2.2. Cave

Another natural site which has a potential symbolic place is a big rock surrounding a kind of cave in Sept Cascades where inhabitants of Sept Cascades used to shelter during cyclones. This place was also known as being the first place where Ittoo Bappoo, first settler of the area, used to live before building his house.
4. LIFESTYLE OF THE PAST

This chapter, based mainly on oral testimonies, gives a reconstitution of the lifestyle of the years 1930 to 1950 as it was told by our informants in an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the past and present lifestyles. Differences in lifestyle existed between informants according to their place of living, urban or rural lifestyle and economic status, yet we were able to point out some generalities and common facts.

4.1. General picture of past lifestyle

In their childhood, in the years 1930 to 1950, our informants used to live mainly in villages or camps. There, they were living with their parents in a house sometimes shared with their 10 to 12 brothers and sisters and grandparents on the paternal side. They all lived in straw houses (*lakaz lapay*). These small houses were handmade with aloe sticks and straw. The walls and soil were covered with cow-dung mixed with soil (*masone*).

These houses were quite small. Children generally slept in a single room and parents in a second one. But in some families the mother used to sleep with all the daughters and the father with the boys in another bedroom. Kitchen was separated from the house. At that time they used to cook on fire wood (*foye*). They were blowing on the embers with a kind of pipe (*pukni*). When they used to eat they had to sit on the soil on a gunny bag. If there was enough space around the house, each family would own some animals that they reared such as goats, cows, oxen or chicken. In some places animals had a separated shelter (*ekiri*). Some families cultivated some crops near the house or a bit further where they grew vegetables which were of basic necessity to their daily consumption such as maize (*maye*), cassava (*maniok*), potatoes (*batat*), onions, beans, *aroui* (taro roots), *violet* (a kind of taro), etc. They also grew some fruit trees such as mango trees, passion fruits (*grenadin*), guava, banana and so as well as some medicinal plants which they used to infuse and drink such as *lila de perse*, lemongrass or *yapana* also grown near their houses or in the surrounding woods. Houses were then quite far from each others in villages or camps.

They were sleeping on a mattress made of gunny (*goni*), sewed on the four sides with coconut rope (*lakord koko*) and fill with straw or grass (*vetiver* or *chiendan*). They then covered the mattress with a piece of cloth (*pagn*) as it was scratching. People who were able to afford the kind of beds made of rope knitted were considered as the “wealthy ones” at that period. They used to bath once a week, using the same soap which they used to wash laundry (*savon bozas*). Men usually applied some alcohol which they use to drink after they shave. They had to wear the same clothes during one week and did not have any shoes.

In general women were those who were in charge of the house (*fer louvraz*). They used to clean it, wash laundry at the river or with water they brought back from the fountain. They iron laundry with an iron (*karо*) warmed on fire wood. They also had to look for wood to cook and grass to feed animals. Even at night some women had to still finish their household activities when children were sleeping; such as grass cutting, crushing maize in a *jata* (*Moulin maye*) or *masala* spices on a stone (*ros masala*) or once a week they were glassing the house with cow-dung.

At that time there was no running water; people had to take water in neighbouring rivers and ponds or at the public fountain. They took water in some containers (*touk*) and brought it back to their place by carrying it over their head. Either there was no electricity in small villages or if
A Study of Marathi Settlements in Mauritius

there was any, then it was made available at specific hours in some places. They used to light some oil lights (*lalanp petrol*) made with tinplate and a wick. A few informants spoke of some lights made with earth (*lalanp later*) called *kinkin*. For religious festivals and weddings they used to have the torches (*flanbo*) made with bamboo and a bottle of glass fill with flour. Consequently they woke up sunrise and went to sleep as soon as the sun would set.

That time there was no road infrastructures like today. People were walking a lot on barefoot, on small footpaths (*sime pieton*) crossing big estates and private properties, or on the very few larger roads mostly used by oxen carts (*sime sare*). They used to light some oil lights (*lalanp petrol*) made with tinplate and a wick. A few informants spoke of some lights made with earth (*lalanp later*) called *kinkin*. For religious festivals and weddings they used to have the torches (*flanbo*) made with bamboo and a bottle of glass fill with flour. Consequently they woke up sunrise and went to sleep as soon as the sun would set.

That time there was no road infrastructures like today. People were walking a lot on barefoot, on small footpaths (*sime pieton*) crossing big estates and private properties, or on the very few larger roads mostly used by oxen carts (*sime sare*). Many Marathis we met, in particular the men and their fathers were working for government, for public infrastructure (*rosbann*) to build roads in tarmac (*macadam*) and to repair rocky and muddy roads, filling the walls with rocks, soil, grass and water.

That time, very few children went at school amongst the Marathi people. Those who went to school studied till the small classes to the 3rd class and rarely finished the 6th class. There were more boys than girls who went to school. They went to school on barefoot, walking sometimes several kilometres. At school there was a water tap in the yard where they had to wash their feet before going into the classes. Those who went to school had to do their homework at night, having as light only the one coming from the oil lamp, sitting on the soil and making a small table with an oil box. Those who did not attend school or those who had to stop early stayed home taking care of their younger brothers and sisters and helped their parents in crops by looking for grass to feed animals or wood to cook.

Women and men were both working generally. Some were working together in their gardens. In other families women were the one in charge of the house and looking after children, crops and animals, while the men were working outside, for the nearest estate in activities such as sugar industry, wood cutters, charcoal maker, etc. In some places we also met women who were working outside their houses to work in sugar industry, aloe industry or salt pans to name some.

The working activities in sugar cane consisted in digging irrigation canals, remove straws (*depaye*), prepare manure with straw and spread it on fields, to cut cane, digging (*piose*), spread salt, plant, etc.

Some Marathis men were also working occasionally more or less once a month, in hunting grounds (*sase*) where they were beaters (*tourner*): they had to force deer to go in a clear portion of wood (*brize*) by screaming and clapping hands (*tchoule*) to allow hunters (mainly white estate owners) to hunt them. In return they would receive a small piece of meat.

The Marathi families were primarily eating the crops that they produced in their gardens and rearing activity. Some hunted for wild animals such as deers and hares in the woods. Others also used to fish in rivers and ponds, or occasionally at the sea. Crabs, *kamaron* (big fresh water shrimps), *sevret* (small fresh water shrimps), eels, etc were caught and included in the diet. Surplus of vegetables growth, the eggs collected from their chickens, cattle they reared and milk from their cows were sold to neighbouring shops or big land owners of the area. Barter was also a common practice; people used to exchange food between families. In addition they used to buy food (*rasion*) in the shop found in the village nearby once a month. Their groceries consisted mainly of rice, oil, salt and soap. They had a card (*pas*) allowing them to receive the *rasion* according to the number of members in the family.
Maize was an important base in their diet. It seems that almost every family grew maize in their garden. People used to prepare it by first threshing maize (bat may) with wooden stick. Afterwards they had to separate the seeds from the seed coat (koton may). Then they let it dry on gunny bags over the sun after which they would roast it before crushing it (vann may) in a manual mill (jata or Moulin may) to obtain a flour. Finally they had to sieve (taminn). Women used to crush maize at night and the next morning they boiled it to cook.

Life was much cheaper in the past, but salaries were also much lower. Some informants said they were paid 1Rs, 2Rs or 3 Rs a day; others spoke of salary around 40 cents (sou) or 35 cents a day. Each member of the family was giving a share of his salary to buy the rason at the shop. Many informants said they were living a hard and misery period but that there was always food in abundance, excepting during Second World War as boats were not reaching Mauritius and rice was becoming rare.

Here are some quotes of interviews gathered illustrating a typical day of a Marathi woman in the past:

According to RT « sink er gran matin mo leve. Mo al lev tou sa bann zanfan-la. Boui dite, lerla ti pe kwi manze tou lerla mem. Kuma kuma ankor aswar lev zot mo al koup lerb. Amene, atas pou lot, atas pou lot, pake ale zot kot lakaz. Lerla zot pare, zot benie zot met zot linz zot ale lekol. Lerla mo pou koumans sarie sa bann lerb se kinn reste. »

According to MC « kat er gran matin nou leve, fer nou louvraz, okip zanfan, lerla gramatin boner nou alim lalanp mem. » (...) « Kot to pou gagn letan kan tonn travay tonn vini la lav linz al masonn lakaz kraz masala ler zanfan dormi al kraz masala. »


---

13 Translation: “At five in the morning I woke up. I woke up all the childrens. I boil tea and cooked the meal at the same time. When it is still dark I go to cut some grass. I prepare some small package. When the children are ready, they are clean, they wear their clothes to go to school. Then I start bringing the remaining grass.” Interview with RT, 21 July 2011, p.11, line 250-253.
14 Translation: “At four in the morning we wake up, we clean the house, we take care of children, then early in the morning we light the lamp.” (...) “We do not have time when we come back from work we wash the clothes we glass the house we crush masala spices when children are sleeping we crush masala.” Interview with MC, 24 July 2011, p.9 line 256-257 & p.34, line 1031-1032.
15 Translation: « I woke up ... what time I used to wake up... at three in the morning. We woke up at three we cook the meal we fill in the children's bowl for those who are going school, those who do not go to school they stay back at home. It is my daughter took care of these two ones, she is the third child. She will manage all this. Preparing them to go to school. I had some animals I went to milk the cow. I milk the cow then I sweep the house then only do I start getting ready to go to work. After the work I'm cutting some grass and coming back. Children come back from school then, I prepared some tea I give her. Now I have to prepare the meal and give them. Five or five and thirty I took my sickness I took youth children I went to take some grass. I had three animals in my stable. My husband did not worked. He was unemployed. He
5. MARATHI INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

In this chapter we will present an inventory of intangible cultural heritage that was gathered by interviewing the elderly Marathis. The aim of this survey is to identify the elements which constitute the intangible heritage of Marathi but these not having been analysed in details, can be the object of another research in a second phase, as it is not the main objective of this report. As mentioned before Marathis inherited the culture of their ancestors. With contacts with others cultures and what is called anthropologically “creolisation”, some parts of this original culture tend either to transform or to disappear. Indeed it seems important to collect a maximum of data to have a better understanding of the Marathi culture and preserve this heritage as it is an integral part of the Marathi identity.

5.1. Identity

We may start this chapter by briefly coming back on the concept of identity, as we had already mentioned in the introductory part of this report, applying this concept to Marathi community on the basis of oral testimonies.

Fieldworks revealed that Marathis people in Mauritius are conscious of their Marathi identity. While a few informants didn’t know that their ancestors came from India particularly from Maharashtra and the condition in which they settled in Mauritius, the majority of our informants at least were aware of the fact that they are children of migrants who came from Maharashtra and consequently were conscious of their Marathi identity.

“Premie mo Morisien parski monn ne dan lil Moris, mo viv dan lil Moris. Moris se mo pei natal. Sa mo pei mo bizin fier mo Morisien. Me mo anset ti sorti Maharashtra akoz de sa mo ena enn gran respe pou Maratha ek so kiltir. Mo swiv so kiltir, mo swiv so langaz mo koz so langaz.”

Only a few of them went to Maharashtra to visit their ancestor’s country and it was an important approach for them.

Associated to their Marathi identity, they generally give importance to their ancestral culture that was transmitted to them through generations by their ancestors who came from India and which differentiates them from other Indian communities in Mauritius. In this way, almost all our informants expressed their attachment to this culture, rites, lifestyle, food habits, and particularly language they received in heritage. Some have shown great concern with the disappearance of some parts of the Marathi culture, such as some rites or the misuse of Marathi language amongst the actual generation.

“Bann zenn touletan mo ankouraz zot aprann zot langaz, gard zot kiltir parski sa mem to idantite sa.”

Translation: “Firstly I’m Mauritian because I was born in Mauritius island, I’m living in Mauritius island. Mauritius is my native country. It’s my country and I’m proud I’m Mauritian. But my ancestors came from Maharashtra then I have big respect for Marathis and their culture. I’m following its culture, its language, I speak this language.” Interview with DP, Mare d’Albert, 15 August 2011, p.6, line 143-146.
Consequently, some informants underlined the central role of the family in this cultural preservation, encouraging them to speak Marathi at home with their children, to perpetuate and bring back this language and practices through rituals and festivals.

The central role of all Marathi societies, mandir, Federations and cultural centres was also mentioned as having an important part in the preservation of Marathi culture, as being a kind of a guarantor, keeping alive traditions and transmitting them to the younger generations.

Another way to preserve culture is ensured by the prohibition of interethnic marriage. Indeed, many informants underlined the importance for them to marry within the Marathi community, as a way to preserve their cultural identity. Those who married with another religious or ethnic community are considered by many Marathis as no more belonging to the community.

Another recurrent subject is the misunderstanding of Marathis who convert to another religion and specially the actual phenomenon of evangelizing missions very present in Mauritius. They are no more considered as Marathis, they are out of the community. This shows in which extent Marathi identity is highly linked with religion. When they spoke of this phenomenon, informants underlined the fact that it did not exist in the past and it was even unimaginable at that time to convert or do an interethnic marriage.

5.2. Language

As mentioned previously, language is an identity marker. It is an important symbol of someone's identity. As we mentioned previously, it was pointed out that Marathi language is of high importance in Marathi cultural identity.

This language was inherited from ancestors who arrived from Maharashtra. It was pointed out that there are different Marathi dialects spoken in Mauritius, according to the area of origin of the speakers.

However it was found out that Marathi language is less spoken in the Marathi families compared to the past. Indeed, our informants highlighted the fact that their grandparents were only speaking Marathi, their parents knew a bit of kreol language but they used to speak Marathi at home as well. For our informants Marathi is their mother tongue, they used to speak Marathi at home with their parents and it was forbidden in some families to even speak kreol at home. But they used to speak kreol with the members of others communities. In the next generation, the children of our
Informants mainly speak Marathi or at least they could understand, but normally it is not the main language used at home. Our informants’ grandchildren often completely ignore the ancestral language following contacts with other communities, scholarships, or at work. In this way Marathi language tends to disappear through generations.

We met only a few informants who spoke more Bhojpuri at home and less Marathi language. Generally the latter lived in villages having a minority of Marathis, and sometimes they were the only Marathi families in the area. Interethnic contacts were then more frequent.

However it was also pointed out that during the last decades the link to Marathi language was renewed, as it was introduced at school and it is taught mandir associations. Consequently, the younger generations learn Marathi even if they do not speak it at home. Informants differentiate Marathi language usually spoken and learned Marathi, written and grammatically ruled.

It seems for elderly people it is of main importance that the young generation learns their ancestral language which contributes to the Marathi cultural identity and specifically, which differentiates them from other Mauritians of Indian origin. They deplore the fact that young Marathis disengage themselves with the Marathi culture and language and, it seems natural for them to perpetuate this language.


To preserve Marathi language informants underlined the central place of the family to ensure enculturation44 of children in Marathi language since the youngest age not only at home but also in the mandir, in societies and in cultural centres. It was also pointed out that traditional songs, such as bhajan, which were much more practiced in the past, also had an important role to play in the language transmission and it seems that these traditions must be revived in order to participate in the Marathi language preservation according to some informants.

5.3. Community life

Social organisation of Marathi community is part of its intangible cultural heritage. We will have a view of its different scales of organisation, from community to family, its rules, its mode of organization and structure.

Community organisation: Marathi community is organised in associations grouping Marathis of a same area at the level of the local associations/temples. There are some 50 registered Marathi associations in Mauritius, regrouped into the Mauritius Marathi Mandali Federation - founded in 1960 whose office bearers are elected every two years by the 50 affiliates members- and which is the sole spokesman of the Marathis vis a vis the Government. These associations and the federation have a central role in the preservation, transmission and promotion of Marathi culture. It also

---

41 Translation: « We have to be able to speak Marathi. » Interview with RR, Cascavelle, 24 July 2011, p.33, line 1012.
42 Translation: « MS : everybody in Gorges were speaking Marathi with their children ? RL : Marathi of course! MS: really? RL: if you are Marathi you have to speak Marathi. » Interview with SL, La Preneuse, 6 August 2011, p.17, line 510-513.
43 Translation: “Marathi language is our ancestral language. We have to preserve it.” Interview with SO & AR, St Hubert, 17 August 2011, p.11, line 300.
44 Enculturation: process by which a person learns the requirements of the culture by which he or she is surrounded, and acquires values and behaviours that are appropriate or necessary in that culture (Wikipedia, 2011).
helps in grouping Marathis in a common structure which is a frame to the development of the community and to reinforce it. In the past there were no official associations as such, however the structures were initially informal ones, grouping people of a same area, passing through structures such as bāīṭka, to become later formal ones.

**Village level:** one existing structure amongst Marathi community which was brought from India is the _panchayat_. As mentioned before, these are kinds of councils, grouping village members, and headed by elderly people of the village. It was organized to solve problems between family members, spouses, neighbours such as a popular tribunal, also called “lakour” (the court).

**Interethnic relationships:** amongst the Marathi community we can underline that endogamy is preferred for marriage. This means that a Marathi will marry with his/her own community members. In case of interethnic marriage, informants said the person will be rejected from Marathi community, he will no more be considered as Marathi. In some case its case will be judge in front of the _panchayat_.


With that preference for endogamy marriage the community links and the sense of belonging is increased. However, interethnic relations existed in the past, either in the working environment or in the living area.

**Interethnic relationships:** amongst the Marathi community the caste system inherited from India was perpetuated; indeed it seems to be much less existent and not so influent presently in daily life of Marathi community, while some informants said it is still existent in specific occasions. This social class hierarchical system is differentiating two main castes: _gran-nasion_ (grand nation), _ti-nasion_ (small nation). These are then divided in sub-categories called _adnaw_, which is a kind of lineage or clan, such as amongst the _ti-nasion_ there are: _mahar_, _chawli_, _jangli_, _kanak_, _chambar_, and amongst the _gran-nasion_ there are: _kadam_, _sawant_, _tambar_, _indar_, _rane_, _desai_, _janev_, _jagtap_, _jadhav_. Some informants underlined the fact that _adnaw_ have been transmitted through generations only by words of mouth, as the name written on the immigrant register were only surnames.

In the past these castes where formally differentiated, they had different activities: _ti-nasion_ were shoe makers, working with oxen’s skin, while _gran-nasion_ were working in gardens, shops etc. The _ti-nasion_ are sometimes referred to as having light skin and eyes and living in some particular places. While some informants said they were living all together, and were not linked to particular places.

A central rule, mainly in the past, is that the two castes would not share any kind of relation. Consequently the _ti-nasion_ were not allowed to come in the house of a _gran-nasion_, to touch his

---

45 _Endogamy_: the practice of marrying within a specific ethnic group (Wikipedia, 2011.)
46 _Interethnic marriage_: marriage within another ethnic group.
47 Translation: “LC: If someone married with another community in the past they fired him. MS: fired him? LC: Yes fired, nobody will speak with him, elders will judge him. Elders will judge him, why you did marry within another community, why you did it. _Fired him, do not take him into account._” Interview with LC, Black River, 24 July 2011, p.28, line 836-840.
48 _Intraethnic_: inside the ethnic group.
49 _Adnaw_: name of the lineage, the clan, corresponding to a specific cast.
water or his food. If it happened they had to throw it away. If a ti-nasion was coming at a gran-nasion’s place, he had to stay outside, they ate separately on a leaf, they received water not in a glass but in an old can and kept it after. Neither were they allowed to go to the mandir nor were they allowed to pray together. Another important factor was to marry within one’s own caste. It was not possible to marry with a ti-nasion for a gran-nasion, as the bride is considered to enter the adnaw of her husband when she marries him and leaves her own one. It was then important to keep the same level and status in order not to get down the caste. “Zot pa le gat so nasion la ou konpran la.” Some informants spoke of “pure” Marathi as a Marathi who never married with a lower caste. Consequently the adnaw is asked from the family before the request for marriage. Some said it was better not to marry rather than marrying in a lower caste. However we can underline that no one amongst our informants declared himself as being a ti-nasion.

**Family level:** traditionally the Marathi family structure was patrilineal system and patrilocal. The extended family was more important. People had many children: from 5 to 12 children. Marriages were arranged and occurred at an early age: some women interviewed married at 10 or 12 years old with men 10 or 15 years older than them. Others said they were married since they were a baby (marie dan palna). Consequently some were already widowed at the age of 18. If they married younger they had to sleep with the mother-in-law in the first couple of years. We met various cases where women were married following the death of her mother at a young age, as the father could not take care of all his numerous children alone. Others were given to a family member, such as an aunt, if the latter did not have any child of her own. As Marathi family is of patrilocal structure the married woman has to leave her family and live at her husband’s place. She is totally inserted in her husband’s family in the way that she takes his name, his caste; adopt his family’s rituals and customs. We can underline the central place of the mother-in-law. This one is described as someone very severe; the daughter-in-law has to obey her, accept her lifestyle and view of children’s education, dressing habit she imposes to her and the way she manages the house. She will not hesitate to remind the newcomer she is not in her house, she is in her husband’s house and that she does not have any right to decide or refuse orders.

**Gender relations and organisation:** in the past most women and men were working: either both were working together in their gardens and rearing animals or they were working for big estates found in the main area. The few women we met who were not working had so many domestic activities in charge that it can be considered as a non remunerated job. In this case generally women were in charge of the house, children, garden, and animals while men were working in sugar cane industry, as wood cutters, roads makers (rosbann). We can underline the Marathi community is patriarchal society and consequently women were directly linked to the status of her husband. Consequently widows were marginalized; at the death of their husband they lost their status. Some remarried but only a civil marriage as religious one is only accepted once. Others did not marry; they lived in concubinage (fer menaz) as it was poorly looked upon for women to live alone with the risk of meeting someone from another ethnic community. In the past, women had to give high respect to their husband, he is the only decision maker in the house, and the wife had to accept his decisions. But it was underlined by our informants that this situation changed with time, there is more equality between genders, women participate more in

---

50 Translation: “They didn’t want to get down their caste you understand.” Interview with DE & JE, Bord Cascade, 22 September 2011, p.21, line 643.
51 Extended family: refer to a family unit in which several generations live together within a single household (Wikipedia, 2011.)
52 Patriarchal society: social system in which the role of the male as the primary authority figure is central to social organization, and where fathers hold authority over women, children, and property (Wikipedia, 2011.)
decision makings, and indeed she has a more important status and role: she is the one who manages the house, finances, children, etc.

**Intergenerational relations:** relations of our informants with their parents or grandparents were respectful. Decisions taken by the elder generations had to be obeyed and accepted. The choice of the future spouse is a concrete example; it was the choice of the elders and the future spouse could not oppose to this decision, having been left with no choice at all.

« Ou bizin ou oblize marye. Korma bann dimounn avan ti ete. »
« Ou bizin ekout ou grandimounn. Pa kav dir non. »

5.4. **Dress**

In the past Marathis men and women wore most of the time traditional clothes. Dressing habits is also an important identity marker as it allows people to recognize their ethnic belonging and status in the community according to their clothes, jewels, etc.

According to our informants, their grandparents and/or parents wore mainly: *kashti* for women and *langouti* for men. Those are traditional Marathi clothes they brought from Maharashtra.

*Kashti* was a typically Marathi dress, it is a nine-yard-long *pagn* (sari) draped front and back and the end was wrapped around the legs. A nine meters long *kashti* is also called *nowwari* or *nawar kashti*. They also used to wear six-yard-long *pagn* which they tied at the back. Their belly was hidden and their head covered. Different ways of wearing *kashti* are specific to different castes or occupations of people wearing it. The *kashti* practice ceased in the Second World War period and the majority of our informants never wore it. The way to wear it was then forgotten. But today there is a revival of the tradition of wearing *kashti* in religious ceremonies amongst the young generations who learned to wear it in *mandir* and cultural societies.

Our informants’ generation used to wear *sari* with a *choli*, a kind of blouse with short leaves. It did not let belly and back out. However Marathi way of wearing *sari* is different from the other Indian communities as they drape it over the left shoulder and not the right one. Some wore *sari* every day, others wore it only for marriage and religious festivals and in their daily life they used to wear long dress, long skirt made of a fabric called *latwal ekri*, with a blouse (*penwar*).

Women never get out without their *horni*, a kind of veil covering their head. Elderly women still wear their *horni* as soon as they get out. Some explained they used to wear *horni* mainly before they marry.

Some of our informants used to wear *godna* (a permanent tattoo made with a needle on the forehead). This was done to young women, to recognise them as Marathi. It is thus considered as an ethnic marker of identity.

Married women also wear on their forehead a *koumikoum* (a dot made with red powder (*sinndoor*)) or *halad* (a dot made with saffron powder), or *tika* (called *tilla*, made with turmeric). Married
women also wear a _mangalsutra_ (sacred wedding chain). Other ornament is _natt_ (nose ring) and _jorvi_ (toe ring).

Marathis men we interviewed used to wear long pants and shirts. However, their grandfathers and/or fathers used to wear traditional _langouti_ (a three-meters-long piece of tissue) brought from India, with a shirt. They also used to wear a handkerchief on their head (_mouswar_). And for special occasions they wore a _tok_ (turban). _Langouti_ have almost completely disappeared. Most of the elderly Marathis interviewed never wore _langouti_ or if they did it was only for their wedding. Nowadays for special occasions they wear _kurta_ which is a more recent loose shirt.

5.5. **Houses**

The houses our informants used to live in, in the past and the techniques used to build it are parts of cultural heritage. However we can underline that the same houses were built by different communities of Mauritius, it was not only Marathi.

As mentionned previously, our informants used to live in straw houses (_lakaz lapay_) in the past. These houses were made with a structure made of wood studs in _bwa de rond_ (Erythroxylum). Walls were called _palisad_, they were made of aloe stucks. The roof was covered with straw (_vetiver_) or aloe leaves. Walls and soil were then covered with a mix of cow-dung and soil, then glazing (_masone_). Some used to cover the external walls with lime also. These houses had to be glassed once a week for the maintenance.

These straw houses were the principal living structure before the years 1960. Later the straw huts gradually gave way to houses made with corrugated iron sheets and later to concrete houses. However some informants also talked of houses having rocky walls, straw roof and glassed on the soil (especially in Bois Noury). And the wealthiest already had houses made with corrugated iron or wooden houses before 1960s.

Houses were composed of one or two rooms and sometimes with one or two godown (_godon_) used as bedrooms. Rooms were separated with walls made of aloe knitted (_palisad_). Toilets were situated a bit further from the house in a small shelter. Kitchen was also in a separated shelter made of straw.

Some houses were described as having sloping roof (_kom_). Straw was then turned to shape into a summit point.

The extended family was living in the house but some informants also described other kinds of long straw houses called _langar_, where various families were living together. _Langar_ is also the name used to tell temporary shelters built on the plantations where the gardener used to sleep a few days to work on his crops.

5.6. **Food habits**

Food habits have been inherited from previous generations and are integral part of the cultural heritage together with techniques and skills used to cook. However in the case of the migrant populations, the latter had to adapt to the new environment and use natural products they found around them. Consequently receipts gathered are Marathis receipts which were adapted, transformed and include some influences from other cultures. It was then « mauritianised ».
Let’s try to give an overview of food habits of the past:

- **Maize** was an important component of the diet. It was used different ways such as:
  - *Diri may*: a mixture of rice and maize flour called *kimat* by Marathis. This could be eaten for example with broth of *dhall* (a kind of lentils), *bred* (a kind of edible amaranths), some curry (*kari*).
  - *Satwa*: a ball made with maize flour and eaten with tea.
  - *Ora or makay: faratha* made with maize flour.
  - Boiled maize.
  - *Pudinn may*: pudding made with maize.

- **Rice** was also an important ingredient, while it was not available in high quantity during the Second World War, it was bought rationally by can (*lamok*).
  - Rice was prepared alone, put in tea (*dite pir*) in the morning, or with soured milk.
  - Rice mixed with maize flour (*diri maye*).
  - Rice was sometimes crushed in the maize mill (*jata*), boiled, then they made a ball with it and put in a kind of mould, and mashed to make some vermicelli. These were then put in ghee (*manteg*).

- **Ghee** (*manteg*) was made with boiled cow milk. The cream formed on the surface of the milk is put in a pan, cooked and then strained. The remaining cream which sticks to the pan is scratched and mixed with sugar. It is called *kokorni*. Children liked it.

- **Bhakri** were also often prepared. These are originally a kind of pancakes (like *farata*) made of corn flour and cooked directly on the embers or in the hand on the fire. However some could also be made with potatoes (*batat*) which was boiled, crushed and mixed with flour. Or with maize flour (*ora* or *makay*). With *bhakri* they used to eat *bersann*: a dish made of *dhall* (a kind of lentils).

- Of course the main aliments of the diet were the vegetables and fruits grown in the gardens. They were prepared in different ways:
  - *Masala* preparations or curry (*kari*) of okra (*lalo*), eggplant, maize, cassava, papaya, mango, etc. For example mangoes were cooked in *bred sonz* leaves (a kind of taro leaves). When it is boiling they add *masala* spices.
  - Boiled banana, cassava, maize, *violet* (a kind of taro), jack fruit (*zak*) etc. For example boiled green bananas, were than peeled and eaten with the chutney made from tomatoes (*satini pomdamour*).
  - Broth made with *bred* (a kind of taro leaves), etc.
  - *Rougay pomdamour* (a kind of sauce prepared with tomatoes).
Cassava pancakes.

Warya: special cakes made with sonz leaves (a kind of taro leaves) and dhall (a kind of lentils).

Other vegetables usually prepared were: breadfruit (friyapin) or green beans.

A variety of beans were also prepared, such as red lentils, black lentils, dhall ti pwa, dhall bravat, dhall gro pwa, etc. They prepared many dishes with beans such as: katkat: fried dhall with spices.

In accompaniment they also prepared some chatini tomatoes (satini pomdamour), chatini coconut (satini koko), chatini coriander (satini kotomili).

Meat was rare. It was only eaten once a year when a chicken or goat was sacrificed for jatra or kandi festivals for example. Occasionally they used to eat deer meat when the men used to work on the hunting ground.

Fish were eaten more on the coast, but not so regularly; it was occasional and considered as an exceptional dish. Some also used to eat crabs, eels, small fresh water shrimps (sevret) or big fresh water shrimps (kamaron) they used to fish.

Other dishes mentioned are:

- Amtee: a spicy soup.
- Goulawni: sweet kind of pancakes close to dhall puri (kind of pancakes made with a variety of lentils called dhall).
- Chapatti: a flat bread also known as roti.
- Kanawla: typical Marathi cakes made with grated coconut.
- Poli: boiled chickpea (gram bouy) (a variety call gro dal or dal zardin) crushed in jata previously.
- Kheer: traditional rice pudding made with milk and sugar.
- Churma: bhakri prepared with honey, sugar and ghee.

Two Marathi dishes not mentioned during interviews but which are traditional ones are: tekwa (cake made by frying a mixture of flour, milk powder, sugar, cardamom and butter) and kantoli (a kind of pudding made with ground rice, milk, sugar, curcuma and grated coconut).

Some old utensils mentioned which were used to cook were:

Marmite and karay (cast-iron cooking pots), pukni (a tube used to blow on embers), jata (maize crusher), lamok (old can used as a container to take water for example), ros kari (grinding stone), chimta (tongs), dal gotni (to crush dhall), pilon (pestle), handala (container used to take water), dawli (kind of spoon used to take dhall (this skill is made of a stuck of coconut drilled and with a grip made of a wooden stick).
5.7. Music, songs, dances

Music, dances and songs were mainly associated to religious festivals such as in hawan, aarti, bhajan, etc. More information will be given on it in the religious section.

Some kinds of dances and songs performed more as entertainment were reported:

*Jakri* consists in songs and dances in which participants have to clap their hands. It is a kind of entertainment which was performed in Ganesh Chaturthi festival and wedding ceremonies.

*Bhaar* is a folk dance in which participants do *pinga* (folk games, dances): they put their hands on their kidneys, jump and sing. It is a kind of entertainment.

Gamat are songs and dances who were performed by gamatia during wedding ceremonies. They were composing the songs and passing some messages through the lyrics.

Traditional Marathi music is made with the following instruments:

- *Jaal*: cymbals
- *Dolok* (*dholak or dolki*): also called “*tanbour*”: a double-sided drum made with goat skin. Some Marathis used to make it themselves.
- *Chimta*: a long, flat folded piece of metal steel strip. This instrument is more recent.
- *Sambal* (*or tabla*): a pair of small drums.

Another music instrument mentioned by one informant is the *tuntuna*: instrument made with a bamboo stick and nylon, used in Gondal festival.
The practice of music, songs and dances was transmitted through generations and is still perpetuated. We can then underline the central role of mandir and societies in the preservation and transmission of this art to young generations.

We also met an informant who was in a Marathi band playing clarinet, trumpet, drums, and saxophone.

In wedding ceremonies, traditionally, wealthier people used to invite a specific group of the Marathi community called Wajatris to play trumpets.

Some songs also accompanied daily life and activities, such as the song women used to sing when they were crushing maize (sante jata).

5.8. Traditional medicine

In the past traditional medicine was currently used to cure people. Doctors and hospitals were quite expensive and far from camps and villages. These practices and knowledge were transmitted throughout generations, involving Marathi knowledge mixed with other communities’ knowledge. These were “creolized” as they were also adapted to Mauritian natural environment.

Most testimonies mentioned the use of latizann: including infusions, decoctions, baths or poultices of plants they used to grow in their garden or to find in the woods.

Some examples of latizann mentioned are:

- Digestive problems (deranzman) of children: put some cow-dung on the child’s excrements.
- Cough: lemongrass and bitter orange (bigarad) leaves boiled and drink. Or crush ginger and chilly with honey. Or drink milk with saffron.
- Fever: roots of white saponin (saponer) crushed and boiled. Or leaves of pat poul (todalia asiatica) boiled with ginger.
- Gas: basil (toulsi).
- Influenza (fienza): lemongrass and ginger.
- Kidney stones: boiled bwa de rond (Erythroxylum).
- Dysentery: squeezed zanblon (fruits of the jambolana tree) to drink.

Informants also evoked the existence of traditional healers having particular knowledge and specialized in some treatments. These manipulate the body: they crack (krake) and rub (frote) the affected part of the body. Others used to evoke divine powers for curing by marking (marke) and praying such as those who mark dart (a kind of dermatitis eczema). These techniques are not attributed only to Marathi people since these were practiced by other ethnic communities of the island also and it should be noted that they are still practiced even if in a less degree compared in the past.

Another way to cure people are prayers to gods and goddesses, prayers such as done at the kalimay asking for good health and keeping a promising to do something in honour of the god if his wish is realized (promes). For example, after having being cured the person will offer some animal
sacrifices to thank god (*rane promes*). Vithoba and Rukmini\(^5\), a couple of Marathi gods are also known to heal children.

Pregnant women used to give birth at home in the past. Some specialized people were known as midwives (*fam saz*). They delivered the baby and offered first aid to both mother and baby such as rubbing and bathing the baby during the first twelve days. Some informants have been themselves delivered by Marathi midwives and the rest by other community members.

5.9. **Sorcery**

Some informants briefly evoked the existence of sorcery. Some said it did not exist amongst Marathi community, while others said it did exist. However they said it was more present in the past, these practices disappeared. Sorcerers used to do bad action to people: possession, cast a spell or a curse, they are considered as having the ability to kill or making people they dislike sick by calling upon evil powers.

Some sorcerers were also known to be able to transform themselves voluntarily in werewolf (*lougarou*). They could take the appearance of different animals to frighten people.

5.10. **Oral traditions**

Oral traditions include myths, legends and tales. Those are transmitted orally through generations. It can be religious myths but it can also be non-religious legends. We collected two non-religious narratives that were repeated by different informants.

Elderly people used to tell that Marathi people came to Mauritius because French colons told them in India that if they come to Mauritius they would find gold under rocks and become wealthy.


---

\(^5\) Vitoba and Rukmini: couple of Hindu gods. Vitoba is generally considered a manifestation of the Hindu god Vishnu or his Avatar (incarnation) Krishna. Vitoba is often depicted as a dark young boy, standing arms on a brick, sometimes accompanied by his main consort Rukmini. Representations of these gods are quite rare in Mauritius, they can be found only in Cascavelle and Réunion mandir.

\(^56\) Translation: “French brought us from India. They said we will raise stones and find gold. We will not have to work. We were stupid like that our grandparents came. We load ships and we came.” Interview with RT, La Gaulette, 21 July 2011, p.5, line 103-105.

\(^57\) Translation: “LC: French in the past. MS: yes. LC: there was nobody to work in Mauritius. Ms: yes. LC: they sent people. French went to India. They were looking for workers. When they came to Mauritius there was no gold. They were saying them they will find gold. Truth when they came to Mauritius they really had to raise stones to have money. They did a mistake. There was no machine that time. It is what our grandparents told us.” Interview with LC, Black River, 24 July 2011, p.6, line 171-180.
Another narrative reported in the area of Le Morne Mountain tells that Marathi people committed suicide by throwing their body from Le Morne Mountain. This legend is like a recollecting of the famous legend of maroon slaves found dead at Le Morne Mountain at the abolition of slavery. We can view in this version of that legend a kind of appropriation. Veracity of this story was attested by some testimonies telling that some people did find on the slopes of the mountain some gold chains (mangalsutra) that belonged to those Marathi people.


5.11. Religious rituals and festivals

Religion is an important part of the cultural heritage and an important identity marker.

According to our informants the main parts of the religious celebrations were organized at the people’s place. Sometimes they used to build a canopy (latant) and have lights with the help of torches (flanbo). People used to sit on gunny bags on the soil or sometimes men were sitting on bamboo benches and women on the soil. Some festivals were also celebrated in kalimay or in mandir. However less than actually since the Cascavelle mandir, being the very first Marathi mandir on island, existed already and most festivals were being celebrated there for many years. We collected a lot of information on the various religious ceremonies and festivals practiced amongst the Marathi people. However before enumerating them we have to define some notions.

Koul: each Marathi family has a koul. This links the family to particular festivals they will practice and the way it has to be practiced. This koul is inherited from ancestors. We can then conclude that ancestors’ religious practices were transmitted and maintained through generations.

Arya Samajist: this is a Hindu reform movement. It is more common amongst other Hindu communities, but we met some informants whose family was Arya Samajist. This movement transmitted revolutionary ideas in that time such as the importance of educating children at school, promote equality for women and men and they were also opposed to the caste system.

5.11.1. Iswoti

Also called gardien lakour or dhi, this is a place in the yard dedicated to that spirit or saint or gran-dimounn (ancestor), depending on the informants’ views. It is also called minisprins, a spirit represented as a giant. The family has to do rituals and provide gifts to the Iswoti to be protected.

58 Translation: « RT : He said you know, on that mountain Le Morne, there is a big mountain there, he said he was hunting there he was a beater, you know how much mangalsutra and jorvi wearing when we get married he found ? (…) he told me he was hunting, I found it on the mountain Le Morne I found a lot of jorvi and mangalsutra. SM : why ? RT : you are too young. They were saying, French are coming. French will catch us. Where they will bring us they didn’t know. They will enslave us. Clever ones they climbed on Le Morne mountain. Their children first, they suicide, husband and wife after hand in hand. SM : Marathis ? RT : Yes Marathis.” Interview with RT, La Gaulette, 21 July 2011, p.4, line 78-90.
by him and to be kept healthy. Those gifts can be some bread with sardines (dipin sardinn), cigarettes, some alcohol (grog), camphor, and some money from the salary. Some families also do animal sacrifices to the Iswoti once a year (a cock or goat). But this practice is progressively disappearing as many families did a garana (promise) to stop sacrifice and offer only sweet gifts such as kheer, bhakri or chapatti. These rituals to the Iswoti can be made, depending on families either once a year, once a month or only before great events such as weddings, birth ceremonies or before New Year. Some informants spoke of the kandi ceremony they do for the Iswoti once a year, just before New Year’s Day. For this occasion they will prepare a stock (bouyon masala) and give food to the Iswoti. This ritual is still practiced in some families, less than in the past and in a different way as many families renounced at performing animal sacrifices. An informant mentioned that elderly people were hiding their money in the soil under the Iswoti to protect their money.

5.11.2. Bhajan

This is a festival where a traditional religious hymn was sung all night long by skilled groups of singers called bhajanik or bhajanya who were invited at people’s place. The latter were walking from a village to another to perform. These songs used to evoke lives of Hindu deities. For most of the people, it was a means to learn Hindu mythology such as the Ramayana. People used to pray, sing and eat during that festival. Only men were allowed to sing, while women assisted and cooked. They were finishing the Bhajan, at 5 a.m. the following day by singing aarti. In the past bhajan were practiced every Saturdays at someone’s place. It was also performed for Ganpathi. It was considered as an entertainment at a period where there was not any other leisure or recreational activities. It was sometimes organized as a competition opposing two or three groups of singers on a question-answers model. Now it is much less practiced and women can also participle in singing.

5.11.3. Ganpati

Sankashti Puja
Also called Ganesh Puja, this monthly celebration of Lord Ganesh is performed eleven months a year by a particular family in the mandir. People use to pray Lord Ganesh to remove all the obstacles in their life.

Ganesh Chaturthi
This is the ceremony celebrating the birthday of Lord Ganesh once a year. Ganesh is the son of Shiva and Parvati. It is the main festival for Marathi people. In the past it was celebrated only by Marathis, but not by every Marathi family, depending of their koul. However others families can also celebrate Ganesh Chaturthi at their place following a promise (nawas), promising they will organise that festival during 5 or 10 years. Another kind of promise known as garana consists in having the devotees promising to offer something particular to Ganesh next year when they immerse it. This festival is much more celebrated than in the past amongst Marathi community but also amongst all the ethnic groups of Indian origin in Mauritius.

For that festival an idol (moorti) of Lord Ganesh is made with soil. This will be worshiped, prayed and gifts will be offered during one and half day (or 3, 5, 7 days depending the family, its koul and promise that was done). However it seems that this festival was performed longer in the past (5 days). At the end of the ceremony the moorti is immersed in water (visarjan) at the sea, in a river or simply in a basin at home (in the past). During the whole night before the ceremony of
immersion people use to dance *jakri*, *do bhaar* and sing *aarti*. In the past generally only men were dancing and singing with a handkerchief over their head. But some informants said man could dance on their side and women separately, forming a circle. One informant explained that soil houses were build for this festival, a post was put in the middle and women used to dance turning all around. Dancers use to repeat dance steps each day during one month before the celebration. Gifts offered are for example fruits, camphor and traditional cakes called *kanawla*. Devotees have to be pure for that festival, so they fast during 40 days prior to the festival.

We did a non participative observation of this cultural event in a Marathi family of Palma in 2011. We were able to observe the building of a *moorti* and celebrations during one and half days in that family, followed by the immersion at Flic en Flac. These data have not been analysed in this report as it is not the aim of this research but it would be interesting to treat these data in a following phase.
Figure 277: *Moorti* of Lord Ganesh

Figure 288: All the women of the extended family cook together

Figure 299: Preparation of *kanawla*

Figure 40: Lord Ganesh is settled on the shrine
A Study of Marathi Settlements in Mauritius

Figure 301: Mrs. and Mr. Govinda

Figure 312: Devotees praying Lord Ganesh

Figure 323: Devotees dancing and singing aarti at the arrival in Flic en Flac

Figure 334: Prayers and rituals done in honour of Lord Ganesh

Figure 345: Lord Ganesh before the immersion
5.11.4. Jatra

This ritual is also called Kali Puja or kalimay puja or servis kalimay. It is celebrated once a year at the kalimay in each village. In the past it was celebrated by doing animal sacrifice (rakhan) such as a goat or chicken. Members of the village or the camps all contributed to buy the sacrificed animal. Men were sacrificing the animal and five married women (sawasin) come with them to do puja (ritual). First they have to pray the three main Hindu gods: Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva by lighting camphor and offering some water. Then they light camphor for the Iswoti (the guardian of the place, often situated under a mango tree of the area) and finally they do the puja at the kalimay. The five women have to come with a bamboo basket, flags, five coconuts and red powder (koumkoum) in the basket. They performed a ritual with rice in which they have to full their hoti with rice. After the sacrifice, they cook the meat and eat the meal at the kalimay as they are not allowed to come back home with that food. Since they did garana (promise) many villages stopped doing rakhan. Now they mainly give sweet food such as kheer. According to some informants this festival is done every year before the sugar cane cutting start to have a good harvest and avoid accidents. Others said it is to have a good year.

This festival is still celebrated but it was more celebrated in the past and in a different way as almost everywhere they stopped the practice of animal sacrifice.

Figure 356: Bamboo baskets and flags used in jatra ceremonies

5.11.5. Gondal

This festival celebrates the goddess Bhawani (Durga). Not every Marathis celebrate this festival, only some families depending of their koul. It is celebrated at people’s place once a year or every three or five years and for weddings of children (the first and the last son), depending families. This festival consists in prayers and songs done during one night while playing music with sambal and touunta by gondli (people doing gondal). Depending of their koul, some families have to do animal sacrifice (rhakan) of a goat in honour of the guardians of the goddess Bhawani: Mosoba and Khandoba. Others do not offer any animals; they only offer sweet food (goraniwark) such as kheer,
bhakri or ti puri cooked without oil. They also offer phakki supari, consisting of a pak (areca nut) with kheer. Only men did this festival. In the past there was jogwa, it consists to go to five doors to ask some rice to be cooked and to be offered to Bhawani.

It was more celebrated in the past and this festival started to change as less people did animal sacrifice. However it was celebrated mainly on Tuesdays in the past and now on Sundays also.

5.11.6. Jaagran

This ceremony is also known as kas lasenn (breaking the chain) or Langar. It is performed only by a few families according to their koul at their place. It is not dedicated to a particular god: prayers are done to every gods and goddesses. It is celebrated in wedding ceremonies, gondal or if someone kept a promise. During the whole night people would pray, sing and dance. In the morning someone (a man) will dance with a big chain and while he is pulling the chain it breaks. The house in which it will be celebrated have to be cleaned days before, people assisting the ceremony have to be purified by keeping a fast for some 10 or 20 days and no women or girls in the assembly must have her periods (malsin) otherwise the chain will not break.

It was more celebrated in the past but this is still celebrated in some Marathi families in Mauritius.

5.11.7. Dashawtar

This festival is also called danse dawtar, gran danse or danse bombay. This festival was celebrated on Saturdays at someone’s place once a month, the day before New Year to welcome the New Year and in weddings ceremonies on Saturday nights. This performance was done under a canopy light with torches (flanbo) and guests had to sit on the soil. It was an entertainment, a kind of drama with people acting as the ten incarnations (awtar) of Vishnu. They were also performing Hindu epics told in sacred books such as the Ramayana, Mahabaratha and Shani Mahatma. It was only performed by groups of professional dancers composed only of men who were taking up different roles with different clothes such as pagn (langouti and tok) and masks (madawli), playing music with jhaal and dolki. They were also playing the roles of women. These men had to fast before they act and they called upon their ancestors before starting the ceremony. Masks were carved in light wood such as bwa mourouk (mourouque wood) and later they were made out of cardboard. People wearing masks were considered as being the god they would “incarnate” into, the mask was considered to be inhabited by a spirit (vishwas) and were adored.

It was a very popular celebration in the past but it is disappearing. According to our informants youth are no longer interested in this festival and that it is important for them to revive this celebration as it is part of Marathi heritage and as it was a means to teach and transmit culture and spirituality.

5.11.8. Mhaal

Also called servis de mor, this festival celebrates the death members of family. Devotees have to worship their ancestors and in return these spirits will protect them. It is done at people’s place, during 14 or 15 days according to informants. During this period each day they have to cook what the deceased used to eat and give them a portion of the meal. They also pray them, light camphor, give cigarets and water to them.
5.11.9. Nagpanchmi

This festival is celebrated one month before Ganesh Chaturthi in honour of Nag Panchami, more precisely the snake with seven heads. It is celebrated by some families depending of their koul. Such as Govinda family's dewak (symbol) is the nag. These families will also celebrate it in wedding ceremonies. For such occasions they will make a soil moorti (idol) of the snake or they will draw it on a paper sheet and they worship it by giving some food, gifts, dancing, etc.

5.11.10. Shivaratree

Mashik Shivaratree
Once a month, two days before the new moon, Lord Shiva is celebrated.

Mahashivaratree
This annual festival celebrates Lord Shiva. For that occasion people use to cook parsad to offer to the god. This festival was already celebrated in the past at the Cascavelle Marathi Prem Wardhak Mandali mandir. There was however, no pilgrimage since people used to stay all night long in the mandir to offer prayers. Actually it is the main pilgrimage of the island, people from all corners of the island go to Ganga Talao (Grand Bassin) to pray and fetch water from this sacred lake. In the past it was celebrated during 14 days, later 7 days, and then 5 days.

At the Shri Marathi Dharmic Sabha, the Marathis hold 14 nights Shiv parayan (reading from sacred texts the legends related to Lord Shiva). On the Mahashivratri Day, a procession of kanwaris, carried by Shiva devotees and preceded by the Marathi Band, converge to the Dharmic Sabha.

5.11.11. Anushtan

This festival also known as Puja Mahadeo celebrates God Shiva. It is not celebrated by every families, it depends of their kul. For those who celebrate it, it is done on a Monday once a year. They traditionally prepare the tulma.

5.11.12. Ramjanam

This ritual celebrates the birth of God Rama. It was celebrated once a year all night long in the Cascavelle mandir according to some informants and it is still celebrated. During this festival puja rituals) are done on the palki Ram (the cradle of Ram), candles and torches are the only lights; the palna (cradle) is decorated with paper (papie mouslinn). The day after three women put the idol of Ram (or his photo) in some clean clothes and put him in the palna, then they would sing, dance and swing the cradle. Some people also explained that the palna was carried over the shoulders and brought to Cascavelle mandir.

5.11.13. Gowri

This festival celebrates goddess Gowri (Parvati), the mother of Ganesh, four days after Ganesh Chaturthi. For this festival people make an idol of the goddess, they fast one week and immerse it in water. According to some informants in some families this festival was much more celebrated than Ganpathi.
5.11.14. Shani Mahatma

This festival is celebrating god Shani. It was celebrated only by some families, according to their koul, at their place. It was celebrated on Saturdays by singing bhajan, reading sacred books and praying. Some families still perform Shani Mahatma on Saturdays.

5.11.15. Hawan

This is a sacred purifying ritual that involves a fire ceremony. It is a ritual of sacrifice made to the god of fire Agni. It is believed that the fire after having been lit will bring prosperity, wealth and good luck. This fire ritual is usually accompanied by the chanting of sacred Vedic mantras. This festival is organised at someone’s place once a month in some families. It was more frequently celebrated in the past. These may also be carried out in wedding ceremonies.

5.11.16. Satsang

This is a gathering, where people sing some religious songs and share religious knowledge.

5.11.17. Maharashtra & Shivaji Day

It is a festival celebrating Shivaji, the Marathi cultural conqueror and hero who founded the Maratha Empire in the 17th century. This is a new festival in Mauritius. It was celebrated first time in the 1950s. Every year since 1960, the Mauritius Marathi Mandal Federation celebrates at national level and with great pomp and fervour the Maharashtra Day to mark the foundation of the State of Maharashtra (1st May 1960). This is a yearly gathering of the Marathis of Mauritius to remember Chatrapathi Shivaji Maharaj, the great Maratha King and founder of the Maratha Empire (17th Century), in India, as well as to preserve their glorious history, culture and also preserve their identity.

5.11.18. Others rituals and festivals

Others rituals and celebrations were mentioned but we did not collect any details on them. These are:

- **Satyanarayan**: festival celebrating Lord Vishnu (Narayan) on Sundays. People do bhajans for that festival, performed (mainly during the Shravan month) by Marathi families.

- **Katha**: this festival was celebrated once a year on Saturday in the past. People used to do bhajan and hawan at people’s place in the past.

- **Ram Nawmi**: festival celebrating the birth of Lord Rama.

- **Hanuman Jayanti**: festival celebrating the birthday of Hanuman.

- **Ram Jayanti**: festival celebrating the birthday of Lord Ram.

- **Ganesh Jayanti**: festival celebrating the birthday of Ganesh.

- **Krishna Jayanti**: festival celebrating the birthday of Lord Krishna.
• **Shani Dev Puja**: this festival was performed at people’s place every Saturdays in the past invoking peace and welfare for the family. All night long people would pray and sing *bhajan* with traditional instruments such as *jaal* and *dolok*. This has disappeared now.

• **Durga Puja**: this festival celebrates the goddess Durga. People have to fast during 10 days. It is a new festival amongst Marathis; it was not celebrated in the past.

• **Gudi Padwa**: the Marathi New Year. It is a new festival amongst Marathis; it was not celebrated in the past.

• **Diwali**: also called the light festival, this is the celebration of the victory of Lord Ram over evil powers, the victory of good over the evil or the victory of light over darkness. On this occasion people use to light lamps. It is a new festival amongst Marathis; it was not celebrated in the past.

• **Holi**: also known as the festival of colours as people used to throw coloured powders on others. This celebration was performed only by a few Marathis in the past.

• **Sandhya**: daily prayers done in the morning and at night.

Rites of passage are rituals marking the transition between the different stages of the life cycle. Those are associated with the movements of the individuals between different age classes and social status associated. Birth, wedding, death are some examples of these moments of the life accompanied by rites of passage. Those are universals. Hindu rites of passage are called *samskara*.

5.11.19. **Barsa and Patchwi**

*Patchwi* is celebrated on the 5th night of the newborn. This ceremony celebrates the saint Satwi who will protect the newborn in return. This ceremony is very important for the Marathi community. It can be compared to the baptism. During that one night the newborn is put in a *palna* (cradle), swing by women singing traditional songs. This ritual was performed only by women. Some informants said that before they do that ceremony they have first to light camphor, give a *grog* (some alcohol) and cigarettes to the Iswoti outside the house. Then they will start the ritual inside by offering camphor, *gram boui* (boiled chickpea) and praying. The family have to fast. Some informants differentiated families that used to celebrate *patchwi* by doing rituals on a *ros kari* (grinding stone) that they put inside the bed-room, while others would celebrate it on a platter. This ritual is actually disappearing.

*Barsa* is celebrated during the day on the 12th day of the newborn. It is also called the naming ceremony of the newborn. Sometimes it is done on the 40th day. It is considered to be the birthday of the child. During that ceremony the family cooks *hamti*. This ritual is actually disappearing.
5.11.20. Wedding ceremony

There are various wedding rituals. We will not present all these rituals in details in this report but will only have an overview of the Marathi traditional wedding ceremony.

The engagement ceremony known as sakshira (also known as sakharpara) was described by some informants. This consisted of choosing the future bride by a ritual where all the potential brides and grooms would sit separately on the soil on gunny bags, they all have a pak (areca nut) they put on a bethel leave. Each one will then say his adnaw. When the adnaw of two people corresponds they stand up and give to the other corresponding one his pak. Then the groom gives to the bride a necklace and ring and the girl also has to give to the groom a ring.

Traditionally weddings were celebrated during three days, not specifically during weekends. The organisation of the ceremony has not much evolved over time. However in the past weddings ceremonies were generally organised at the bride and the groom’s place. Often a canopy was erected in front of the house. Some informants spoke of the mariaz toulsi. This is a tradition consisting of planting a toulsi (basil) in the canopy. Actually weddings are often organized in the mandir.

On the first day there is a ritual known as utna. This is a ritual of purification with coconut water being poured on the head of the bride and bathing her with this coconut water.

On the following day, the second day there is a ceremony known as halad or safran. The groom comes with five married women. These five women perform the owsa: each one offers a gift to the bride consisting in a home utensil that they take from their place and they put it in her hoti. Then, they bring some rice and put it on her hoti. This ritual seems to have disappeared. In the past informants also reported they used to do the basinn ritual. This consisted in covering the face of the bride with flowers so that the groom cannot see her face before being married. This ritual is also disappearing. After some prayers, the couple exchange their vows and the groom ties the engagement chain around the neck of his bride. Some families also used to organise a dashawtar on Saturday night to entertain the guests.

One the third day the wedding ceremony is performed. The groom attaches the sacred wedding chain known as mangalsutra around the neck of his bride. In the past, mangalsutras were not in gold. In some families, according to their kul, they perform a gondal on that day or jaagran, or nagpachmi, or havan. Some also perform gamat (songs and dances). Other kinds of dances performed during wedding ceremonies are the jakri.

In the past, tea and cakes were being offered in wedding ceremonies to the gusts for families who could not afford offering food to all of the guests. The wealthier families were able to organise small music performances with trumpets (wajatri).

5.11.21. Death rituals

Death is a passage accompanied by many rituals. These are traditionally performed to accompany the deceased in his passage to the other world, to ensure the soul will be in peace.

At the death of a spouse, the widow or the widower breaks the mangalsutra and the tika (dot made on the forehead) of his wife or herself.
Prayers and rituals are performed during ten days after the death. The mourning family has to fast and perform the *anta puja* to ensure the soul is living and not coming back amongst living people. The mourning family prepares a meal composed of the favourite food of the deceased on the 10th day. Afterwards the family has to observe mourning during a period of five to more than one year depending on the families. A ritual is performed to end the mourning period.

On the 10th /12th day a special prayer is performed by mourning. This is called *diwas*.

*Jaag* is a ritual done on eve of *diwas*. This was specifically performed by the Marathi community. For this ritual, family has to call for a *kaamli*, a person who is able to perform it. This one will pray, light camphor and will be possessed by the spirit of the deceased. His soul enters the *kaamli*’s body and speaks through his mouth. The family then asks him questions on his last wishes. This was a way to regulate heritage as this was not ruled and written as it is now. This ritual is no longer practiced.

**Synthesis**

In this chapter we did an inventory of the Marathi intangible cultural heritage. This is not an extensive list and data were not analysed in depth. They were only presented in a descriptive way. However we can already underline some elements of this cultural heritage specific to Marathi people (such as dress, language, religious festivals) that marks their cultural identity, differentiating them from other Mauritian ethnic communities. Some elements of this cultural heritage already disappeared; others are on the brink of disappearing (such as *dashawtar*, *bhajan*, *barsa*, animal sacrifice to the *Iswoti* or for *jata*). But some having also being mixed with other cultures presents, were “creolized” (or “mauritianised”) and gave birth to new cultural elements accurately Mauritians. Finally some new elements of the culture have been introduced more recently in Mauritian Marathi culture from India and have been the object of an appropriation and a way to strengthen the link to India and ancestral culture and identity.

These elements of intangible cultural heritage must be collected in a more extensive way, using methods of anthropological interviews and non participative observation. Then these data have to be analyzed in depth for a better understanding of Marathi culture, but also to archive them and allow their perpetuation.
6. CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

This report offered an overview of the history of Marathi culture and settlement in Mauritius through an oral history and anthropological perspective. Based on oral testimonies gathered through fieldwork by interviewing the elderly Marathi people; we were able to list out the main places of Marathi settlement identified and the main migration waves. In this way we have tried to identify symbolic places and potential sites to erect a monument commemorating the settlement of Marathis in Mauritius. Collective memories allowed us to have a broad description of the lifestyles in the past and depicting how Marathi people used to live and sustained in the 1930-1950s. Finally, we did an inventory of the Marathi intangible cultural heritage in a descriptive way.

The central aim of this research was the identification of potential sites for the erection of a commemorative monument. We synthesized these potential sites presented in the chapter 3 hereafter through a table. These sites are highly symbolic for the Marathi community. Each one with different reasons presented in the following table. However, all of them are associated with the history of Marathi settlement and to identity aspects.

As mentioned in the introductory section of this report, we should not overlook the fact that migrant people had to manage both with an ethnic identity and culture inherited from their ancestors, and also with a national identity and a shared culture in a multicultural context, they acquired by being born and socialized in Mauritius. Consequently, Marathi people, such as other migrant populations of Mauritius, developed a dialectic relation to their identity: between ethnicity and nationalism. They define themselves in relation to an elsewhere, a territory they consider as their ancestral country and at the same time in relation to the territory they are living which rooted them in a Mauritian indigenousness.

While it is fundamental to preserve the link to Maharashtra and ancestral culture, it is also necessary to build a Mauritian nation and to participate in the creation of a Mauritian culture. In this way, the choice of a symbolic place to commemorate the Marathi settlement in the Mauritian territory is of main importance as it answers the need of a dialectical identity which is in constant redefinition.

It is important to highlight the fact that during the interviews, the informants were asked to name some symbolic sites of Marathi settlement and they did not particularly enumerated historic places or memory sites. We can differentiate two kinds of answers:

- Actual places of settlement such as Henrietta, Vacoas, Palma, having a high concentration of Marathi settlers, who are still inhabited and not necessary linked to an early settlement, but also who are central and accessible places, mainly linked to the present.

- Early places of settlement, not necessary linked to an actual settlement as some are no more inhabited, are quite far and inaccessible and which are mainly linked to the past.

We also have to point out that we differentiated between natural and cultural sites in the following table; however, once these natural sites have been used by men, they were appropriated and became also cultural sites. However we maintained that distinction as these categories are more explicit.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Sub-categories</th>
<th>Sites</th>
<th>Symbolism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Sites</td>
<td>Settlement places</td>
<td>Le Val</td>
<td>This camp on the sugar estate is a very ancient settling place of the Marathis (in the years 1860-1880s).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>La Rosa (New Grove)</td>
<td>This camp on the sugar estate is also a very ancient settling place of the Marathis (in the years 1860-1880s).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td>This settling place is very ancient (in the years 1870-1890s). Many Marathis settled there away from the sugar estates, living on their own on crown land. It must be one of the first places that the Marathis took settlement away from the estates. We must note that this place stood particularly alive in the Marathi collective memory. We would specially underline the area of the Gorges called <em>Marmite Cassée, Mare aux Joncs</em> and <em>Macabe</em>, as some tangible traces have been found there by some informants (see next section on structures and materials).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Alma</td>
<td>This camp on the sugar estate is also a place of early Marathi settlement (1880-1890s).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cascavelle</td>
<td>This camp was very ancient one also (in the years 1890s), many Marathis settled there, and it is highly symbolic as it is the very first place where the first Marathi <em>mandir</em> was built at the end of 19th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sept Cascades</td>
<td>This area was settled later (1900-1920s) but it remains of high importance to the Marathis, like the Gorges, it was a settling place on crown land, far from the big estates, where the Marathis could live on their own. We must note that this place stood particularly alive in the Marathi collective memory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Structures and materials</td>
<td>Religious structures</td>
<td>See next section on religious sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Traces of old Marathi houses</td>
<td>Found in <em>Marmite Cassée, Mare aux Joncs</em> and <em>Macabe</em> by some informants, such as stones alignment and wood stud used for house structures. We were not able to locate precisely these material structures and archaeological researches are required to dig out evidences.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Other material elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low stone-walls handmade</th>
<th>Found, particularly in <em>Marmite Cassée</em>, <em>Mare aux Joncs</em> and <em>Macabe</em> by some informants, such as pieces of maize crushers (<em>jata</em>) or pieces of cauldron (<em>marmit</em>).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In Sept Cascades: according to our informants it was made to level the sloping ground to build houses and cultivate crops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In Gorges: In <em>Marmite Cassée</em> and in the area of the kiosk of <em>Macabe</em>: according to our informants these low walls are kind of small dams that were built to protect houses from flooding coming from the various rivers of the area, especially during cyclonic period.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### The landing place of Black River village

This place was mentioned by some informants as the landing place where the very first Marathis landed when they were transferred from Port Louis to be distributed in the area on the big estates. This place was not exactly localized and data must be confirmed, but it must have been of symbolic significance for Marathis such as Aapravasi Ghat at another level.

### Religious sites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mandir</th>
<th><em>Mandir</em> are Hindu temple dedicated to god Shiva. There are various <em>mandir</em> in Mauritius. The oldest and most symbolic Marathi <em>mandir</em> in Mauritius is found at Cascavelle, built at the end of 19th century. Other <em>mandir</em> mentioned are those of Vacoas, Chamouny, Cluny, La Gaulette, Henrietta, Palma, St Hubert and Beau Bassin.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>« <em>Lakaz danse</em> » (Gorges)</td>
<td>This was a straw hut which was used by the Marathis from the Gorges where traditional dances were being taught as well as the learning of performance of rituals such as for <em>Ganpathi</em>. We can view that site as a kind of <em>baïtka</em> (informal schools where spirituality, language and culture were taught).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### A Study of Marathi Settlements in Mauritius

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kalimay</th>
<th>Kalimay are shrines dedicated to the goddess Kali and its seven sisters (or planets). Most villages or estates have one. It is generally located near the outer limits of the village. Those religious sites are of main importance as they were the first ones created before mandir. They occupy an integral part in the Marathi religious identity. We identified many kalimay. In fact, in almost all Marathi settlement places our informants made reference to a kalimay. Some of them are: the kalimay at the Gorges, the one at Sept Cascades, in Basin Sale, in Coteau Raffin, in La Gaulette, in Bois Noury, in Dan Koko and in Cascavelle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The “three steps rock” (Gorges)</td>
<td>Another religious site highly symbolic having been identified is the “three steps rock” in the Gorges. This rock is known by some of our informants as having three steps of the three main Marathis deities: Madev, Parvati and Ganesh. They believe these steps to have appeared through divine intervention. Our informants were aware that this rock and the myth around it from the mouth of their parents and grandparents. This seems to be an important symbolic place linked to religion. It is also highly symbolic as it is part of an orally transmitted heritage through generations. This natural place is a testimony of the way Marathis migrants brought their culture and religion with them in Mauritius and settled their goddesses in this new territory in a rock, creating new myths and allowing them to develop a new identity in this country, out of their mother land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural sites</td>
<td>Planted trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We identified many fruit trees which were planted by the Marathis people in their settling place. We particularly identified fruit trees in the Gorges. Our informants believe that they were planted by the very first Marathi settlers of the area to gather fruits such as mango, litchis or longans for them to eat. These trees are stands as proof of the particular relation existing between man and nature. These are tangible traces of settlement in Gorges as these fruit trees did not grow up naturally. They were planted by the community.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Study of Marathi Settlements in Mauritius

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mango trees (Gorges)</td>
<td>Mango trees have high symbolism in Hinduism. According to Pourchez (2000), in India, this tree is associated to fecundity. It is considered as the living place of goddesses and soul. In the same way mango trees are known in Mauritius as being inhabited by dead souls, or as gates between the two worlds: the one of the living people and the one of dead people that have to be avoided at some particular hours such as 6.00, noon or midnight by people to avoid any ‘contact’ with souls of the dead that can cause some illnesses (de Salle-Essoo 2011). Mango trees are frequently present in sacred places; in Mauritius, such as near kalimay where they are considered to be the living place of the guardian of the kalimay, the Iswoti, who needs to be evoked, prayed and to ask permission to go to the kalimay. We can refer precisely to two mango trees: the one identified at Marmite Cassée and the one used for the panchayat in the Gorges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchayat’s mango tree (Gorges)</td>
<td>Above all, we identified a mango tree in the Gorges where inhabitants of the area got together to do the panchayat. This is a kind of council, a local government existing in India at the village level. It was chaired by the elderly people of the village. This place was also called « lakour » in kreol (the court). It was the place where all the villagers can meet as the village was quite big, and houses were quite far from each other. They used to discuss about the management of the area, to solve problems, to take decisions, to resolve disputes between individuals, such as in a couple. This place seems to be a very symbolic site for the area, as it is a testimony of the social organization of the local community, representing a tangible trace of settlement in this area, the heritage of Indian culture that the Marathis migrants brought with them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cave</td>
<td>Informants spoke of a big rock surrounding a kind of a cave where inhabitants of Sept Cascades used to seek shelter during cyclones. This place was also known as being the first place where Ittoo Bappoo, first settler of Sept Cascades, used to live before building his house in the 1900s (according to oral data).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RECOMMENDATIONS

To conclude this report, some recommendations may be made:

1. The erection of a monument commemorating Marathi settlement in Mauritius in a symbolic place is of main importance. The views as well as the wish of the community members have to be taken in due consideration while making a decision with regards to this decision.

2. Further research has to be done.
   a. To analyse deeply data collected on some places of settlement that seem to be of main importance in Marathi settlement, such as the Gorges, Sept Cascades, Le Val, La Rosa, Alma and Cascavelle. To systematically cross check oral and written data, especially where disparities have been highlighted.
   b. As intangible cultural heritage was only listed during this first phase, it would be interesting to investigate deeply each of these domains with a special focus on the disappearing aspects of culture. A deeper analysis would need more ethnographic interviews and non participative observations methods.
   c. Research may also be continued with a larger sample, including more elderly informants (some have already been identified), as well as younger generations and people of Marathi origin who are no more encultured in that culture. Other regions of the island must also be included.
   d. Anthropological research focussing on identity aspects of Marathi people would be of great importance also.

3. An organised data base with recorded oral data must be created to archive the testimonies gathered and to make them available for further researches. This data-base has to be open to consultancy but also to people who want to add some personal data they gathered. This would motivate the younger generation to conduct some interviews with their own grandparents to have a better understanding of their history and culture. In this perspective some small training session must be organised to teach basic tips to interview people.

4. Based on data gathered by doing fieldwork academic writings must be published and conferences organised to disseminate data. A documentary movie could also be done, by a professional team working in collaboration with cultural anthropologist and research assistant. This would be a more accessible mean to disseminate information.

5. “A walk on the steps of our ancestors” could be organised passing trough different places of settlement and symbolic sites. This would be a way to transmit knowledge and memory of the elderly people. For example it could be a kind of cultural trail in Gorges integrating historical, archaeological, cultural and natural aspects. This could be organized with trained guides and some elderly people with interviewed. Small booklets could be published on different trails proposed.

6. To disseminate information, a small museum could be created depicting lifestyle in the past and the history of Marathi settlement. This could be a living museum with the possibility to hear and view oral data collected and the testimonies of elderly people as much as possible. Lifestyle of the past could be recreated by building a straw house and exhibiting old ustensils as many informants still conserve some of these artifacts. This could be a way to transmit techniques and knowledge of the past, for example through an
activity implying different generations to build a straw house and with the elderly people transmitting their knowledge to the youth.

7. Archaeological researches must be done on sites such as: Marmite Cassée, Mare aux Joncs and Macabe, to investigate on small-walls and dig the area to find out some tangible traces of settlement. Other researches may be done to try to date those symbolic mango trees identified in the Gorges and to analyse the “three steps rock” in the Gorges.
## 7. GLOSSARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Creole terms</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basin</strong></td>
<td>Pond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bat maye</strong></td>
<td>Threshing maize with wooden stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bombaye</strong></td>
<td>Name used to refer to Marathi people due to their port of embarkation namely, Bombay (Mumbai).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boutik</strong></td>
<td>Shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brize</strong></td>
<td>Clear portion of wood on hunting grounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Depaye</strong></td>
<td>To remove straws in sugar cane fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dipin sardinn</strong></td>
<td>Bred with sardines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ekiri</strong></td>
<td>Shelter for animals, stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fam saz</strong></td>
<td>Midwife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fer louvraz</strong></td>
<td>To be in charge of the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fer menaz</strong></td>
<td>To live in concubinage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Flanbo</strong></td>
<td>Torches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foye</strong></td>
<td>Fire wood use to cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frote</strong></td>
<td>To rub to heal people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gardien-lakour</strong></td>
<td>Also known as <em>Dhi</em> (Hindi) or <em>Iswoti</em> (Marathi). A spirit or soul protecting the yard and its inhabitants in return of some gifts and rituals performed in his honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Godon</strong></td>
<td>Godown, a kind of bedroom in straw houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goni</strong></td>
<td>Gunny, used to made bags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gran-dimounn</strong></td>
<td>Ancestors or elderly people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grog</strong></td>
<td>Some alcohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kan</strong></td>
<td>Camps, temporary settlements on big estates where the workers of the property were living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kanpman</strong></td>
<td>House used as a secondary residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Karay</strong></td>
<td>Cast-iron cooking pots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Karo</strong></td>
<td>Iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kom</td>
<td>Sloping roof (fr: combles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koton may</td>
<td>Seed coat of the maize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krake</td>
<td>To crack to heal people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakaz danse</td>
<td>House were people used to learn and taught traditional dances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakaz lapay</td>
<td>Traditional straw houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakord koko</td>
<td>Coconut rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakour</td>
<td>Yard or court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lalanp later</td>
<td>Also called <em>kinkin</em>, light made with soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lalanp petrol</td>
<td>Oil light made with tinplate and a wick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamok</td>
<td>Old can sometime used as a container to take water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langar</td>
<td>Long straw houses called where various families were living together. It is also the name used for temporary shelters built on the plantations where the gardener used to sleep a few days to work on his crops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latant</td>
<td>Canopy built for wedding ceremonies and other festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latwal ekri</td>
<td>Kind of fabric used to do long skirt in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longer</td>
<td>Simple long shelters made of corrugated iron sheets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lougarou</td>
<td>Werewolf, practice of sorcery consisting in taking the appearance of different animals to frighten people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macadam</td>
<td>Tarmac used to build roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malsin</td>
<td>To be considered as impure, such as a women having her periods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marke</td>
<td>Curing by marking, to do a sign, on the affected area with hand, foot or objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marmit</td>
<td>Cast-iron cooking pots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masone</td>
<td>To glass straw houses with cow-dung mixed with soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Maize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moulin laloo</td>
<td>Aloes mill (to make gunny)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moulin may</td>
<td>Maize crusher (<em>Jata</em> in Marathi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouswar</td>
<td>Handkerchief Marathi men used to wear on their head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasion</td>
<td>Caste system designating two kinds of castes: <em>ti nasion</em>, <em>gran nasion</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### A Study of Marathi Settlements in Mauritius

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pagn</td>
<td>Piece of tissue; a nine-yard-long <em>pagn</em> is a <em>sari</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palisad</td>
<td>Walls of straw houses made of aloe stuck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pas</td>
<td>Card allowing people to receive the <em>raison</em> in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penwar</td>
<td>Kind of blouse women wore in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pieton</td>
<td>Small pedestrian road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilon</td>
<td>Pestle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pirog</td>
<td>Small embarkation, canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pon radie</td>
<td>Bridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promes</td>
<td>Asking for something to god or a spirit such as good health and keeping a promising to do something in honour of the god if his wish is realized. When it is realised to person has to thank god by giving some special prayers, gifts, and sometimes sacrifice animal (<em>ran promes</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasion</td>
<td>Provision, food buy for the week or the month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ros kari</td>
<td>Grinding stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ros masala</td>
<td>Stone used to crush <em>masala</em> spices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosbann</td>
<td>Workers building roads in tarmac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sase</td>
<td>Hunting ground (fr: chassé)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savon bozas</td>
<td>Soap used to wash laundry and body in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sime pieton</td>
<td>Small footpaths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sime saret</td>
<td>Cart path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirdar</td>
<td>Kind of foreman on sugar cane fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sou</td>
<td>Coins used in the past, cents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tablisman</td>
<td>Big estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taminn</td>
<td>To sieve maize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchoule</td>
<td>Beaters have to force deer to go in a clear portion of wood (<em>brize</em>) by screaming and clapping hands (<em>tchoule</em>) to allow hunters to hunt them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touk</td>
<td>Container used to take water and bring back home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourner</td>
<td>Beaters on hunting ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vann may</td>
<td>To crush maize</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Marathi terms

**Adnaw**  
Name of the lineage, the clan (family name)

**Baïtka**  
Informal schools where spirituality, language and culture were taught

**Chimta**  
Tongs

**Choli**  
Kind of blouse with short leaves wear with sari

**Dal gotni**  
To crush dhall

**Dawli**  
Kind of spoon used to take dhall. This skill is made of a stuck of coconut drilled and with a grip made of a wooden stick

**Dewak**  
Symbol of a family

**Garana**  
Promise made to god, for example to stop sacrifice and offer only sweet gifts

**Godna**  
Permanent tattoo made with a needle on the forehead of Marathi women

**Halad**  
Dot made with saffron powder on the forehead

**Handala**  
Container used to take water

**Horni**  
Kind of veil women use to cover their head

**Hoti**

**Iswotì**  
Also known as the gardien-lakour. A spirit or soul protecting the yard and its inhabitants in return of some gifts and rituals in his honour

**Jata**  
Maize crusher (Moulin may in Creole)

**Jorvi**  
Toe ring

**Kalimay**  
Shrine dedicated to the goddess Kali

**Kashti**  
Typically Marathi dress consisting in a nine-yard-long pagn (sari) draped front and back and the end was wrapped around the legs. A nine meters long kashti is also called nowwari or nawar kashti.

**Koul**  
Each Marathi family has a koul. This links the family to particular festivals they will practice and the way it has to be practiced. This koul is inherited from ancestors. We can then conclude that ancestors’ religious practices were transmitted and maintained through generations.

**Koumkoum**  
Dot made with red powder (sinndoor) on the forehead

**Kurta**  
Kind of loose shirt wear by Indian men
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marathi Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Langouti</strong></td>
<td>Three-meters-long piece of tissue typically wear by Marathi men in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Madawli</strong></td>
<td>Masks wear during dashawtar festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mandir</strong></td>
<td>Hindu temple dedicated to god Shiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mangalsutra</strong></td>
<td>Hindu wedding chain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moorti</strong></td>
<td>Idol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Natt</strong></td>
<td>Nose ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nawas</strong></td>
<td>Promise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Palna</strong></td>
<td>Cradle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Panchayat</strong></td>
<td>Kind of council, local government chaired by the elderly people of the village Marathi brought with them from India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Puja</strong></td>
<td>Hindu ritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pukni</strong></td>
<td>Tube used to blow on embers to cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rakhan</strong></td>
<td>Animal sacrifice performed ritually during some Hindu ceremonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sari</strong></td>
<td>Long tissue women wear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sawasin</strong></td>
<td>Married women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sindoor</strong></td>
<td>Red powder use to make koumkoum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tika</strong></td>
<td>Dot made on the forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tilla</strong></td>
<td>Dot made on the forehead with turmeric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tok</strong></td>
<td>Turban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visarjan</strong></td>
<td>Immersion ceremony of idols</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Anthropological terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Creole people</strong></td>
<td>In Mauritius this part of the population is commonly defined as people of African and slave origin of Christian faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Endogamous marriage</strong></td>
<td>The practice of marrying within the group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Endogamy</strong></td>
<td>The practice of marrying within a specific ethnic group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Extended family</strong></td>
<td>Family unit in which several generations live together within a single household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interethnic marriage</td>
<td>Marriage within another ethnic group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intraethnic</td>
<td>Inside the ethnic group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrilocal</td>
<td>Having or relating to a marriage pattern in which the couple lives with the husband's family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriarchal society</td>
<td>Social system in which the role of the male as the primary authority figure is central to social organization, and where fathers hold authority over women, children, and property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrilineal system</td>
<td>Line of descent traced through the paternal side of the family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY ORAL SOURCES
Mauritius Marathi Cultural Centre Trust, A Study of Marathi history and Settlement in Mauritius, fieldwork - 2011.

SECONDARY SOURCES


Moutou, B. 2002. La Rivière Noire, 400 ans d’histoire.


A Study of Marathi Settlements in Mauritius


Census and survey:
CSO - The 2000 Housing and Population Census, Demographic Characteristics, volume II, Table D6 - Resident population by geographical location and religious group

CSO - The 2000 Housing and Population Census, Demographic Characteristics, volume II, Table D8 - Resident population by language usually spoken at home and sex

Internet sources:
Benoist, J. 2006. « A La Réunion, la plante entre tisane et prière », Revue Ethnopharmacologia, N°37, Numéro intitulé: “Île de La Réunion”, 6-12. [on line].
http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.1522/030161666


Sisisky, C. 2005. Mauritian Hinduisms and Post-Colonial Religious Pluralism in Mauritius, Philips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts [on line]

UNESCO convention for safeguarding intangible heritage [on line].
http://portal.unesco.org/culture
A Study of Marathi Settlements in Mauritius

Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopaedia [on line].
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_Page

Figures:
Map in Mauritius National Archives: B9/A4.1/20B, Medical and Health Department, District of Black River, Malaria Eradication Scheme, 1950.
http://www.herbalcaretourism.com/images/India.png

http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/images/Ocean_Indien-carite.gif

http://maps.newkerala.com/Maharashtra-Travel-Map.jpg

Photos done on fieldwork - 2011.
APPENDICES
Appendix 1 - Guideline

Introducing the research, objectives, agreement to record the interview (audio and video)

Civil status:

Name, first name, maiden name
Age, date of birth
Place of birth
Place of living
Married? Name of spouse.
Children? How many? Gender? Where are they living? When did they leave your place? Why?

1. Oral History:

*Family history*:
Names of father and mother, where they get birth, where they were living, how many children they had, date of death (if dead)?
Do you know your grandfather and grandmother? (patri-and matri-lineal): names, date of birth, place of birth, where they were living, how many children, date of death?
What do you know about parents of your grand-parents (or about your grandparents if they did not knew them). Stories told about them? Where they were living?

*Memory of settlement and migrations:*
Do you know where your family is coming from? Patri-matri-lineages?
Who is the first one who came in Mauritius? Why, when, where?
Where they settled first in Mauritius?
Many Marathi people where living there? Is that a symbolic place for Marathi settlement?
Were they landowner there?
Some informant talked about: *les gorges, Cascavelle, Camp soleil, montagne blanche, vacoa, midlands, case noyale, staub, choisy, bel ombre, la galette, le morne, mont sur mont, Bois Noury...* Do you know these places? Are they specially linked with Marathi settlement? Are they symbolic places? Why? Which is the most symbolic one for you? Are there other ones you know?
If the informant or his/her parents migrated, ask why did you/they migrate? (Economic, marital, other?) Phases of migration.

*Landownership:*
Are you landowner of this land?
When did you buy it? It was a family heritage? Who bought it first and when and to whom?
Are there other land owned in the family? Also those who have been sold.
If the informant comes from another part of the island, his/her parent or grandparent was landowner? First one who was landowner? Where? When? Why don’t you still live on this land? If the land was sold, do you know why it was sold?
2. **Way of living in the past:**

*Life history:*
Can you speak a little bit about lifestyle in the past?
Explain a day of your life, you wake up at...
How were the houses? How you were sleeping? All the children in one room? Parents in another room? Who was living in the house (grandmother or other members of the family also?)
Water supply? Electricity? Clothes washes? Kitchen? What were the food habits?
What kind of objects you used in the past that disappeared today? (*Pukni, joye, Moulin maye, marmite*, etc.)
Subsistence activities: rearing of animals such as goats, gardening, hunting, milk sellers.

*Social organization:*
How was the family organization: tasks of men, women, and children? You will say that men and women where equal? Why?
Family was important? Women always left their family to live with her husbands’ family?
Community (Marathi) was important? Castes were important (*gran-nasion, ti-nasion*)? Did you choose your spouse or it was your parents? Is that still the same actually?
You had relations with other ethnic groups? There were some interethnic marriages?
Did you go to school? Until which class? Many Marathi went to school? It was important for you?

*Economic activities and occupations:*
What occupations did you have in your life? And your spouse? And parents? Explain.
What were the other occupations? (Fishing, hunting, plantation, animal rearing, craft, tourism, commerce, lime making, aloe mill, marine carpenter, charcoal making, salt pans, etc.)

*Identity:*
What is differentiating you from other Mauritians?
From other Indo-Mauritians, Hindus?
Is that important for you to define you as Marathi? Why?
Is that important for you to know where your ancestors came from?
Is that important for you to preserve your Marathi culture and traditions (language, prayers, etc)?
What is a significant place for Marathi in Mauritius? We spoke about places of settlement; land owned by Marathi people, is there any other place linked to Marathi settlement and Marathi culture? A symbolic place? Explain why? Where? (If the place is difficult to localize, tell the informant that we will contact him later to do a site visit).

3. **Intangible Heritage:**

Identify different elements forming parts of each domain of Marathi culture, the Marathi name of festivals, objects, activities, etc. Identify the existent traditions, beliefs and practices. To have a small description, not in detail, this will be for the second phase.
Culture:
- Religious and cultural traditions (gods, invisibles, festivals (shivaji day, ganapati, sankashti puja, durga puja, divali, Mahashivaratree, gondal, hawan, bhajan, satsang, jantran, panchal, gudi padwa, santi mahatma, Shani Deo Puja, others? Kali puja, jatra (animal sacrifice) what do you think about this? Some informant say animal sacrifice have to be stopped is it still performed in some places?
- Rites of passage (naming ceremony (barsa), song balsa, patchui, puberty, birth, marriage, death, ...)
- Some religious celebrations and traditions have disappeared? Which ones, explain.
- Religious places (first temple, first kalimay in the area? other religious places in the area?)
- Popular believes and practices (gardien-lakour (Isotwi), minisprins, malmor, nam)? Do you believe in that?
- Non-religious festivals?
- Traditional medicine (midwives, dimounn ki marke, latizann) (amongst Marathi?)
- Sorcery (Lou garou) (amongst Marathi?)
- Oral traditions (songs, history, epics, legend)
- Language: is Marathi language important for you? At home which language you were talking? Your parents or grandparents were speaking only Marathi? Is the language still used by young Marathi? Do you see the evolution of this language?
- Art: music (bhajan, instruments: jaal, dholak, chimta), songs (aarti, bhajan) and dances (danse Bombay, jaatri)
- Dressing habits (langouti, kashti)

Development:
What can you say about the cultural evolution? What is the impact of development and modernity on heritage?
Some domains of culture have disappeared; some will disappear soon, is that important to preserve them? Why? How can we preserve them?
In which way the Marathi associations contribute to preserve the cultural heritage? In which way they can contribute more?

Concluding the interview, thanking the person, take a picture, asking for consent form and anonymity
Appendix 2 - List of informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N°</th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WEST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>JA</td>
<td>Jajabye Ambrojee</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>La Gaulette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>Bayoo Bhageruth</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>La Gaulette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>RT</td>
<td>Toolsa Rutnee</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>La Gaulette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>RR</td>
<td>Rammabye Ramma</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Cascavelle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>Narayen Tookaram</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Cascavelle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>CH (CI)</td>
<td>Casseebye Haree (&amp;t Changoola Ittoo)</td>
<td>F (F)</td>
<td>91 (74)</td>
<td>Black River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Luximan Chrihsna</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Black River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>Santabye Suckhoo</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Black River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Syenabye Succaram</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Tamarin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>SL (RL)</td>
<td>Sadeo Luximon (&amp;t Radeeca Luximon)</td>
<td>M (F)</td>
<td>86 (74)</td>
<td>La Preneuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SOUTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>SO (AR)</td>
<td>Sumbhajee Sonoo (t &amp; Asram Rugjee)</td>
<td>M (M)</td>
<td>77 (50)</td>
<td>St Hubert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>BS</td>
<td>Boyo Suckhoo</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>Baie du Cap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>RP (RA)</td>
<td>Ratnajee Pandoo (t &amp; Ramabye Pandoo)</td>
<td>M (F)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Baie du Cap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Manju Chawan</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Baie du Cap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>BT</td>
<td>Bhudrassen Toocaram</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Chamouny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>JR</td>
<td>Jeejabaye Ramma</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>Chamouny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>CR</td>
<td>Cassibye Rugjee</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Chamouny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Daiwoojee Paddia</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Mare d’Albert</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### A Study of Marathi Settlements in Mauritius

#### CENTER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>AM</td>
<td>Anand Sawant Mulloo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Beau Bassin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>Babooram Mahadoo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Beau Bassin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>RB</td>
<td>Ratnabye Bappoo</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Vacoas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>SB (DB)</td>
<td>Anunta Shankur Bhiwajee (et Darriabye Bhiwajee)</td>
<td>M (F)</td>
<td>85 (78)</td>
<td>Bord Cascade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Dasruth Coocaram</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Glen Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>IG (SG)</td>
<td>Isnoo Govinda (et Saraswatee Govinda)</td>
<td>M (F)</td>
<td>82 (80)</td>
<td>Palma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>DE (JE)</td>
<td>Devejee Essoo (et Jaibye Essoo)</td>
<td>M (F)</td>
<td>75 (63)</td>
<td>Bord Cascade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>Seewajee Sonia</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Sodnac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>MA</td>
<td>Moteeram Apajee</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Dharmic Sabha Vacoas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>JP</td>
<td>Jairam Puddoo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Belle Rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>HB</td>
<td>Hoomabye Brambodary Bappoo</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Vacoas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>CB</td>
<td>Cheemah Babajee</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Quatre Bornes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Parbatee Luximon</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Henrietta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Premdev Luximon</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Vacoas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>BA (BP)</td>
<td>Hons. Shilabai Bappoo (Dayanand Bappoo)</td>
<td>F (M)</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Beau Bassin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### NORTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>BG</td>
<td>Beiram Gunputh</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Terre Rouge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### EAST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>BH</td>
<td>Bheewa Ramma</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Dagotièrè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>356</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Chandrabhaga Marottee</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Bel Air</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3 - Informant’s birth place by district

1. Black River District

1.1. Gorges

- One daughter of Chawan family was born in Gorges: Saraswatee Govinda (maiden name Chawan) in 1931. She left when she was still a baby for Bois Noury. Her father: Sookdeo Ragoo Chawan and mother: Guna Luximan, both were born in Gorges (around 1916).

- Boyo Suckhoo’s father: Mr. Suckhoo was born in Gorges (around 1893) and left before 1918 for Chamouney.

- Changoola Ittoo (maiden name Tateea) was born in Gorges in 1937. She left when she was still a baby for Le Morne.

- Casseebye Harree (maiden name Luximan)’s father: Chintu Luximan was born in Gorges (around 1894) and left before 1919 for La Gaulette.

- Bayoo Bhageruth (maiden name Madoo)’s mother: Ms. Doorputh was born in Gorges (around 1901) and left before 1926 for Cascavelle. Ms. Doorputh’s parents (no name mentioned) came from India and settled in Gorges (around 1896).

- Luximan Christna was born in Gorges in 1926. He left when he was still a child for Rivière Noire. His father (no name mentioned) was born in Gorges (around 1901) and his paternal grandfather (no name mentioned) came from India and settled in Gorges (around 1896).

- Toolsa Rutnee (maiden name Santoo) was born in Gorges in 1926. She left when she was one year old (1927) for La Gaulette. Her mother (no name mentioned) was born in Gorges (around 1901).

- Sadeo Luximon was born in Gorges in 1925. He left when he was still a child for Tamarin. He get back later in Gorges to work there as guardian (from the years around 1945 to 1960). His father (Mr. Luximon) was born in Gorges (around 1900), his paternal grandfather (no name mentioned) was born in Gorges (around 1875) and his paternal great grandfather (no name mentioned) came from India and settled in Gorges (around 1870).

- Santabye Suckhoo (maiden name Gunnoo)’s grandmother: Janer Rawjee came from India and settled in Gorges (around 1899). Her husband: Baliram Suckhoo was born in Gorges in 1922 and left at 9 years old (1931) for Le Morne.

- Luximon Saccaram was born in Gorges in 1937. His father (no name mentioned) was born in Gorges (around 1912). His paternal grandparents (no name mentioned) were born in Gorges (around 1887) and his paternal great-grandparents (no name mentioned) came from India to settle in Gorges (around 1882).

- Dasruth Coocaram’s wife (maiden name Atmaram) grandfather (no name mentioned) was born in Gorges (around 1886) and left for Henrietta (before around 1911). Dasruth Coocaram’s paternal grandparents: Bhiwa Coocaram and Ms. Pandoo came from India and settled in Gorges (around 1901).
- Parbatee Luximon (maiden name Bappoo)’s paternal grandfather: Ittoo Bappoo settled in Gorges (around 1880) and left for Sept Cascades. These data has been cross-checked both oral and written data.

- Cheemah Babajee’s mother (no name mentioned) was born in Gorges (around 1901) and she left before 1926 for Nouvelle France.

- Tookaram Narayen’s maternal grandfather: Arjun Ittoo was born in Gorges (around 1891) and left before 1914 for Cascavelle. His paternal great-grandfather: Krishna Ittoo was also born in Gorges (around 1880).

1.2. Tamarin

- Sumbhajee Sonoo’s paternal grandfather: Isram Sonoo came from India to settle in Tamarin (around 1904).

1.3. Casinat

- Tayat Ittoo was born in Casinat in 1939.

1.4. Clarence

- Premdev Luximon was born in Clarence in 1940 and he left the same year.

1.5. Xavier

- Rammabye Ramma (Pama) was born in Xavier in 1927 and she left when she got married for Cascavelle. Her father (no name mentioned) was born in Xavier (around 1902) and her paternal grandmother (no name mentioned) owned land in Xavier.

1.6. Cascavelle

- Bayoo Bhageruth (maiden name Madoo) was born in Cascavelle in 1926 and left when she gets married (in 1936) for Melrose. Her father: Jotee Madoo was born in Cascavelle (around 1901) and her paternal grandfather came from India and settled in Cascavelle (around 1896).

- Ram and Siwa Ramma were born in Cascavelle (around 1925).

- Tookaram Narayen’s mother: Roukmabye Ittoo was born in Cascavelle in 1914.

- Rama Luximon was born in Cascavelle (around 1930).

1.7. Palma

- Syenabye Succaram’s father: Mr. Pandeea was born in Palma (around 1907).

1.8. Case Noyale

- Dasuth Coocaram was born in Case Noyale in 1931 and left when he was still a baby for Sept Cascades. His father: Dondee Coocaram was also born in Case Noyale (around 1906).

- Premdev Luximon’s paternal great-grandfather (no name mentioned) came from India to settle in Case Noyale (around 1880). Paternal grand father was born in Case Noyale in 1882.
1.9. La Gaulette/ Coteau Raffin
- Casseebye Haree (maiden name Luximan) was born in La Gaulette in 1919.
- Jajabye Ambrojee (maiden name Chawan) was born in La Gaulette in 1945. Her husband: Cassiram Ambrojee was born in La Gaulette in 1939.
- Kreshna Bhageruth was born in La Gaulette (around 1926).
- Dayanand Bappoo was born in La Gaulette (no date mentioned).

1.10. Le Morne
- Toolsa Rutnee (maiden name Santoo)’s husband: Madeo Rutnee was born in Le Morne (around 1925). Her father (Mr. Santoo) was born in Le Morne (around 1901) at L’Embrasure.
- Tookaram Narayen’s wife: Ms. Saggoonoo was born in Le Morne (around 1940).

1.11. Bois Noury
- Manjulabye Chawan (maiden name Ganoo) was born in Bois Noury in 1923. Her mother (no name mentioned) was also born in Bois Noury (around 1898). Her husband: Kisna Chawan was also born in Bois Noury in 1924.
- Toocaram Ittoo was born in Bois Noury in 1911.

1.12. Staub
- Jaibye Essoo (maiden name Ittoo) was born in Staub in 1948.

2. Savanne District
2.1. Chamouny/ Cascade Sabani
- Boyo Suckhoo was born in Chamouny in 1918. Her mother: Ms. Dhondee was also born in Chamouny (around 1893). Her maternal grandfather: Bhiwa Dhondee came from India to settle in Chamouny (around 1888).
- Santabye Suckhoo (maiden name Gunnoo)’s paternal grandfather: Mr. Gunnoo, came from India to settle in Chamouny (around 1899).
- Darriabye Bhiwajee (maiden name Gunnoo)’s mother: Ms. Toocaram was born in Chamouny (around 1908) and her maternal grandfather: Amruta Toocaram came from India to settle in Chamouny (around 1903).
- Cassibye Rugjee (maiden name Toocaram) was born in Chamouny in 1923.
- Bhudrassen Toocaram’s father: Narain Toocaram was born in Cascade Sabani (Chamouny) in 1908 and his paternal grandfather came from India to settle in Chamouny (around 1903). This last one must be Amruta Toocaram (same mentioned before).
- Hoomabye Bappoo (maiden name Brambodary)’s mother: Ms. Appajee was born in Chamouny (around 1899).
Dayanand Bappoo’s father: Mr. Bappoo was born in Chamouny.

Hons. Sheilabai Bappoo (maiden name Rama)’s father: Sewram Rama was born in Chamouny (around 1922).

2.2. Choisy

- Damenteeby Sonoo (maiden name Huree) was born in Choisy (around 1934).
- Bhikoo Balloo was born in Choisy (around 1926).
- Dayanand Bappoo’s mother: Ms. Gunoo was born in Choisy.

2.3. Baie du Cap

- Manjulabye Chawan (maiden name Ganoo)’s maternal grandmother (no name mentioned) came from India to settle in Baie du Cap (around 1893).

2.4. Chemin Grenier

- Cassibye Rugjee (maiden name Toocaram)’s mother: Suckoo Appa was born in Chemin Grenier (around 1898).
- Seetabye Paddia (maiden name Puddoo) was born in Chemin Grenier in 1947.
- Jairam Puddoo was born in Chemin Grenier in 1936. His father: Ramchandur Puddoo was also born in Chemin Grenier (around 1911).

2.5. Britannia

- Ratnabye Bappoo (maiden name Sonoo)’s mother: Gangabye Oumajee was born in Britannia in 1913.

2.6. Bois Chéri

- Arjoon Bappoo was born in Bois Chéri (around 1924). His father (no name mentioned) came from India to settle in Bois Chéri (around 1920).

3. Grand Port District

3.1. Le Val

- Darriabye Bhiwajee (maiden name Gunnoo) was born in Le Val in 1933.
- Ratnabye Bappoo (maiden name Sonoo)’s paternal grandfather: Tanajee Sonoo came from India to settle in Le Val in 1856.
- Syenabye Succaram was born in Le Val in 1932. She left when she was 13 years old (in 1945). Her mother: Ms. Succaram was also born in Le Val (around 1907).
- Sumbhajee Sonoo was born in Le Val in 1934.
- Ramabye Pandoo (maiden name Sonoo) was born in Le Val (no date mentioned). Her mother: Sakhoo Ramjee also born in Le Val. Jeejabye Ramma (maiden name Babboo) was born in Le Val in 1930. She left at the age of 5 years old (in 1935).

- Seewajee Sonia’s paternal great-grandfather (no name mentioned) came from India to settle in Le Val (around 1884). His paternal grandfather: Gunoo Sonia was born in Le Val (around 1889).

3.2. Eau Bleue Rama

- Ratnabye Bappoo (maiden name Sonoo)’s father: Goind Sonoo was born in Eau Bleue in 1911.

3.3. Cluny

- Ratnabye Bappoo (maiden name Sonoo) was born in Cluny in 1937.

3.4. New Grove / La Rosa

- Bhudrassen Toocaram was born in New Grove in 1940.

- Babooram Mahadoo was born in New Grove in 1934. His father: Bhanoo Mahadoo was also born in New Grove (around 1909). His paternal grandfather: Beesajee Mahadoo came from India to settle in La Rosa in 1859. This last one is also the maternal great-grandfather of Anand Mulloo.

- Anand Mulloo’s mother: Sayah Mahadoo was born in New Grove (around 1911). His maternal grandfather: Raggoo Mahadoo was also born in New Grove (around 1886). And his maternal great-grandfather Beesajee Mahadoo came from India to settle in La Rosa. This last one is also the paternal grandfather of Babooram Mahadoo.

- Daiwoojee Paddia’s mother: Rakmabye Pandea was born in La Rosa (around 1920).

- Seewajee Sonia’s paternal grandmother: Ms. Ittea was born in New Grove (around 1889).

- Jairam Puddoo’s mother: Jankeebye Ittea was born in New Grove (around 1911).

3.5. L’Escalier / La Foret

- Daiwoojee Paddia was born in La Foret in 1945. His paternal grandfather: Mr. Rowjee was also born in La Foret (around 1895).

3.6. Ferney

- Seewajee Sonia was born in Ferney in 1939.

3.7. Nouvelle France

- Cheemah Babajee was born in Nouvelle France in 1926. Her father: Mahadev Babajee was also born in Nouvelle France (around 1901).
3.8. Virginia
- Daiwoojee Padia’s paternal great-grandfather (no name mentioned) came from India to settle in Virginia (around 1890).

4. Plaines Wilhems
4.1. Sept cascades
- Anunta Shankur Bhiwajee was born in Sept Cascades in 1926. He left the area in 1944.
- Devejee Essoo was born in Sept Cascades in 1936. He left the area at the age of 9 years old (in 1945). His father: Balajee Essoo also was born in Sept Cascades (around 1911).
- Parbattee Luximon (maiden name Bappoo) was born in Sept Cascades in 1931 (according to written data she was born in 1927). Her father: Kistna Bappoo was also born in Sept Cascades in 1894 (according to written data he was declared in Case Noyale). His paternal grandfather: Ittoo Bappoo must be the first settlers of Sept Cascades.
- Chandrabhaga Marotte (maiden name Govind)’s father: Atmaram Govind was born in Sept Cascades in 1906.
- Luximon Saccaram’s mother: Ms. Tarabye was born in Sept Cascades (around 1912).

4.2. Camp Roche
- Devejee Essoo’s maternal grandmother (no name mentioned) came from India to settle in Camp Roche (around 1906).

4.3. Camp Mapou
- Anunta Shankur Bhiwajee’s mother (no name mentioned) was born in Camp Mapou (around 1901).

4.4. Glen Park
- Devejee Essoo’s paternal grandfather (no name mentioned) came from India to settle in Glen Park (around 1906).

4.5. Vacoas/ La Réunion
- Sadeo Luximon’s mother (no name mentioned) was born in Vacoas (around 1900).
- Muktabee Toocaram (maiden name Gopalla) was born in Vacoas in 1945.
- Cassibye Rugjee (maiden name Toocaram)’s paternal grandmother (no name mentioned) came from India to settle in Vacoas (around 1893).
- Babooram Mahadoo’s mother: Gungabye Ramma was born in Vacoas (around 1909).
- Seewasamba Bappoo was born in Vacoas in 1933.
- Darriabye Bhiwajee (maiden name Gunnoo)’s father (no name mentioned) was born in Vacoas (around 1908).
- Beiram Gunputh’s mother: Soobadra Candeey was born in Vacoas (around 1915).
- Anand Sawant Mulloo’s maternal great-grandfather: Ittoo Huree came from India to settle in La Réunion (around 1881).
- Moteeram Apajee was born in La Réunion in 1929. His mother: Mooktabye Dondee was born in Vacoas (around 1904) and his maternal grandfather: Dondee came from India to settle in La Réunion (around 1899). His father: Balkisna Apajee came from India to settle in Vacoas (around 1900).
- Hoomabye Bappoo (maiden name Brambodary) was born in La Réunion in 1924. Her father: Larkhia Brambodary was also born in La Réunion (around 1899).

4.6. Quinze Cantons
- Tookaram Narayen was born in Quinze Cantons in 1941. His father: Papatrao Narayen was also born in Quinze Cantons in 1912.

4.7. La Marie
- Dasruth Coocaram’s mother: Saraspati Gopika was born in La Marie (around 1906).

4.8. Paillote
- Santabye Suckhoo (maiden name Gunnoo) was born in Paillote in 1929.

4.9. Beau Bassin
- Anand Sawant Mulloo was born in Beau Bassin in 1936.
- Jaywantee Mahadoo (maiden name Hurree) was born in Beau Bassin in 1945.
- Kamlawantee Apajee (maiden name Bhikajee) was born in Beau Bassin in 1938.
- Beiram Gunputh was born in Beau Bassin in 1940.
- Chandrabhaga Marottee (maiden name Govind) was born in Beau Bassin in 1929. Her mother: Ms. Abiramjee was also born in Beau Bassin in 1911.
- Hons. Sheilabai Bappoo (maiden name Rama) was born in Beau Bassin in 1947.

5. Port Louis

5.1. Vallée des Prêtres
- Isnoo Govinda was born in Vallée des Prêtres in 1929. His mother: Ms. Govinda was also born in Vallée des Prêtres (around 1904). His maternal grandfather (no name mentioned) came from India to settle in Vallée des Prêtres (around 1899).

5.2. Port Louis
- Santabye Suckhoo (maiden name Gunnoo)’s mother: Saitra Pandoo was born in Port Louis (around 1904).
6. Flacq
   6.1. Flacq
       - Daiwoojee Paddia’s paternal grandmother (no name mentioned) was born in Flacq (around 1895).

   6.2. Mont Ida
       - Radeeca Luximon (maiden name Boyee)’s father (no name mentioned) was born in Mont Ida (around 1912).

   6.3. Sebastopol
       - Radeeca Luximon (maiden name Boyee) was born in Sebastopol in 1937. Her mother (no name mentioned) was also born in Sebastopol (around 1912).

   6.4. Bel air / Rivière sèche
       - Bhudrassen Toocaram’s mother (no name mentioned) was born in Bel Air Rivière Sèche (around 1915).

   6.5. Belle Rose
       - Seewajee Sonia’s wife (no name mentioned) was born in Belle Rose (around 1939).
       - Gangabye Ramma (maiden name Guneea) was born in Belle Rose in 1936.
       - Bheewa Ramma’s mother: Baima Sonia was born in Belle Rose (around 1901).

6.6. St Julien
    - Bali Ramma was born in St Julien (around 1926).

6.7. Melrose
    - Jaibye Essoo (maiden name Ittoo)’s mother (no name mentioned) was born in Melrose (around 1923).

7. Moka
   7.1. Alma
       - Anand Sawant Mulloo’s father: Jayram Mulloo was born in Alma (around 1911). His paternal great-grandfather: Luthkmun Sawant came from India to settle in Alma (around 1881).
       - Saraswonteebye Puddoo (maiden name Ramma) was born in Alma in 1946.
       - Premdev Luximon’s father: Atmaram Luximon was born in Alma in 1907. His paternal grandmother: Ms. Arjoon was also born in Alma (around 1882).
       - Bheewa Ramma was born in Alma in 1926. His father: Goind Ramma was also born in Alma in 1882.
7.2. Dagotière

- Maruti Mahadoo was born in Dagotière (around 1932).
- Ramabye Ramma (Pama)’s mother (no name mentioned) was born in Dagotière (around 1902).

7.3. Providence

- Sakoon Luximon (maiden name Kistna) was born in Providence (around 1940).

7.4. Côte d’Or

- Beiram Gunputh’s father: Parasram Gunputh was born in Côte d’Or (around 1915).
## Appendix 4 - Table of informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N°</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>first name</th>
<th>Maiden</th>
<th>DOB</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
<th>DOB</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Grandparents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>JA</td>
<td>Ambrojee</td>
<td>Jajabye</td>
<td>Chawan</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>La Gaulette</td>
<td>Cassiram Ambrojee</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>La Gaulette</td>
<td>Guna Luximan</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td>Sookdeo Ragoo</td>
<td>Chawan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>Bhageruth</td>
<td>Bayoo</td>
<td>Madoo</td>
<td>Cascavelle</td>
<td>Kreshna Bhageeruth</td>
<td>La Gaulette</td>
<td>Doorputh</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td>Jotee Madoo</td>
<td>Cascavelle</td>
<td>Grandparents came from India to Cascavelle (P) Gorges (M)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>RT</td>
<td>Rutnee</td>
<td>Toolsa</td>
<td>Santoo</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td>Madoo Rutnee</td>
<td>Le Morne</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td>Le Morne</td>
<td>Grandparents came from India</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>RR</td>
<td>Ramma</td>
<td>Rammabye</td>
<td>Pama</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Xavier</td>
<td>Siwa Ramma</td>
<td>Cascavelle</td>
<td>Ramabye</td>
<td>Dagotière</td>
<td>Xavier</td>
<td>Paternal grandfather owned lands in Xavier: Goonabye Pama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>CH</td>
<td>Haree</td>
<td>Casseebye</td>
<td>Luximan</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>La Gaulette</td>
<td>Maroot Haree</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chintu Luximan</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>CI</td>
<td>Ittoo</td>
<td>Changoola</td>
<td>Tateea</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>Suckhoo</td>
<td>Santabye</td>
<td>Gunnoo</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Paillote</td>
<td>Baliram Suckhoo</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td>Saitra Pandoo</td>
<td>Port Louis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Succaram</td>
<td>Syenabye</td>
<td>Succaram</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Le Val</td>
<td>Maruti Mahadoo</td>
<td>Dagotière</td>
<td>Succaram</td>
<td>Le Val</td>
<td>Pandeea</td>
<td>Palma</td>
<td>Maternal grandparents came from India to Gorges: Janer Rawjee (grandmother). Paternal grandparents came from India to Chamouny.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>SL</td>
<td>Luximon</td>
<td>Sadeo</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td>Radeeca Boyee</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Sebastopol</td>
<td>Vacoas</td>
<td>Luximon</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td>Paternal grandfather: Isram Sonoo came from India to Tamarin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>SO</td>
<td>Sonoo</td>
<td>Sumbhajee</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Le Val</td>
<td>Damenteebye Huree</td>
<td>Choisy</td>
<td>Janhee</td>
<td>Maypat Hurdaas Sonoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>BS</td>
<td>Suckhoo</td>
<td>Boyo</td>
<td>Suckhoo</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Chamouny</td>
<td>Toocaram Ittoo</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Bois Noury</td>
<td>Dhondee</td>
<td>Chamouny</td>
<td>Suckhoo</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>RP</td>
<td>Pandoo</td>
<td>Ratnajee</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Ramabeye Pandoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Pandoo</td>
<td>Ramabye</td>
<td>Sonoo</td>
<td>Le Val</td>
<td>Sakhoo</td>
<td>Ramjee</td>
<td>Le Val</td>
<td>Madev Sonoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Chawan</td>
<td>Manju</td>
<td>Ganoo</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Bois Noury</td>
<td>Kisna Chawan</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Bois Noury</td>
<td>Gouja</td>
<td>Bois Noury</td>
<td>Babia</td>
<td>Came from India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>BT</td>
<td>Toocaram</td>
<td>Bhudrassen</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>New Grove</td>
<td>Muktabye Gopalla</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Vacoas</td>
<td>Bel Air Rivière Sèche</td>
<td>Narain Tookaram</td>
<td>Cascade Sabani (Chamouny) (1908)</td>
<td>Grandparents came from India to Chamouny. Owned lands in Chamouny.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>JR</td>
<td>Ramma</td>
<td>Jeejabye</td>
<td>Babboo</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Le Val</td>
<td>Ram Ramma</td>
<td>Cascavelle</td>
<td>Boyo</td>
<td>Sadeo Babboo</td>
<td>Paternal grandfather came from India</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>CR</td>
<td>Rugjee</td>
<td>Cassibye</td>
<td>Toocaram</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Chamouny</td>
<td>Ramchandar Rugjee</td>
<td>Suckoo Appa</td>
<td>Chemin Grenier</td>
<td>Paternal grandmother came from India to Vacoas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Paddia</td>
<td>Daiwoojee</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>La Foret (L'Escalier)</td>
<td>Seetabye Pudoo</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Chemin Grenier</td>
<td>Rakmabye Pandea</td>
<td>La Rosa</td>
<td>Gunputh Paddia</td>
<td>Paternal grandfather: Rowjee born in La Foret. Paternal grandmother born in Flacq. Paternal great-grandfather came from India to Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Initials</td>
<td>Surname</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Father’s Surname</td>
<td>Father’s Location</td>
<td>Mother’s Surname</td>
<td>Mother’s Location</td>
<td>Paternal Grandfather</td>
<td>Maternal Grandfather</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>AM</td>
<td>Mulloo</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Beau Bassin</td>
<td>Satyamishtah Cannayah</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Sayah Mahadoo</td>
<td>New Grove</td>
<td>Jayram Mulloo</td>
<td>Alma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Anand Sawant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Paternal grandfather of his mother: Beesajee Mahadoo, came from India to La Rosa. His son: Raggoo Mahadoo is the father of his mother. Maternal grandfather of his father: Ittoo Huree came from India to La Réunion. Paternal grandfather of his father: Luthkum Sawant, came from India to Alma. Grandmother of his father: Kassee Bappoo came from India</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>Mahadoo</td>
<td>Babooram</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>New Grove</td>
<td>Jaywantee Hurree</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Beau Bassin</td>
<td>Gungabye Ramma</td>
<td>Vacoas</td>
<td>Bhanoo Mahadoo</td>
<td>New Grove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Grandfather: Beesajee Mahadoo came from India to La Rosa (New Grove) in 1859</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>RB</td>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>Ratnabye</td>
<td>Sonoo</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Cluny</td>
<td>Seewasamba Bappoo</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Vacoas</td>
<td>Gangabye Oumajee</td>
<td>Britainia (1913)</td>
<td>Goid Sonoo</td>
<td>Eau Bleue (1911)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Paternal grandfather: Tanajee Sonoo came from India to Le Val in 1856</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>SB</td>
<td>Bhiwajee</td>
<td>Anunta Shankur</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Sept Cascades</td>
<td>Darriabye Gunnoo</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Le Val</td>
<td>Camp Mapou</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Paternal grandfather: Amruta Toocaram (Chamouny)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Coocaram</td>
<td>Darsruth</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Case Noyale</td>
<td>Atmaram</td>
<td>Her grandfather was in Gorges</td>
<td>Saraspati Gopika</td>
<td>La Marie</td>
<td>Dondee Coocaram</td>
<td>Case Noyale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Paternal grandfather: Bhiwa Coocaram Sawant Wari came from India to Gorges. Paternal grandmother Ms. Pandoo (Gorges)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>IG</td>
<td>Govinda</td>
<td>Isnoo</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Vallée des Prêtres</td>
<td>Saraswattee Chanwan</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td>Govinda</td>
<td>Vallée des Prêtres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal grandfather came from India to Vallée des Prêtres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Govinda</td>
<td>Saraswatee</td>
<td>Chawan</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td>Isnoo Govinda</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Vallée des Prêtres</td>
<td>Guna Luximan</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
<td>Sookdeo Ragoo Chawan</td>
<td>Gorges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal grandparents came from India</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A Study of Marathi Settlements in Mauritius**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Surname 1</th>
<th>Surname 2</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Town 1</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Great-Grandfather &amp; Grandmother</th>
<th>Great-grandfather &amp; Grandmother Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>DE</td>
<td>Essoo</td>
<td>Devejee</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Sept Cascades</td>
<td>Staub</td>
<td>Oomabye</td>
<td>Balajee Essoo</td>
<td>Paternal grandfather came from India to Glen Park. Maternal grandmother came from India to Camp Roche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>JE</td>
<td>Essoo</td>
<td>Ittoo</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Sept Cascades</td>
<td>Devejee Essoo</td>
<td>Melrose</td>
<td>Maternal grandfather came from India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>MA</td>
<td>Apjee</td>
<td>Moteeram</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Kamlawantee Bhikajee</td>
<td>Mooktabye Dondee</td>
<td>Vacoas</td>
<td>Maternal grandfather: Dondee came from India to La Réunion. Maternal grandmother came from India: Jyotee Apjee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>CB</td>
<td>Babjee</td>
<td>Cheemah</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Nouvelle France</td>
<td>Bali Ramma (1st)/ Bhikoo Balloo (2nd)</td>
<td>St Julien/ Choisy</td>
<td>Grandfather: Baliram Babajee. Great-grandparents came from India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### A Study of Marathi Settlements in Mauritius

<p>| | | | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Luximon</td>
<td>Parbatee</td>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Sept Cascades</td>
<td>Rama Luximon</td>
<td>Cascavelle</td>
<td>Koyna Luximon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Luximon</td>
<td>Premdev</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Clarence</td>
<td>Sakoon Kistna</td>
<td>Providence</td>
<td>Janee Sonoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>Sheilabai</td>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Beau Bassin</td>
<td>Dayanand Bappoo</td>
<td>La Gaulette</td>
<td>Melrose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>BG</td>
<td>Gunputh</td>
<td>Beiram</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Beau Bassin</td>
<td>Soobadra Candeey</td>
<td>Vacoas</td>
<td>Parasram Gunputh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>BH</td>
<td>Ramma</td>
<td>Bheewa</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Alma</td>
<td>Gangabye Guneea</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Belle Rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Marottee</td>
<td>Chandrabhaga</td>
<td>Govind</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Beau Bassin</td>
<td>Sambajee Marottee</td>
<td>Abiramjee</td>
<td>Beau Bassin (1911)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Grandfather:** Ittoo Bappoo born in St Julien in 1863 and died in 1960 in Henrietta. Paternal great-grandfather; Bappoo and paternal great-grandmother: Gopeea, came from India.

**Paternal grandfather:** Mahadeve Luximon born in Case Noyale in 1882. Great-grandfather; Luximon, came from India in 1862 at the age of 14. Paternal grandmother: Ms. Arjoon born in Alma.

**Paternal grandfather:** Siwsamba Rama. Paternal great grandfather: Rama came from India in 1854 at the age of 23 (born 1831) and settled in the South. Paternal great grandmother: Rajoo came from India in 1856 at the age of 18 (born 1838).

**Paternal great grandfather:** Bappoo came from India at the age of 18 and married Ms. Hemnah. They had a son: Ramjee Bappoo (the paternal grandfather born in Chemin Grenier.

**Paternal great grandfather:** Bappoo came from India at the age of 18 and married Ms. Hemnah. They had a son: Ramjee Bappoo (the paternal grandfather born in Chemin Grenier.
Appendix 5 - Family tree of Ittoo Bappoo (based on written data)
Appendix 6 - Family tree of Chawan family

- Sookdeo Raggo Chaww maried Goonah Luciman
  - Roorkmabye Chawan maried Dajee Gomesh
  - Ram Chawan maried Eshoda Govina
  - Krishna Chawan maried Manjula Gano
  - Ludimay Chawan maried Girajaye Mahadoo
  - Soni Chawan maried Isno Govinda
  - Bharat Chawan maried Tulsabye Gano
  - Pirtha Chawan maried Bhassen Sharam
  - Arjoom Chawan maried Kamlaye Ludiman
  - Ankoosh Chawan maried Amalaye Rama
  - Itabaye Chawan maried Dasruith Haroo
  - Heerabaye Chawan maried Ganpatruss Islam
  - Gaajabaye Chawan maried Cassyram Ambrojee
### Appendix 7 - Database of immigrants

**Ship: Attiet Rohoman - Bombay - Arrived: 20th April 1852**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name of Immigrant</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Name of Father/Mother</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pergunah</th>
<th>Zillah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dajee</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhanoo</td>
<td>Malooga</td>
<td>Colapore</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Luximon</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Ramjee</td>
<td>Gorgaon</td>
<td>Ryghad</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bhagoo</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Ramjee dawootar</td>
<td>Gorgaon</td>
<td>Ryghad</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gunnoo</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Luxumon</td>
<td>Gondhooila</td>
<td>Sittarra</td>
<td>Maundev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rutna</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Soorastree</td>
<td>Sumchand</td>
<td>Hurmaee</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Sumbhajee</td>
<td>Sumchand</td>
<td>Ryghad</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Babajee</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Ballojee</td>
<td>Mhar</td>
<td>Poona</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ramajee</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mhalba Sindhay</td>
<td>Bhamorda</td>
<td>Kholapoor</td>
<td>Deccan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bhyyoo</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Baboorao</td>
<td>Kirla</td>
<td>Kholapoor</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Hurry</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Suggoo Sindhia</td>
<td>Kirla</td>
<td>Kholapoor</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ramjeey</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Govindrawar</td>
<td>Kirla</td>
<td>Kholapoor</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Purusram</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Harryba</td>
<td>Auckkooj</td>
<td>Sittara</td>
<td>Sattara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Gopali</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Yencoorje</td>
<td>Vayee</td>
<td>Sittara</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Umroottah</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Undhoo</td>
<td>Singaon</td>
<td>Coragaon</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Soobhama</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhicoo</td>
<td>Jhumpore</td>
<td>Sirrala</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Coostma</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bapoo</td>
<td>Jhumpore</td>
<td>Sirrala</td>
<td>Kholapoor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kaina</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Succobo Senday</td>
<td>Mungla</td>
<td>Sirala</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Jillajee</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mahaputtu</td>
<td>Cullumba</td>
<td>Jomun</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Toocaram</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Suttojee</td>
<td>Harryyangon</td>
<td>Jomun</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ram</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Toonajee</td>
<td>Harryyangon</td>
<td>Mularam</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Gornack</td>
<td>Jurnal</td>
<td>Mayen</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Boobajee</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Gopali</td>
<td>Jattagaon</td>
<td>Malwan</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Ramoo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Jotee Dulree</td>
<td>Bhdurgaon</td>
<td>Kolapoor</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Loharoo</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Esso</td>
<td>Seengasur</td>
<td>Rutnhiyer</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Hittoo</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mhadoo</td>
<td>Balsem</td>
<td>Salsatta</td>
<td>Tanana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Bhicoo</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Rowjee</td>
<td>Hagoatom</td>
<td>Mhar</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Hurry</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Ragoo</td>
<td>Mhar</td>
<td>Chiplore</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Dewjee</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Luccojee Bhuwa</td>
<td>Simoollee</td>
<td>Khairgaon</td>
<td>Huggur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Hunmanta</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Hurry Paywar</td>
<td>Bharoolla</td>
<td>Poonah</td>
<td>Deccan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Gomajee</td>
<td>Khurenta</td>
<td>Chiploon</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Suucaram</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Appoojada</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Poonah</td>
<td>Deccan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Dhaaco</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bapoo</td>
<td>Umboul</td>
<td>Khaira</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Janoo Pawar</td>
<td>Sumgasur</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Umrroota</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Rajba</td>
<td>Gobarda</td>
<td>Rayee</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Amnajee</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Dhondoo</td>
<td>Sumgasur</td>
<td>Ratnagherry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Babajee</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Gunnoo</td>
<td>Boyme</td>
<td>Ratnagherry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Luximon</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhawoo</td>
<td>Boyme</td>
<td>Ratnagherry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Govind</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Jhanoo Pawar</td>
<td>Boyme</td>
<td>Ratnagherry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Ramjeey</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Hybutlee</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Hurmeen</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Bhica</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Coosna</td>
<td>Sumgasur</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Urjoon</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>ragoo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Succaram</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Marree</td>
<td>Buctlurghaon</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Jannoo</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Sahbaje</td>
<td>Marree</td>
<td>Buctlurghaon</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Bahiroo</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Baboo Gadow</td>
<td>Junalla</td>
<td>Colapoor</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Gunnoo</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Unnooo</td>
<td>Malwan</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Gunnoo</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Cooshmaje</td>
<td>Hundgaon</td>
<td>Ryghad</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Pandoo</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Sutura Jadoore</td>
<td>Kirla</td>
<td>Kholapour</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>sado</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Sadoo</td>
<td>Indapoor</td>
<td>Sholapur</td>
<td>Curnatuck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Putlajee</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Kristnajee</td>
<td>Atundo</td>
<td>Poona</td>
<td>Deccan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Dhondee</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Lingoo</td>
<td>Aslampore</td>
<td>Poona</td>
<td>Sittara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Raggoo</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>Aslampore</td>
<td>Nagram</td>
<td>Sanglee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Luximon</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Soobhama</td>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>Sunderpore</td>
<td>Solapare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Dewram</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Roopajee</td>
<td>Bhewnaagga</td>
<td>Gogo</td>
<td>Cuttywar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Ethoo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bappoo cuddun</td>
<td>Nagralla</td>
<td>Valeea</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Ittoo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Cadarry</td>
<td>Bhatwarly</td>
<td>Suttarah</td>
<td>Deccan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Toorakam</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Hurrybah</td>
<td>Vaye</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Gopalla</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Emmapore</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Hurry</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Sunapa</td>
<td>Vudgawn</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
<td>Deccan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Goundapa</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Dhamdee</td>
<td>Guddagaon</td>
<td>Itha</td>
<td>Khampoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Dajee</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Essoo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ratnagherri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Gunnoo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Rayajee</td>
<td>Ghiplain</td>
<td>Kistnagherry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Hurry</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Gurrand</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Toorakam</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Govind</td>
<td>Auckkooj</td>
<td>Sunderpore</td>
<td>Maghee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Urjoon</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Gawajee</td>
<td>Malwan</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Umbajee</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Gopal</td>
<td>Malwan</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Rawjee</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Nattaajee</td>
<td>Gurrand</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Govind</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Baboo Sala</td>
<td>Rajpoore</td>
<td>Malwan</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Govind</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Sumbooo Sala</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Malwan</td>
<td>Malwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Rowjee</td>
<td>Chakim</td>
<td>Currand</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Govinda</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Hiwjoo Mally</td>
<td>Hunga</td>
<td>Currard</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Succaram</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Govind</td>
<td>Rajpoore</td>
<td>Malwan</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Limba</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Sudoo</td>
<td>Golapoor</td>
<td>Serool</td>
<td>Moglaee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Bhowanee</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Seenajee</td>
<td>Goormole</td>
<td>Acucote</td>
<td>Moglaee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Ittoo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Gadyory</td>
<td>Mungoora</td>
<td>Sunderpore</td>
<td>Moglaee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Sattoba</td>
<td>Mungoora</td>
<td>Sunderpore</td>
<td>Moglaee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Sadoo</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Luximon</td>
<td>Mungoora</td>
<td>Sunderpore</td>
<td>Moglaee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Bhagoo</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Succoo</td>
<td>Mareee</td>
<td>Malwan</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Babajee</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Gunnoo</td>
<td>Kirla</td>
<td>Malwan</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Succaram</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Dhondee</td>
<td>Anagehali</td>
<td>Dowlathao</td>
<td>Moglaee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Ranoo</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Samaje</td>
<td>Mutwar</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Nunnoo</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Baggojee</td>
<td>Arum</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Kolapore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>appiajye</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Gopalla</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Gungasing</td>
<td>Hingungaon</td>
<td>poosanly</td>
<td>Kanapoor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Sumbhoo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mancojee</td>
<td>Kharde</td>
<td>Himra</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Appa</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhanoo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Bhova</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Jullagaon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Babajee</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Havodkhan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Luximon</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Purwari</td>
<td>Gunnoo</td>
<td>Ahitmarpit</td>
<td>Sunnatta</td>
<td>Kolapur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Sookia</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Purwari</td>
<td>Ganoo</td>
<td>Khanapoor</td>
<td>Gorogaon</td>
<td>Sittara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Ragoo</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Purwari</td>
<td>Hurmaik</td>
<td>Dhoolloun</td>
<td>Rajapore</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>coosnaik</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>purwar</td>
<td>Gunmack</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Vayedesh</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Mahadoor</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Purwari</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Baralee</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Balnack</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Purwari</td>
<td>Rajnack</td>
<td>Vudram</td>
<td>Rajpore</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Silnack</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>purwar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Conda</td>
<td>Rajpore</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Saunack</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Purwar</td>
<td>Balnack</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Rajpore</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Sonoo</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Purwar</td>
<td>Bhuknack</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Rajpore</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Hara</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>purvar</td>
<td>Dadnack</td>
<td>Coratna</td>
<td>Rajpore</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Gondnack</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Purwar</td>
<td>Dondnack</td>
<td>Chipoolon</td>
<td>Rajpore</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Badnack</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Purwari</td>
<td>Bapnack</td>
<td>Doool</td>
<td>Rajpore</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Janoo</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>purwar</td>
<td>Madnack</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Chipoolon</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Gunnoo</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Purwar</td>
<td>Ramnack</td>
<td>Mamee</td>
<td>Hotagun</td>
<td>Mhur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Mancoo</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Purwar</td>
<td>Sunnack</td>
<td>Soovatgur</td>
<td>Rajpore</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Bhagoo</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Purwar</td>
<td>Gunnack</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Rajpore</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Suckoo</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Purwar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bellary</td>
<td>Rajpore</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Hurry</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Purwar</td>
<td>Madnack</td>
<td>Lathoat</td>
<td>Rajpore</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Rajoo</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Purwar</td>
<td>Itnac</td>
<td>Chomhoun</td>
<td>Rajpore</td>
<td>Rutnagherry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Purwar</td>
<td>Sumbha</td>
<td>Cowta</td>
<td>Minus</td>
<td>Curtnatack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Purwar</td>
<td>Narroo</td>
<td>Assoolee</td>
<td>Vayedesh</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Suddoo</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>purwar</td>
<td>Mohadoo</td>
<td>Mussole</td>
<td>Pillor</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Sooknack</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Purwari</td>
<td>Guanack</td>
<td>Fhull</td>
<td>Ghare</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Rajnack</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Sunerane</td>
<td>Cummulnack</td>
<td>Chaploor</td>
<td>Harnac</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Study of Marathi Settlements in Mauritius

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Native Language</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blucka</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>sunerane</td>
<td>Rammack</td>
<td>Malereem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajnack</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>sunerane</td>
<td>Bhicknack</td>
<td>Veloore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babajee</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>sunerane</td>
<td>Luxemon</td>
<td>Gopalee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mancoo</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>sunerane</td>
<td>Jannick</td>
<td>Humsol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandoo</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>sunerane</td>
<td>Sujunjnath</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rammack</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>sunerane</td>
<td>Surnack</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadnack</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>sunerane</td>
<td>Bhamnack</td>
<td>Surour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>sunerane</td>
<td>Dieren</td>
<td>Warshah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balloo</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Hurry</td>
<td>Saunnand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Sutba</td>
<td>Bulla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islram</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Luximon</td>
<td>Sorsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naroo</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Soneba</td>
<td>Causarly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govind</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mooraree</td>
<td>Jugoorta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Madoo</td>
<td>Dhaloul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vithoba</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Arjoon</td>
<td>Dewgud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succoo</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Ramjee</td>
<td>Urjoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopail</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Baloow</td>
<td>Soathan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suttoo</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Naroo</td>
<td>Sooroochy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appa</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Yesso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranoo</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Frimbadjee</td>
<td>Hermoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursinga</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mahadoow</td>
<td>Tambe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yesso</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Govind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khundoo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mahadoow</td>
<td>Serool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhicajee</td>
<td>Chiploone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Yesso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Narreyen</td>
<td>Shapoor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coosna</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mulleebe</td>
<td>Gorenudale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succoo</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bivajee</td>
<td>Ayara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulbarea</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhowaneen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewba</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Baloow</td>
<td>Cullumbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhyroo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Samjee</td>
<td>Ingoolra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhiwa</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Muraree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandoo</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Appa Jadoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soobhana</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Camajee</td>
<td>Singam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beroo</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Baloow</td>
<td>Currund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suttoo</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Naicoo</td>
<td>Savuddah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrayen</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Appa</td>
<td>Itta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawjee</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Govinidaw</td>
<td>Surely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jotee</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soobhana</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Esso</td>
<td>Jare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Dhondjee</td>
<td>Rojapore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suckia</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Essaraye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowjee</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Jotee Suddoo</td>
<td>Murteee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undoo</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Narreyee</td>
<td>Cullund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mancoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawjee</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>Bhasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amria</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bheroo</td>
<td>Nunballa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhicajee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undoom</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Narrayee</td>
<td>Cullund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mancoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawjee</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>Bhasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amria</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bheroo</td>
<td>Nunballa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhicajee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undoom</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Narrayee</td>
<td>Cullund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mancoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawjee</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>Bhasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amria</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bheroo</td>
<td>Nunballa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhicajee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undoom</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Narrayee</td>
<td>Cullund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mancoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawjee</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>Bhasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amria</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bheroo</td>
<td>Nunballa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhicajee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undoom</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Narrayee</td>
<td>Cullund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mancoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawjee</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>Bhasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amria</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bheroo</td>
<td>Nunballa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rama</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhicajee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Study of Marathi Settlements in Mauritius

| Page | 147 |

| BOYS |
|------|-----|
| 1    | Babajee 10 Maratha Bully Jamkim Been Moglae |
| 2    | Gunno 5 Purwaree Aupnack Fullanda Weergud Rutnaghrerry |
| 3    | Babajee 10 Maratha Luximon Gorda Aust Ungaon Gunthurra |
| 4    | Babajee 10 Maratha Gonoo Pawar Gondavella Mussole Maundea |
| 5    | Ganno 5 Maratha Hurabajee Aucoally - Poonaah |
| 6    | Dowallata 6 Maratha Narreyan - Gundava Surat |
| 7    | Rama 9 Maratha Khemchand Bhoun Poona Deccan |
| 8    | Bappoo 1 Maratha Babajee - - - |
| 9    | Babajee 11 Maratha Appajee - - - |
| 10   | seerkuttee 1 Maratha Coosna - - - |

<p>| WOMEN |
|-------|-----|
| 1    | Ramma 30 Maratha Hurrybe - Sholapore Curnutuck |
| 2    | Tooljee 30 Purwaree Shaik Dawood - Malwan Rutnagerry |
| 3    | Wooma 21 Maratha Hurrybe Jhaukum Beer Moglae |
| 4    | Sukeena 25 Maratha Shaik Dawood Rande Tungin Goa |
| 5    | Goorja 20 Maratha Khundoo - - Concan |
| 6    | Luxnee 28 Maratha Gunputrao Paunchool Hurmae Concan |
| 7    | Cassy 35 Maratha Ragoba Khumatee Chiploon Concan |
| 8    | Rucknmaee 30 Maratha Ramjee - Khuttao Sittarah |
| 9    | Ruacknmae 30 Maratha Arthoo - Solapoor Sittarah |
| 10   | Beeja 20 Maratha Jotee Glaunpoor Vala Sittarah |
| 11   | Bhima 23 Maratha Cassiba Ratel Condoor Currenja Sittarah |
| 12   | Dhuree 22 Maratha Appajee Aera Rivala Poonaah |
| 13   | Bhagee 30 Purwaree Carnack Hullanda Dewgud Ratnagerry |
| 14   | Sumtoo 22 Maratha Suttoo - Sittara Khanapore |
| 15   | Saye 40 Maratha Suttoo Bhoolay Curand Sattara Deccan |
| 16   | Bhinnah 30 Maratha Ramjee - Poona Deccan |
| 17   | Saeel 40 Maratha Ballojee Mirla Curand Sittarah |
| 18   | Woomee 25 Maratha Soobhana Colapore Verool Moglae |
| 19   | Mama 50 Maratha Rama Islampore - sittarah |
| 20   | Bhagee 22 Maratha Hurry Simnapore Natapala sittarah |
| 21   | Succoo 18 Maratha Dajee Yagaon Unjunvule Concan |
| 22   | Doorgee 20 Maratha Gopall Jogmundady Rutnagerry Sittara |
| 23   | Candy 40 Maratha Essoo Vudgaon Kendore Poona |
| 24   | Jahyee 20 Maratha Khundoo Pawar - Humae Concan |
| 25   | Rumma 30 Maratha Pandoo Pandarpore Sholapore Curnutuck |
| 26   | Succoo 26 Maratha Ramjee Golabur - Ratnagerry Concan |
| 27   | Raveea 25 Maratha Succaram Argroy - Curnutuck |
| 28   | Bhajee 25 Maratha Bainack Lutwan Rajapore Rutnagerry |
| 29   | Sukhena 25 Maratha Cassum Chiploon Malwan Rutnagerry |
| 30   | Gopee 20 Maratha Dhumack Dhungur Rajapare Concan |
| 31   | Bhagee 19 Purwaree Gummaek Madela Rajapore Rutnagerry |
| 32   | Dhumee 22 Purwaree Dewnack Coovey Rajapore Concan |
| 33   | Gujee 22 Purwaree Succaram Angray Moruj Curnutuck |
| 34   | Nublaee 20 Maratha Futoobee Waree Caragaon Sittarah |
| 35   | Furbutto 35 Maratha Mahiputtuh Cummul - Moglae |
| 36   | Dhumee 22 Maratha Appajee Aena - Poonaah |
| 37   | Elsae 30 Maratha Aena Caragaon Caragaon |
| 38   | Rucknaee 25 Maratha Pandoojee Cooreoonda Khair Caragaon |
| 39   | Bhagoo 25 Maratha jebaba Gonde Curand Sittara |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Bheemee</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Suttoo</td>
<td>Gonde</td>
<td>Currand</td>
<td>sitara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Ambee</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Suttooa</td>
<td>Babulgaon</td>
<td>Sunderpur</td>
<td>sitara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Succoo</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bappoo</td>
<td>Mhar</td>
<td>Burdapore</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Umbee</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Gunnajee</td>
<td>Ucklooj</td>
<td>Khurttoo</td>
<td>Sittara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Jankee</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Soottamjee</td>
<td>Dhaeser</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Yasee</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Sootamjee</td>
<td>Rajapore</td>
<td>Rutnagerry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Cassee</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Gunnoojee</td>
<td>Chiploon</td>
<td>Rutnagerry</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Ahoo</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Soottovjee</td>
<td>Calagao</td>
<td>Solampoor</td>
<td>Currand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Rae</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Soottovjee</td>
<td>Calagao</td>
<td>Solampoor</td>
<td>Currand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Chimah</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Ballajee</td>
<td>Dindoree</td>
<td>Nassick</td>
<td>Khandesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Umbee</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Balloo</td>
<td>Somoarjim</td>
<td>BHINGAR</td>
<td>NUGGAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Gunga</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Mullajee</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>NUGGAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Shamabye</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhawarow</td>
<td>Ucculcot</td>
<td>Sholapoor</td>
<td>Curnatuck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Raye</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bhawanjee</td>
<td>Mauwardahe</td>
<td>Narrayengaun</td>
<td>Nuggur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Bujee</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Coosnapa</td>
<td>Atoonalgaw</td>
<td>Sunder</td>
<td>Moglaee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ghuene</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Bahanoo</td>
<td>Murly</td>
<td>Currand</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Gujaee</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Veerajee</td>
<td>Usulgaon</td>
<td>Khair</td>
<td>Umult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Jaunkee</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Delgaon</td>
<td>Chambargowar</td>
<td>Ruggur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Enma</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Roya</td>
<td>Uslunma</td>
<td>Allibag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Baya</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Uno</td>
<td>Culagoon</td>
<td>Islampore</td>
<td>curand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Portee</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>umbhajee</td>
<td>khair</td>
<td>Mhar</td>
<td>concan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GIRLS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Essoo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Purwaree</td>
<td>Ramaick</td>
<td>Purwaree</td>
<td>Rajapore</td>
<td>Rutnagerry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aunee</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Pur soo</td>
<td>Auckloo</td>
<td>Khuttao</td>
<td>Sittarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dhondoe</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Rutna Soreda</td>
<td>Paunchaw</td>
<td>Hurnae</td>
<td>Concan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nubbaee</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Hurbajee</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Rivalla</td>
<td>Poona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Baya</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Aupnack</td>
<td>Fulland</td>
<td>Dewgud</td>
<td>Rutnagerry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bagoo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Purwaree</td>
<td>Beenna</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Munnee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Purwaree</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Byka</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Purwaree</td>
<td>Aupnack</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Beekee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Purwaree</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Essoo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Purwaree</td>
<td>Ram</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>