

From Bean to Bombay Mix

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ABSTRACT: A snack known to the western world as Bombay Mix is now ubiquitous in India and the world. Their addictive taste and simplicity of ingredients appeal across class and caste. Curiously, Bombay Mix is originally a regional delicacy from the deserts of Rajasthan and thrives in India's regional kitchens with vernacular renditions, spices and names. Noodly *bhujia* and beady *boondis* are made of Bengal gram, a variant of *C.arietinum* L. and moth bean, *V.aconitifolia*, unique to the subcontinent are mixed in various proportions and spices to make *namkeen*, literally savoury. Today, these snacks are mostly made from imported tepary beans, potato flour, cornflour, fried in palm oil and a repository of ingredients facilitated by large scale production and fuelled by popularity. These protein rich snacks have become commoditized, reduced to a singular denomination as Bombay Mix. This paper presents how a hyper local snack found its way across regional and international borders and moved beyond its original food systems and turned into a global Big Food industry.

Taste is an excellent catalyst in the migration of foods. “Bombay Mix” has been (mostly to this day) largely unknown in India, where a plethora of other names exist. Bombay mix is not a single product but is the name applied in Britain and North America to a range of moderately hot spiced mixtures of nuts, pulses, and cereals, commonly pre-packed and sold as retail snacks. In India, the term is not used, although products of this type are widely available. Typical ingredients may include: potato sticks, rice puffs, noodles of various shapes, peanuts, gram flour, chickpeas, lentils, cashews, and possibly sultanas, with salt, sugar, and a little vegetable oil. The spices usually include turmeric (for the yellow colour), chilli and pepper (Booth 1993, 399). Like the curry phenomenon, Bombay Mix has become a generic name for a particular type of snack, a congeries of fried pieces of shaped dough, dried fruits, and nuts. The word, like curry, has become a genuinely British contribution. Bombay Mix-like snacks have catchy names and smart packaging and are sold widely in the UK and USA (see Figure 1).

The name is often a visual connotation for a specific type of blended, deep-fried, savory product. The products do not follow the same recipe or ingredients, and packaging design appeals to different market segments and influences purchasing decisions. Its addictive taste and simplicity of ingredients appeal across class and caste. A compound word of no pedigreed origin but a tinge of colonial nostalgia,

“Bombay Mix” is India's tryst with the Queen's tongue. In Bombay Mix is a mouthful of salt, sweetness, and crunch which is a universally relished ark of taste.



Figure 1. A variety of Bombay Mix available in the UK. All photos taken from manufacturer's website and composited by the author.

In India, such snacks are popularly grouped under a class of foodstuff called *namkeen*, [lit salty-savory] in most Hindi-speaking areas of India. *Farsaan* is another word used to describe similar snacks in Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Sindh. However, *farsaan* may also include freshly prepared, savory small plates. In the southern states, the word *bhaksanam* or *bhaksanalu* describes deep-fried savory snacks but includes sweets in the parlance. This paper uses the word *namkeen* to describe such preparations. It is fascinating how a store cupboard ingredient in its native kitchen turned into a bar snack of sorts and today is driving a multi-billion-dollar savory snack industry. In 2020, the value of the savory snacks market in India was around USD 5.57 billion, compared to approximately 6.25 billion U.S. dollars in 2019 and is expected to reach almost 13 billion U.S. dollars by 2026 (Statista, 2022). Ethnic and traditional snacks market in United Kingdom registered a positive compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 3.35% during the period 2012 to 2017 with a sales value of GBP 99.87 million in 2017, an increase of 3.16% over 2016 (Global Data, 2018).

Today with large multinationals operating in the *namkeen* snacks vertical, catchy marketing campaigns has

made them a cultural movement while merchandising has put them on the same rack space as potato wafers and other extruded and sliced fried items. The wild success of Bombay Mix in international markets has inspired Indian FMCG to approach traditional snack with similar campaigns and marketing strategies. In studying how namkeen became Bombay Mix and in turn influenced India's own snack culture, we see how tastes and palettes have evolved across boundaries and boomeranged in a new way; a case where reverse import is not export.

Migration of people and their foods

The origin of fried namkeen like *bhujia* and *sev* in northwestern, western and central India is an evolutionary kitchen practice to preserve food for lean periods. Drought-resistant legumes helped people survive the region's harsh, dry, arid weather and hostile landscape. Foods with long shelf life and easy portability are therefore versatile and prized. Legume flour, dense in protein with a high calorific value, deep-fried into *bhujia* and *sev*, was meant to be an essential food ingredient for lean times. For the many trading communities of these regions, these foods have remained integral to their daily life (to this day), facilitating nourishment on the go. They are added to stews like a vegetable and stuffed into parathas. They are an accompaniment to rotis and rice, or paired with chai. They are festive and excessive, yet portable and lasting. They provide nourishment and an adequate replacement for fresh produce. Ironically, they are everything but accompaniment to beer and drinks like they have become in the West.

An important chapter in the movement of *bhujia* into India's vernacular kitchens is the migration of trading communities from Rajasthan, who became known as Marwari (belonging to Marwar), throughout India. A profound cultural shift begins to occur as the namkeen moved spaces. Although the earlier migration of Marwaris goes back to the seventeenth century, the steady migration from Shekhawati to Calcutta and Bombay began in the 1820s. Young men trusted to luck as they travelled on foot, camels, and boats along the river Ganges. In the 1860s construction of railways between Delhi and Calcutta made migration much easier and accelerated the process. Changes in land settlement policies and the ensuing greater commercialization of agriculture also facilitated the growth of a capitalist trader class. Marwari traders were drawn to the countryside as moneylenders and they financed the growth of new cash crops. They became a channel for British economic expansion and thereby gained substantially from participation in trade, banking, and commerce (Nakhatani, 2014). Other people from the region like Rajputs migrated for war and colonial interests as they were employed in British troops. A prominent example of a foodstuff that moved with these above said migrations is *boondi*. An identical product is prepared across the country. A settlement of Rajputs in Andhra in

the 17th century, where they came to be called Bondilis (those from Bundelkhand), introduced boondi in the region. Boondi has gone on to become an important constituent in sweets in the region.¹ Further south, the Tamils adopted the preparation and the word, and their "mixture" is most often a blend of boondi and *bhujia*-like *omapodi*, albeit made of rice.

Going beyond Bombay: The Making of a Bombay Mix

As Indians migrated beyond India, they brought with them their cuisine and namkeen, with its portability and long shelf life offered the perfect bite of nostalgia. But how did a crunchy snack, *namkeen* for those from the North and *mixture* to those from the South become Bombay Mix? There are many claims to the invention of its name. "Bombay mix" was added to the Oxford English Dictionary in June 2014, but the first known written use of the term is from 1982.² On June 11 1982, *Guardian* noted, "In Central Scotland alone, there are now over 20 community businesses [...] packaging and distributing 'Bombay Mix', marketing home produced hand-made craft goods, [etc.]" By this time it was commercially available in the UK.³ Bombay Mix was well known among the country's Southeast Asian population and was slowly gaining a foothold among locals, especially as a snack sold as an accompaniment to beer and drinks.

The term Bombay Mix was first identified by Robert Ilson during a party at the Survey of English Usage University College London; also observed on a sign at Neal's Yard, a health-food store in London; one of a variety of such foods, for which numerous terms are used: caribbean mix, tropical mix, and the American "gorp", of uncertain origin but popularly etymologized as an acronym for "good old raisins and peanuts (Algeo and Porter, 1987, 242-248). Ilson was the then Managing Editor of the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English.

But it is Sir Ghulam Noon who claimed he invented this portmanteau. He notes in his memoir that he coined the term "Bombay Mix" when he produced it at his company Bombay Halwa, established in 1973. The son of a sweet shop owner in Mumbai (the family originally hailed from Rajasthan); Noon says he began producing Bombay Mix before moving on to tackle the fast-growing market for microwaved meals (Serpell 2015)

Noon's claim may not be without reason. Raised in Bombay (now Mumbai), Noon knew the city had solid colonial associations and harnessed this to his advantage. Noon's family were *halwai*, traditional confectioners, who in the Indian context, would prepare and sell sweet and savoury snacks. He must have been familiar with the use of the word *mixture* for such preparations as it had become common parlance for such crunchy preparations in South India, especially in Tamil Nadu. Such *mixtures* were popular among the Tamil speaking diaspora of Mumbai.

Between 1951 and 1971 the number of members of ethnic minorities in the UK rose at least ten-fold...In the early 1960s there were only about 100 Indian restaurants in the UK, but by 1995 there were about 10,000 Indian restaurants in the UK which employed between 60,000 to 70,000 people and had a turnover of GBP 1.5 billion per year, more than coal, steel and shipbuilding combined. Greatly increased foreign travel as well as ever more foreign restaurants in the UK introduced foreign dishes to millions of Britons, and one result that was formerly exotic food became more and more welcome in British homes, particularly in the form of preprepared frozen and chill-cooked dishes which eliminated the need to search out unfamiliar ingredients or learn what to do with them. By the 1990s supermarkets were selling a wide array of frozen foreign food, from chicken korma to lamb pasanda to pasta penne nicoise to tagliatelle carbonara to premium-priced American ice creams. Sales in the UK of Indian ready-made meals and snacks reached GBP 331 million in 1997 (Andrew 2003, 20).

Mixtures were not an Invention, Rather an Innovation

To understand Bombay Mix, we must look into the landscape of similar preparations in the region. Notably, five distinct contributions of regional Indian kitchens form the foundation of most mixtures. These are *bhujia* from Bikaner in Rajasthan, *boondi*, *sev* from Ratlam, Madhya Pradesh, *chana jor garam* from central and eastern India, and *poha* from Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh (see Figure 2). The Government of India has recognized some of these preparations with Geographical Indication (GI) tags. Indigenous methods of production, tools and raw materials make for a plethora of regional interpretations of these basic preparations. See Appendix.



Figure 2. The original regionals: Bikaneri bhujia (dew bean), Ratlami Sev (Bengal gram flour), Boondi (Bengal gram flour), Chana jor garam (flattened Bengal gram) and poha (flattened rice). All photos taken from manufacturer's website and composited by the author.

Bhujia originates from Rajasthan and historical records date its production to 1877 (Govt. of India, 2009).⁴ The word "*bhujia*" stems from the Marwari "*bhujo*", to fry. Moth bean, *Vigna aconitifolia*, unique to the region (and India) contributes the quintessential texture and crunch of Rajasthani *bhujia*. A soft, sticky dough made from very fine moth bean flour is grated through variously perforated ladles into hot oil to make an assortment of small tubular elements.⁵ It is spiced with ground cloves, black pepper, turmeric and salt. *Bhujia* from Bikaner was awarded a Geographical Indication (GI) tag in 2009.

Sev, is a visual analogue of *seviyan* (and *bhujia*) but made with Bengal gram, a variant of *C. arietinum* L. *Sev* is crispier and spiced with cloves, Bishop's weed and turmeric. The invention of *sev*, originally called *bhildi sev* is credited to the Bhils, the indigenous tribes of Madhya Pradesh.⁶ The process of making *sev* is identical to *bhujia* but results in a vastly different product. *Sev* from Ratlam was awarded a Geographical Indication (GI) tag in 2015 (Govt. of India, 2014).

Boondi are fried beads of chickpea flour, similar to the British "scrap" and they originate from Rajasthan. It is the Hindi word for "drop" from the Sanskrit *bindu*. (Turner, Turner and Wright, 1999). *Boondi* is curiously made in the exact same method [dripping batter through a perforated ladle] and ingredient [Bengal gram flour] all over India.

Poha or *chiwda*, from the Sanskrit *chivit*, means flattened rice (Monier. 2002). All over India flattened grain and its variations are an important ingredient. Rice is cooked and flattened by beating it or in the modern day, mechanically rolled to flatten to three degrees of thicknesses - thick, thin and extra thin. Rice when cooked in the husk and flattened is puffed and shriveled giving it a unique surface area, ideal for a deep-fried snack.

The Indian Concept of Crunch

Each of the above is a snack, but as a blend, significantly tastier than the sum of its parts. The secret to *namkeen's* addictive taste lies in its assortment of shapes and diverse ingredients. A single packet may contain noodles made of *V. aconitifolia*, Bengal gram, and rice, with variations in thickness and length, *boondi*, and flattened grain, resulting in a unique organoleptic sensation.

Most *namkeens* include a combination of *bhujia*, *boondi*, *sev* and *poha*, among others. Such blends go by many vernacular names. In Maharashtra, they are called *chiwda*. Flattened and puffed rice is the main ingredient together with peanuts. *Chevdo* made in Gujarat, is a close variant. Another regional variant from west-central India is *bbuso*, and *Nadiyadi bbuso* [from Nadiyadi in Gujarat] is perhaps the most famous variant. Sprouted lentils are fried and mixed with *sev* and spices to make *dalmoth* in the Delhi-Agra region. *Ponk*, a variant of *dalmoth* made of sprouted sorghum, is popular in Surat, Gujarat. Such preparations are generally called "mixture" in South India, an English loan word that perhaps describes the preparation best. In

Bengal and Odisha, they are called *chanachur garam*, whose main constituent is deep-fried flakes of Bengal gram.

Cloves, black pepper, and chilies contribute spicy notes. Sour notes come from powders of dried pomegranate seeds, dried mango slices, and mango seeds. *Kala namak* a kiln-fired rock salt gives the snack a surge of umami and is key to making them irresistible. Powdered sugar and jaggery are added to the spice blend to balance sour and salty notes.

Namkeen includes dried fruits such as raisins, cashews, almonds, or peanuts. In a more recent innovation to the traditional repertoire, many namkeen varieties include cornflakes (introduced to the Indian market in 1994) and soya sticks. Namkeens are transformed into quick tea-time snacks by blending freshly chopped onions and tomatoes and served with a sprinkling of salts and a squeeze of lime.

Big Food and Bhujia: Where it Changed Course

Today, the popularity of the Bombay Mix-style snacks is immense, and the Big Food industry has responded with countless new variations. The noodles are mostly made from potato flour, cornflour, or imported tepary beans and fried in a blend of palm oil, corn oil, and cottonseed oil. A battery of raising and souring agents has replaced time-consuming natural fermentation methods and manual aeration of the batter. Anti-caking agents and regulators facilitate large-scale production. These originally protein-rich snacks have become commoditized, reduced to a mean war of marketing strategies.

In the early 1990's while the UK market ate Bombay Mix, American PepsiCo launched Lays in India, rudely awakening the local, sleepy snack industry. They brought their American fast food strategies, tastes, and significant investments. They had learned from the recent foray of other American fast-food brands into the Indian market like Pizza Hut, Dominoes, and Coca-Cola. They pushed hard on extruded snacks; they were best at technical know-how and knew customization to the Indian palette was vital. Indians loved their regional flavors, particularly the symphony of salt-sweet-sour and spice. Pepsi's ad campaigns and flavors worked on words like "chatpata" "khatta meetha," Soon other international and Indian FMCG vied for market share and new product development and marketing strategies emerged. Manufacturers now add nuts and dried fruits for a more luxurious feel than traditional variants that rely on lentils. They mint new nonsensical compound words like Golden mixture, Gadbad (lit. goof up) mixture, Navratan (lit. nine gems), Panchratan (lit. five gems) mix, to name a few. The snacks industry in India and the Indian-run establishments in the UK have churned out dozens of variations that are a mind-boggling play on words and flavors (see Figure 3).

A new generation of health-conscious consumers, seeking nutritional attributes in every ingredient, are addressed with "low fat" and "roasted" (instead of fried) options. The inclusion of nuts like cashews and almonds gives the snack a more virtuous image, and most brands in

this space are leveraging this. For example, little cashew (less than 9%) features in the eponymous Kaju Mixture, Kaju kismis mix, Kaju Kashmiri Mix. The last one is an oxymoron of sorts as cashew plantations in India (post-Columbian exchange) are mainly in the warm southern states with little to do with Kashmir.



Figure 3. The many derivatives of the original snack mixes introduced by large FMCG in India and Indian-owned establishments abroad. Their names are a mind-boggling play on words and flavors. All photos taken from manufacturer's website and composited by the author.

A Reverse Hyper Localization Trend

Bombay Mix's strong association with a place gives it a powerful identity, a phenomenon that has been attempted

again by many brands in India and abroad in a conscious attempt to capture an audience. While names like Madras Mixture address the “authenticity” seekers, fictitious names like Kashmiri dal moth, Delhi Mix, Mangalore Mix, Hyderabad Mix or Kerala Mixture serve to add a mysterious hyper regionalism to a concocted product. Marwari Bhujia plays on casteism, while Karachi Crunch and African Chewda clearly target specific diaspora groups. Brands like Anand (see Figure 4.) are large importers of namkeen varieties to the US. Their flavors reflect the political milieu in India like the “Andhra Mixture” and “Hyderabad Mixture”. They attempt to woo the Tamil diaspora who take great pride in their ancestry with options like “Thanjavur Mixture”, “Madras mixture” or “Tirunelveli Mixture” or call to Kerala’s religio-regional mosaic with a “Kerala mixture” or a more Moplah influenced “Thrissur Mixture.”

The packaging design reflects these nuances and all Mylar packets show a clear image of their contents with colors carefully representing the regions other cultural artefacts and textiles. In the image below, “Madras Mixture” is packaged in a deep maroon – locally called *arakku*, the color of the region’s most prized textiles and temples. Bikana’s packet for Gujarati mixture is a bright yellow and red, adopted from the region’s tie-dyed textiles palette. Bikaji’s packet for Mangalore Mix offers a modern, sleek look luring the city’s majority of software professionals, while CoFresh’s Islamic green leaves little to interpretation in Karachi Crunch (see Figure 4.) The names reference to places as a mark of authenticity. Inspired by the success of the Bombay Mix, the Indian savory snacks industry has responded with countless transpositions – all using a sense of place to create emotion driven purchasing decisions.

Marketing Traps of an Indian-ish Taste

The product diversification in the UK has on the other hand focused on adding popular curry flavors, moving somewhat away from the strong regionalism. The namkeen industry of India and the UK are linked by families having deep cultural roots in both countries. Trends that took decades to catch up now are almost mirroring each other. While the UK markets chose to focus on curry names, some Indian manufacturers have started using the prefix *paneer* for offerings - for example paneer bhujia (see Figure 5). FMCG manufacturers are attempting to move away from place-based authenticity to experimenting with a metathesis of flavors. Borrowing from other successful foods, these are new tastes for an archaic snack.

Authentic and Traditional

The trends in the packaged food industry in India are echoing many global trends. References to hyper regionalism, terroir and vernacular names add to the much in demand “authenticity” for urban consumers. (see Figure 6). The snack



Figure 4. The reverse hyper-localization trend in the “snacks” industry in India and the Indian-run establishments globally. All photos taken from manufacturer’s website and composited by the author.

industry has many large multinational players with deep pockets for marketing budgets. Brands are celebrity endorsed and design plays a crucial role in their presentation, perception and purchasing decision. In such branding, the feeling of “traditional” provides emotional security, momentarily suspending any doubts on the nutritional risks of eating such snacks. “All that is traditional must be good”, is a general feeling in the society at the moment, casting deep suspicions on the food production’s industrial methods.

Conclusion

The gustatory pleasures of deep-fried flour-based snacks are common to so many kitchen cultures. In understanding the migration of taste, it becomes apparent that societies discover similar deliciousness but differently enough to imprint on it their character. When tastes fly beyond borders, they bring with them the liberty of adaption and transposition, a freedom from the shackles of authenticity, cultural ownership and context.

With bhujia’s origins rooted in food security of desert communities, hyperlocal preparations in these regions still use bhujia as an ingredient in their cuisine. But migration of foods does not always accompany its ethos, relevance or nutritional need. With the movement of bhujia across India, many vernacular recipes evolved with little heed to



Figure 6. Prefixed with names of places where these traditional variants were created serve as a mark of authenticity. All photos taken from manufacturer’s website and composited by the author.



Figure 5. An Indian-ish taste offered through words is a new kind of cultural-washing. All photos taken from manufacturer’s website and composited by the author.

its original ethos, but still maintaining some nutritional integrity. In India one is witnessing a huge push to traditional foods and bhujia and other local variations have benefitted with celebrity endorsements and protective measures such as Geographical Indication tags.

With the movement of bhujia to the global plate, it has become a serving sans ethos or cultural relevance. The FMCG sector is watching keenly to satiate a billion tongues and the reality of mass manufacturing comes to life. It has assumed a new identity such as an accompaniment to beer and drinks, an unthinkable use in the teetotaling communities that created it. What might be the most dangerous outcome of the cultural transposition of namkeen is the high calorific intake. These resourceful high-protein foods packed with calories are eaten as mid-meal snacks today. While there is a general awareness of the health impact of fried foods, it is hard for most people to fathom how tiny an appropriate portion size may be.

Bhujia's journey to becoming Bombay Mix is a movement in tandem with migration, globalisation and reverse hyper localisation. This is an essential conversation about our obsession for convenience foods and stereotypical flavours and their relationship to our environment. In understanding the migration of taste, lies the dark reality of global popularity of certain foods

Appendix: The Lexicon of Namkeen

Many shaped, deep-fried and roasted ingredients go into a packet of namkeen. Bengal gram is a variant of *C. arretinum* L., indigenous to the subcontinent is the main ingredient. It has a dark brownish-black skin and cannot be replaced by the lighter chickpea in recipes for namkeen. Trade specific shops sell a flour they call "Bombay besan" that is used to make namkeen and farsaan. A close look at these elements is insightful into how culinary technique and tools is the red thread that connects regional variations of namkeen. It is important to note that sev used in namkeen was created as a visual analogue to seviyan.

1. **NOODLE SHAPED EXTRUSIONS** Noodle-like tubular form is the most common element in such preparations. A couple of different methods are used to make them.
 - a. **GRATING** *Bhujia*, *sev*, *ghatia*, *papdi* are traditionally made in this method. Non-glutinous flours are mixed with water to make a soft, sticky dough. This is squeezed (or grated) through the holes of a perforated ladle. The size of the hole determines the final thickness of the product. Grating is the most common method used in the cottage industries that produce namkeen. Many of these hand-grated products can also be machine extruded in large scale facilities.
 - b. **EXTRUSION** *Chakli*, *omapodi*, *pokkadam* are traditionally made in this method. A firm dough of non-glutinous flours is pushed through a drum with a perforated plate to create the form.
 - c. **PIPED** *Sutarfeni*, *pheni*, *chiroti*, *lachcha semai* are traditionally made in this method. A batter is piped on a hot griddle to create a "spun" texture like that of angel hair pasta.
 - d. **HAND PULLING** *sevvaiyan*, *seviyan* or *semiyan*, a traditional, archaic preparation of wheat dough saturated with fat. It is repeatedly thinned out and looped to create strings that get finer each time they are looped. It is then dried as a store cupboard ingredient or dropped in hot oil and fried briefly till crisp. Today, semiya is machine extruded and popularly called vermicelli.
2. **HAND ROLLED DOUGH** *Chakori*, *chagodilu*, *vanela ghatia*, *dankoli* are made using this method. A firm dough is rolled into long noodles and deep fried in oil.
3. **BEADS** Boondi means a drop, and like their namesake, a thin batter, the consistency of double cream is "dropped" through a perforated spoon into the hot oil to make tiny beads that crisp almost instantly. They are similar to the English "scraps" and Japanese tenkasu, but in India, they are a product of their own. Boondi is formed in various diameters ranging from 2 mm to 8 mm.
4. **POPPED GRAINS** Various grains like rice, flattened rice, parched rice (in husk), wheat, barley, buckwheat are popped on hot sand. Rice is perhaps the most popular in this category and is known variously as *murmura*, *muri*, *pori*, *kheel* in different parts of India.
5. **SPROUTED GRAINS** Dalmoth with sprouted V. aconitifolia (Agra), *ponk* with sorghum (Surat) are made using this method. Various grains, seeds and millets are sprouted, fried and seasoned. Green peas, overwintered peas (white, yellow and green), Bengal gram, moth bean and sorghum are used.
6. **FRIED GRAINS** Mung bean, moth bean, and Bengal gram are dehusked, split and soaked in water before being deep-fried until crunchy.
7. **NUTS** Peanuts, cashews, chironji, almond flakes, raisins are lightly fried in oil and salted.
8. **FATS** Peanut oil or ghee were the traditional fats used in frying. More recently, non-flavoured plant-based oils, sunflower or saffola oil and palm oil has become common.
9. **HERBS** Curry leaves are an essential fresh herb used in namkeen. They are deep-fried to ensure there is no moisture.
10. **SPICES** Powders of turmeric, chilli powder, salt, rock salt, dried mango seeds, dried pomegranate seeds are most commonly used.

Notes

1. A dizzying array of boondi ladoos are prepared in the region. A version of it has also become the most sought after prasad, or redistributed temple food from the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams. This product attained a GI tag in 2008. Another variant called Bandar ladoo with a documented history of production by Bondili people got a GI status in 2017.
 2. In response to an email query from the author dated 27 Jan 2022, the OED provided the author with the draft additions to the entry "Bombay Mix" from June 2014. The team noted, "We have looked back through our records and rather than through crowdsourcing or a submission from a member of the public, it seems this term was one noticed and suggested by Oxford Languages editors themselves."
 3. In 2017, a chat thread on the Birmingham Food History Forum discussed the Bombay Mix. User Lumpammer notes, "During the 80's, I used to work at East Birmingham Hospital and regularly at their social
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club, where they sold packets of Bombay mix, a bar snack sold from a card. Does anyone remember these, and are they still being sold?"

4. The origin of Bhujia industry in Bikaner dates back to A.D.1877 while Maharaja Shri Dungar Singh was ruling the state. Since then, the item was manufactured as a special variety in the name of 'Dungarshahi Bhujia' especially for the guests of the king. As time passed by, the industry has emerged as a main livelihood of the inhabitants of the districts. The main reason for the spread of the industry is attributed to the fact that the district is a drought prone one, with scarcity of electricity and water in the area. The main raw material for manufacturing bhujia is Moth, which is grown in the arid Zone of Rajasthan and the saline water available from deep wells; both of them are gift to the area by nature.
5. The perforations on the ladle are graded from 1-6 to produce strings from 0.2 mm in diameter to 1 cm in diameter. The finest strings is made from plate No.1 and is prized for its beauty and shattering crispness, which is akin to angel hair pasta. Plate No.2 produces a less fine variety while No.3 at 2 mm produces bhujia with a crisp crust but softish center. This is the most popular version and is locally also called koka bhujia. Size 4 goes by the name dhonkar bhujia, and size 5 by pika bhujia. In Rajasthan, there is a general consensus among bhujia manufacturers that bhujia were originally hand rolled into long noodles. A version of these called dhankoli are added to all servings of bhujia.
6. "The origin of Ratlami Sev dates back to more than 136 years. The Mughal emperors, who happened to cross the Malwa region in the late 19th century, wished to prepare 'Sevaiyan', the wheat vermicelli. However, since they could not procure wheat locally, they made use of the available gram flour and ordered the local tribals (Bhils) to prepare vermicelli from it. The name given to the vermicelli thus prepared was 'Bhildi Sev'. This Bhildi Sev was the predecessor of the present-day crisp delicacy called Ratlami Sev. The Sakhlecha family of Ratlam was one of the first commercial Sev manufacturers. They had begun to make and sell Ratlami Sev in the early 1900s. Mrs. Lalubai Sakhlecha, aged 100 years is a living testimony of their trade. Her husband Late Mr. Shantilal Sakhlecha along with her father-in-law Late Mr. Kesarmal Sakhlecha established the first shop to sell Ratlami Sev."

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