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“Gyres”, Indian Ocean and Beyond

Discovering the Indian Ocean World

Edited by
Hideaki Suzuki
Minoru Mio

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Introduction

Hideaki Suzuki
National Museum of Ethnology
Minoru Mio
National Museum of Ethnology

I. The Rise of Indian Ocean Studies

Humanities research on the Indian Ocean is currently booming at an unprecedented rate. At the end of 2021, we counted 31 permanent and temporary research institutions worldwide, all working in the humanities and studying the Indian Ocean. These institutions are not only located in Canada, the United States, Britain, and Europe but are also found in the Middle East, India, Africa, and East Asia. If we count again in 2025, we might need to add a few more.

The so-called "global turn" can be partly attributed to the rise of Indian Ocean studies over the past two decades. The global turn represents a shift in perspective that places subjects not within a specific, limited space or relationship, but in the context of global entanglements. Additionally, when considering any phenomenon on a global scale, how could we exclude the oceans, which account for 70% of the Earth's surface? Works like Janet L. Abu-Lughod's *Before European Hegemony*[1)] and Andre Gunder Frank's *ReOrient*[2)] illustrate that globalisation did not suddenly emerge in the modern era—it has existed for centuries. In this context, renewed attention has been directed since 2000 to the Indian Ocean as one of the most significant cradles of globalisation. For instance, the Indian Ocean World MCRI (Major Collaborative Research Initiative) led by McGill University's Indian Ocean World Centre from 2010 to 2017 considered the Indian Ocean region the world's first "global economy" and examined it from the perspective of human interaction with the natural ecological environment.[3)] Among others, Smriti Srinivas, a contributor of this volume, has conducted a series of projects alongside her colleagues at the University of California, Davis.[4)]

The current boom in Indian Ocean studies today would have been hard to imagine 20 years ago. However, the breadth of its current impact cannot be gauged simply from the number of research institutes. A search for "Indian Ocean" in WorldCat yeilds an enormous number of references, many linked to books and articles published in the last decade or two. Searching in French or Japanese expands the list even further. Several publishers such as Routledge, Palgrave Macmillan, and Ohio University Press have established dedicated series for Indian Ocean studies. Moreover, Indian Ocean studies,

once the near-exclusive domain of history, archaeology, or political science, has broadened its scope with the participation of anthropologists, scholars of literary studies, cultural studies, experts in architecture, and knowledgeable and interested investigators from other disciplines. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of learned publications as well as complete books. As for the journals that serve as receptacles to collect all this emerging knowledge, since 2017, McGill University's Indian Ocean World Centre has been publishing a specialized journal entitled *Journal of Indian Ocean World*, and in 2023, the Africa Institute in the United Arab Emirates began publication by Duke University Press of a new journal *Monsoon*. Graduate programs in this field have been established here and there, and new research programs and groups come up one after another. The rise of Indian Ocean studies is remarkable, and the way forward seems to be promising.

However, we should pause here to ask: "What does the study of the Indian Ocean mean in humanistic terms?" Readers might find this question surprising because the answer seems so immediately apparent. Perhaps they assume Indian Ocean studies focus exclusively on the oceanic space itself and approach it through various humanities disciplines—which would be quite correct. Yet, from a researcher's perspective, we might ask: How far does the Indian Ocean extend spatially? Do the boundaries of the water define its scope? What about the land beyond the lapping waves? Certainly, a significant body of research focuses on the relationship between humans and the sea, including knowledge and technologies related to ships and navigation, beliefs and rituals, and maritime activities. Nonetheless, much remains unexplored. In any case, these few are by no means all the important themes of Indian Ocean studies. For example, historical research that focuses on trade does not believe that we can understand the trade activities that took place on the sea from the perspective of the port cities alone. The answer is simple: most of the sites of production and of subsequent consumption of goods traded by sea were located in the hinterlands of port cities. How far we should consider the scope of Indian Ocean studies to extend is a question faced by many researchers who have set the ocean as the subject of their humanistic research, and Fernand Braudel is no exception. Indeed, for Braudel, "the question of how to delimit the Mediterranean is the first one encountered."[5)]

II. How Should the Indian Ocean Be Recalled?

Michael Pearson, for example, in addressing this question, emphasizes that maritime history requires an amphibious perspective. Such a perspective considers the extent of ocean topography, monsoons, currents, tidal waves, and other deep structures, while adopting a view of the land as seen from the sea, with particular attention to the shore. To articulate this concept, Pearson incorporates from geography the notions of Umland, hinterland, and foreland.[6)] Umland refers to the area that directly surrounds a city, which maintains a direct relationship with it, such as supplying food and other resources. Hinterland extends further inland, beyond the edge of the Umland. Foreland applies specifically to port cities, describing "an area of the overseas world with which the port

is linked through shipping, trade, and passenger traffic. It is separated from the port city by maritime space."[7] Because of their foreland, port cities become cosmopolitan, diverse, and inclusive.[8] The shorelines hosting such port towns are also home to fishing villages and fishing ports, which likewise are at the forefront of ambiguous and quickly changing relationships between land and sea. Pearson's concept of "littoral society," which includes them, has directed attention toward shorelines.

Pearson's very conscious discussion of space is not an isolated feature of Indian Ocean studies. In fact, one feature since the beginning of the 2000s has been its attention to the natural ecological environment. The aforementioned Indian Ocean World MCRI project has held many international conferences focusing on the relationship between natural environments and humans including the enslaved, as well as the circulation of animals, and other items, according to a hypothesis that the Indian Ocean World was the first global economy. That project was keen to clarify and examine so-called *longue durée* that Braudel emphasized in his book on the Mediterranean which contained his attempt to view history in terms of three layers: short-term, medium-term, and long-term (*longue durée*). While the short-term is for individual events, and the medium-term is a time of slow change that covers the fate of states, demographics, and daily life, the long-term includes the natural environment and climate and is almost unchanging, although it has direct and indirect effects on other time layers. The *longue durée* is often greatly emphasized in the literature especially in order to set the Indian Ocean as a field of study. For example, Pearson's "deep structure" plays a significant role in setting this historical world in *The Indian Ocean*. The "deep structure" contains elements of the natural ecological environment such as the monsoon, which humans have used to conduct exchanges across the ocean.[9]

Attention to the natural ecological environment is indispensable in considering human activities in the Indian Ocean. Similarly, since extreme weather events do not occur locally in isolation, attention to the natural ecological environment is also effective in placing the Indian Ocean in global context. For example, El Niño and La Niña in the Pacific Ocean affect rainfall and cyclones in the southwestern Indian Ocean.[10] Additionally, the MCRI project is a good example and pushes the potential for collaboration with natural science and data science researchers.

However, the approach to setting the Indian Ocean World in this book is very different. Simply put, this book attempts to find the Indian Ocean World by moving as far away as possible from an obsession with space. Instead of space, this book focuses on relationships. The reason why the Indian Ocean appears worth studying in the humanities is not because of any particularity of its space, such as the monsoon, but because of the accumulation of a wide variety of relationships among different people, between people and materials, and people and the natural environment that are all connected through a variety of movements. The monsoon is remarkable because it has been the pre-eminent supporter of movements of people, materials, information, and others through its seasonally durable winds which guaranteed regularity of communications. To examine relationships, therefore, it is necessary to focus first on movements.

III. Movements Connecting Differences

"Movements" here refers specifically to those of people, goods, information, money, and beliefs. The myriad movements of people, materials, and natural environments in different places connect them in various ways, and sometimes the multiple relationships they create interlock organically with each other, making the Indian Ocean a remarkable object for study in humanities. An important factor that encourages such movements is difference. The Indian Ocean region is surrounded by an uneven distribution of diverse ecological conditions, human societies, and cultures. Therefore, as a major principle of exchange across the ocean, there has grown up a mechanism mutually to complement the diversity of natural geographical and ecological conditions in remote areas. In other words, the differences in quality, type, and quantity of products generated by the diversity of natural geographical and ecological conditions have all been complemented through exchanges among those regions.[11)]

The Köppen climate distribution map embodies a good example of such diversity. It shows that on the eastern coast of Africa there prevails a savanna climate, while a steppe climate and the subhumid temperate climate prevail in the continental hinterland. Along the coast to the north, a steppe climate spreads, which becomes a tropical desert climate by the time it reaches the Horn of Africa. Tropical deserts completely cover the Arabian Peninsula, extending even to Persia on the opposite shore of the Persian Gulf, and further eastward to the border between Sindh and Kachchh. The steppe climate extends inland from the tropical deserts to the Black Sea, while beyond the steppe climate in the Kathiawar Peninsula, a tropical monsoon climate extends all along the western coastline of the Indian subcontinent, with the exception of the tropical savanna climate of the Deccan Plateau. The southern interior meanwhile has a subhumid temperate climate. Tropical rainforest climates prevail in the islands of Southeast Asia, the southern Malay Peninsula, the southwestern part of Ceylon, the eastern coast of Madagascar, and the Mascarene Islands. This diversity of climates has enabled people to develop equally diverse livelihoods, lifestyles and cultures, and naturally nurture their own distinctive societies and beliefs, thus serving as a driving force for exchange.

The trade in mangrove wood between the East Coast of Africa and the Persian Gulf is one example of the *longue durée* relationship between the movement of goods, the natural ecological environment, and culture. The 1,600 kilometres of coastline extending from the Kenya-Somalia border to Mozambique is dotted with mangrove forests. By contrast, the Arabian Peninsula, completely covered by a desert climate, is poor in timber for building purposes. Mangrove poles have therefore been brought to the Persian Gulf from the eastern coast of Africa since at least the 10th century, for use in construction.[12)] The ancient dating is confirmed by the remains of Siraf, the largest international commercial port in the Indian Ocean at the time, which was destroyed in an earthquake in the 10th century.[13)] Mangroves also grow in the Persian Gulf, but the variety is almost exclusively *Avicennia marina* (Forssk.) Vierh[14)] which is saline and weather resistant. However, the growing environment in the Gulf of Oman and Persian Gulf is not favourable to it, slowing its growth and limiting its maximum height.[15)] Following observations made by Miles in the early 20th century, it therefore became clear that

locally grown mangrove poles were used only as firewood,[16] which holds true even today. The East African Coast on the other hand is vegetated with a variety of mangrove species, among which *Bruguiera gymnorhiza* (L.) Lam. and *Rhizophora mucronata* Lam., considered suitable for building materials, were exported to the Persian Gulf. In other words, since mangroves from the East African Coast cannot be viably transplanted to the Persian Gulf, their trade has maintained strong sustainability for as long as people have used mangroves for building in the Persian Gulf.

The annual report made by the British Consul in Zanzibar in 1859 on the basis of information obtained from the tax collector of the Stone Town port shows that 12,000 "rafters" or 3,800 Maria Theresia Thalers' worth of goods were exported from this port to "Arabia" (here including Muscat, Aden, Mukallah).[17] While that figure represents only 3.6 percent of the total value of exports from the port to "Arabia," the real size of this trade would have been much bigger. The discrepancy is partly explained in other records from the middle of the 19th century, which reveal that owners and captains of Arab dhows were negotiating directly with chiefs on the mainland coast to hire labour, and directing logging operations.[18] Additionally, it is better to take into consideration the fact that the Lamu archipelago, surrounded by mangrove forests, was not fully politically and economically encompassed by the Zanzibar-based Bu Sa'id dynasty in the middle of the 19th century.[19] Therefore, we cannot base the actual amount of mangrove poles exported from the East African Coast to the Gulf of Oman and Persian Gulf coasts on the volume of trade at the Stone Town port alone. Rather, the volume noted in the annual report from Stone Town must be considered a minimum figure and then adjusted upwards. On the other hand, there was significant cultural importance to the trade from the Persian Gulf to the East African Coast in dates cultivated in oases and salt obtained from natural salt fields as well as shark meat caught and salt-dried during voyages across the western Indian Ocean.[20] Today, sugarcane cultivation is well established along the East African Coast, although on Zanzibar Island it did not really take off until the late 1840s, and not until the early 1900s in Kenya,[21] so that in earlier times for the inhabitants along the East African coast, imported dates represented the sweetness. As for salt, several mid-19th to early 20th century records on Zanzibar provide insight into the island's dependence on imports of salt from the Arabian Peninsula,[22] and salt-dried shark meat was consumed as an inexpensive source of animal protein not only in coastal port towns, but also in the coastal hinterlands.[23] These are some of the many examples that can be found throughout the Indian Ocean from the distant past to the present day, each showing both the strong continuity of the Indian Ocean as a historical entity, and how cultures have been formed and maintained not in isolation, but through connections with other places.

However, this exchange of differences has not been limited spatially to the Indian Ocean. Export of dates from the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman to the American market is a good example of that. According to Matthew Hopper, the earliest record of it can be traced back to 1818, after which American ships began to visit Muscat annually by the 1850s.[24] The trade then expanded, with Iraqi dates replacing Omani dates as the mainstay of the American market, and at the same time saw changes such as the shift of

the main shipping point from Muscat to Basra. While the American average annual import volume for the ten years beginning in 1893 was 4,500 to 9,000 tons, in the years to 1903, exports increased from 9,000 to 13,600 tons, with 35,833 tons destined for the American market at its peak in 1925.[25] We might therefore reasonably ask if there is any significant difference between mangrove poles, salt-dried shark meat between East African Coast and the Persian Gulf, and dates from the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman to America, as far as the fact that environmental differences created and maintained the connection?

IV. Relationships Created by the Movement of People

Even if we focus on the movement of people themselves, various relationships emerge. For example, in the port town of Mandvi in Kachchh, Western India, there is a corner lined with luxurious mansions or *havelis* as they are called locally. Many of them were built by the Kachchhi Bhatiya who had made the town their home and conducted commercial activities in the Persian Gulf and East African Coast since the 19th Century. They returned home with the fortunes they accumulated overseas and promptly built themselves mansions, which bear witness to their flourishing commercial activities which of course took place not at home in Mandvi, but in Zanzibar, Muscat, and other places on the other side of the ocean. A similar corner is found in Randel near Surat where the Surti Bohra built mansions with fortunes earned in Yangon.

The landscape of these towns including the eye-catching *havelis* cannot therefore be fully understood by focusing only on the towns themselves. Instead, we must follow the movement of people and consider the diverse relationships they formed along the way. Regarding the Kachchhi Bhatiya, for example, it is said that they first established a commercial base in Muscat, although in fact the Sindhi Bhatiya had already established their commercial foundation there when the Kachchhi Bhatiya arrived. As a result they were inclined to establish a good relationship with the local ruler, the Bu Sa‘id. The newcomers had already established commercial connections with Bombay through the port cities of their hometown in Kachchhi, which guaranteed their retaining of the large market for goods acquired in Muscat. It was therefore with the downfall of the Sindhi Bhatiya, that the Kachchhi Bhatiya rose to commercial prominence in Muscat. Based on their established relationship with the Bu Sa‘id, both parties extended their spheres of activity onto the East African Coast. Backed by their relationship with the Bu Sa‘id, the Kachchhi Bhatiya undertook the role of tax collectors in various East African ports, and using that position they acted as entrepreneurs between European and American merchants with local Swahili, Arab, and Indian merchants in port towns. As such, they built multifaceted and organic commercial activities which generated commercial success for themselves as well as bolstering the commercial rise of Zanzibar’s Stone Town. Furthermore, they set up an intra-group mutual aid system called *mahajan*. Under the *mahajan* system, members who had already established themselves abroad took care of the commercial activities and livelihood of newcomers, and in time the Kachchhi Bhatiya became a very powerful commercial group.[26] To understand their commercial success, it

is important to realize that in addition—and according to the particular situation—they enjoyed the selective protection of the Raos of Kachchh, the Bu Sa'id sultans, and the British Empire. In order therefore to contextualize Mandvi's *havelis*, these entangled threads simply must not be ignored, for development of each thread and the progress of entanglement were clearly driven by the movements of the Kachchhi Bhatiya and related people.

From that perspective, we cannot continue to limit our vision to the geographical Indian Ocean: the activities of the Sindhi merchants as described by Claude Markovits extended beyond the Indian Ocean to Central Asia and even Latin America.[27] Markovits views such mercantile activities beyond the Indian Ocean as circulation rather than migration, noting that circulation "is a value-loaded term which implies an incremental aspect and not the simple reproduction across space of already formed structures and notions."[28] Moreover, as Sebouh Aslanian has analysed, the diaspora of Armenian merchants extended beyond the Indian Ocean into the Mediterranean.[29] Both those mercantile communities' activities effectively functioned only when they extended spatially as wholes, but also maintained organic interconnection. What can researchers understand if they segment the flows and activities of these mercantile communities spatially? They will certainly not see the whole picture if they simply cut out those of their activities that were carried out in the geographically defined Indian Ocean and observe them in isolation. Ironically, therefore, if they are segmented spatially for analysis by the researchers, it becomes impossible to understand not only how they worked but how the community itself was organised.

Thus, if we find movement and relationships as the key to understand the Indian Ocean World, it is difficult to limit that world to the space within a tight geographical boundary. Rather, the yoke of spatial limitation must be thrown off to allow us to see as much and as clearly as possible the movements and relationships they created which transformed themselves as well as their counterparts. That, then, is the standpoint of this volume, and so far, this introduction has explained its position concerning the framework of Indian Ocean studies. However, the inspiration for this volume cannot be explained only from within that framework, for two concepts are central to the fundamental conceptions which form the basis of both this volume and the symposium which inspired it. Those concepts are that firstly of "flow=network," and secondly of "gyres."

V. Flow=Network

Network is a concept which can change meanings and implications according to the fields of study that make use of them. In Japan, especially since the late 1980s, the field of *Kaiiki-shi* has developed significantly, and network has supported that development.

Kaiiki-shi is not merely a synonym for the English term, "maritime history," but a field highly motivated to overcome the conventional understanding of history that is largely influenced by not only national, but land-centred history. The aim of *Kaiiki-shi* is no less than to construct a new paradigm for historical studies. *Kaiiki-shi* is not a unified field; instead, geographically segmented multiple *Kaiiki-shi* are conducted today, such as

an East Asian *Kaiiki-shi*, a Southeast Asian *Kaiiki-shi*, or an Indian Ocean *Kaiiki-shi*. For example, Hikoichi Yajima, whose use of medieval Arabic records made him the leading scholar of the Indian Ocean *Kaiiki-shi*, states the significance of *Kaiiki-shi* studies as follows:

> In conventional historical research, it has been a self-evident truth that a "region" indicates nothing other than "territorial states" on "land." However, since the ancient times, human beings have moved beyond the geographical boundaries created by kinship and local networks as well as those of states. In migrating among diversified and complicated historical worlds, human beings have taken with them their lives and cultures, and nurtured them along the way …
> Within the various spaces of human activity, *Kaiiki* is an especially significant term referring both to "border zones" between land-based states, and to the "common space" which many peoples who have different backgrounds of state, religion, and culture have been using for their movements and to conduct their lives beyond the boundaries of small regional societies. Simultaneously, the *Kaiiki* has been the main stage for "encounters" and "inter-exchanges" across distances.[30)]

In finding these *Kaiiki*, the researchers have begun to focus on various relationships fostered by the peoples and societies across the ocean, relationships captured as parts of networks. As Yajima says:

> First and foremost, it is a concept to analyse various "functions of connectedness" and "states of relationships," while focusing on "connectedness," the basic character common to both the structural and functional parts—especially when the "space" of *Kaiiki* is concerned.[31)]

In addition to that explanation, Yajima provides a map of the Indian Ocean network showing port towns as nodes with lines drawn between them along which flowed people, goods, information, beliefs, and money. In this case, the network is imagined as originating from port towns; this sort of network imagined from node is called node=network (see Figure 1). We may consider that node=network which, at a glance, is quite easy to accept. However, inherent in the concept is a large problem that while Yajima understands "connectedness" as a fundamental element of network, he presents the *Kaiiki* as a spatially limited entity using that very network. Taking the network therefore as a fundamental conception of relationships, he uses it to explain the network as a spatially limited entity. Thus, the presentation of node=network eventually limits its subject spatially, in this case to the ocean and its surrounding land. In fact, however, it might prove possible to erode the boundaries created by the framework of "national" history. However, even then, what is eventually created is another space enclosed within an artificial boundary. If *Kaiiki-shi* studies criticize conventional historical studies because the latter limits its scope to existing boundaries, in turn, *Kaiiki-shi* based on node=network is similarly criticized because in fact it creates a new boundary. It cannot

therefore bring about a paradigm shift. To return to the topic of how we imagine the Indian Ocean World, the node=network conception makes it difficult to imagine relationships beyond a limited space. However, relationships are easily formed beyond spatial limits such as the conventional regional frameworks typically set by researchers. Movement is an important trigger for the formation of such relationships, so that when imagining a network, we must take care first to focus on flow. By doing so we may then consider flow=network (see Figure 2).

For the purposes of this book, we can then look at the entirety of flows of people, goods, information, money, and faith, so that the intersections of the different flows become nodes. Nodes may ultimately be found in port cities, but unlike in the case of node=network, we must be able to imagine a case in which a flow passes *through* a port city and travels inland, where it will intersect with another flow. It will also be necessary to assume that a flow might cross the geographic site of the Indian Ocean. While node=network therefore represents a complete network with a defined outer edge, a network conceived from flow=network cannot have a defined outer edge, for not all flows terminate at nodes. It is not therefore a complete network, but rather an incomplete one. However, precisely because of this incomplete nature, we immediately become more aware of the dynamics of a network's composition, for we can see more clearly the relationships that the flows interweave among themselves. In other words, the idea of flow=network allows us to imagine the Indian Ocean World while keeping in view the dynamics of the intermingling of diverse entities and the relationships among them.

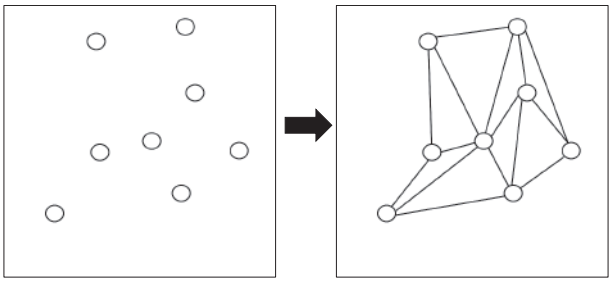

Figure 1 Process of emerging node=network

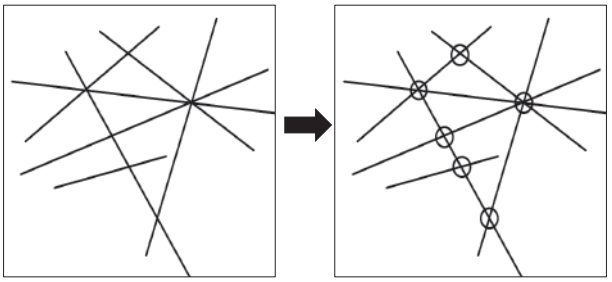

Figure 2 Process of emerging flow=network

VI. Gyre

We have so far emphasized that the Indian Ocean World should not be understood from a land-centric perspective, with clearly demarcated boundaries, but rather as a world historically layered with various overlapping flows. These various flows have not merely circulated within a certain space, but have also been constantly crossed across existing boundaries and given existing boundaries uncertainty. The world shaped by these flows may be better understood not as a "region" defined by clear boundaries, but as a "sphere" where boundaries have always been ambiguous and fluid.

When focusing on flows of people, goods, information, and values, it is important to realize that these flows do not move as a free fluid world, and without a fixed direction. In fact, such flows run along channels defined by power relations among various actors, the distribution of desires, and factors in the natural environment. In the end, therefore, they flow along some specific trajectory. On the other hand, in the process of moving through the space structured by ecology, politics, and economy, any flow will interact with the structure itself and with other elements, changing the value of what flows, and transforming the structure of the flow itself. To grasp these characteristics of flow more clearly, we propose the concept of the "gyre" flow. A gyre is a flow of people, goods, information, and values, as proposed by Mio *et al.* (2015) during the "Contemporary India Area Studies" project in Japan. The concept was initially proposed to capture the phenomenon by which goods, information, and values originating from India interact with the cultures and societies of other regions under the circumstances of rapidly advancing globalisation, and how those interactions in turn change the social and cultural conditions of India. Conventional theories of globalisation have focused on uni-directional flow from the West as the generator of all institutions and values, including politics, economics, society and culture, to sites at the periphery of the world such as Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which have always played a passive role. By contrast, "gyre" emphasizes the plurality of the globalisation phenomenon, and at the same time presents a viewpoint that actively elucidates India's subjectivity in the contemporary globalisation phenomenon.

Yoga, for example, is a mind-body practice that has been developed based on traditional Indian religious philosophy, but has been imported to the West and has there influenced people's views of health and the body. We might also consider the examples of various religious orders rooted in the Hindu tradition and have branches throughout the world. They then attract devotees not only from among the Indian immigrants to various regions, but also among others already living there. Especially in the West, neo-Hinduism resonates with the ideas and practices of spiritualism, offering an alternative worldview and approach to life, rather than just a superficial consumption of exotism. Indian musical culture not only attracts more people who enjoy traditional techniques, but has also given rise to its own musical genres such as Asian underground music in the UK. Meanwhile, Indian designers are creating fashions incorporating traditional costume designs that are admired and adopted around the world.

It is interesting to note that Indian culture not only interacts with other cultures

around the world, but also changes the Indian context when it returns. Yoga has become popular among India's new middle class, but the yoga practiced among them contains elements that have been changed in the West, prompting the emergence of a movement to reject the "adulterated" types of yoga "re-imported" from Europe and the United States and instead promote the ancient "pure" forms of yoga. Furthermore, the current Indian state is promoting and leading the "International Day of Yoga" events, emphasizing that the origins of yoga, which has now spread globally, lie in India. We can see a deep connection between promotion of yoga and the Hindu nationalism, a dominant discourse in Indian politics. Yoga has become an important issue of cultural politics. Likewise, in Hinduism too there is a phenomenon of modification of doctrine to suit Western citizens, and such forms of Hinduism have gained support and been reimported to India and spread there.

Gyre, being originally a geographical term referring to the global flow of ocean currents, is a term similarly appropriated to describe the dynamics of certain cultural elements that circulate on the global scale while simultaneously being transformed. In the research conducted under the Contemporary India Area Studies project, research focus had been on how global flows that have found their way back to India have intertwined with and transformed India's political, economic, social, and cultural conditions.

Later, Matsukawa *et al.* (2021), who succeeded to this concept, proposed in a collection of papers resulting from their own joint research on transformation through globalisation of the South Asian performing arts, that the dynamics of cultural circulation between a certain region (here, South Asia) and the West should be regarded as "gyres in a narrow sense," and that circulations should be viewed more broadly as being multidirectional but also reversible, and as existing in multiple locations around the world. They also emphasized the need to comprehensively grasp the dynamics of cultural circulation, including tributaries, side streams, stagnation, and accumulations that occur at the peripheries of such flows. While the original perspective was focused on cultural and social conditions at the points of return of flows, the work of Matsukawa *et al.* (2021), is unique in that it attempts to broaden the perspective to understand just as comprehensively the conditions at the ends of the flow routes.

The concept of "gyre," which originated in the context of Indian cultural studies, can be applied to flows circulating between one region (including the West) and other regions outside the West, which has held hegemony since the post-colonial period. In this book, we shall focus on flows to and from the Indian Ocean World in the broad sense described so far, to capture the concept of gyre in multidirectional as well as multi-layered flows.

We would like to define gyre as flows of people, goods, and values characterized by the following four attributes:

First, it exhibits a certain degree of rotational movement within a specific space. While the space of rotation can extend globally, this being the scale adopted as the working hypothesis in the Contemporary Indian Area Studies Project, if flows within more limited spaces have rotational characteristics, can be considered gyre here.

Second, gyre shows path dependency in their movement, not moving freely in a

smooth, unrestricted space; rather, its trajectory is influenced by political factors, environmental conditions, economic incentives, cultural attractions, and social relations, etc.

Third, in gyre, the people, goods, and values that flow often carry to varying degrees, consciousness of their place or region of origin. Consequently, issues of identity and authenticity concerning the flowing elements can arise, and the branding of such elements may take on political and/or economic significance.

Fourth, as goods and values circulate through the gyre's trajectory, they interact with the cultures and societies they reach. In this process, the value, content, and identity of the circulating items transform, becoming more complex. Additionally, when these items return to their place of origin, they may once again interact with the culture and society there.

To anticipate the discussions in each paper in this volume, the trajectory of Mocha coffee discussed in Suzuki's paper (Chapter 1) exhibits the four characteristics mentioned above, and can be considered a typical example of a gyre. On the other hand, the trajectory of qat in Otsubo's paper (Chapter 2) represents a flow but does not form a gyre. The nature of qat itself and the political-economic marginality of its primary consumers, Yemeni immigrants, are likely factors that made qat less accepted in the cultures and societies to which it spread. The contrast between these two papers highlights the political dimension of gyres.

The papers by Markovitz (Chapter 4) and Ozawa (Chapter 5) focus on the factors that influence the paths taken by the movement of merchants' technologies and groups. The former emphasizes the impact of the ecological environment, while the latter identifies political factors and economic incentives as key influences in determining these paths. Due to space limitations, the papers do not fully address how the movement of technologies and groups interacted with the societies and cultures they reached. However, we look forward to further clarification on this point in their future research.

On the other hand, the third and fourth characteristics mentioned above are described and analysed in detail in the papers by Takemura (Chapter 3), Bates & Carter (Chapter 6), Arai (Chapter 7), Onoda (Chapter 8), Bang (Chapter 9), Kondo (Chapter 10), and Yamashita (Chapter 11), based on each specific case. The detailed summaries of each paper will be introduced later, and the discussion of each chapter will be left to them. However, in line with the central concern of this collection, it is expected that future exploration will focus on how the interactions triggered by the movement of people, goods, and values discussed in each paper will, in turn, generate further flows.

As mentioned in the first half of this chapter, the Indian Ocean World was a region in which the resources unique to the tropical and subtropical zones supported the subsistence of people, and simultaneously attracted commercial interest from other regions. At the same time, this world overlaps the spheres of two religious civilisations, the Indic and Islamic.

These two civilizations, while having been in opposition, have also deeply impacted each other. Needless to say, such progress in the history of civilisation is based on continuous trade and exchange of people continuing since ancient times in the maritime

and land areas. From the 16th century onward, modern Western civilisation penetrated the region via invasion, conquest, and the fragmentation and monopolisation of certain trade routes; and existing civilisations were transformed in response, often in opposition. Thus, this world has become a unique region where civilisations have become intricately intertwined on a foundation of subsistence systems that differs from that of the temperate zone. Historically, in fact, conditions in this world have facilitated the gyre of people, goods, information, and value between the Indian Ocean as a region and other regions.

What kind of ecological, political, and economic structures have been used to channel flows from and to the Indian Ocean World? How have those structures been transformed to create new conditions? How have the various elements of the flows interacted with each other in the process of their flowing? The politics of "origin" and "authenticity" of a particular subject in the gyre process is also an important subject. Gyres do not glide smoothly at a steady space, but they do always flow along their own particular paths, along with their significations and valorisations. Moreover, the practice of valorisation always involves questions of "origin" and "authenticity," or their manipulation. Based on our awareness of that, the structure of this book approaches the Indian Ocean World as a network created by flows.

VII. Structure of This Volume

This volume is based on the first INDOWS (INDian Ocean World Studies project) international conference "Discovering the Indian Ocean World: "Gyres," Indian Ocean and beyond" held at National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, 21–23 January 2023. INDOWS is one of the area studies projects implemented under "Global Area Studies Program," launched by National Institute for the Humanities. The editors, Suzuki and Mio, planned and organized the conference. Full papers were circulated prior to the conference, and we could extensively discuss individual papers, and also conceptual issues, while exchanging joint-research ideas. Each chapter in this volume has been revised by each author, and some even prepared for new manuscripts which more closely connect to the theme of the conference, i.e. that of this volume.

In the first section "Trajectories of Tangibles and Intangibles," we will focus on the flow of various products, including both tangible and intangible, produced, consumed and circulated from/to the Indian Ocean.

Hideaki Suzuki's chapter explores the complex history and global influence of "Mocha coffee," a term originally linked to Mocha (al-Mukhā), a major historical coffee trading port in Yemen. Mocha coffee has transcended its geographical origins to become a globally recognized brand, despite the coffee itself being sourced from diverse regions over time. The chapter delves into how Mocha coffee, which began as a specific regional product, evolved into a term with multiple meanings and implications across different markets and cultures. It discusses the shifts in coffee production practices, the blending and branding of coffee, and the intricate trade dynamics that have transformed Mocha from a mere type of coffee to a significant cultural and economic phenomenon. Suzuki categorizes and traces the various interpretations and commercial pathways of Mocha

coffee, illustrating how it has influenced both the physical trade and the cultural perception of coffee around the world, following and at the same time forming gyres of people and commodities.

The next chapter by Reiko Otsubo traces the trajectory of another stimulant good which originated in the similar geographical area as coffee and has come to be consumed in other regions, named qat (*Catha edulis* (Vahl) Forssk. ex Endl.). Qat is a stimulant plant native to Ethiopia, and extensively used in Yemen and East Africa. In Yemen, where few entertainment options are available, qat chewing is a popular social activity held in the afternoons, distinctively known as "khazzan al-qāt." Unlike other stimulants, qat must be consumed fresh, making its global spread dependent on the development of transport methods. Despite its deep-rooted cultural integration in regions like Yemen and Ethiopia, qat is often seen unfavourably outside its native areas, frequently classified as an illegal substance and associated with various social stigmas. In other words, though qat has become distributed and consumed worldwide, consumption of qat is too entwined with its consumers' identity to extend its market. The chapter aims to explore qat's transportation, cultural implications, and the complexities surrounding its global consumption and regulation.

The intricate relationship between cultural products and people's identity is also the focus of the following chapter by Yoshiaki Takemura which depicts gyre dynamics of Ramayana performances in the Indian Ocean World. The Ramayana, a significant cultural epic in South and Southeast Asia, has been showcased in international festivals to promote cultural cohesion within ASEAN. In the 2016 ASEAN Cultural EXPO in Thailand, Singapore's Bhaskar's Arts Academy performed a unique version of the Ramayana, emphasizing choreography over traditional storytelling, with all roles played by female dancers. Despite the epic's declining resonance among younger Indian Singaporeans, performances continue in cultural festivals and educational programs. The Ramayana fosters a sense of global Indian identity, as seen in Apsaras Arts' production of "Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana," blending Indian and Southeast Asian influences, and highlighting Singapore's role in global Indian cultural expression.

In Section Two "Mobility/Community," we will address the movement of people who are the agents of various gyres, especially their characteristics, social and cultural differentiations among them, and the ripples caused by the flow of people.

In Chapter 4, Claude Markovits explores the influence of ecological factors on the historical trade patterns of Indian merchants across the Indian Ocean, focusing on how the arid conditions of Northwestern India (including regions like Gujarat, Sindh, Rajasthan, and Punjab) fostered unique financial and trading skills. These regions, characterized by a mix of semi-nomadic pastoralism and oasis agriculture, necessitated the development of sophisticated financial instruments like *hundi*s and futures trading. This ecological backdrop facilitated the creation of resilient and expansive trading networks that stretched from the Middle East to Southeast Asia, giving these traders a competitive edge over those from more fertile areas.

The subsequent chapter by Ichiro Ozawa describes in detail the intersecting land and maritime trade networks in Southwest Asia, focusing on Afghan arms traders in the Gulf

of Oman around the early 20th century based on various contemporary records and British spy reports. Afghan traders were active in caravan trading, connecting India, Afghanistan, Eastern Iran, and Central Asia, and extended their activities to maritime trade, particularly in arms, with Muscat. The study draws on extensive British sources, revealing Afghans' cooperative trading relationships with Baluchs, Persians, Arabs, South Asians, and Europeans. The paper vividly illustrates how these networks intersected in the Gulf of Oman, shaping the dynamics of regional trade and the specific role of Afghans in these exchanges.

Among "traders (or merchants) community" in the Indian Ocean World, south Indian Chettiars have been depicted one of representatives among such communities, with a lot of historical studies on their commercial activities being accumulated. However, Crispin Bates and Marina Carter, in this volume, urge us to reconsider this simple and stereotypical perception and suggest more nuanced interpretations of this "merchant community" against the background of interactions and encounters between migrants, European colonial settlers, and administrators in the Indian Ocean between the mid-18th and 19th centuries. Analysing carefully colonial records, especially those of Mauritius and Malaysia, they persuasively delineated differentiations among the Chettiars. They also show us that Chettiars had not only engaged in mercantile business, but played other important roles in colonial societies. According to Bates and Carter, the mercantile elites and a class of free and skilled entrepreneurs as well as master craftsmen among them facilitated the settlement of ex-indentured labourers, but those who thrived the most were the communities best adapted to navigate very different worlds—able to mix on equal terms with European merchants and yet forge strong relationships with the masses, largely through their patronage of popular festivals.

Two subsequent chapters, one by Kazuhiro Arai and the other by Fuko Onoda, also try to delineate differentiation among migrant communities and/or their relationships vis-à-vis native communities from different perspectives. Arai explores the distinct migration patterns of Hadramis from South Arabia, focusing on the Al-'Aydarus and Al-Habshi families, renowned for their influential roles within the Hadrami *sada* and their migration across the Indian Ocean to East Africa, India, and Southeast Asia. By analysing biographical compilations from the 17th to 20th century, and constructing genealogical charts, he examines how kinship and family preferences shaped migration destinations. While both families began with similar statuses and societal roles, their migratory behaviours diverged due to differences in timing and chosen destinations, highlighting the complex interplay of family dynamics, social status, and historical context in shaping migration patterns within the Indian Ocean World.

While Onoda tries to delve into subtle relationships between migrants and natives in East Africa through a careful reading of two contemporary literary works, Shafi Adam Shafi, a prominent Swahili author, captures the struggle of Zanzibar against colonialism in his novels *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad* (*Landlord Fuad's Palace*) and *Vuta N'kuvute* (*Tug of War*). *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad* portrays the Zanzibar revolution through the perspective of African people against Arab migrants, while *Vuta N'kuvute* focuses on an Indian migrant girl's life experience with Africans leading up to the revolution. She explores why the

revolution is not featured in *Vuta N'kuvute*, suggesting Shafi's intent to emphasize inseparability of Africans and non-Africans over the revolution's race-based violent nature. The analysis contrasts how the two novels depict ethnic and cultural interactions, shedding light on the complexities of identity and resistance in colonial and post-colonial Zanzibar.

Section Three: Religion and Migration focuses on the correlation between mobility of religious ideas and of human beings in the Indian Ocean World. Here, too, it is important to note that the internal differentiation within immigrant communities and their relationships with the local residents greatly influence the nature of immigrants' religious ideas and practices.

Anne Bang's chapter traces transformative trajectory of "Haddadian paradigm," inspired by Abd Allah b. Alawi al-Haddad's works, particularly his poetry, in 19th–20th century Southeast Asia and East Africa. This Islamic paradigm emphasized accessible spiritual discipline and social engagement, rooted in an "esoteric episteme," faced critique from early 20th-century modernists discarding "superstition" and "false teachings" such as beliefs in miracles and other divine interventions to promote progress. Against these critiques, the "lives and times" of the earlier Haddadian articulators were retold in the form of biographies published in the 1900s. Elements of "selective memorialising" can be observed in Southeast Asia and East Africa, whereby those such as miracles were omitted in favour of praise for "modern" work, such as teaching and devising prayer times. In both locations, according to Bang, there are also significant differences between the two locations. While in Indonesia, clear organisational divide with large population of followers of this paradigm took place, in East Africa, where communities were smaller, followers were not organised in two main associations but along a multitude of ethnic, religious and social lines, and juxtaposed against the mainly non-Muslim mainland. As a result, outright theological critiques against not modern practices had been under-communicated in East Africa for fear of social friction and conventional religious practices.

Yohei Kondo's chapter focuses on the historical migration and settlement of Ibāḍī Muslims along the East African coast, examining their ability to maintain religious identity and unity while coexisting with other communities. Focusing on several works of ʻAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʻAlī al-Mundhirī written in late 19th to early 20th century, the paper discusses how Ibāḍīs, originating from the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa, managed to maintain their cultural and religious practices in a cosmopolitan environment. It highlights their strategies for maintaining connections with their homelands and adapting to local contexts, reflecting on the broader implications for understanding minority religious groups in multicultural settings. In Kondo's case, at least, the Ibāḍī Muslims in East Africa, because of their minority status, had employed a strategy to be more tolerant in their religious thoughts and practices, rather than sticking to their peculiar ideology.

On the other hand, Hiroshi Yamashita examines the complexities of Hindu practices among Indian immigrants in Jakarta, highlighting the blend of homogenisation and diversity within the diaspora. While some studies suggest a trend towards production of

standardized or generic religious practices among diaspora Hindu communities, the reality in Jakarta shows a rich tapestry of unique, localized religious practices shaped by the specificities of immigrant groups and their interactions in the host country. According to Yamashita, it is true that the diaspora environment provides a rare opportunity for inclusive identities such as "Indian" and "Hindu" to emerge within individuals and groups who might not otherwise have been so conscious of that status in their everyday lives had they remained in India. At the same time, however, it also contains factors that consolidate the sense of belonging to a closed identity among smaller communities formed against the background of different original places, status, as well as the timings of immigration. It can be said that the religious landscape woven by Indian immigrants in Jakarta is supported by these two apparently contradictory forces.

In the final section entitled as "Methodological Journeys," based on the discussions about the gyre as well as the humanities and social sciences research on the Indian Ocean World in general so far, we will explore the future methodologies and concepts for studying the Indian Ocean World.

Smriti Srinivas in her essay, she explores the intersections of Indian Ocean studies with cultural anthropology to broaden both the spatial and intellectual scopes of the former. Her approach integrates urban sensoria—sensory experiences within cityscapes—and spirited topographies—religious practices and imaginations that connect distant geographies. These concepts help articulate the cultural dynamics and poetic expressions that bind diverse landscapes and communities traversing the Indian Ocean World. Through personal and historical narratives, she connects life stories and micro-histories to the Indian Ocean, viewing it not just as a geographic entity, but as a vibrant memory scape and imagination space, deeply integrated with urban experiences and spiritual life. This perspective challenges traditional methodologies by emphasizing the ocean's role in shaping cultural and sensory experiences across its shores and beyond.

In the last chapter, Ananya Jahanara Kabir proposes a model of creolisation as a heuristic tool to better understand transcultural processes in the Indian Ocean World. Unlike traditional binary models, her approach envisions creolisation as swirled and layered gyres, reflecting the complex interplay of colonial and pre-colonial eras and multiple actors, such as merchants, missionaries, and enslaved people. This model challenges the conventional 'master-slave' framework and emphasizes the importance of transoceanic perspectives. Drawing on fifteen years of research, she highlights how this approach can illuminate the interconnected cultural histories of the Indian Ocean, transcending a purely Atlantic focus and revealing new insights into creolisation's dynamics. Her long-term research topic, the Mando, a Goan music-dance form, exemplifies the creolisation process, blending European and Goan cultures. This complex cultural product spans Atlantic and Indian Ocean influences, with diverse origins from Mexico to Macau. The concept of "gyres" maps these cultural flows, but she suggests here that the term "swirl" better captures the dynamic, non-linear nature of creolisation. For her research examples include variations of stuffed gourds in different regions, showing how local adaptations emerge. Creolisation involves multiple cultural brokers, beyond binary models of hybridity. She also emphasizes that ports and forts serve as

critical sites for cultural exchange, leading to the development of creolised modernity. This ongoing process challenges notions of cultural purity, emphasizing dynamic, interconnected cultural histories.

VIII. Conclusion

In this book, as well as in the INDOWS project we are currently engaged in, we argue that the "Indian Ocean World" should not be viewed as a space with boundaries, but rather as a bundle of flow=networks. Among these flows, we define gyres as those that exhibit circularity, flow with path dependency, carry consciousness of identity regarding their origin, and interact with the cultures and societies of the destinations they reach. This concept is important when capturing the dynamics of flows that connect conventional divisions of the world, and we believe it holds universal relevance when considering global flows. In other words, we see it as an important clue for understanding the relationship between the global and the area.

More specifically, by employing this concept, we aim to contribute to the elucidation of the following three points. First, through collaboration among history, anthropology, and other academic fields, we aim to trace the path-dependent circulation of people, goods, and cultural values, and explore the actual cultural and social interactions they generate. Second, we seek to clarify, based on actual cases, what determines the path dependency involved in the circular dynamics of objects. Third, in the study of the Indian Ocean World and its gyres, we aim to reveal what aspects of the Indian Ocean World cause gyres, and how they transform it.

In this volume, individual studies have been accumulated regarding the first point mentioned above. However, the gyres to and from this world are vast, both historically and in terms of the diversity of the objects in motion. It will remain necessary to continue detailed investigations closely tied to the specific fields of researchers in the future. On the other hand, points two and three remain challenges for future research. In particular, we have not yet delved into the aspect of how political and economic power relations shape pathways of gyres. As we move forward with our investigations, the insights provided by Srinivas's and Annaya's papers and their concepts in thisvolume, memory scape and swirls, can also serve as valuable references to enrich and broaden our key concepts, flow=networks and gyres.

Notes

1) Abu-Lughod 1991.
2) Frank 1998.
3) For details, see. https://www.mcgill.ca/iow-mcri/ (accessed on March 31, 2023).
4) As an outcome from this collaborative, Srinivas, Ng'weno and Jeychandran (eds.) 2020.
5) Braudel 1976: Vol.1, 11.
6) Pearson 2003: 31–32.

7) Pearson 2003: 31.
8) Pearson 2003: 32.
9) Pearson 2003: 19–23.
10) Campbell 2019.
11) Chaudhuri 1985: 17, 203–204; Yajima 2006: 8–9, 17–21; Alpers 2014: 10–11.
12) Suzuki 2013.
13) Whitehouse 1969: 51–52.
14) Spalding, Blasco and Field (eds.) 1997: 158–160; Zaidan hojin chuto kyoryoku senta 1986: 25.
15) Zaidan hojin chuto kyoryoku senta 1986: 22–23, 43–48.
16) Miles 1919: 393.
17) MAHA PD/1860/159/1500/319 [Return of the Exports at the Port of Zanzibar in the Year 1859].
18) Burton 1860: Vol.2, 358–359; Burton 1872: Vol.1, 241, Vol.2, 157.
19) Curtin 1981: 32–33; Gilbert 2004: 111.
20) Suzuki 2010: 110–112.
21) Sheriff 1985: 165–166; Hornsby 2013: 134; Osamba 2016: 618–619.
22) MAHA PD/1859/188/1123/82 [Rigby to Anderson, Zanzibar, 10 May 1859 (Report on the Dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar and Swahil, agreeably to Mr. Hart's Circular No. 339 of 1859 dated 16 November 1855)]; Burton 1860: Vol.2, 342; Ingrams 1967: 285.
23) Suzuki 2010: 112–113.
24) Hopper 2015: 54–55.
25) Hopper 2015: 58.
26) Reda Bhacker 1992: 70–71.
27) Markovits 2008.
28) Markovits, Pouchepadass and Subrahmanyam 2003: 3.
29) Aslanian 2014.
30) Yajima 2006: 2.
31) Yajima 2006: 10.

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Section One:

Trajectories of Tangibles and Intangibles

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"Gyres", Indian Ocean and Beyond: Discovering the Indian Ocean World
Edited by Hideaki Suzuki and Minoru Mio

Chapter 1 Mocha Coffee in Four Ways: Beans, Plant, Brand, and Blend

Hideaki Suzuki
National Museum of Ethnology

Introduction

Commercially and culturally, coffee is a significant global commodity that originated in the Indian Ocean region. Presently, many coffee producing regions worldwide are centred in the "coffee belt," although it is widely accepted that coffee drinking originated in either Ethiopia or Yemen, with the use of *Coffea arabica* L. (hereinafter Arabica coffee) which was originally grown in the highlands of Ethiopia. "Mocha" is familiar to people who talk about coffee today, particularly its history. Mocha (al-Mukhā) is the name of a port on the western coast of the Arabian Peninsula, and it was the major entrepôt in the earliest stages of the coffee trade, particularly to European markets. Despite the fact that the coffee-producing region eventually expanded almost beyond imagination and the port of Mocha later lost its commercial significance, its name has retained its resonance as a synonym for coffee all over the world.

Therefore, abundant mention of "Mocha coffee" is found in historical and contemporary records. However, it is difficult to answer the question, "what is Mocha coffee?" particularly after noticing such abundant mention. Some references to "Mocha coffee" in the documents can be clearly identified as describing coffee beans exported from Mocha or other nearby ports, however, these were of different types and from different places of production. Simultaneously, other mentions of "Mocha coffee" clearly indicate beans that were actually produced far from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden region. Furthermore, the name "Mocha coffee" is found abundantly in advertisements in Europe and North America in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries. However, much of what was advertised was derived from beans that were not "Mocha coffee" in any sense. Numerous examples of "Mocha coffee" in the documents reveal the existence of different meanings of "Mocha coffee" both in the physical sense and in the imagination. Thus, the question, "what is Mocha coffee?" has multiple answers. However, these various types of "Mocha coffee" do not exist in isolation, but reveal certain connections. This chapter aims to categorise the various "Mocha coffee" into four flows, and then examine each and also consider the relationships among them. This is an opportunity to consider the dynamics of how one product has created multiple flows, or gyres, in both the physical and imaginary senses, and how they have connected commercial and cultural practices in

different locations within and beyond the geographical limit of the Indian Ocean. Thus, tracing the various "Mocha coffees" allows us to understand the extent of the Indian Ocean World not as a geographical entity, but rather as a mutually influential accumulation of flows or gyres, both in physical sense and in imagination, using that one entity as a lens.

This chapter traces four different flows of "Mocha coffee" and explores how they intersect. First, is its flow as beans, and second as a plant, including both the cultivar and the beans harvested from it. Coffee beans exported from Mocha and other ports in the Red Sea/ Gulf of Aden can be regarded as "Mocha coffee" in the literal sense. However, carefully examining even such "genuine" Mocha coffee reveals the existence of its various types. As a cultivar, *Coffea arabica* L. remains the most important of the genus *Coffea* and is cultivated in many places worldwide. Its spread from the Ethiopian highlands to the Yemeni highlands, along with the history of its transplantation and expansion of coffee cultivation, reflects colonial endeavours and struggles with both the natural environment and epidemic diseases, as well as the pressures of growing consumer demand. The third flow examined in this chapter is that of "Mocha coffee" as a brand. A careful reading of the documents reveals that many beans circulating in the market as "Mocha coffee" were actually not produced in the area surrounding the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. Therefore, to fully understand its background it is necessary to consider "Mocha coffee" as a brand, and to understand why "Mocha coffee" became a brand it is necessary to refer back to the first two flows. Finally, there is much to learn about "Mocha coffee" in blended coffee powder, and again, in order to understand the appearance of "Mocha coffee" in the blended powders, other three flows aforementioned should be considered.

I. "Mocha Coffee" as Beans

I–1. Varieties of "Mocha Coffee" Bean from Ports along the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden

In historical sources, the term "Mocha coffee" is not always limited to beans exported actually from Mocha itself. Various ports along the Arabian coast of the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden such as Jeddah and Hodeida contributed to the circulation of coffee, and historically it has been widely accepted to call all these beans "Mocha coffee" (with the exception discussed later). The major producing region of these coffee beans was Mocha's mountainous hinterland centring on Bayt al-Faqih from where coffee beans were carried to the ports. Various beans were recognised during the 18th and 19th centuries. Table 1 lists the coffee beans exported from these ports from the middle of the 18th century to the 19th century.

The information in Table 1 can be divided into two categories: A to E and F to R. A to E categorises according to the quality of the beans. Each source of reference sorts the beans into A, B, C or A, D, E, and in both cases A is the finest. B and C are categorisations devised by and for traders and consumers in the European market such as France, whereas D and E are categorisations by and for merchants and consumers in the Middle Eastern market. No further information can be obtained on these categories. F to

Table 1 "Mocha coffee" exported from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden between the middle of the 18th century to the 19th century

	Name	Appearance	Notes
A	Bahouri,[1, 2, 3, 5, 6] Boḳoury[7]=AR. Bakhūrī ("of incense")		The highest quality beans; these were reserved for the local rulers and government officials.[1, 2, 3, 5, 6] The name known in Istanbul.[6]
B	Café Alexandrie,[1] Café Cairo[1]	Green small beans[1]	Sent to the European market[1]
C	Although it is mentioned as one of major "Mocha coffees" along with A and B, the exact name is unknown.[1]	Light yellow and larger than B[1]	
D	Saki,[2, 3, 5, 6] Sargi (as called in Hodeida)[4]		The same type of beans as E. Sold in Levant (Armenia and Persia[5]) and Europe.[3] In Hodeida, this name was applied to beans of higher quality than D.[4] The name known in Istanbul.[6]
E	*Galabi,[2] *Salabi,[3, 5, 6] *Sharabi (as called in Hodeida)[4]		The same type of beans as D; sold in the Levant (Armenia and Persia[5]) and Europe.[3] In Hodeida, this name was applied to beans of lower quality than D.[4] The name known in Istanbul.[6]
F	Café Ouden (=Aden)[6]	The beans are larger, greener, and heavier than others.[6]	Produced in the mountainous region near Aden and the highest quality produced in Arabian Peninsula, but the price was too high for Europeans.[6]
G	Café Moka[6]	Beans brought directly from Mocha; larger than others and whitish coloured, those via Cairo smaller, greenish and fresher with better flavour;[6] beans from Alexandria are smaller and much greener with a stronger aroma.[6]	The same type of beans as H, but the name reflected where the French purchased the beans; the quality is slightly higher than that of H;[6] brought via Cairo, Alexandria or directly from Mocha to France.[6]
H	Café du Levant[6]		The same type of beans as G, but the name reflected where the French purchased the beans; quality slightly lower than G.[6] Brought to France via Aleppo and Izmir[6]
I	Café de Sanaa[6]		Lower quality than K[6]
J	Café de Galbany[6]		Lower quality than K[6]

K	Café de Betelfaguy (Bayt al-Faqih)[6]		Higher quality than I and J[6]
L	Chardji[2]		
M	Habbat[2]		Small bean with large demand[2]
N	Oddeini[2]		N, O, P, Q, R are difficult to distinguish[2]
O	Matari[2]		N, O, P, Q, R are difficult to distinguish[2]
P	Harrazi (Harraz)[2]		N, O, P, Q, R are difficult to distinguish[2]
Q	Haimi[2]		N, O, P, Q, R are difficult to distinguish[2]
R	Chirazzi[2]		N, O, P, Q, R are difficult to distinguish[2]

1. Matthyssens 1866: 251–252; 2. Jardin 1895: 66; 3. Aulagnier 1839: 130; 4. Hunter 1877: 100–101; 5. Valmont de Bomare 1764: Vol.1, 388; 6. Coubard d'Aulnay 1832: 104–112; 7. Prisse d'Avennes 1852: 59.

R are based on the locations of the exporting ports, entrepôts and producing region. According to Hunter, coffee produced in Arabia was referred to in Aden as either "Jebeli" (Jabalī= "mountainous") or "Mukha", whereas in Hodeida beans were named according to where they were produced.[1] Thus, beans listed from L to R, are named after the production area; and those listed from F to K, are based on the Encyclopaedia of Coubard d'Aulnay, and are categorised according to the exporting ports and entrepôts. For instance, G: café Mocha provides further information according to transit point. Those from L to R except M, are from the French coffee encyclopaedia published at the end of the 19th century, which categorises according to the producing region, and entrepôt and "i" at the end of each name indicates that these names are derived from Arabic terms. The author, Jardin, confessed that some were difficult to distinguish, which reflects the views of French consumers. As all the different names reveal, European consumers recognised varieties of "Mocha coffee" exported from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden and categorised them based on what they knew of them, some from their own experience, others from knowledge obtained from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden.

I–2. The Coffee Trade from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden in Post-Coffee Century

According to Tuchscherer, the trade volume of Yemeni coffee reached its zenith during the first quarter of the 18th century and was estimated at 12,000 to 15,000 tons annually, the volume of trade being maintained at almost the same level throughout that century, while consumption increased rapidly.[2] Eventually, coffee exported from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden, which once supplied almost the entire global market, provided only 2% to 3% of it by 1840.[3] This significant loss of global market share of "Mocha coffee" or coffee exported from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden needs to be explained with both internal and external factors. A significant internal factor was political instability after the turn of the 19th century, as the Qasimi dynasty lost control to local tribal uprisings, and the Wahhabi movement gained ascendancy, followed by Ottoman control.[4] A significant external factor was the rise of new coffee producers in regions that are now part of the coffee belt. Regarding this second point, which is explored further in the following sections, there was a notable difference in production methods between Yemeni producers and these emerging producers. New producers such as Reunion Island, Saint-Domingue (Haiti), Cuba and Brazil relied on slave labour on plantations, and a forced cultivation system was employed on islands of the Dutch East Indies, such as Java.[5] Coffee was cultivated in Ceylon, as it was then under the Kangani system. Contrary to labour-intensive systems, coffee production in Yemen was based on a non-organized system of peasant producers.[6] In the 1830s, it was observed that each peasant household produced 0.45 to 1.34 tons annually.[7] While there were also large-scale farms organized under the waqf system,[8] even considering these larger operations, newly emerged producing centres continued to operate on a much larger scale than those in Yemen. Eventually, even in the Middle East markets such as Istanbul, "Mocha coffee" or coffee exported from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden was replaced by cheaper West Indies coffee, which was transported via Marseille.[9]

Although Arabica coffee originated in the Ethiopian highlands, Ethiopian coffee's

contribution to global supply began after Yemen's century of coffee (the 16th century). In the Ethiopian highlands, Coptic clergymen spread the belief that coffee was something for the Oromos and Muslims, and thus, the Copts avoided drinking it. Consequently, there could be no large-scale cultivation of the plant, which meant it was limited to such places as Harar, where it was grown by Muslims.[10] Thereafter, production increased from the middle of the 19th century onwards, particularly during the reign of Menelik II (r. 1889–1913), while the locals gradually began to consume coffee.[11] It is estimated that at Kaffa, a major production area where slaves were employed to grow coffee, 50 to 60 tons per year were being produced in the early 1880s.[12] On the other side of the Gulf, the British occupied Aden and established it as its protectorate in 1839. The Ottomans abandoned the port of Mocha in the middle of the 19th century, leading to a shift in major entrepôts to Aden and Hodeida.[13] Coffee production did not expand significantly in Yemen, however, Ethiopian coffee increased its production. By the middle of the 1910s, more than half the coffee exported from Aden was brought from the African side of the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden region, notably via Djibouti.[14]

II. "Mocha Coffee" as Plant

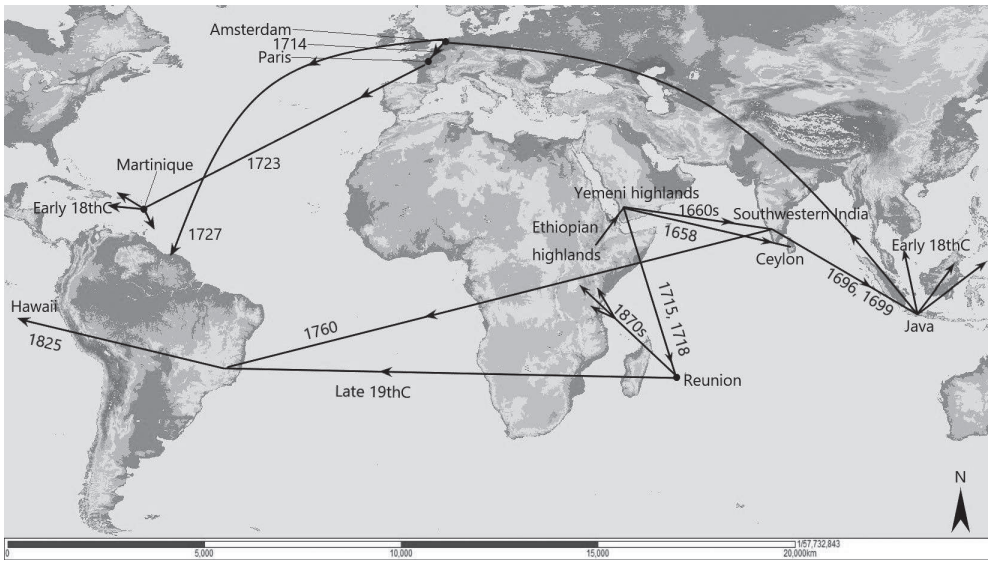
II–1. The Spread of *Coffea Arabica* L.

Currently, 124 species of the genus *Coffea* in the family *Rubiceae* are known.[15] However, only three species are exploited commercially, 65% of global circulation being taken up with *Coffea arabica* L. (Arabica coffee); *Coffea canephora* Pierre ex Froehn. (generally known as Canephora or Robusta coffee) constitutes 34% of production; while a third species, *Coffea liberica* Bull. ex Hiern (generally known as Liberica coffee) constitutes the remaining 1%.[16] Arabica coffee not only occupies the largest share in the global market, but is also the most widely cultivated, reflecting that this species has the longest history of being transplanted worldwide. The success of such transplantation led to a boom in coffee cultivation elsewhere, made possible by the unique genetic characteristic of Arabica coffee plant—self-fertilisation or autogamy[17]—which allows the plant to flower and produce self-fertile seeds. All other species of the *Coffea* genus are allogamous which means that two parent plants are required for fertilisation and reproduction. Thus, Arabica coffee plants have a significant advantage of transplantation. Another significant characteristic of Arabica coffee is that the species is extremely sensitive to its habitat, meaning that the flavour of the beans changes according to its growing environment.[18] Therefore, owing to spontaneous mutations, as well as cross-fertilisation, the number of cultivars has exceeded those of other species.

It is widely accepted that Arabica coffee originated in the Ethiopian highland and spread to the eastern part of the Great Rift Valley. Approximately from the 14th century onwards, Muslims in the south-eastern Ethiopian highlands began to consume coffee. Subsequently, in the first part of the 15th century, coffee became accepted in Yemen, an area with which Ethiopian Muslims had enjoyed a strong commercial connection since the middle of that century.[19] The Yemeni highlands also provided a suitable environment to grow coffee, and while demand grew in the Middle East, in the 16th century the

market extended towards Europe as well. At the time, the Ethiopian highlands were experiencing political instability, therefore, as Yemeni production could cater to the growing demand, the 16th century became the century of coffee in Yemen.[20)]

Throughout the later 17th century and until the early 18th century, coffee plants were transplanted to several places in the western Indian Ocean, leading to several new variants and more transplantation. *Coffea arabica* L. var. *bourbon* Rodr. ex Choussy (generally known as the Bourbon variant) and *Coffea arabica* L. var. *typica* Cramer (generally known as Typica), both of these variants of Arabica coffee, are the originators of most of the currently existing cultivars.[21)] The Bourbon variant appeared on the island of Reunion, where the French East India Company made three attempts to transplant Arabica coffee from Yemen, in 1708, 1715, and 1718; the second and third bore fruit,[22)] and became the origins of the Bourbon variant. While Reunion began exporting coffee in 1726,[23)] further transplants were made, most remarkably through catholic missionaries of Congrégation du Saint-Esprit et du Saint-Cœur de Marie, who established a mission to the island during the middle of the 1820s. They transplanted coffee to Bagamoyo, at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro and to Nguru, Nairobi, as well as to Morogoro when they extended their activity on the African mainland during the 1870s.[24)] However, the Typica variant probably originated in plants brought from the Arabian peninsula to the Malabar Coast by the Maccan pilgrims sometime before the middle of the 17th century, and it was again brought to Batavia by the Dutch East India Company in 1696, and probably again in 1699 after an earthquake on Java Island. This particular cultivar was eventually brought to Amsterdam in the early 18th century[25)] and to Paris in 1714, in celebration of the conclusion of the Utrecht Treaty.



Map Distribution of Arabica Coffee[26)]

II–2. The Indian Ocean as the Graveyard of Arabica

The coffee beans which were cultivated on an increasingly large scale after the 18th century were either Arabica or its hybrids; in all cases they were derived from Arabica coffee. As aforementioned, one of Arabica's characteristics is self-fertilisation, which made it easy to transplant. However, another characteristics is that it is extremely susceptible to disease, particularly coffee rust disease. The effect of the disease was devastating for the coffee planters.

Coffee rust disease is caused by a fungus known as *Hemileia vastatrix* and is propagated when spores of *Hemileia vastatrix* are deposited on coffee leaves. The spores germinate and infect the leaf tissue, causing the leaves to shrivel and fall from the plant before they mature, thus preventing photosynthesis. The process causes orange-coloured lesions resembling rust to appear on the leaf. Thereafter, the fungus spreads to other leaves, eventually killing the whole plant. The first reference to the disease was from Ceylon in early 1869, when it was found in only a few trees; however, by the middle of the year it had spread over several acres, and within two years it was everywhere on the island.[27] There was a boom in coffee plantations in Ceylon during the 1840s, and by the late 1860s the island became the world's third largest exporter of coffee.[28] Initially, when the disease was reported, colonial officers and scientists attributed its cause to a unique fungus local to the island, however, today this is not the case. The widely accepted hypothesis today is that *Hemileia vastatrix* was actually brought in with Arabica coffee plants. Rain in Ceylon which is heavier than that in the Ethiopian and Yemeni highlands facilitated the proliferation of *Hemileia vastatrix*, while strong monsoon winds helped spread it widely. This outbreak of coffee rust disease was an important background in that it demolished coffee production in Ceylon before the end of the 1880s. Furthermore, the fungus was not limited to the island of Ceylon, and between 1885 and 1905, rust disease outbreaks significantly damaged various plantations elsewhere around the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific area. As McCook recalls, the outbreak changed the plantations in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific from once-thriving drivers of a coffee boom to an "Arabica graveyard".[29]

For example, coffee cultivation on the Malabar Coast was initiated by Murdoch Brown at his plantation at Anjarakandi and another thousand-acre plantation called Randattara, which the British East India Company leased to him in 1797.[30] Others followed Brown, and a coffee boom reached its zenith by the 1840s. However, in 1865 an infestation by the *Xylotrechus quadripes* Chevrolat beetle almost annihilated the coffee plantation in this region, and despite some recovery, by 1875 coffee rust disease had spread throughout the region. Moreover, Malabar coffee cultivation faced international competition, therefore, from 1893 to 1903, coffee cultivation in the region decreased dramatically, from 20,000 acres to approximately 5,500 acres.[31]

Following this tumultuous situation, cultivators began to seek new coffee species and commercial cultivation of such potentially viable species was tested elsewhere. As a result, while only four species were scientifically recognised in the *Coffea* genus in 1834, 34 species had been recognised by 1901.[32] Two of the most successful species were Canephora and Liberica, owing to their resistance to coffee rust disease and that they

could be successfully transplanted. Although Liberica could not be successfully grown in many places, Canephora cultivation did succeed in various locations and its range was extended. Consequently, currently on Java Island, Canephora is the major cultivation species, and in Malaysia, Liberica cultivars have retained a significant position in cultivation. Arabica coffee has maintained its major position in Ethiopia, Yemen, and South America as it was transplanted there in an earlier phase and is less affected by coffee rust disease there than in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. Nonetheless, genetic studies in Ethiopia, where Arabica coffee originated, reveal that many currently cultivated plants are cultivars deriving from either Typica, Bourbon, or Híbrido de Timor variants.[33] Thus, although the Ethiopian highland is the birth place of Arabica coffee, most of the cultivars growing there today are those which have returned to their "homeland" after hybridisation and cross-breeding elsewhere.

III. "Mocha Coffee" as a Brand: Many "Fake" "Mocha Coffees"

At the beginning of the 19th century, "Mocha coffee" beans exported from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden had already lost a significant share of its global circulation. As new producers appeared worldwide, each provided their own flavours to consumers, which led to diversity of preference among them. In addition, demand for each cultivar and variable transport costs led to different prices from each producer, which affected consumer preference. For example, New Yorkers generally preferred "Mocha coffee", meaning beans from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden, however, traders stocked other beans too, from various places. Although France was certainly the largest importer of beans from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden, it imported even more from Rio de Janeiro, Ceylon, and Jamaica. The Netherlands was the largest importer of the beans from the Dutch East Indies—the "Java Coffee"—while in Britain people preferred beans from Ceylon, or from Blue Mountain in Jamaica. It is noteworthy that particularly in Europe during Napoleon's closure of the continent, various alternative coffee-like beverages were created from seeds, cereals, and roots; chicory and even date coffee were widely accepted and successfully commercialised. However, the popularity of "Mocha coffee" did not decline despite the diversification and expansion of coffee production and consumption. Thus, "Mocha coffee" had established itself as the brand of the highest quality, such that in the 19th century European and American literature, it was frequently praised as the best, followed by beans from Reunion and Java Islands.[34] Therefore, "Mocha" is the name representing the finest brand among the various sorts of coffee worldwide.[35]

As the brand "Mocha coffee" began to gain popularity, various forms of "fake" "Mocha coffee" began appearing in markets elsewhere. For example, a 1792 publication from London cites a letter from Stephen Fuller, a representative for British Jamaica in London, to coffee planters in Jamaica.[36] In his letter, Fuller advised the planters to produce beans as small as possible, because smaller beans could be sold as "Mocha coffee". It is unclear how much effect Fuller's advice had, but he was not the only one with such an idea. According to an accusation in an American journal article from the 1880s, certain merchants in Aden were exporting "Mocha coffee" that had been mixed

with Brazilian beans from Rio de Janeiro and Santos.[37)]

The 1900 annual trade report of the British consul general in Rio de Janeiro confirmed such adulteration. According to this report, local producers were discontent because lower-quality beans were being exported as "Brazilian coffee", whereas higher-quality beans were being sold under different names, notably as "Mocha coffee". This was understandable considering the price difference in Europe between well-known beans such as "Mocha" and the newly emerging Brazilian beans. However, this was not limited to Europe. For instance, Egyptian merchants obtained Brazilian coffee beans from Europe, transported them to Arabia via Aden and Jeddah, repacked them in genuine Mocha coffee bags, and dispatched them to Syria and Egypt. According to the same report, high quality beans from Santos, for example, was sold in Brazil for 6 francs per 10 kilograms, but once transported to Egypt, the same beans were sold wholesale for 8.5 francs and retail for 10.50 francs. However, when labelled as "Genuine Arabian Mocha" and repacked in genuine Mocha packaging, the price rose to 50 francs per 10 kilograms.[38)] British naturalist Clarke, who travelled through the Levant in the early 19th century, also recorded that coffee beans from the West Indies were sold as "Mocha coffee" in Izmir.[39)]

The June 1887 issue of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, a popular monthly magazine in the United States, included an article about the New York coffee trade.[40)] According to the article, New York imported about 1059 tons of coffee beans from Aden which was more than 99% of the beans sent from Aden to the United States, and most of them were brought by regular lines from London where the P&O Company carried them directly from Aden. Beans were packed in 40lb or 80lb boxes and four 40lb boxes or two 80lb boxes were bound together and called a "bale". Boxes made of Arabian glass appeared gorgeous and exotic, which made people imagine the rich exotic commerce of Arabia. Exclusive shops in uptown New York sold genuine "Mocha coffee" and beans from ports on the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden, while reputedly, five times more fake "Mocha coffee" was sold throughout the city.

Although in some cases it is possible to distinguish beans of one cultivar from another, it is unrealistic for anyone to identify each bean in the bag. For wholesalers, such identification was more than unrealistic, which may explain the following incident. In the 1852 edition of The French Society for Medicinal Chemistry, it was reported that a merchant in Antwerp presented a sample of "Mocha coffee" to a local military hospital for identification. It was found that 40% of the beans were not coffee beans at all, but seeds of *Ricinus communis* Linn,[41)] a plant well known for containing the highly potent toxin, ricin.

Therefore, during the 19th century, the importance of "Mocha coffee" in the global market lay not in the actual flavour of "Mocha coffee" exported from ports in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, but in the name.

IV. Mocha Coffee as a Blend: Frequently Mislabelled

"Mocha coffee" beans produced in the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden became rare and valuable

as demand for coffee grew globally; however, Yemeni producers could not meet the growing demand. An article titled "Mocha Coffee" in the December 1882 issue of *the Coffee Public-House News and Temperance Hotel Journal* (*CPN*), admitted that in the United Kingdom, owing to scarcity and overpricing, "the consumption of pure Mocha coffee by the general population is an impossibility, without reckoning the almost prohibitory prices now ruling"; instead, beans from Red Sea/Gulf of Aden were principally used for blending with other coffee beans.[42] For the same reason, a French Ph.D. thesis on coffee published in 1853 suggests blending 2.5kg of Martinique coffee, 2.5kg of Bourbon coffee, 2kg of Java coffee, and 2kg of Mocha coffee.[43] Blending became the commonest way for the public to acquire a taste of "Mocha coffee", that is, beans from Red Sea/Gulf of Aden.

While blending is an effective method for reducing the price per cup, it is widely accepted that blending different type of beans also enables totally new flavours to be created and it has become one of the highlights of coffee culture today. It is widely accepted that the first successfully commercialized blend was named "Mocha Java";[44] a modern coffee guidebook explains that Mocha Java is "blended to balance the wildness and acidity of a Yemen-style coffee with the heavy body and earthy richness of Indonesian coffee".[45]

The origin of coffee blending is unclear, as is the origin of the Mocha Java blend. Although the Mocha Java blend is believed to have originated in 18th century Europe, early references in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century cite several blending recipes, not limited to only Mocha and Java, but different types of beans as cited in the aforementioned French Ph.D. thesis.[46] As far as English references are concerned, the Mocha Java blend was more frequently mentioned after the 1880s, and the most frequently-mentioned preferred ratio was one-third Mocha to two-thirds Java.[47]

In addition to creating a new taste and aroma in a cup while controlling its cost using differing ratios of various beans, blending helped to disguise the identity of beans. Popular but overpriced "Mocha coffee" beans, that is, those from Red Sea/Gulf of Aden were not always included in "Mocha Java" blends as labelled. Mocha Java blends with no beans from Red Sea/Gulf of Aden could circulate because in the United Kingdom, "Mocha coffee, like Havannah [sic.] Cigars, can be grown anywhere, and with those who have never tasted the genuine product the imitation will pass".[48] The situation in the United States was more or less similar as "[t]he names Java and Mocha were indelibly stamped on the mind of the consuming public … In this manner there began a cutting in price which finally ended in a straight Santos and even Santos mixed with chicory being termed the finest Java and Mocha coffees".[49]

In the United States, the situation changed drastically with the Pure Food and Drug Act (also known as Pure Food Law) approved in 1906. The Act was partly intended to ban mislabelling of foods, coffee being no exception. However, the tricky definition of "Mocha coffee" remained common in legal debates. In the early 20th century, if rigorous discussion was attempted, this definition became further tricky. If "Mocha coffee" denoted the beans produced in the hinterland of Mocha, Yemeni highlands, at the time the major coffee producing region in the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden had shifted from the

Arabian side to the Ethiopian highlands, on the African side. Furthermore, by that time the port of Mocha was no longer exporting coffee to the European and American markets, therefore, if "Mocha" denoted the port of dispatch, there clearly could be no more "Mocha coffee". Thus, the majority of coffee exported from Red Sea/Gulf of Aden ports could not any longer be termed "Mocha coffee". Coffee dealers in the United States categorised and sold beans from both sides of the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden as "Mocha coffee", however, they simultaneously distinguished between Yemeni beans as "Short-berry Mocha" and Ethiopian beans as "Harari coffee" or "Long-berry Mocha".[50)]

In the United States, following the introduction of the Pure Food and Drug Act, the Board of Food and Drug Inspection issued Food Inspection Decision 91 in 1908 which concerned the labelling of "Mocha coffee".[51)] Referring to the report from the Consulate in Aden, the Board stated that, "the term 'Mocha', as applied to coffee, should be restricted … to coffee grown in that part of Arabia (i.e. Aden) to the north and east of Hodeidah [sic.], known as Yemen". The effect of the Pure Food and Drug Act and Food Inspection Decision 91 must not be underestimated. A government coffee expert, William B. Harris, reported that the Bureau of Chemistry (established in 1901 using Congressional appropriations to inspect adulteration and misbranding of food and drugs) examined 826 suspicious samples of coffee and found that 584 of them (nearly 70%) did not comply with the law.[52)] The situation improved gradually, for Harris noted that only 7% was reported as authentic among the first 100 samples, however, two years later 33% was reported as authentic. It is unclear as to how many Java Mocha cases were included. However, in another report published in 1910, various Mocha Java blends appeared among 37 samples that Harris identified as misbranded. Many of these were products of leading traders, such as San Francisco's Hills Brothers' "Hills Brothers Vacuum Packed Highest Grade Coffee, Java and Mocha flavour"; Chicago's Thomson and Taylor Spice Company's "Java and Mocha Gold Band Coffee",[53)] which contained no "Mocha coffee" at all; and many other "Mocha Java" blends that contained Brazilian beans, such as those from Santos, instead of Mocha or Java beans. Exposure of unlawful labelling of inferior coffee as Mocha Java continued nationwide.[54)]

Thus, many coffee products mislabelled as "Mocha coffee" including Mocha Java blend were eliminated. However, it remained uncertain whether it was proper to refer to Harari coffee as "Longberry Mocha", and consequently, in 1912, the Federal test case of the United States v. The Thomson and Taylor Spice Company of Chicago focused on this. Witnesses included leading coffee traders and experts such as William H. Ukers, author of a highly reputed coffee encyclopaedia titled *All about Coffee* (first published in 1922). The witnesses' testimonies revealed their knowledge and experience of the coffee business including many details. Judge Landis issued his decision, ruling that considering the historical process, both Arabian and Ethiopian coffees may be referred to as "Mocha", but the actual country of origin must be stated, that is, "Arabian Mocha" and "Ethiopian Mocha". This decision overturned the Drug Act and Food Inspection Decision 91 which limited "Mocha coffee" to that produced in Yemen. However, as Ukers notes, the general acceptance afterwards was in accordance with the Food Inspection Decision 91.[55)]

After the elimination of various product mislabelling and debates over what

constitutes "proper 'Mocha coffee'", blended coffee gained much more popularity in the U.S. during the 1920s. According to McCook, many blended coffees were sold by brand name rather than by the origin of the beans.[56] Although the term "Mocha" did not disappear, it was now used more carefully. However, coffee remained closely associated with Arabia in the American imagination, through advertisements and company trademarks such as "Coffee Taster" of Hills Brothers, or a school play, featuring a history of coffee, produced by the Joint Coffee Trade Publicity Campaign, which circulated 50,000 copies. The play featured Arabian characters in traditional Arab costumes.

Conclusion

This chapter traces a number of flows of "Mocha coffee" in different forms as beans, plant cultivars, brands, and blends. Each flow has a different geographical extent; for instance, while cultivars were circulated in the coffee belt, the major market for the beans was mostly outside that belt as Mocha Java blend was primarily circulated in the European and American markets. However, all of those flows were mutually influential. As a plant, coffee circulated beyond the geographical limit of the Indian Ocean as early as the 17th century and its popularity in Europe encouraged the transplantation of coffee bushes both within and beyond the Indian Ocean. However, coffee rust disease destroyed many plantations of Arabica coffee which shared the same root as "Mocha coffee" as beans around the Indian Ocean, therefore, alternative varieties were sought. Coffee growers discovered the Liberica and Robusta cultivars which became widespread as a modern coffee belt was established. Moreover, transplantation of Arabica and discovery of Liberica and Robusta diversified the flavour of coffee. Subsequently, the term "Mocha coffee" became the accepted highest quality brand, once true "Mocha coffee" beans, that is, beans from Red Sea/Gulf of Aden became a rarity on the market, partly as a result of different modes of production between Yemen and other newly emerging producers, as well as political instability in Yemen. As the original flavour of coffee, and owing to its relatively small-scale production in comparison with other genera, beans from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden were highly valued by European and American consumers, resulting in "Mocha" as the synonym for the most admired coffee. Branding of coffee as "Mocha coffee" resulted in a considerable amount of mislabelled "Mocha coffee" circulating in the market, and coffee blending techniques were developed to thoroughly hide the true identity of imitation "Mocha coffee". A substantial amount of the mislabelled "Mocha coffee" actually originated from newly emerging, cheaper coffee production in Brazil, where the Arabica cultivar was grown; however, it managed to avoid the Coffee rust disease pandemic in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. Thus, the "Mocha coffee" brand ironically contributed to the consumption of coffee beans from sources other than the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden to a certain extent. During the early 20th century, the Pure Food and Drug Act introduced in the United States to prevent mislabelling, was successful to a certain extent. However, uncertainty continued regarding the definition of true "Mocha coffee". Since the turn of the century, the majority of coffee exported from the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden had shifted from Yemen to Ethiopia. However, after a US court case

defined “true Mocha coffee”, dealers and consumers in the United States gradually agreed to limit the use of the term “Mocha coffee” to beans produced in Yemen. It is noteworthy that the detailed categorisation during the 18th and 19th centuries as presented in Table 1, did not appear in the court testimonies in the United States v. The Thomson and Taylor Spice Company in 1912. As blended powdered coffee gained popularity, dealers sold it without referring to the source of the beans, instead simply selecting a suitable brand name. Nonetheless, the dealers continued to use vague images of Arabia in their advertising.

The geographical limit of the Indian Ocean could not fully contain the interconnecting flows of “Mocha coffee”. The circumstances under which Yemeni peasants grew coffee affected consumers in the Middle East, Europe, and the United States, while emerging producers such as those in Ceylon, Indonesia, Cuba, and Brazil also had a significant effect on “Mocha coffee”. Fake Mocha Java blend emerged from the well-established branding of “Mocha coffee”, popular for its high quality, rarity, and originality.

Stimulated by that psychologically important feature, it is certain that fake Mocha Java blended coffee was produced using other cheaper beans. Considering both producers and consumers, as well as physical and imagined features of various coffee beans, within and beyond the Indian Ocean, the different paths of the various “Mocha coffees” in different forms can be comprehended; and the author suggests that it is their interconnected paths considered together that represent a part of the Indian Ocean World.

Notes

1) Hunter 1877: 100.
2) Tuchscherer 2003: 55.
3) Tuchscherer 2003: 55. Estimation made at the end of the 1850s indicates 0.7% which is much lower than Tuchscherer’s estimate (Gardner 1859: 168).
4) Um 2009: 7.
5) Dion 2006: 19–27; Ohashi 2010.
6) Tuchscherer 2003: 54.
7) Bréon 1832: 567 mentions that each family produced three to five boxes per year. The weight calculation here is based on Straus 1874: 159 which mentions that at Bayt al-Faqih, a centre of coffee trade in Yemen, one box of coffee weighed 197.1094 lbs. (about 89.4kg).
8) Bréon 1832: 567; Tuchscherer 2003: 54.
9) Burckhardt 1829: Vol.1, 31–32; Macgregor 1844: Vol.2, 244; Eldem 1999: 75; Richards 2004: 207. For example, Olivier who travelled around the Middle East at the end of the 18th century reported that in the region around the Black Sea, coffee beans from the Americas were more welcome than those from Yemen (Olivier 1800: Vol.1, 367–368).
10) Pankhurst 1968: 198; Aregay 1988: 20–21.
11) Pankhurst 1968: 198; Aregay 1988: 20–21, 24–25. Allegedly, Menelik II consumed coffee himself, and Abuna Matewos X who became the Patriarch of Ethiopian Orthodox Church when

Menelik II enthroned, repeatedly denied the belief among the priests that coffee was the beverage for Muslims. Pankhurst highlighted that this encouraged the Copts to weaken their prejudice against coffee (Pankhurst 1968: 198).

12) Pankhurst 1968: 199; Fernyhough 2007: 221.
13) Um 2009: 7.
14) *Supplement to Commerce Reports* 52a (1920), 13. The United States consular reports summarised a French report from 1899 stating that two types of coffee were sold in the market of Harar, one called "Abyssin" characterised by its small earth-coloured beans and brought from Kaffa, Leka, and Djimma; and the other called "Harari" which was a longer berry and was brought from the area surrounding Harar and was sold at a price higher than "Abyssin" (*Consular Reports: Commerce, Manufactures, etc.* 60–227 (1899), 756). Harari particularly earned a good reputation in London markets where it was known as "long-berry Mocha" to be compared with those from Arabia which was called short-berry Mocha (*Diplomatic and Consular Reports* 3747 (1907), 7).
15) Davis et al. 2011: 369–371. These species include those previously included in *Psilanthus* spp. Apart from *Psilanthus* spp., 104 species are included in the genus *Coffea*.
16) Anzueto et al. 2005: 21.
17) Clarindo and Carvalho 2008.
18) Haarer 1958: 96.
19) Tuchscherer 2003: 50–52.
20) Tuchscherer 2003: 52–53.
21) Haarer 1958: 14–15; Pruvot-Woehl et al. 2020: 326–327; Montagnon et al. 2021: 2415–2416.
22) Campbell 2003: 67–68.
23) Coubard d'Aulnay 1832: 45.
24) Kieran 1969. However, they brought not only the Bourbon variant, but also that of Typica, from Aden (Kieran 1969: 64).
25) Cramer 1957: 5; Glamann 1981: 192, 207; Bhattacharya 2017: 58–59.
26) All the maps in this volume are created by Hideaki Suzuki. Exceptionally, the map in Chapter 5 is modified by the author of that chapter.
27) McCook 2019: 36.
28) McCook 2019: 37–38.
29) McCook 2019: 65–89.
30) Logan 1887: Vol.2, 272; Innes 1915: 228. Brown originated in Mahé (Mayyaḻi), a French colony on Malabar Coast, and succeeded in his own business in the complicated regional politico-economic situation and ran his own cinnamon plantation at Anjarakandi and later extended his business to coffee. As to Brown, see, Buckland 1906: 55–56; Nightingale 1970: 76–77, *passim*.
31) Innes 1915: 228–229.
32) Anthony, Dussert and Dullo 2007: 12.
33) Clarindo, Carvalho, Caizeta et al. 2013; Benti et al. 2021: 161. Híbrido de Timor was discovered in 1927 at the plantation in Timor where the Typica variant was cultivated; Timor hybrid is supposed to have been produced naturally by hybridisation between Arabica and Canephora.
34) See, Milburn 1813: Vol.1, 105; Vialardi 1854: 548; Brožowsky 1859: 7–11; Hartwig 1863: 193;

Matthyssens 1866: 251–259; Larousse 1867: 59; Schneider and Vogl 1880: 214; Nelli 1880: 951.

35) For example, the *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that the term Mocha was used for coffee as early as 1762.
36) Moseley 1792: 36.
37) Riggs 1887: 664.
38) Rhind 1900: 19.
39) Clarke 1824: Vol.2, 468. Similar stories are frequently found, such as one in "The 'Times' on Coffee and Coffee-Making," *CPN* 1882 October: 115.
40) Riggs 1887.
41) Orman 1852: 50.
42) *CPN* 1882 December: 143.
43) Macé 1853: 10.
44) Davids 2001: 249; Morris 2013: 218; Thurston et al. (eds.) 2013: 386.
45) Kummer 2003: 266.
46) Anonymous 1732–1752: Vol.6 (Supplément), 462; Giraud 1846: 51–52.
47) Beecher 1880: 367; Thurber 1881: 31; Walsh 1894: 245. However, a cookery book published in 1898 cautions as follows: "the ordinary mixture of two thirds Java and one third Mocha is misleading, as there are an indefinite number of inferior qualities of both 'Mocha' and 'Java'" (Ronald 1898: 551).
48) *CPN* October 1882: 115.
49) Harris 1913: 36.
50) See various testimonies by coffee dealers in the federal court for the test case of the United States v. The Thomson and Taylor Spice Company of Chicago ("Important Case involving Word 'Mocha'", *The Spice Mill* 1912 March, 204–210).
51) For the full text of the decision, see. *Expenditures in Department of Agriculture* 2 (22 August 1911): 1081–1082.
52) Harris 1913: 37.
53) "Memorandum of Coffee Samples examined by William B. Harris and Reported for Prosecution", *Expenditures in Department of Agriculture* 2 (22 August 1911): 967–969.
54) See for example, United States Department of Agriculture, "Notice of Judgment No. 275, Food and Drug Act" (19 March 1910); "Notice of Judgment No. 275, Food and Drug Act" (6 May 1910); Thornton 1912: 369–374.
55) Ukers 1922: 337.
56) McCook 2013: 252.

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Chapter 2 Changes in Means of Transport and the Expansion of Qat Consumption

Reiko Otsubo
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Introduction

The Qat plant is of Ethiopian origin and has long been cultivated and consumed in East Africa—and elsewhere—for its fresh leaves, which produce a stimulant effect. For example, people in Yemen are accustomed to chew qat while socialising during the afternoons, and they and other East Africans enjoy qat perfectly legally, much as the French enjoy their wine or the Japanese their sake.

Coffee is another plant of Ethiopian origin, the beans of which, originally exported to the world from Mocha in Yemen, are the key ingredient of a popular beverage now consumed worldwide. However, the difference between the two lies in that qat leaves must be consumed as fresh as possible, while coffee must be extensively processed, and thus can be stored for much longer.

Therefore, the development of suitable means of transport was necessary to spread qat consumption worldwide; and qat was traded substantially during the 1950s-1970s in the Red Sea area. However, unlike coffee, qat was not always welcomed outside the Red Sea area, where it is now classified as an illegal drug. Moreover, owing to various reasons emigrants from the Red Sea area no longer have any real enthusiasm for it.

This study discusses qat and its spread through Yemen, the Red Sea area, Europe, and the Far East with Yemenis, focusing on the development of means of transport and the changing meanings of qat and its consumption.

Before examining the wider history of qat, it is worth explaining its role in Yemen. As aforementioned, qat is invariably consumed in the afternoon; in English, we should refer simply to "chewing" qat, however, the Yemenis say "*khazzan al-qāt*", which implies "storing" or "keeping" qat, for the leaves are not swallowed but rather held in the mouth, usually by being kept pouched in one of the cheeks for a number of hours, before eventually being spat out. The fresh qat leaves contain cathine and cathinone which work as stimulants and cause the well-known effects of wakefulness and anorexia among inexperienced users, although not to experienced users.

In the Middle East, coffeehouses are famous venues for men to socialise,[1)] while in Sana'a, private houses are the most popular places for social gatherings to use qat. There are *būfī*s and *qahwa*s in Sana'a, equivalent to *maqhā*s in normal Arabic, where men can

talk over cups of tea,[2] although they do not function as meeting places similar to qat gatherings and coffeehouses in other Middle Eastern countries. “If I want to talk about a complicated problem with my friend, I will say to him, ‘come to my house and chew qat’”, said one of my informants.[3]

Typically, men and women do not chew qat together, as there is strict segregation of the genders in Yemen. Married couples and siblings may chew qat together, however, such instances are rare. It is not considered decent for a woman to visit a qat market to buy qat, therefore, women tend to ask their brothers or husbands to obtain it for them. It used to be said that unmarried girls should not chew qat, however, I was told that these days, they do.

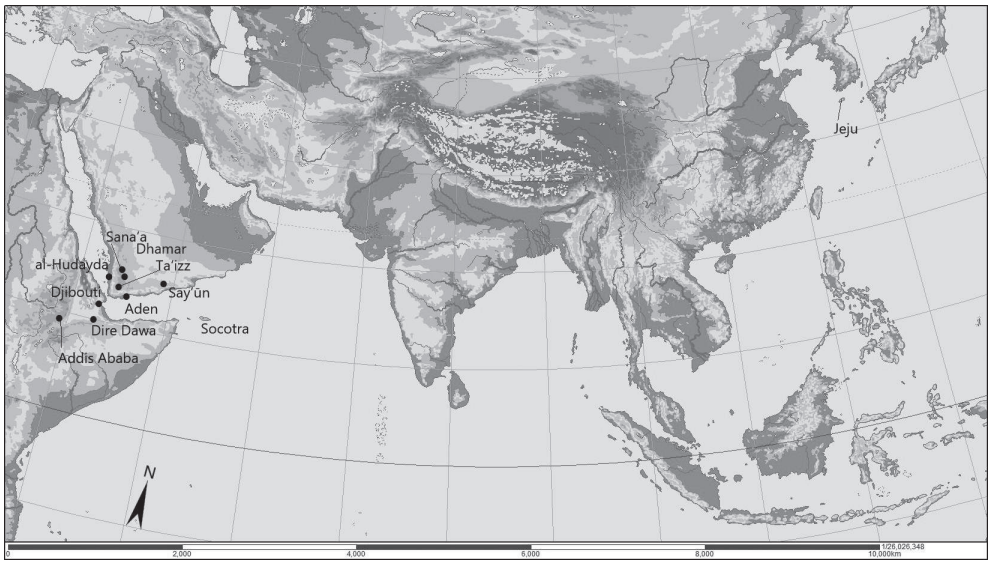
Qat gatherings are social gatherings for both men and women, although unlike in the 1970s, nowadays there is no obligation on anyone to attend qat gatherings.[4] Some Yemenis chew qat alone, such as old men who have sent their sons to work, and old women who assign domestic chores to their daughters and daughters-in-law. Shopkeepers, all of whom are men, may chew qat when they are alone at work in their shops, and women may chew it when they are alone looking after small children in their houses.

There are Yemenis who do not chew qat for various reasons, because they consider it a burden on the family budget, or simply find it a waste of time, or because it is unhealthy. However, many who do not chew qat, well recognise the social value of afternoon qat gatherings to attend them. Many scholars believe that qat is bad for family budgets and the Yemeni economy,[5] however, qat is favourable from the economic perspective in two ways. First, qat is an easy business to commence. No license is required to deal in qat; anyone with as less as the equivalent of three thousand Japanese Yen can visit the local market, buy a quantity of qat and then visit the city to sell it using the spaces available at qat markets for a small rental fee, where anyone can sell the leaves alongside other qat merchants. According to the World Bank, qat accounts for 6% of Yemen’s GDP, and one in seven Yemenis works at some job or other related to qat.[6] Men began selling qat because the civil war in Yemen destroyed their jobs.

Second, the distribution channel for qat in Yemen is extremely efficient. The qat is harvested early in the morning and sold in the early afternoon for consumption the same day. Therefore, the entire production process, from harvest to sale, is completed over a few hours on the same day, with only one or two merchants involved and minimal intervention from either the government or private companies.[7]

I. Qat in Yemen up to the 19th Century

Believed to be native to Ethiopia, the time of arrival of qat in Yemen remains unclear. Two ancient books do not mention qat, suggesting it had not yet spread to Yemen. *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʻArab*, by 10th-century Yemeni geographer al-Hamdānī, discusses Arabian Peninsula plants without mentioning qat.[8] Moreover, Ibn al-Mujāwir did not mention qat in his *Bilād al-Yaman wa Makka wa Baʻḍ al-Ḥijāz*. Ibn al-Mujāwir went to Yemen in 1226–1230 and even visited Jabal Ṣabr, which is now a production area for qat and coffee, however, he did not mention either of them, indicating their absence or at least



Map Major place names covered in this chapter

their lack of significance at the time.[9)]

The oldest known historical records of qat's introduction to Yemen are from the Rasulid dynasty (1229–1454), when according to Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 1348) an Ethiopian visitor told the fourth Rasulid sultan about qat trees and noted qat's appetite-suppressing effects. Intrigued, the sultan sent for qat cuttings from Ethiopia, which were planted in Yemen.[10)] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–1368/9) also visited Yemen, but did not mention qat in his writings.[11)] After leaving Yemen, he visited Dhofar and provided a detailed account of the betel nut. Therefore, it can be concluded that he would certainly have written about qat had he come across it in Yemen. Ethiopian records suggest qat was introduced to Yemen by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Abū Zaḥarbūi, a saint from Hadramawt who visited Ethiopia in 1430 when he converted many people to Islam. Therefore, the Shaykh must have acquired the qat habit,[12)] although qat probably did not grow well in Hadramawt's hot climate.

To the best of my knowledge the latest recorded date for the introduction of qat into Yemen is 950/1543, when both qat and coffee trees were introduced and became widespread as more people began to drink coffee.[13)] However, as we know that disputes over coffee arose in both Mecca and Cairo during the middle of the 16th century, and the first coffeehouse in Istanbul had opened in 1554,[14)] it is highly likely that the introduction of qat into Yemen must have occurred earlier than that.

Records from the late 18th century suggest Europeans tried qat in Yemen. For example, Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815), a German explorer, participated in the Royal Danish Arabia Expedition (1761–1767) and chewed qat in Ta'izz in June 1763. He indicated that he and his companions did not relish the drug,[15)] and wrote about it:

> Catha is one of those new genera peculiar to Arabia. This tree, which is improvable by culture, is commonly planted among the coffee shrubs on the hills where they grow. The Arabians are accustomed constantly to chew the buds of this tree, which they call *kaad*; they are as much addicted to this practice, as the Indians to that of chewing betel. To their *kaad* they ascribe the virtues of assisting digestion, and of fortifying the constitution against infectious distempers. Yet its insipid taste gives no indication of extraordinary virtues. The only effects we felt from the use of those buds were the hinderance and the interruptions of our sleep.[16)]

Niebuhr's descriptions are interesting. Qat trees are planted among coffee trees, as the cultivation conditions of the two are similar. He describes buds, not leaves, which may have been different from the parts Yemenis chew today. He also knew of betel, consumed nowadays among people of both the Indian and Pacific Ocean regions. The effects of qat as described by Niebuhr are almost the same as those observed today. An interesting fact is that the qat plant was assigned its botanical name Catha edulis Forsk in honour of the naturalist Peter Forsskål, who had been among the members of the expedition but died on the way to Sana'a.

More information on qat is available from the period after the British acquired Aden and occupied it in 1839, making it an international port. Qat at the time was used by Arab coolies, and the British initially restricted its sale to a single outlet and later permitted a few Government-licensed sellers. The trade was exceptionally valuable, with heavy sales which enabled the qat contractors to dictate prices to producer and consumer alike, securing profits of up to 1,000%.[17)]

Qat began to be imported to Aden from the southern parts of North Yemen around 1860–1870, as Aden is extremely hot for qat cultivation and the qat-producing areas around Aden were small. The lower classes in Aden consumed qat from the Maktari district, whereas the wealthier classes in Aden and Laḥij consumed a higher quality of qat sourced from the Mawiya district.[18)] Maktari (*al-Maqāṭira*) is now part of Laḥij Governorate, and Mawiya (*Māwiya*) is a district in the Ta'izz Governorate. Qat from Mawiya continues to be popular in Ta'izz.[19)]

II. Development of Transport Networks and Expansion of Qat Consumption in Yemen and East Africa during the 20th Century

The development of railways and aviation in Ethiopia significantly influenced consumption of qat in Aden during the 1950s–1960s, as did motorisation in Yemen from the 1970s onwards. These changes were instrumental in the spread of qat during the 20th century.

II–1. Railways, Aviation, and Qat during the 1950s–1960s

Construction of a railway line connecting the Ethiopian hinterland to the French port of Djibouti commenced in 1897. The line reached its first major terminus in 1902, a storage site at the foot of the highlands, which became the city Dire Dawa. Small amounts of

fresh qat began to be exported by rail to Djibouti, and thereafter by dhow to Aden. The railway ensured speedy transport from its terminus, however, the absence of roads connecting the production areas with the railway remained a problem, and therefore, until the late 1920s, farmers were obliged to travel to the railway station on foot, carrying their qat on their heads. Subsequently, Qat export increased following the construction of roads connecting a number of the qat production areas to the terminus.[20)]

In October 1949, shipments were sent by air to French Somaliland and Aden, significantly increasing the export value of Ethiopian qat. As qat was not grown there, before 1949 nearly all qat consumed in Aden was imported from North Yemen. However, Aden became the primary market for air-transported Ethiopian qat, which rapidly acquired consumer preference over Yemeni qat, such that within a year Ethiopia replaced North Yemen as the leading exporter of qat to Aden. By 1956, the British Colony was importing 3,781,344 pounds of qat, with only 12% of it coming from North Yemen. The favourable climate, soil, elevation, and cultivation techniques in the Harar region contributed to customers' preference for the superior Ethiopian qat.[21)]

Although Aden's annual qat imports doubled between 1947 and 1956, the increase in their value was much greater. The unit value increased by 900%, driven by market demand, transport costs, and higher taxes and duties. The resulting economic impact was significant, considering Aden's population of approximately 140,000 and a per capita consumption of 27 pounds in 1956. However, despite official efforts to limit imports through heavy taxation, consumption remained high, leading to difficulties with the balance of payments as well as concerns over social and economic effects. In April 1957, the Aden Legislative Council banned qat imports to the Colony, although not to the Protectorate.[22)]

The Ethiopian Government protested the ban, and revoked the franchise awarded to Aden Airways to operate flights to Addis Ababa. The ban remained in effect for over a year, but led only to increased smuggling, and imports through the Protectorate. In February 1958, an enquiry commission was established, after which the ban was lifted on 24 June 1958 to be replaced with a licensing system to control both imports and prices.[23)]

According to an Aden guidebook published in 1961, qat was among the Colony's ten principal imports, and more than a million pounds' worth of it had been imported the previous year. Each day two plane-loads of leaves arrived from Ethiopia and numerous truckloads from North Yemen. Immediately after lunch the Arabs clustered around the qat stalls to buy the leaves while still fresh and plentiful, then met with friends to while away as much as five hours chewing, gossiping, reading or listening to the radio until dusk, for qat-chewing was always primarily a social custom. Moreover, it was expensive, for a man could consume as much as two pounds of qat at a sitting, worth 20/-. The juice was swallowed, so the leaves had to be refreshed every few minutes.[24)] At the time, women also enjoyed chewing qat,[25)] and another of my informants shared that people drank whisky after chewing qat, and that qat from Ethiopia was more popular than Yemeni qat.

Statements of External Trade 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, and 1966 reveal that approximately two thousand tons of qat were imported in those years, from Ethiopia,

North Yemen, Kenya, and the Republic of Somalia, which gained independence from Britain in 1960 (Table 1). According to the statements, qat imported to Aden was then re-exported to the Protectorate, Kamaran Island in the Red Sea, the British mainland, French Somaliland (now Djibouti), Bahrain, and the Trucial States (now UAE) (Table 2). According to Annual Reports from 1956/57 to 1961/62, tax revenues of qat in Aden increased from £57,499 to £316,310 (Table 3).

Table 1 Countries that imported qat to Aden and the amounts (ton)

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
Kenya			17	8	6		
Ethiopia･Eritrea	1754	2200	1841	2061	947		
Republic of Somalia		1					
North Yemen	87	62	159	607	1547	2443	2286
Total	1841	2263	2017	2676	2500	2443	2286

Statement of External Trade (1962: 128, 1963: 104, 1964: 120, 1965: 120, 1966: 115)

Table 2 Qat exported from Aden and the amounts (kg)

	1960	1961	1962	1963
the Protectorate	54,772	14,652	125	
Kamaran Island	3	17	9	
the British mainland	166	9	46	199
French Somaliland		4		4
Bahrain		61		
the Trucial States	13			
Total	54,954	14,743	180	203

Statement of External Trade (1962: 244, 1963: 193, 1964: 214, 1965: 214, 1966: 212)

Table 3 Tax revenues of qat in Aden

Year	1956 / 57	1957 / 58	1958 / 59	1959 / 60	1960 / 61	1961 / 62	1962 / 63
£	57,499	51,504	201,449	257,788	268,421	316,310	279,881

Annual Report (1957: 13, 1958: 3, 1959: 12, 1960: 12, 1961: 12, 1962: 12, 1963: 12)

Aden and the Protectorate, later to be South Yemen, were dependent on imported qat, while the Mutawakkilite Kingdom (1918–1962), North Yemen, was exporting qat, although it implemented a closed-door policy. Imam Yahya (1918–1948) of the kingdom saw his first duty as preventing his newly independent state from suffering the fate of the Arab countries of the Levant, that is, administration or occupation by the European powers.[26)]

Unfortunately, there is minimal information available about qat production and consumption in North Yemen before the 1962 Revolution. My informants reported that before the revolution wealthy merchants, soldiers of the Imamate, and manual workers such as carpenters used to consume qat. One informant, an Imamate soldier at the time, shared that as he had no other activity he chewed qat from after lunch to *maghrib* (evening prayers); and he sometimes drank Johnnie Walker whisky after taking qat. Prices of qat were from half a *Buqsha* to one Maria Theresa thaler (= one Riyal = 40 *Buqsha*). My informant's monthly pay was six Riyal and he chewed qat worth a quarter Riyal. Wealthy merchants would chew qat worth one Maria Theresa thaler.

Next, we examine the situation outside Yemen, as Yemenis contributed to its spread elsewhere in East Africa and Europe.

Yemenis introduced qat consumption to Djibouti at the beginning of the 20th century, and it is certainly true that the official import of qat by air to Djibouti dates from 1949, with official taxation beginning in 1952. In 1957, the French government issued a decree forbidding both import and cultivation of qat anywhere within France or its colonies. However, that decree could not be applied in Djibouti because of substantial pressure from the Afars and Issas, as well as neighbouring Ethiopia.[27] Qat has been used in Kenya—where it is called *miraa*—since the 19th century[28] and during the 20th century, increasing numbers of Yemeni migrants, mostly from Hadramawt, provided a ready market for *miraa* from the Nyambene Hills, and thus promoted qat consumption throughout Kenya.[29]

Yemenis began migrating to the United Kingdom in the late 19th century, with communities forming in port cities such as Cardiff, Liverpool, and London. Many were seamen recruited in Aden and known as "lascars": a number settled in British ports, marrying local women. Although there is a certain amount of evidence for earlier migration, significant qat use emerged only with a second wave of Yemeni migrants in the 1950s,[30] when owing to air transport, Yemenis became able to import qat to the United Kingdom and chew it there.[31]

II–2. Motor Transport in Yemen since the 1970s

Comprehensive motor transport began in both North and South Yemen sometime in the 1970s, which made transport of qat to the cities easier, and consequently, qat consumption increased there.

Revolution broke out in Sana'a in 1962, and the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) was formed, abolishing the imamate. However, the last Imam survived and the civil war continued between the Republicans and the Royalists until 1970. Finally, the YAR opened its doors to the wider world in the 1970s, and comprehensive modernisation began. During the imamate era there had been no electricity or modern schools for commoners, and only one metalled road was built between Sana'a and al-Hudayda, with American and Chinese aid,[32] and used for landing the Egyptian army when it came to assist the Republicans.

Finally, during the 1970s the government used aid from developed countries and international institutions to build proper asphalt highways to connect the chief cities.[33]

Local people used remittances sent by their families working in Saudi Arabia to build smaller connecting roads from the highways to their villages, a significant improvement, but necessitating the use of four-wheelers and pickup trucks, or similar machinery, as most such roads were unmetalled. By 1981, roads built by local people's efforts extended for 17,300km[34] and according to the official statistics of North Yemen, in the same year of 1981 there were 1,578km of asphalted road and 844km of unmetalled road; therefore, more than seven times the length of "official" road was constructed by locals using remitted funds.[35] During the 1970s three changes to the qat situation occurred in the YAR; qat production and its consumption increased, studies of qat were booming, and export of qat was prohibited.

The production and use of qat in North Yemen began to increase in the 1970s. Rural areas were short of male labourers because many men had migrated to Saudi Arabia, where the economy was flourishing owing to rising oil prices and the boom in the construction industry. Therefore, Qat being much easier to produce was substituted for cereals and coffee.[36] Subsequently, mass emigration and domestic labour shortages caused wage inflation in Yemeni cities, which in turn enabled people to spend more money on non-essentials and caused a substantial shift to a predominantly cash economy both in cities and rural areas. All these factors contributed to an increase in the production and consumption of qat.[37]

During the 1970s, anthropologists began to conduct research in North Yemen, and many of them were interested in qat. Qat was discussed along with social and economic changes occurring in the 1970s, when the closed-door policy was changed to allow access to the wider world.[38] Subsequently, interested anthropologists then began to focus on the consumption of qat, particularly the social meaning of afternoon qat gatherings.

Until the 1970s—in fact until 1974 according to statistics from North Yemen—qat was exported to neighbouring countries as a source of hard currency. There is insufficient information about the importing countries, however, it is known that qat was an officially exported merchandise with an SITC (Standard International Trade Classification). As aforementioned, Aden imported qat from North Yemen and East Africa, from where the qat was re-exported to the Protectorates and the United Kingdom. Qat was traded substantially until the 1970s.

According to the statistical books, green coffee beans occupied the first place in export value in North Yemen's trade figures during the late 1960s, with qat in second or even third place. By 1970, qat was in second place after green coffee beans and accounted for 27.5% of the total value of export trade. In 1971, raw cotton was in first place, followed by raw coffee beans and qat, and thereafter qat decreased until it was to vanish completely from the statistics by 1975.[39]

During the 1970s, qat trading and use began to be regulated in the neighbouring countries; Saudi Arabia prohibited qat sale, import, and cultivation in 1971, and Aden prohibited qat trading and use in 1977,[40] and subsequently, Egypt and Sudan also prohibited qat cultivation.[41] The changing policies of the surrounding countries made it difficult for North Yemen to export qat and it became a domestic crop, produced and consumed primarily within the country.

South Yemen acquired independence from the United Kingdom in 1967, and there too new road development was important because the British had been interested only in Aden, and not at all in the development of the hinterland. Before independence there were only 470km of asphalt road, most of it in Aden, and 4,000km of non-asphalted road. The new South Yemeni government constructed roads, and the length of metalled road increased to 1,650km in 1983. The People's Republic of China played a major role in Yemeni road construction.[42)]

Both Yemeni governments attempted to control qat consumption, however, it appears that the North Yemeni government did so less effectively than the South Yemeni government. In 1977, South Yemen established its Qat Law, under which qat consumption in Aden and the lowlands of the Laḥij, Abyan, and Shabwa governorates was restricted to Thursday afternoons, Fridays, and public holidays, and was forbidden altogether in Hadramawt and al-Mahrah, where there were no traditions of chewing qat. The law appears to have been well observed, as qat has now disappeared from these markets.[43)] According to my informant, who was then a qat merchant, he earned a sufficient income from only those two days because consumers purchased their week's supply of qat in bulk at the weekend, and he admitted that many consumers secretly purchased qat by calling him on weekdays.

Road development continued after Yemeni unification in 1990.[44)] It is inaccurate to state, "the longer the road, the more the qat consumption", however, it is certainly true that owing to the roads more qat could be transported to areas further away from where it was produced.

After unification, qat was transported to Hadramawt, with the journey in 1997 taking a few days over the unmetalled roads from Yāfa'. By contrast, in 2007, with asphalt roads now connecting Dhamar, qat departed in the evening and arrived in Say'ūn, a city in Hadramawt, early the next morning. Socotra, an island in the Arabian Sea, now receives qat by air; in 2003, I witnessed many Socotra people waiting at the airport for its arrival. Therefore, the development of the means of transport made fresh qat available to customers anywhere and everywhere in Yemen.

Qat must be used fresh; the ideal is to chew the same afternoon the qat that has been harvested that morning. This is easy to arrange in the chief cities such as Sana'a and Ta'izz, although qat merchants reported that before the revolution it used to take a few days to carry qat on foot from village to market. In those days, qat retained its quality and continued to release a fine aroma even after a few days; however, since then the use of agricultural chemicals has resulted in today's qat having a much shorter shelf life.

The governments built roads, however, provided no further assistance to qat producers and merchants, who transport qat in private cars or shared taxicabs. There is no wholesale qat market and no private company trying to develop large-scale qat fields, nor are there any large-scale merchant cartels. Small businesses are sufficient to serve the market for qat, for between them small-scale producers and merchants can sell substantial amounts of qat, as fresh as it needs to be.

Tax evasion is widespread among qat merchants, however, the tax officers at the

market and the soldiers at the check points are also complicit in it. The general view is that a good government's job is to collect tax, whereas a good merchant's job is to avoid paying it!

III. Beyond the Red Sea Area

Around the 1980s when the Somali Civil War raged and many Somali refugees fled to Europe, qat again became an internationally traded commodity, harvested in the early morning, brought to the airport and flown overnight to arrive next morning. It received special attention in relation to refugees' social problems. Particularly, for Somali men, qat became a manifestation of identity, a celebration of culture and self, and even a way of preserving Islamic purity.[45] Most qat arrived from Ethiopia and Kenya, for in Yemen, both export and import of qat are "officially" prohibited.[46]

According to Yemeni informants living in the Netherlands, qat was related to negative images of Somali refugees as typically, men sitting around doing nothing but chewing qat, not working, refusing to learn the languages of new host countries, and making no attempt to adapt to local communities. Qat has been blamed for every social problem from the spread of HIV to divorce, the breakdown of family life, neglect of children, loose morals among women, alcoholism, and other drug abuse. It is supposed to cause crime and violence, with rumours that the profits from the qat trade fund terrorist groups.[47] Therefore, qat is the scapegoat for social problems; however, attempts to regulate it have not provided any solution, as outlawing it did not lead to social integration of refugees, but succeeded only in driving the qat trade and consumption of qat underground.

ACMD (Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs) 2013 revealed that many diseases, mentioned in ACMD 2005, which had been believed to be caused by qat were actually caused by active and passive tobacco smoking. Qat consumption has so far remained limited to groups of refugee and immigrant men; women and the younger generation do not consume qat and its use has not spread to the locals in host countries, and therefore, its influence in those countries has been limited. No suitable pharmacological or other scientific reason exists for the regulation of qat.[48] The Netherlands and the United Kingdom, which are among the more drug-tolerant countries in Europe, were the last two countries to prohibit the import of qat; the Netherlands in 2012, and the United Kingdom in 2014, presumably for political reasons in both cases, considering that major airports in both countries were important hubs in qat smuggling.

According to my research, qat was being smuggled into both countries in 2018, and to Germany in 2019. During my research, Yemenis reported that Somali merchants dealing in qat were using smartphones to contact customers. Qat was available in both fresh and the cheaper dried form, and before the ban, fresh qat was chewed daily, but less often after the ban. Some Yemenis obtained qat from relatives living in Yemen, included in parcels containing ordinary vegetables and spices, and they chewed the qat with family or friends if they could acquire it.

However, Yemenis do not have a deep attachment to qat, and many of my

informants reported that qat is unsuitable for the European lifestyle, where most Yemenis live much busier and more expensive lives, working during the week and looking after their families at the weekends. They have limited free time to chew qat for hours, and younger Yemenis have no wish to use qat while socialising. Since the ban, qat has become more expensive, and clearly they know it is now illegal. They may find other recreational activities, although to my knowledge, alcohol has not become an alternative.

There are hundreds of Yemenis living in South Korea who escaped from the civil war in Yemen, leaving home first for Malaysia, then arriving at the resort island of Jeju, which was visa-free for tourists in 2018. A few Yemenis were accorded refugee status, and most have been granted humanitarian status. They must work to earn their livings, pay their health insurance fees, and send remittances to their families who continue to live in Yemen. They work at factories and on construction sites for lower salaries than Koreans, who dislike such hard work.

Many Yemenis living in South Korea would not admit that they had chewed qat in Yemen nor that they enjoyed it; perhaps they were afraid of being reported to the authorities or that it would be revealed that not only had they chewed qat at home in Yemen, but also that they had managed to smuggle it into South Korea, despite the difficulties. It was understandable that they were reluctant to admit regarding their favourite recreation, as it would certainly have jeopardised their safe legal status.

Some Yemenis, particularly the younger generation who had left Yemen before they acquired the habit of chewing qat, live contentedly without it. Here again, Yemenis live much busier and more expensive lives, although some Koreans believe that Yemenis prefer a leisurely life, and that they do not work as hard as Koreans because of qat consumption—although they themselves have never seen Yemenis chewing qat!

Conclusion

The development of rapid, far-reaching, and large-scale means of transport provided significant benefits. Qat consumption became widespread as the various means of transport developed. Railways and aviation in Ethiopia and motor transport in Yemen brought fresher and more qat to Yemenis.

Tax collection from qat would have been useful for the authorities, however, Aden's government found it difficult to do so, although the government controlled qat better than the Sana'a government; Sana'a government had limited experience of high revenues from qat, because those involved in the qat trade were cleverer than their government!

Qat consumption never became widespread in Europe despite today's easily available air transport. Europe designated it as an illegal drug, although clearly for political rather than scientific reasons. Qat in Europe is associated with Somali refugees, whom the Yemenis living there also blame for their behaviour. However, in Korea, it is the Yemenis who are blamed for the supposed effects of qat. Although it is true that fresh qat leaves are a stimulant, in both Europe and Korea qat is treated as strange stuff brought in by troublesome foreigners.

Qat is less popular among Yemenis in Europe and South Korea, not because it is

illegal, but because only a limited number of Yemenis living in Europe have access to it. Moreover, the younger generation has less social need for it as their lifestyles and tastes evolve, and as transportation methods have changed.

Notes

1) Hattox 1985.
2) Yemeni women may stop at a coffeehouse to quench their thirst but should not stay long.
3) Otsubo 2021: 144.
4) Otsubo 2017: 96.
5) See Otsubo 2017 for why qat is not so bad for family budgets and the Yemeni economy. Other problems related to qat are that it destroys families (Humud 2002: 33–35), causes water shortage (FAO 2002: 2–5; World Bank 2007: 2), and reduces food self-sufficiency (Tutwiler 2007: 224). For a lack of space, all the aforementioned problems cannot be explained, however, there are many complicated reasons for them, and qat is by no means the only one.
6) World Bank 2007: 1.
7) Otsubo 2013.
8) McKee 1987: 762; al-Mutawakkil 1992: 733.
9) Smith 2008.
10) al-Ṣāyidī and al-Ḥaḍrānī 2000: 25.
11) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1998: 156–157.
12) Trimingham 1965: 20.
13) Yaḥyā 1968: 689.
14) Hattox 1985.
15) Niebuhr 1994a: 334.
16) Niebuhr 1994b: 351–352.
17) Gavin 1975: 58.
18) Gavin 1975: 119.
19) Otsubo 2016.
20) Gebissa 2004: 50–55.
21) Brooke 1960: 54–55.
22) Brooke 1960: 55–56.
23) Brooke 1960: 56–57.
24) GHAPC 1961: 144.
25) Brooke 1960: 53.
26) Wenner 1967: 141.
27) Anderson et al. 2007: 72.
28) Ishida 2014: 129.
29) Anderson et al. 2007: 107.
30) Anderson et al. 2007: 150.
31) Anderson et al. 2007: 151–152. Table 2 presents qat exports to the British mainland in the 1960s. Ethiopian qat has been regularly available since 1978 (Halliday 2010: 56).

32) Zabarah 1984: 78.
33) World Bank 1979: 136. Road construction had begun in the 1960s on a small scale.
34) Barakāt 1992.
35) Otsubo 2017: 232–233.
36) It has often been indicated that qat was substituted for coffee (Zabarah 1982: 12; Stevenson 1985: xiv), although, to my knowledge, Ḥarāz (Gerholm 1977: 53–56) is the only concrete case where that was done. It is true that conditions required for qat cultivation are similar to those required for coffee, but not the same, and that qat is more resistant to drought and frost damage (Weir 1985b: 75). Soil which is suitable for qat is not always suitable for coffee (Otsubo 2000) and, as a plant, qat is much stronger than coffee to the extent that coffee plants nearly died when both were planted in the same field, as qat roots drew considerable nutrition from the soil (Otsubo 2017). See Weir (1985b: 74–76) for the substitution of qat for cereals. Both Kennedy (1987) and Kopp (1987) refer to this change, however, they do not specify the areas.
37) Weir 1985a: 20–22; Otsubo 2021: 143–144.
38) Gerholm conducted research in 1974–1975 (Gerholm 1977), Kennedy in 1974–1976 (Kennedy 1987), Weir in 1977 and 1979–1980 (Weir 1985a), Makhlouf in 1974 and 1976 (Makhlouf 1979), Swanson in 1973–1974 (Swanson 1985), Stevenson in 1978–1979 (Stevenson 1985), and Varisco in 1978–1979 (Varisco 1986).
39) NYSY 1972, 1973, 1974/75, 1975/76. It is easy to infer that the disappearance of qat data from the statistical yearbooks was owing to qat being considered a drug-like crop. In an interview conducted in 2005, a high-ranking official from the relevant ministry provided a similar explanation. After unification, qat data began to be published again in the 1997 Unified Yemen Statistical Yearbook.
40) Serjeant 1983: 175.
41) Ghanem 2002: 49.
42) Lackner 1985: 163.
43) Lackner 1985: 119.
44) Otsubo 2017: 233.
45) ACMD 2005; Anderson et al. 2007: 151.
46) The fact that qat is being exported on a small scale can be confirmed from the following books (ACMD 2005; Anderson et al. 2007).
47) Anderson et al. 2007.
48) ACMD 2013.

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Chapter 3 Two Currents in Ramayana: Ramayana Productions from Singapore and the Global Indian World

Yoshiaki Takemura
Osaka University of Economics

Introduction

For over 18 months during 1987 and 1988, a television series titled *Ramayan* aired on Sunday mornings on India's National television channel, Doordarshan. Directed by film director Ramanand Sagar, the series brought together many versions of the Indian epic known as the Ramayana.[1)] *Ramayan* quickly became a major success, surpassing its producers' expectations and becoming the most popular television program in Indian history. The program's overwhelming reception suggests that the ancient Ramayana must be of great importance to contemporary Indians, many of whom for example watched the re-broadcast live-action version of it while obliged to stay at home during the COVID-19 lockdown. Their enthusiasm for the epic when faced by the Indian government's stringent new regulations made it India's most viewed television program.[2)]

The Ramayana was introduced into regions that engaged in trade and cultural exchanges with India, particularly Southeast Asia. It played a substantial role in shaping the local cultures of these regions, embedding itself deeply into their traditions and daily lives. The story has thoroughly indigenised itself by permeating so profoundly the lives and traditions of the people not only of India, but of other parts of Asia and Southeast Asia.[3)] Besides existing as a written epic, it has been embraced by the performing arts through the mediums of song, dance, drama, and shadow play, as well as painting, sculpture, and architecture, as each region has developed its own unique adaptations of the tale. Over the years, the epic has exerted influence on various ethnic groups in India and Southeast Asia to form the Ramayana cultural sphere.[4)]

In Singapore, the Indian community forms part of a multi-ethnic society whose people have preserved their Indian culture and managed to amalgamate it with Singapore's multiethnic culture. Collectively, the subcontinental settlers and sojourners established the foundation for a small but significant diaspora that has continued to have an impact on the growth of the modern metropolis. Their varied skills and abilities, and professionalism have allowed them to attain leadership positions in a range of areas, including public life and business. In 2020, Indians comprised 9 percent of Singapore's resident population, constituting the country's smallest officially recognized minority.[5)]

Across its nearly 200-year existence on the island, the diaspora remains an integral part of the multicultural nations, albeit as a minority.[6)]

British interest in India in the late 18th and early 19th centuries was directly linked to the actual "founding" of modern-day Singapore. Sir Stamford Raffles' choice to construct a British outpost on the island in 1819 was heavily influenced by his search for a strategically positioned station east of the Bay of Bengal that could protect the East India Company's expanding commerce between India and China. Raffles brought with him the first Indians in colonial Singapore, primarily camp followers and Sepoys from the 2nd Battalion 20th (Marine) regiment of the Bengal native infantry, who played a vital role in defending the young colony.[7)] Today, those interested in Singapore's current development cannot ignore the contributions of not only 3rd- and 4th- generation Indian immigrants active in the political and economic fields, but also highly educated new immigrant professionals from India who are making their presence felt in IT, finance, and accounting; also important are the South Asian migrant manual labourers working in ports, construction sites, and elsewhere.[8)] The significant rise in the number of Indian professionals moving to Singapore since the 1990s has been one of its most notable developments, changing the community's size and socioeconomic makeup. Concerns over identity have arisen as a result of the significant number of newly-arrived Indian professionals who have in effect distorted the Indian community's historical ethnolinguistic character, even to the extent that there is now antagonism between the so-called "old" and "new" diasporas.[9)]

In Singapore, the Ramayana has been passed down within the Indian community mainly as a cultural tradition of the mother country. The tale of Rama is performed in Singapore by Indian Singaporean dance troupes during the annual festivals of India, such as Navaratri and Deepawali. In performing arts complexes like theatres and black boxes, local Indian dance troupes subsidized by the government regularly perform Ramayana dance dramas. Additionally, bookstores in Singapore's Little India district sell English, Hindi, and Tamil versions of the epic. However, while the tale has also been depicted in comics, illustrated textbooks for children, and DVDs of cartoons in the market, it is difficult to say convincingly that the Ramayana is gaining popularity.[10)] Unless they learn traditional dance or music, many people of Indian descent in Singapore watch the Ramayana and engage with it only if they see it performed at festivals or other entertainments. With succeeding generations therefore, transmission of the Ramayana has weakened, coming over the past two decades to be discussed within a wholly Singaporean national framework, with the state government trying to preserve it as part of all of Singapore's cultural heritage, rather than as a phenomenon relevant only to Indians.[11)]

Studies on the Ramayana have accumulated a great deal of literature, history, and propagation in South Asia and Southeast Asia.[12)] In recent years, there have also been analyses of its influence on the performing arts in Southeast Asia, and scholars have discussed its connection to contemporary art.[13)] Despite discussions of religious and cultural practices among the Indian diaspora,[14)] which have spread throughout India and the world as globalization has gathered pace, there has been too little scholarship on the

reception and practice of the Ramayana among individuals. In seeking to make a modest contribution to that scholarship, this paper will therefore exemplify the representation and performance of the Ramayana in Singapore, and the interconnectedness of global Indian identity.

Even before the term globalization became popular, the flow of people travelling and migrating had resulted in the transmission of Indian dance and music, bringing about its transfiguration on a global scale. Culture and tradition play an important part in maintaining "Indianness" among the Indian diaspora overseas, and the tradition of Indian dance and music is being carried on and performed actively amongst them, even in today's global society. Previous studies indicate that performing arts in the diaspora are often produced and received in multicultural, multiethnic, and sometimes postcolonial arenas. They also interact and compete with each other in a variety of artistic endeavours, aesthetic values, and socio-political concerns.[15] There is no doubt that in the current situation of postmodernity and globalization, performing arts are increasingly drawn from intercultural creativity and operate in a multicultural context. It is fair to say that without exception, there is a new dimension to traditional performing arts such as Indian dance in the modern Singaporean society.

Meanwhile, over the last few decades, studies on diasporas and transnational cultures have become increasingly important in a number of intellectual fields related to modernity and postmodern culture. For instance, in dance studies and ethnomusicology, much attention has been paid recently to Indian dance and music activities in the US, Europe, and the West Indies. Often, the discussion is not only about the aesthetics of performances, but also about their effect on the construction of national, ethnic, and religious identities, as well as with regard to gender, labour, and class in diasporic settings.[16] Many such studies have been conducted by the Indian diaspora communities themselves, although little attention has been paid to how they are embraced by their culture individually in the context of globalization. Furthermore, other studies have begun to pay attention to the recent boom in Indian Ocean studies, to build a framework for registering the Indian Ocean in ethnomusicology. They show how human experience of movement across the whole expanse of the Indian Ocean has affected the musical traditions of ports and islands, putting ethnomusicological writings on places like Zanzibar and Oman into dialogue with those from Mauritius and Singapore.[17]

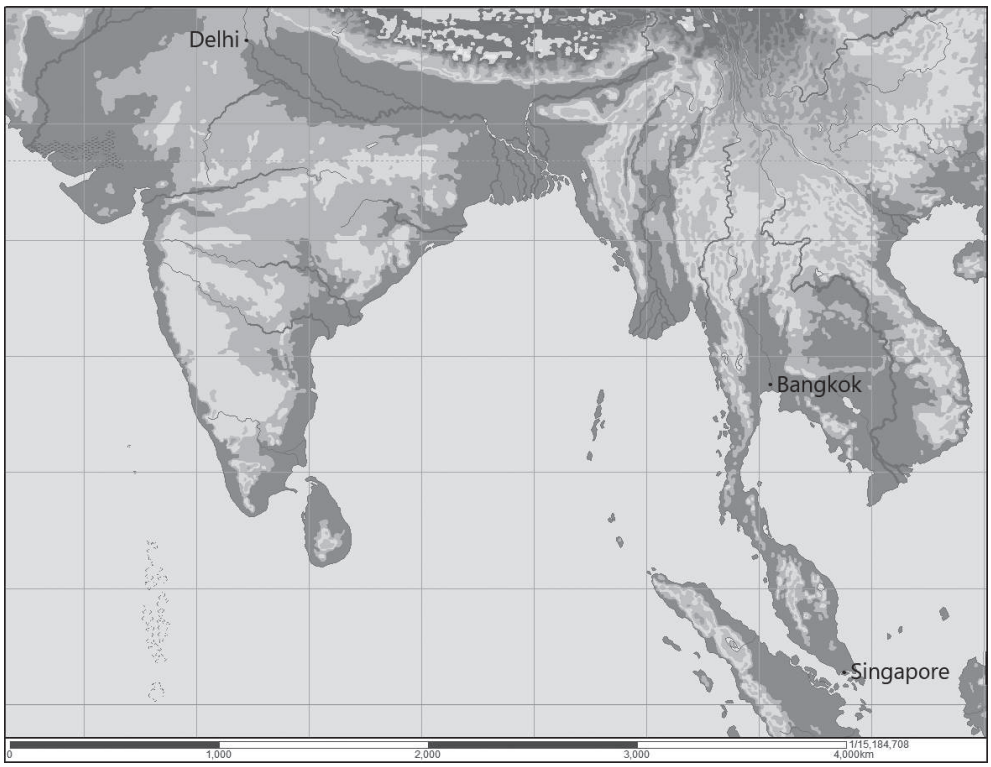
Using data from interviews, archives, and online materials that I have myself amassed from 2017 to 2020, I will first discuss the recent Ramayana Festival in Bangkok, and Indian Singaporean dancers' experiences there. This chapter is aimed at investigating the reflexive processes that occur in the reconstruction and representation of identity among Indian Singaporean dancers through their experiences. Thereafter, I shall consider the festival's relationship to the Indian community and performing arts groups in Singapore, in particular Apsaras Arts and their Ramayana production, *Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana*. The concluding section of the paper examines the characteristics and some critical responses to *Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana* internationally, as well as discussing the local/global identity of the work.

I. Performing Ramayana and Dancers' Experiences

I–1. ASEAN Ramayana Festival and Singapore Indian Dance Group

Traditionally, Ramayana theatre has been part of the common cultural heritage of Southeast Asia. Interestingly enough, since the international Ramayana festivals and seminars were first held in Indonesia in 1971, many more such events since have provided opportunities for diverse performances and interpretations of the epic in the region. Perhaps as a consequence, since 1997, the Ramayana has been seen as a symbol of cultural cohesion in the search for political and economic unity among the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).[18)]

From April 20–24, 2016, the Ministry of Culture of Thailand organized the "ASEAN Cultural EXPO 2016" in conjunction with the 234th year of Rattanakosin City under Royal Benevolence at the Sanam Luang Park and its vicinity in Bangkok. The event was intended to promote the cultural diversity of ASEAN through nine cultural activities, one of which was the five-day ASEAN Plus Ramayana Festival, where audiences could revisit the artistry of the Ramayana epic. It was held at the National Theatre and featured more than 200 performers from various places throughout the region, including Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and India.



Map Major place names covered by this chapter

The Hindu form of Ramayana was presented by Indian and Singaporean groups, and though the Indian performance employed the technique of Bharatanatyam, which is considered one of the classical dances of India, it varied greatly from the form used in mainland Southeast Asia, which is primarily influenced by Buddhism with which it shares a common culture. Those troupes from Thailand, Cambodia, Lao, and Myanmar use similar types of music, costumes, and dance techniques.

Bhaskar's Arts Academy,[19] the first organization in Singapore to offer courses in Indian dance—which it has done since the early 1950s—represented Singapore at the ASEAN Plus Ramayana Festival, where a group performed a piece based on Hanuman's encounter with Sita, entitled *Ashoka Vati* (Ashoka Varnam). It consisted of Bharatanatyam dance accompanied by a live performance by a Carnatic music ensemble, Carnatic being the main musical tradition of South India. The plot concerns Sita as she sits under an Ashoka tree lamenting her circumstances using *slokas*, or verses, from Valmiki's original Ramayana. Her anger and intense sadness drive Sita to attempt suicide but Hanuman intervenes to stop her. Hanuman then shows Sita the ring of Rama, whereupon Sita has second thoughts; she changes her mind and sends a piece of her hair ornament to Rama, to whom Hanuman returns, singing that Sita has been found. Rama travels to the country and crosses a bridge constructed by Hanuman and his friends.

Mrs. Santha Bhaskar, Singapore's head of delegation and artistic director of the academy, has talked about her creative intentions, "Participation in such events helps raise awareness of ASEAN's traditional arts and culture and builds cooperative relations with neighbouring countries. Through a different approach from the traditional Indian Ramayana dance-drama, I wanted to express the uniqueness of Singapore". [20]

Based on the Bharatanatyam style, the troupe's work differed from conventional Indian dance theatre productions dealing with the Ramayana in that as a unique experiment, all the roles were played by female dancers, and the roles of Rama and Hanuman were expressed only through their particular choreography, without using special costumes. Moreover, it was not directed in the usual style of Ramayana dance-drama, which was created by Rukmini Devi and is best known today as the Kalakshetra style.[21] Rather, in dance-drama style, the group concentrated more on choreography and movements than on gestures and the storytelling. Mrs. Santha Bhaskar said in a Thai TV interview:

> We are not having Rama and Hanuman in all costumes like other countries come up with costumes. They will be wearing the usual costumes, but they will dance like characters. So, we have more dance rather than acting.[22]

According to Mrs. Santha Bhaskar in an interview I conducted with her in 2017, ever since the 1960s, when she began performing and choreographing, she had been drawn to the tale of Ramayana whenever she had to create a new production. She explained that it is really a human story that imparts a great deal of everyday wisdom. However, she was afraid the dancers of her company knew little about the story and had not even read the Ramayana. In that, she said, they differed from people of her own generation in South

India, for whom it was traditional to read the Ramayana at home during certain months. According to Mrs. Santha Bhaskar, young dancers showed no interest in it, for as she explained,

> I believe their parents also do not know much about the Ramayana. If their parents do not teach the traditions to their children, how can I blame our dancers? [23)]

As for her encounters at the actual event in Bangkok, she stated, "There was a very good crowd: for dancers, it's always a pleasure to perform in front of a crowd that has knowledge about the epic and myths." She stressed that the arts enable children to understand their identity, and it is important to know the great wealth of values passed down through the generations.[24)] In Thailand, Ramayana or *Ramakien* is familiar to local people and present in traditional performing arts; it is depicted in murals in temples, and people enjoy the story and its teachings. Mrs. Santha Bhaskar pointed out that the presence of many such enthusiasts in the audience was a great encouragement to the dancers.

Interest in the Ramayana has also increased at a government level, and the Ramayana is also prevalent among non-Indian communities, especially Singapore's Chinese community, with the old version available as well as the new interpretations offered in English-language novels, comics, and DVDs. However, there has been no increase in interest in the Ramayana among the local Indians, especially among the second and third generations of Indian migrants. A second-generation Indian migrant in her mid-40s teaching Bharatnatyam explained the situation thus to me:

> My family didn't know much about epics. My mom used to watch lots of old classic Tamil films such as *Kambar* and *Sampoorna Ramayanam*. It was through those films I started to think a lot about the epics. I learned Hindu myths, epics, music, and dance through them. Besides, since I started learning dance here, my teacher (Mrs. Santha Bhaskar) suggested that I read epic books such as Ramayana and Mahabharata to understand the repertoire deeply……. Most of the children who come here to study dance, don't know what carvings, drawings, or stories are painted on it when they go to the temple. Actually, the problem is their parents don't know much about the epics.[25)]

Even though the Ramayana is not being sufficiently explained at home as those Bharatanatyam teachers pointed out, it is still performed on stages at festivals in Hindu temples, and events and performances in the Indian communities in Singapore. Moreover, several shows based on the story of the Ramayana are performed at public schools as part of the Art Education Program run by the National Arts Council. New generations of Singaporeans might therefore have some basic knowledge of the Ramayana, but it has no connection to their daily lives. Young Indian Singaporeans might perhaps visit the Hindu temple, even participate in the festival, and watch performances of the Ramayana, without the story appealing to them.

I–2. Singapore Indian Dancers' Experience

How do the Indian Singaporean dancers describe their experiences at the Bangkok Ramayana Festival? What does it mean to the young dancers—those representing Singapore at ASEAN events—to perform the Ramayana? What was their experience of the Ramayana Festival, which brought dancers from so many ASEAN countries? The dancer of the main role, a second-generation woman also in her mid 40's, described her experience in Bangkok as follows,

> The Ramayana is rich in many ways for many people. For dancers, some of them may know one of the characters from the Ramayana as they dance in the role of the production. Our dancers are quite OK with understanding their characters, but I have a serious question: how (deeply) do they know the Ramayana? Just because they quite often perform the Ramayana doesn't mean they understand the meaning of the story well...I was the only woman playing Ravana, and I was a bit uncomfortable with that. Our production is all-female. The event was an eye-opener for me. The Cambodian production was so rich and sophisticated in movement.[26)]

Having been exposed to the Ramayana at an early age, she was concerned that the younger generation of dancers might not fully understand the Ramayana. She acknowledged that dancers are more familiar with the Ramayana than others of Indian descent in Singapore. On the other hand, she pointed out that there is a big difference dancers "knowing" the characters of the Ramayana, and "understanding" them. Undoubtedly, performing the Ramayana on a stage does not necessarily mean understanding the epic.

One of the dancers, a third-generation woman in her mid 20's, contrasted her experiences in Bangkok and India, saying:

> Bangkok was completely different from India. It was quite an enjoyable time… We went to India to perform our productions at the International Ramayana Festival in 2015…Over there, they did not treat us nicely, although we were invited by ICCR (The Indian Council for Cultural Relations). They didn't treat us like "proper Indian dancers"…The venue was terrible in many senses, and they seemed not to care at all……. I, personally couldn't fit into that environment and really, I felt I'm not all that "Indian"; I am Singaporean.[27)]

Going over her recollections of the event, she described her experience in Bangkok as more enriching than that in India, where she had been less than impressed with the local Indian representatives, quite apart from any technical matters. More importantly, she claimed that the venue had resembled nothing so much as a late-night bar beside the river outside Delhi; she certainly felt it looked nothing like a government-sponsored event and was disappointed even in how the Indian host treated her troupe despite having the same Indian origins. In Bangkok, however, her troupe met with a generous reception in a venue well furnished with modern equipment. She further described the warm hospitality she received there that made her feel she was at home in one of her fellow

Southeast Asian countries. Evidently, the young dancer's experiences in India and Thailand sharpened her sense of her own identity and belonging. She had been learning Bharatanatyam since the age of nine, and although always interested in different styles of dance, Bharatanatyam was at the heart of her life. All the same, she had never contemplated going to India for further studies, and interestingly enough, she professed herself uninterested in the Bharatanatyam scene and budding young dancers in India. She felt her own Bharatanatyam universe within the Singapore dance scene was complete.

Another third-generation individual, a dancer in her late 20s, stated her feelings about the event and her encounters with other dancers in Bangkok with these words:

> I enjoyed being there. There were different kinds of dance repertoire based on the Ramayana. I really liked the Thai and Cambodian groups; their productions were so beautiful. We do not have that kind of choreography and body movements in our Bharatanatyam… They (Thai and Cambodian dancers) came and talked to me after the performance, and they told me they liked our production too…They said our choreography was completely original and unique. They have great respect for Indian culture and they seem to have more sympathy for us rather than dancers from India…I felt kind of proud of what I learned of Indian Dance, and quite happy that what we performed was not the same as dancers from India. Because I've never felt "Indian" although I've learned Bharatanatyam.[28)]

While she had learned Bharatanatyam in her childhood and her family has been deeply involved in the Indian performing arts scene in Singapore for many years, she considers herself Singaporean; any sense of "Indianness" was irrelevant. The reason for that might be influenced by the fact that she is second-generation Singaporean of mixed Indian and Thai descent, born and raised and still living in Singapore in a Singaporean rather than an Indian community. She often mentions the differences in culture and behaviour between local Indian Singaporean and Indian immigrants from India. Moreover, she likes all dance-forms, and as a matter of fact had previously learned Hip-hop, street dance, and Zumba. In effect, she saw Bharatanatyam as just another interesting dance-form. While she had given many performances of the Ramayana, she had never cared to learn more about the story in detail, something I noted in other young dancers.

For a younger generation of Indian Singaporeans raised in a modern and multicultural society, there are many aspects of the Ramayana, particularly in terms of the relationship between men and women with traditional Indian values, which do not fit. That second, slightly older dancer I spoke to felt the same, expressing her disagreement with the behaviour of the character, Sita. As Tiwari argues,[29)] the portrayal of the female characters in the epic is startling to our modern sensibilities, for they are displayed as submissive and obedient wives, mothers, and daughters, who lack minds of their own and are thus entirely dictated to by the male characters. However, when Southeast Asian dancers shared their feelings with the modern Singaporean dancers and acknowledged Indian culture, she felt rather confused about her identity and began to wonder about her own "Indianness". Certainly, her identity and way of thinking were based in Singapore,

but perhaps performing Bharatanatyam and experiencing an event such as the Ramayana Festival, had somehow made her more open to "Indianness", albeit in a fragile way, and tenuously. Having mentioned the global circulation of Indian dance, O'Shea, for example, points out that identification must be deliberately developed, even if not necessarily explicitly, rather than emerging naturally from shared national, linguistic, or ethnic roots or from participation in group activities.[30] It seems that in their interactions with non-Indian dancers from Southeast Asia who performed the Ramayana in their various ways, what those Indian Singaporean dancers were being confronted with was the cultural gyre of the Ramayana and its values.

II. The Ramayana Production as a Representation of Global Indianness

The Ramayana has captured the imagination of the whole of Asia and beyond for centuries with its universal themes of righteousness, devotion, fidelity, and frailty.[31] For Indians today, however, it is much more than an old story, for its impact on the general public stems from its successful use as a political reference point in India since the late 1980s,[32] most recently on January 22, 2024, when India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi performed a religious rite to consecrate the idol of the Hindu god Ram at a temple—albeit still-unfinished—in Ayodhya. Along similar lines, Singh suggests that the epic appears to be on its way to becoming an instrument of identity formation, especially among the Hindus of the Indian diaspora communities, where public chanting of the Tulsidas Ramayana has developed significantly over the years.[33] In a recent paper about the Ramayana in Singapore arguing that performing the Ramayana represents a global Indian identity, I have analysed Apsaras Arts' *Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana* production and reactions to it in the Indian art world.[34] Let's examine the discussion there once again.

Apsaras Arts is a non-profit organization that receives a significant annual grant from the National Arts Council.[35] Since 2005, under the leadership of Mr. Aravinth Kumarasamy, Apsaras Arts, acting as a major professional performing company, has concentrated on large-scale developments to create new works to be performed at international festivals. Innovative choreography coupled with traditional dance vocabulary and the latest technology in stage set design have been fused seamlessly in the company's creations, redefining the limits of the Bharatanatyam ensemble. Apsaras Arts has performed in over 40 countries with leading dance troupes, legendary dancers, choreographers, composers, and presenters, and with Cambodian, Javanese, and Balinese dance artists.

One of Apsaras Arts' most recent works is *Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana*, based on the Ramayana motif: to international acclaim—including from India—it was presented at the Esplanade–Theatre in Singapore as the inaugural presentation of the *Kalaa Utsavam*—Indian Festival of Arts in 2017, and to commemorate Esplanade's 15th and Apsaras Arts' 40th anniversary. An excerpt from the work was performed at the 2018 ASEAN Ramayana Festival in New Delhi as part of the India– ASEAN Commemorative Summit and again in August 2019 at Night Light, the Singapore Night Festival. The

performance was also screened online, during the Indian Heritage Centre's Culture Fest 2020 in Singapore.

First, an overview of *Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana* is required. The production had been conceived, scripted, and directed by Mr. Kumarasamy, who had this to say about it:

> We, like [other] ASEAN countries, have a closer bond with Indian culture, religion, arts, and music and dance...we live in Singapore surrounded by our ASEAN neighbours, and in this production, we take inspiration from Javanese Ramayana practised in Indonesia. You will see the narrative bringing together Valmiki's original Ramayana text; Tulsidas's Ramayana, the Kamba Ramayanam (or Ramavataram) from Tamil Nadu, South India, and the Kakawin Ramayana from Java, Indonesia. This production brings together the narratives of these great Ramayanas and presents Hanuman as the central character.[36)]

In this production, the story focuses on Hanuman, the monkey god who plays a significant role in Prince Rama's campaign to rescue his wife Sita from the 10- headed demon king Ravana. In many Ramayana stage productions, the story is told from the human point of view, and the dance sequence with animals is rare. Mr. Kumarasamy explains why Hanuman is the key:

> (Among all the characters in the Rayamayan), Hanuman is a favourite character, not only in India but in Southeast Asia also, and even in the Javanese Ramayana, Hanuman has a large influence, and we were thinking "how do we tell our Ramayana?" So we thought we would take a different perspective of it—it's a sort of "life of Hanuman". Most Ramayana literary works do not talk about Hanuman's earlier life when he was young. They only start from when he meets Rama, and that's that, till the end. So we thought we could tell the story from Hanuman's life's point of view.[37)]

The production therefore follows Hanuman's life and adventures, from his birth to his encounter with the exiled Prince Rama and the valiant fight against Ravana and his armies. We also witness the birth of the Ramayana, when Hanuman meets its author, Maharishi Valmiki, as the tale unfolds through dance and music. *Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana* gives the tale a distinct perspective that makes this particular narrative unique among all versions of the Ramayana. Ms. Chithra Sundaram, a UK-based dance/theatre choreographer, commended Mr. Kumarasamy's innovative approach during a discussion regarding the production of *Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana* at an online talk event in 2020:

> I just have to say, you know, when modern Indian theatre really came back into force which is (when) people start writing and looking back to Indian traditions, you know...They all had to go back to their own traditions, in which they found multiple voices, multiple voices saying the same thing. All Puranas (or Indian genre of Hindu literature), all the same stories but see from how many different angles you can get it, and

> I think they are a great source for this multiple rare storytelling, and multiple viewpoints and voices. I think that is a really exciting thing for you to do.[38)]

Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana ended up as a cross-cultural and collaborative mega-production that brought together different institutions from across Asia, including Era Dance Theatre (Singapore), Kalakshetra Repertory Theatre (India), and Bimo Dance Theater (Indonesia). More than 200 people were involved in the production, and the work juxtaposed Indian and Southeast Asian interpretations of the epic, as well as original music, lighting, and projection mapping, using Bharatanatyam and Javanese dance forms.

It is noteworthy that not only did two legendary Indian classical dancers—V. P. Dhananyanan (India) as Valmiki and C. K. Balagopal (India) as old Hanuman—make guest appearances, but most of the main characters also were performed by non-Singaporean dancers, such as Hari Padman (Kalakshetra, India) as Hanuman, Malay dancer Osman Abdul Hamid (Singapore) as Ravana, Lavanya Ananth (India) as Sita, and Mohanapriyan Thavarajah (principal dancer of Apsaras Arts, of Sri Lankan Tamil origin) as Indrajit. The ensemble scene of the production was performed by Singaporean dancers of Apsaras Arts and Kalakshetra dancers from India. In addition, the production's musical score was composed by Dr Rajkumar Bharathi (India) and his team, which blended Javanese Gamelan music with Carnatic and Hindustani ragas. Furthermore, the stunning visual graphics were created by Himanshu Gosh (India) and the effective lighting was designed by Gyan Dev Singh (India). Sai Sharvanam (India) oversaw music co-direction and sound design. What is clear is that this production was created by many Indians, not Singaporeans. Moreover, it should be mentioned that 3D quadraphonic surround sound was introduced for the first time at the Esplanade and was one of the first effective applications of 3D projection mapping in an Indian classical dance production. There is no doubt that the director of the production intended to create a scenic design that mirrored the age-old traditional aesthetic of Indian art forms while integrating modern technology, and it seems reasonable to claim that the latest technology brought the audience a visual experience of the epic world. Singapore's art scene and its ecosystem are constantly evolving, with diverse elements such as world class museums, international galleries, and events like the Singapore International Arts Festival and the Singapore Biennale. Likewise, the visual arts industry has seen tremendous growth in recent years. Singapore's art scene shows its capability to provide a platform with cutting-edge infrastructure and technology. In this regard, Dr Sunil Kothari, a prominent Indian dance critic, made the following remarks on *Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana*:

> It was amazing how Aravinth managed to mount this large-scale production featuring dancers and musicians from Singapore, Indonesia and India, convincing Esplanade to join hands and part-finance it… Drawing from other Ramayanas and the Javanese Kakawin Ramayana, Aravinth has woven the story, with flashbacks, at times narrated by musicians, palaces moving and forests appearing, ocean waves roaring and Hanuman flying, and setting fire to Sri Lanka—lighting and sound creating an astounding effect. Such a large-

> scale production deserves to be seen in other cities in India, where the Ramayana is known to everyone, and its performances are a living tradition. Even when we do not have anything to compare with Esplanade Theatre in Singapore, NCPA (the National Centre for the Performing Arts) in Mumbai, Sir Mutha Venkatasubba Rao Concert Hall in Chennai, and Siri Fort in New Delhi are venues where this production could be mounted. We wonder with all the wealth India boasts, why there is no national theatre comparable with Esplanade and its infrastructure? It is time those in power took this issue seriously and let us have in India, a theatre where we can enjoy such productions.[39)]

Dr Kothari praised the production not only for its quality, but also for the state-of-the-art facilities, while at the same time criticizing the infrastructure in India available to the performing arts. While Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana has truly shown the high level of creativity of Indian's dancers and crew, it has also emerged the difference in infrastructure between India and the latest developed countries. Here, what needs to be emphasized is that Apsaras Arts is based in Singapore, and *Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana* was funded by the National Arts Council and the Esplanade, both government-affiliated organizations. As already mentioned, many of the main dancers and technical members of the production had been flown in from India. Although the production was a multinational partnership, and the Esplanade encouraged international collaboration, *Anjaneyam-Hanuman's Ramayana* has demonstrated that the Singapore art scene can act as a hub and provide a platform for Indian artists and the diaspora to present Indianness globally. Not only Singaporeans, but also many talented Indian artists and technicians have worked in Singapore's well-funded and technologically advanced theatre productions—productions which could not have been mounted in India. However, that Indian participation in the productions described here made them more reflective of the global Indian culture than of Singaporean culture.

Culture in Indian communities is regarded as belonging to both the local and national cultural heritage of Singapore as a multiethnic nation. Ramayana being performed in Singapore, albeit by Indian performers and technicians, demonstrates that the work is also representative of Singapore, portraying it as an immigrant-friendly country able to represent "Indianness". However, it is based on the generalized images of "indianess". Therefore, in a single production it serves as a motif of the Indian diaspora, a branch of Indian culture that began in Singapore and now circulates the world expressing the identity of global Indians.

Conclusion

Many scholars have written about the historical and cultural connections between India and Southeast Asia. This paper portrays something of the evolution of Ramayana performances among the Indian diaspora of Singapore. Here is a glimpse of a strategy to position the Ramayana as Singaporean national heritage with the development of arts and culture policies in Singapore, and increasingly to recognize and publicly acknowledge the achievements of Indian performing arts as properly belonging to Singaporean national

culture. Such expectations should be understood—and shared—as part of the impact of India's global rise, which also increasingly affects Singapore. The Ramayana has influenced the developing literary worlds of Southeast Asian countries as well as their cultures through varieties of art forms, and the presence of Ramayana can be noticed all over those regions. Over the years, ASEAN countries have thus begun to value the Ramayana as common cultural heritage, holding numerous cultural events related to it. The Ramayana is considered to be common heritage in the eastern world, and the saga is a familiar theatrical theme in ASEAN countries.[40] Furthermore, it appears that the Ramayana serves as a bridge to link India and Southeast Asia. As evidenced by India's hosting of the 2018 ASEAN Summit, which brought together leaders from all ten ASEAN member states, the Ramayana has become one of the crucial instruments of soft power under the present Union government's Act East Policy. More recently, during the India-ASEAN and East Asia summits in Laos in October 2024, current Prime Minister Narendra Modi witnessed *Phralak Phralam*, a captivating rendition of the Laotian adaption of the Ramayana that represents the common legacy and historic civilizational links between India and Laos.[41] Ramayana is thus evidently becoming more established than ever before, and is not only a reflection of Indian and, now, local culture, but also an arena in which various agencies and political agendas meet. The contact zones created by India's cultural gyre are not limited to India and Indians, nor to Indian diasporas, but are linked to global India, occurring even outside India and without Indian input.

The Indian diaspora's identity has always been reflected in the practices of its performing arts. Now, a new generation of Indian dancers are busy creating new identities, realigning themselves with more creative and hybrid cultural forms, or collaborating with other art forms. As the second, third, and fourth generations of Indian diaspora in Singapore mature, they are adopting a more strongly Singaporean identity than one based solely on their Indian roots. For them, the Ramayana is something they see in the Indian performing arts or at Hindu temple events, and not a story or a set of beliefs they can relate to in their daily lives. Nevertheless, the Ramayana is a cultural tradition in their own community, and a part of Singapore's national cultural heritage. Not only that, but the performance of "Ramayana" at events and on stage contributes to the fluctuating sense of belonging of Indian-Singaporean dancers and deploys globally creating a diasporic imagination based on generalized images of "Indianness"

Notes

1) It was estimated that popular episodes were watched by 80 to 100 million viewers, or an eighth of the country's population (Lutgendorf 1995). The serial attracted a great deal of attention in the United Kingdom, Indonesia, Singapore, and other parts of the world. In 2008, a remake of the 1987 *Ramayan* television series was produced, which was and broadcast in Thailand and Indonesia and dubbed into the local languages.
2) According to the Broadcast Audience Research Council (BARC), the *Ramayan* garnered 170 million viewers in the first four shows in March, 2020 (Firstpost 2020).

3) Krishnan 1997: 9. For instance, the story or stage production based on Ramayana is called *Ramakien* in Thailand, *Reamker* in Cambodia, P*hra Lak Phra Ram* in Laos, *Yama Zatdaw* in Myanmar, and *Maharadia lawana* in the Philippines (Sachithanantham 2004).
4) Takemura 2023: 116. Many Southeast Asian countries underwent a process of Indianization between the 5th and 14th centuries CE and the Ramayana deeply penetrated the life and culture of people there and has contributed significantly to the formation of local customs (Clark 2010; Fukuoka 2015). For South and Southeast Asian scholarship on the Ramayana, see Bose 2004; Iyenger 1983; and Richman 1991, 2000.
5) Singapore Department of Statistics 2020.
6) The representative language of the Indian community in Singapore, Tamil, is spoken by approximately half (54%) the community, while the rest speak languages such as Malayalam, Punjabi, Hindi, etc. Institutional support via the language-in-education policy, has designated Tamil as one of the four official languages of Singapore. However, over time and in consideration of the educational challenges faced by the non-Tamil students, the government has allowed five additional languages (Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu) in lieu of Tamil (Jain 2021).
7) Rai 2008: 33–37.
8) Like Singapore's multi-ethnic population, the Indian community is diverse in origin and language, with just under 50% of the population having origins in Tamil Nadu, South India, followed by Kerala, Punjab, and Gujarat. The diversity of people of Indian descent is also evident in religion: according to the 2020 Census, the percentage of religions among Indian residents aged 15 and older is 57.3% Hindu, 23.4% Muslim, 12.5% Christian, and 3.4% Sikh Ga, with their own temples and spaces to practice their faith They have their own temples and spaces to practice their faith (Singapore Department of Statistics 2020).
9) Rai 2008: 46–47.
10) The Ramayana provides the perfect opportunity for encountering popular Indian culture. The leading Indian comic book series *Amar Chitra Katha* conveys the Ramayana in the forms of an illustrated and easy-to-read series of comic books. The epic's global mass market penetration is further demonstrated by a joint Japanese–Indian group's development of a technically brilliant, if distinctly Disneyfied, cartoon version, which was shown at international film festivals in the late 1980s and is now making the rounds in a DVD reincarnation (Bose 2004: 4).
11) Takemura 2023: 119.
12) See Bose 2004; Iyenger 1983; Richman 1991, 2000.
13) See Clark 2001, 2010; Krishnan 2010.
14) The term "Indian diaspora", which is used in this paper, includes the early diasporic Indians who settled in Singapore before the second World War as well as more recent immigrants. From the 19th century onwards, Indians, especially people from South India, began to settle permanently in Singapore in great numbers. They have not only established their traditions but also assumed greater responsibilities in the economic, political, and cultural development of modern Singapore (Sandhu 1993), for scholarship on Indian diasporas, see Jayaram 2004; O'Shea 2007; Rai 2008.
15) Um 2005.

16) For example, see Diethrich 1999; Katrak 2001; Ramnarine 2001; Thobani 2017.
17) Byl and Sykes 2020.
18) Fukuoka 2023.
19) Bhaskar's Arts Academy (formerly known as the Bhaskar Academy of Dance) has performed many creative works related to the Ramayana. The academy's dance troupe has also represented Singapore at numerous international festivals and events, performing at Angkor Wat in Cambodia in 1994 and, later, at the Ramayana festivals in Myanmar and India. They performed in the Ramayana Extravaganza also, held in May 2017 in Singapore. That show featured the Ramayana cross-culturally, using Gamelan music and Indian classical music.
20) Interview with the late Mrs. Santha Bhaskar, August 25, 2017.
21) Kalakshetra is a well-known institution teaching traditional performing arts in Chennai, South India, and Rukumi Devi is its founder.
22) NBT WORLD, ASEAN Plus Ramayana, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=urQamHkF4NE (accessed on July 20, 2017)
23) Interview with the late Mrs. Santha Bhaskar, August 25, 2017.
24) By contrast, a good proportion of Indian migrants to Singapore since the 1990s, many of whom are Information Technology workers, are keen to retain their traditions, which they are keen for their children to study properly; many parents therefore ask Mrs. Santha Basker about books and websites related to Hindu mythology and the epic.
25) Interview with T. A. August 26, 2017.
26) Interview with T. A. August 26, 2017.
27) Interview with R. S. August 26, 2017.
28) Interview with B. M. August 26, 2017.
29) Tiwari 2020.
30) O'shea 2007: 145–156.
31) Bose 2004: 4.
32) Rajagopal (2001) argued the analysis of the interaction between electronic and print media and the startling success of the ideologies of Hindutva in the 1980s and 1990s in India.
33) Singh 2010.
34) Takemura 2023.
35) Regarding the Indian dance scene in Singapore today, although many institutions teach Indian classical dance and music, most of them follow the Kalakshetra style of Bharatanatyam; Apsaras Arts is one of their major institutions. Apsaras Arts was founded in Singapore in 1977 by the late Mr. S. Sathyalingam and the late Mrs. Neila Sathyalingam, alumni and former faculty members of Kalakshetra. Both were originally Sri Lankan Tamils, but they met at Kalakshetra and moved to Singapore in 1977. With over four decades of prolific international productions, Apsaras Arts has grown to become one of the leading Indian dance companies in the region and gained recognition in Indian dance theater.
36) Kumarasamy 2018.
37) Apsaras Dance Company 2020.
38) Apsara Dance Company 2020.
39) *NARTHAKI*, "Footloose and fancy free with Dr Sunil Kothari," December 11, 2017 (https://narthaki.com/info/gtsk/gtsk165.html, accessed on October 19, 2020). He made similar

comments on the presentation entitled "The Modern Dance Ensemble" by Mr Aravinth Kumarasamy at the 38th Natya Kala Conference: Aneka, Day 2 December 27, 2018 in Chennai, India.

40) The Economic Times, Politics "Asean artistes in big roles as Ramayana helps build bonds with the 10-nation bloc," January 25, 2018 (https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/asean-artistes-in-big-roles-as- ramayana-helps-build-bonds-with-the-10-nation-bloc/articleshow/62643526.cms?from=mdr, accessed on March 18, 2021)

41) Mr. Modi posted on X on October 10, 2024, "Vijaya Dashami is a few days away and today in Lao PDR, I saw a part of the Lao Ramayana, highlighting the victory of Prabhu Shri Ram over Ravan. It is heartening to see the people here remain in touch with the Ramayana. May the blessings of Prabhu Shri Ram always remain upon us!"

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Section Two:

Mobility/Community

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Chapter 4 Ecological Factors behind the Circulation of Indian Traders in the Indian Ocean

Claude Markovits
Centre national de la recherche scientifique

Introduction

In this paper I attempt to link the circulation of Indian traders in the Indian Ocean with ecological factors. Starting from the fact that most of these traders originated from "dry areas" of Northwestern India such as Gujarat, Sindh, Rajasthan and the Punjab rather than from areas of permanent moisture such as the Konkan and Malabar coasts, I develop an argument about the specific conditions in those dry areas that helped nurture successful trading communities and networks that expanded across the entire Indian Ocean, from medieval to modern times. These had to do with the particular ecology of these areas, where zones of semi-nomadic pastoralism alternated with oases of sedentary cultivation, stimulating exchange between the ghee and wool of the former and the grain of the latter. Thus active marts dotted the area, and traders, faced with particular climatic uncertainties, developed at an early date advanced financial instruments such as *hundis* (native bills of exchange) and futures trading (*fatka*) that set them at advantage vis-à-vis other trading groups in India and alllowed them at an early date to expand all the way to Muscat and Aden in the western Indian Ocean and to Malacca and beyond in the eastern seas.

I. The Role of Ecological Factors in the Rise of an Indian Trading Ecumene (9th Century–18th Century)

I–1. The "Dry Zone" of Northwestern South Asia and Its Role as a Nursing Ground of Trading Networks

Although my definition of a "dry zone" in Northwestern India is not scientifically rigorous, I include in it areas of arid and semi-arid climate characterized by the absence or general deficiency and particular unreliability of monsoon rains, a trait which distinguished them from areas with more reliable precipitations. This "dry zone" corresponds to Baluchistan, Sindh, Kutch, Rajasthan, most of Gujarat and the Western part of Punjab, ie it includes the whole of today's Pakistan as well as parts of Northwestern India. The hypothesis put forward is that, because of the relative deprivation of this dry zone in terms of resources, and particularly of course of water

Map Major place names covered by this chapter

resources, merchant groups there had developed at an early stage (although the exact chronology is not known) financial skills, such as the use of bills of exchange (*hundis*) and of futures markets (*fatka*) for grain, that had given them a long-term comparative advantage over merchant groups situated in areas that were better endowed in water resources.[1)] This is not a "Gerschenkronian" argument, about the "advantages of backwardness,"[2)] as it is not related to a specific chronological sequence. Nor is it to be understood mainly in terms of "push factors": dryness is not necessarily equivalent with poverty, and often those merchants who left the dry zone in search of opportunities elsewhere had already accumulated capital on some scale and could be fairly prosperous. The crucial factor was rather in terms of skills and knowledge. The specific environment

of the dry zone, where pockets of irrigated and rain-fed agriculture alternated with vast tracts devoted to a semi-nomadic form of pastoralism, stimulated exchanges and the early development of commercial expertise. Active marts dotted the area, where the grain of the oases and areas of rain-fed agriculture was exchanged for the ghee and wool of the pastoral areas. In those marts, merchants belonging to various trading castes developed innovative financial techniques. Given the high degree of uncertainty regarding crops in areas of scarce and irregular rainfall, these traders had to hedge their bets and to engage in some sophisticated calculations. Although the irregular pattern of the monsoons was a factor of uncertainty all over India, crops were less liable to fail in areas of permanent moisture than in semi-desert regions. Nor were there in these areas the same intensive exchanges between agriculturists and pastoralists. Although this has to remain somewhat in the realm of speculation, in these contrasts lies one of the possible reasons for the greater sophistication and innovativeness displayed at an early stage by merchants of the dry zone. The situational advantage of laying astride the major land and sea routes linking Northern India with the Middle East and Central Asia as well as privileged links forged overtime with various Hindu and Muslim rulers also contributed to making the dry zone of Northwestern India a hub of commercial activity and a nursing ground for the emergence of trading and financial networks with a vast reach. They expanded across the subcontinent as well as beyond its boundaries.

I–2. The Expansion of Trading Networks from the Dry Zone within the Subcontinent

One well documented case[3)] is that of Hiranand Saha (?–1711), the ancestor of the house of Jagat Seth, belonging to an Oswal Marwari family, who moved in 1652 from his semi-desert hometown of Nagore in Rajasthan to Patna, a major hub of trade in the humid eastern Gangetic area, during the reign of Mughal emperor Shahjahan. Although we can only guess at the reasons which incited him to leave his semi-desert homeland, he was quickly able to establish himself in a city which was not lacking in thriving commercial firms. He must have had remarkable financial skills to be able to develop there a successful banking firm. His elder son Manik Chand in his turn moved to the major trading and manufacturing centre of Dacca (Dhaka) in East Bengal in the late 1690s, and from there accompanied the *diwan* Murshid Quli Khan (c. 1660–1727) to Murshidabad when the *diwani* (treasury) of the *subha* of Bengal was transferred there in 1702 or 1703. He appears to have had good political instincts that helped him perceive that Murshid had a bright future. He was a trusted adviser to the *diwan* and helped him secure in 1713 the governorship of Bengal from Mughal emperor Farrukshiyar (r. 1713–1719). In the following decades, Manik Chand's descendants earned the exalted title of "Jagat Seths" (bankers to the world) and played a major role as state financiers in the Bengal of the Nawabs, before being involved in the revolution of 1757 against Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah (1733–1757) that opened the way to the East India Company's dominion, and also, paradoxically, resulted in the decline of the family's prominent position. A combination of financial wizardry and political acumen served them well for one century. The Jagat Seths were thus pioneers in a stream of "Marwari" migration to Bengal from

Rajasthan that became a major factor in the economic history of the Presidency in the 19th century.[4] Parallel to the spread of the Marwaris from the deserts of Rajasthan, Gujarati traders also expanded their activities from their dry homeland to areas of permanent moisture in the subcontinent. Dutch sources thus reveal that, in the late 17th century, many of those figuring on a list of eighteen big traders in the important port of Kasimbazar in Bengal hailed from Gujarat.[5] Yet Bengal had its own trading castes, the Gandhavaniks and Suvarnavaniks, and in the first half of the 19th century some members of big zamindari families invested in modern businesses. These Bengali traders and entrepreneurs were however largely displaced in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by the relentless push of the Marwaris and other traders from the dry zone of Northwestern India. One explanation often adduced for their decline has been in terms of differences in the shape of Hindu succession laws, Bengal being under the so-called Dayabagha code of law, that favoured equal division of property between heirs, while the rest of India, including the dry zone, was under the so-called Mitakshara code of law, that permitted integral transmission of assets to elder sons. The argument, however, has limited validity, as it could not explain why traders from the Northwest were more successful than those of other areas of India in which Mitakshara was also in operation. One is thus tempted to fall back on the hypothesis of "ecological" differences as a crucial factor of explanation for the success of traders from the dry zone in humid Bengal, where the general fertility of the land and the relative predictability of crops (which did not however prevent the occurrence of massive famines) did not incite local traders to develop sophisticated financial instruments.

I–3. The Expansion of Trading Networks from the Dry Zone of Northwestern India beyond the Subcontinent

As early as the 9th century CE a presence of "Hindu" merchants was noted in Arab documents concerning the port of Siraf on the Persian shore of the Arabo-Persian Gulf, as well as Oman and Aden in the Arabic peninsula and the Indian Ocean island of Socotra.[6] Although it is not known precisely from where in India these merchants hailed, there is a strong possibility that they came from Sindh, which, since the early 8th century had been under Arab rule. This kind of movement would however be from one dry area to another, and the same applies to the active trading community of merchants from Thatta in Sindh that relocated itself in Masqat from the 15th century onwards[7] and received some mention in Portuguese sources of the early 16th century. Similarly, the movement of Indian traders along the caravan routes via Iran and Afghanistan towards Central Asia, that received notice in Western accounts from the mid-16th century[8] connected dry areas of Northwestern India, in this case Multan in the Punjab, the main hub of this diaspora, with areas that were not climatically different, although mountains and deserts occupied a much larger part of these regions. An "ecological" interpretation of these movements of traders is not however to be summarily dismissed. For there remains to be explained why traders from the dry areas of Northwestern India were able to expand into other dry areas outside the subcontinent more successfully than traders from these areas into India. Not that movement in the other direction did not take place:

merchants from Iran, both Iranian and Armenian, and Arab traders from Hadramaut, amongst others, did move to India in significant numbers and achieved some measure of success in trade there. But the balance in the exchange of traders was clearly always in favour of India. It could be argued that it was largely because they could capitalize on ecological differences within the subcontinent that Indian traders acquired a degree of advance over their potential rivals from other dry areas. In order to test the robustness of this hypothesis, we look at possible alternative explanations.

I–4. A Look at Possible Alternative Explanations for the Success of Indian Traders

Although there is a possibility that accounting techniques such as double-entry bookkeeping were developed in India at an early stage, broadly contemporary with the rise of *partita doppia* in Italy as codified in the famous treatise compiled in 1494 by the Venetian mathematician Luca Pacioli (c. 1445–1517), *Summa de Arithmetica*, or even earlier,[9] there is no clear evidence that it was a decisive factor in the success of Indian traders abroad. Iranian merchants, for instance, used a sophisticated accounting system known as *siyaq,* which differed from double-entry bookkeeping: it was also used by many merchants in Northwestern India, as testified by a treatise in Persian compiled in 1708 in Northern India.[10] In fact, double-entry bookkeeping was universally adopted by Indian merchants only in the 19th century, as noted by Christopher Bayly.[11] Accounting techniques as such do not appear to provide an explanation for the success abroad of traders from Northwestern India. Regarding the strength of kinship ties amongst Indian traders, which is emphasized by Tirthankar Roy,[12] in his analysis of the organization of Indian merchants in terms of "endogamous guilds", and is given by him credit for nurturing an exceptional level of trust between participants in commercial transactions, there is no compelling evidence that it was greater amongst Indian merchant communities than amongst communities of non-Indian traders, whether they be Muslims, like the Hadramis and Iranians, Christians like the Armenians, or Jews. The sophistication of accounting techniques and the strength of kinship ties do not appear to provide alternative explanations for the success of Indian traders outside India.

There remains however one other "non-ecological" factor that contributed significantly to their success, namely the privileged access they had to textile production in India, at a time when textiles were India's major export and had attained the status of de facto currency in parts of East Africa and of the Indonesian archipelago. This gave them a definite advantage over commercial rivals who did not have the same access to producers. But, even granted that, it seems reasonable to assume that the remarkable agility displayed by Indian traders and their capacity to adapt to different ecological milieus and different political regimes had its roots in the specific geographical and historical context of the subcontinent's Northwest where widespread climatic and political contrasts existed over relatively short distances and favoured adaptability and flexibility. Or at least this appears a plausible hypothesis if one is keen to avoid "essentialist" (and naïve) theories about a particular gene that would have made Indian traders especially successful. Nor was expansion outside the subcontinent limited to dry areas. The presence of traders from Gujarat and Sindh on the East Coast of Africa, from Mogadishu to

Sofala, covering both dry areas and more humid ones, is attested from at least the time of Vasco de Gama's voyage at the end of the 15th century, given the strong probability that the pilot who took him from Malindi to Calicut was a Gujarati.[13] Although much less is known about the early movement of traders from South India to the humid tropical environments of Southeast Asia and Southern China, from the 10th century onwards, it should be noted that, at a later stage, the most successful traders to move from Tamilnad to Southeast Asia, ie the Hindu Nattukottai Nagarathars or Chettiars, and the Muslim Marakayyars or Chulias, hailed from areas of South India that were at best described as semi-dry. Nor were Gujarati traders absent from that area, as becomes clear from the perusal of Portuguese sources regarding the major emporium of Malacca around 1500, where Gujarati merchants from Cambay were a particularly prosperous and influential community.[14] In the long term, it seems plausible, although not rigorously demonstrable, to infer some correlation between India's own internal ecological diversity, especially the contrast between a dry zone in the northwest of the subcontinent, and riverine areas of permanent or semi-permanent moisture in most of the rest, and the early capacity of its merchants and bankers to extend their operations to a vast area extending from Zanzibar in East Africa to Quanzhou (Zaitun) on the coast of Southern China[15] and from Nijni-Novgorod in Russia to Malacca on the eponymous Straits. These localities can be seen as defining the boundaries of an Indian "trading ecumene," rather than, as American historian Stephen Dale, writing about a colony of Indian traders in the Russian port of Astrakhan in the 17th century would have it, of an Indian "world economy,"[16] which would imply an element of domination that was never clearly there. Precisely, what is striking about the Indian case is that the expansion of the traders was not linked to an expansionist policy of Indian states. The latter do not appear to have encouraged traders to move abroad and did not offer them any protection. The traders may have been sometimes "pushed out" by the hostile or indifferent policies of rulers in India, although this is a point that has probably been over-emphasized in the literature on Mughal India, but their movements were largely self-regulating.

The ability of Indian merchants to expand abroad without state support differentiates them from Chinese merchants whose movements were somewhat related to the existence of a tributary system extending to parts of Asia, as shown by Takeshi Hamashita.[17] It is also distinctive in relation to the Armenian merchants who had been relocated by the Safavid rulers in New Julfa near Isfahan after their expulsion from their original homeland and developed an extended network across Asia.[18] They also benefited from some protection from the Safavids. In the case of Indian traders, given the lack of state support, market-linked factors, relating to information and knowledge, must be given prominence. We look in more detail at some of them.

I–5. A Look at the Kind of Intellectual Operations Involved in the Running of Commercial Businesses across Vast Distances

Compared to more routine commercial operations, they pose different kinds of challenges. The first one is at the level of information: knowing the state of the market in faraway locations, before the advent of the telegraph, the telephone and other modern

means of communication, was meant to be challenging and demanded some agility. Particularly challenging was the matching of demand with a supply that was often erratic (because of unreliable transport conditions and a high level of insecurity on the roads and waterways), given the importance of avoiding price collapse due to a sudden glut in the market. Then different operations, which could be complex, had to be mastered, such as multilingual business correspondence (given that Indian languages were rarely known outside India), implying linguistic skills about which little evidence has unfortunately come to light, and currency arbitrage, which, in the early modern world, involved juggling with a bewildering variety of currencies without fixed exchange rates. An understanding of politics in environments which were often characterized by regular turbulences leading to sudden regime changes was also a valuable asset, as well as some "ethnographic" knowledge about the various populations to be encountered and their idiosyncrasies, which could have important consequences at the level of consumers' tastes, in particular for items of clothing. Although it would be overstretching things to present Indian international traders as "scholar-merchants" embodying the ideal of the *mercator sapiens* as it was defined in Amsterdam in the 17th century by an author such as Caspar Barlaeus,[19] nor should their cognitive abilities be summarily dismissed. One empirical difficulty the historian is faced with when addressing this question is that transmission of knowledge in Indian merchant circles was largely oral; although written treatises on the art of commerce were available in so-called *mahajani* merchant schools,[20] it was mostly within the trader's family that children received instruction on arithmetic and the reading and writing of *hundis*. Further inferences can be drawn from reports by various travelers and from contemporary anthropological literature. One observation often made is that of the popularity of gambling as a form of entertainment in merchant circles, especially amongst Marwaris. The link with forms of speculation such as futures trading (*fatka*) appears quite obvious, and traders appear to have honed their skills in that way.

The most striking characteristic of the Indian trading ecumene, apart from the existence of a regular pattern of circulation of Indian merchants across the length and breadth of it, was the parallel circulation of bills of exchange or *hundis* that allowed transactions to take place without necessitating a transport of specie that could be perilous, on sea as well as on land. One does not know whether it was actually possible to cross that space from one end to another with one single *hundi*, but certainly, in the 18th century, it was possible to do it on certain routes, such as Nijni Novgorod-Calcutta or Surat-Zanzibar. The next question to address is how this Indian trading ecumene managed to survive and even to thrive within the framework of a European-dominated and even more specifically British-dominated capitalist world-economy as it evolved between the late 18th and the mid-20th centuries.

II. Indian Trading Networks in the Era of Imperial Globalization (c1750–c1950): A Residual Role for Ecological Factors?

II–1. The Continued Dominance of Trading Networks from the Dry Zone: A General View

In a broad survey of the expansion of Indian trading networks outside the subcontinent during the colonial era,[21] I argued that this movement of traders, while numerically significant, was also very much segmented. It took the form of a galaxy of networks, with their bases in various localities in India, rather than of one large, unified diaspora, as is sometimes inferred. Trying to bring in the ecological dimension that was missing in the survey, it is striking to note the continuous dominance of networks originating from "dry" areas, mostly from the Northwest, but also from South India. Gujaratis, whether they be Muslims (Bohras, Khojas, Memons), Hindus (Vani, Bhatia), Jains or Zoroastrians (Parsis), accounted for the bulk of the movement of traders away from India, being particularly prominent in the large-scale expansion of the Indian commercial presence in East Africa that occurred between the mid-19th and the mid-20th centuries under both the Zanzibari (1840–1890) and British (post-1890) political dominations. There was also an enormous expansion in the opium and cotton trade with China, starting around 1770, in which Parsis and, at a later stage, Khojas played a prominent role. But as spectacular was the expansion of networks from Sindh, more specifically that of the so-called Sindworkies from Hyderabad, unknown before 1860, and who had become by 1914 the most wide-ranging trading network from South Asia, with operations extending from Kobe in Japan to Panama in Central America.[22] There was also a significant expansion in the operations of Hindu and Sikh traders from the Punjab: the land trade between Northern India and Xinjiang through Kashmir was largely controlled by Punjabi Hindu traders from the town of Hoshiarpur, while Punjabi Sikh traders were particularly active in the trade with Afghanistan. In the late 19th century, Marwaris, from their hub of Calcutta, extended their activities to Burma, Malaya and all the way to Japan. Chettiars, after having captured part of the flows of trade and finance between South India and Ceylon in the early 19th century,[23] became, from the mid-19th century, a crucial agency in the financing of agricultural production in Southeast Asia (primarily in Burma, but also in Malaya, French Indochina and the Dutch Indies). By contrast, very few traders from humid areas of the subcontinent achieved similar success, with the possible exceptions of Syrian Christian and Mapillai (Moplah) Muslim traders from coastal Kerala, who however never attained prominence, except in the (small-scale) trade with the Maldives. It is striking for instance that Bengali traders, displaced from their home ground by the relentless push of the Marwaris and other North Indian merchants, did not seek to compensate by expanding abroad, not even in neighbouring Burma. Although it would be difficult to identify precise "ecological" reasons for this failure, that has probably more to do with a shortage of capital, compounded by the bankruptcies of some large-scale Bengali capitalists in the 1840s, there remains the fact that Indian trading globalization in the imperial era remained largely dominated by networks from the dry zone.

II–2. Two Case Studies

First to consider is the case of the Sindworkies: Hyderabad-Sindh (not to be confused with its better-known namesake in the Deccan), which had become the capital of the fledgling state of Sindh in the 1780s, had transformed itself into a minor trading hub in the first three decades of the 19th century largely thanks to its position on the smuggling route between the semi-dry area of poppy cultivation in Malwa and the Portuguese port of Daman on the West Coast, from where ships took the opium to Macau and China, in defiance of the monopoly of the East India Company. The route between Mundissore in Malwa, close to the major opium mart of Ujjain, and Hyderabad crossed the Thar desert, and the caravans that carried the drug were organized at the Rajasthan end by Marwari merchants and at the Sindh end by Sindhi Hindu merchants from Hyderabad, a nice example of collaboration between two "dry zone" networks. From Hyderabad, the opium was carried to Karachi, and loaded on boats that took it to Daman, from where Portuguese ships carried it to Macau. There is some evidence that a group of merchants of Hyderabad honed their financial and commercial skills in participating in this profitable venture, in which they were not the principals, the latter being capitalists in Bombay and Ahmedabad. After Sindh had been annexed to British India by Sir Charles Napier in 1843, Hyderabad entered a phase of commercial decline, as it lost the opium trade as well as its position as capital of the state. Its merchants were in search of new opportunities, and they found them in the sale of local artefacts known as "Sindwork", first to a European clientele in Bombay, and, after 1860, to the first modern "tourists" in Egypt, another dry area. It is worth noting that the relative deprivation of the area incited its merchants to be inventive and adventurous in a way that they may not have been, had the area been climatically better endowed and agriculturally more prosperous. Then, other factors, of a more political nature intervened, that were partly contingent, such as the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, which led to a consolidation of the activities of the Sindworkies there. They gradually developed a truly worldwide trade in silks and curios, that rested on a combination of deep knowledge of consumers' tastes across a vast geographical area, in particular the growing mania for Japanese artefacts in Europe and North America known as *Japonisme* and of financial skills, specifically forms of arbitrage that allowed them to maximize their gains by playing on currency fluctuations. Thus, in the 1930s, some Sindhi traders with branches in Kobe took advantage of the devaluation of the Japanese yen to buy cheaply Japanese textiles that they sold at a premium in sterling and dollar areas, such as British West Africa or the Philippines.

The case of the Khojas is somewhat similar and shows how origins in a dry area, in that case Kutch, could be a strong incitement to seeking opportunities elsewhere. That Ismaili community, the product of conversions amongst Vaisnava Hindu Lohana traders effected between 1200 and 1400 by Ismaili missionaries, remained located in Kutch, a native Indian state situated in an arid area close to Sindh, which had however an extensive coastline and some decent harbours, till the early 19th century. The first decades of the 19th century saw a fairly massive migration from Kutch to Bombay, which seems to have been prompted by a combination of "push" (a series of severe famines in the Kutch area) and "pull" factors (the increasing opportunities offered by the

growth of Bombay to traders who dealt in agricultural commodities, which were very much in demand to feed a rapidly expanding population): by the 1840s, there were some 2000 Khojas in Bombay,[24] most of them being small traders selling parched rice, but some already engaged in more profitable ventures, like the purchase of pulses, cloth and cotton-seed in Kutch and the sale of these products to wholesalers in Bombay. Gradually some of them extended their operations to even more profitable branches of trade outside India, such as the African ivory trade, or the Chinese silk trade, and to the sale of Indian opium to China. By the 1850s, some Khojas in Bombay had reached the position of *shetias* (leading merchants) and one of them was a shareholder in Bombay's fist cotton mill. A move to Zanzibar followed, in the wake of the transfer of the Omani sultan there in 1840. In the 1870s, there were some 2,500 Ismaili Khojas on the East African coast, where they played an increasing role, not only in trade, but also in finance. This community also played a prominent role in the China opium trade after 1860, benefitting by the partial eclipse of the Parsis, leading to its dominance of this sector by the 1890s.

II–3. The Role of Political Factors

These two rapid case studies tend to confirm the notion that origins in a dry area in India were a positive asset for merchants seeking to extend their operations beyond the subcontinent in the era of imperial globalization. That merchants from the dry areas of India were more successful on a global scale than traders from other dry areas such as Iranians, Hadrami or even Armenians can probably be explained at least in part by political factors, the fact that, being British subjects (and officially recognized as such after 1858), they benefited by the protection of His Majesty's consuls in most of the areas to which they moved (one exception being Russian Central Asia), and even enjoyed extra-territorial rights in some countries like Egypt, China, Japan or Morocco, allowing them to be tried in British consular courts in case of disputes with other British subjects or with native traders. These courts were an imperfect instrument of justice,[25] but their judgments often proved advantageous to Indian merchants. The importance of political factors in that period leads me to treat as somewhat residual the influence of ecological factors, but they had been often crucial in the emergence of some of the most active networks. So, as regards the era of imperial globalization, there is a case for underlining a continued, although diminishing, importance of ecological factors in sustaining the worldwide expansion of South Asian trading and financial networks.

Conclusion

This article attempts to link the theme of the internal ecological diversity of India with that of the circulation of Indian merchants on a global scale. The latter is important because it was one of the main channels through which the Indian economy, since medieval times, was connected with other economies. Whether the term of "globalization" adequately accounts for such developments before the advent of a capitalist European-dominated world economy in the 19th century appears to be a question of taxonomy rather than of substance. It appears preferable to talk in terms of an Indian "trading

ecumene" rather than of an Indian world economy to qualify long-term developments prior to the colonial era. The ability of Indian capital, from the late medieval period onwards, to expand "globally" across the Eurasian landmass as well as across the Indian Ocean and the China seas, is obviously due to a complex combination of factors, both structural and cyclical. The hypothesis that the exceptional concentration of skills in the dry Northwest zone of the subcontinent, resulting in the emergence of powerful networks in different localities, was one of the major structural factors, has a lot to recommend itself. The prominence of these networks appears plausibly linked to the specific ecological milieu from where they hailed, characterized by particularly uncertain conditions for agricultural production, that incited traders to develop sophisticated commercial and financial instruments as a hedge against those uncertainties. These techniques could be deployed to great effect outside the subcontinent to create powerful trading and financial networks, that managed to successfully weather the transition to a globalized economy during the High Imperial era. Yet the argument could not be extended to become predictive of India's present emergence on the world economic scene. Indian trading networks constituted a diverse universe and their economic links to the subcontinent were of varied intensity. They have not contributed to India's recent economic successes in the same way as Chinese expatriate capitalist have contributed to the rise of China. However, in the long term, it is plausible to argue that the kind of skills and knowledge about global markets accumulated often in discrete ways within these various networks has been a useful resource for the new global expansion of Indian firms.[26] "Dry zone" origins are still identifiable for instance in the rise of the giant steel firm of Arcelor-Mittal. The founder and head of the firm, Lakshmi Mittal, a Marwari whose father had been active in Karachi before moving to India after Partition, himself starting his career in Indonesia where he operated his first steel mill, embodies a longstanding tradition of entrepreneurship nurtured in the deserts of Rajasthan and now geared to a conquest of the world markets.

Notes

1) Markovits 2003.
2) Gerschenkron 1962.
3) Little 1967.
4) Timberg 1978.
5) Curtin 1984: 174.
6) Wink 1990.
7) Allen 1981.
8) Levi 2002.
9) Nigam 1986.
10) Sidiqui 1959.
11) Bayly 1983: 397.
12) Roy 2010.

13) Subrahmanyam 1997.
14) Thomaz 1993.
15) Chen and Lombard 2000.
16) Dale 1994: 2.
17) Hamashita 2008.
18) Aslanian 2011.
19) Barlaeus 2019.
20) Bayly 1983: 397.
21) Markovits 1999.
22) Markovits 2000.
23) Rudner 1994.
24) Dobbin 1972: 113.
25) Platt 1971.
26) Tumbe 2017.

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Chapter 5 Intersecting Land and Maritime Trade Networks in Southwest Asia: The Afghan Arms Trade in the Gulf of Oman Region

Ichiro Ozawa
Ritsumeikan University

Introduction

In this paper, I consider the intersecting land and maritime trade networks of various ethnic groups in Southwest Asia through an analysis of the arms trading activities of Afghan traders in the Gulf of Oman region[1)] at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.[2)]

Afghans were notably active in caravan trading in regions including India, Afghanistan, Eastern Iran, and Central Asia.[3)] The academic literature on the Afghans' trading activities in the modern era has focused mainly on their overland trading connecting northern India with their homeland in India's Northwest Frontier (today's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan) and Afghanistan, further leading to Central Asia.[4)] That limited focus is certainly the result of bias in colonial officials' attention to the Afghan traders, and the content and character of the sources resulting from such bias. While it is suggested in the sources that the Afghans were active as traders in other regions, the paucity of relevant sources has meant that their activities have not yet attracted sufficient academic attention.

As we shall see, Afghans not only conducted the caravan trade on the northern shore of the Gulf of Oman but ventured into maritime trade with Muscat in the early 20th century as part of their arms trading activities. In the course of their anti-arms trade activities, the British Indian authorities left an exceptionally large volume of source material on the trade, which now allows us detailed examination to view the Afghans in a new light as traders.

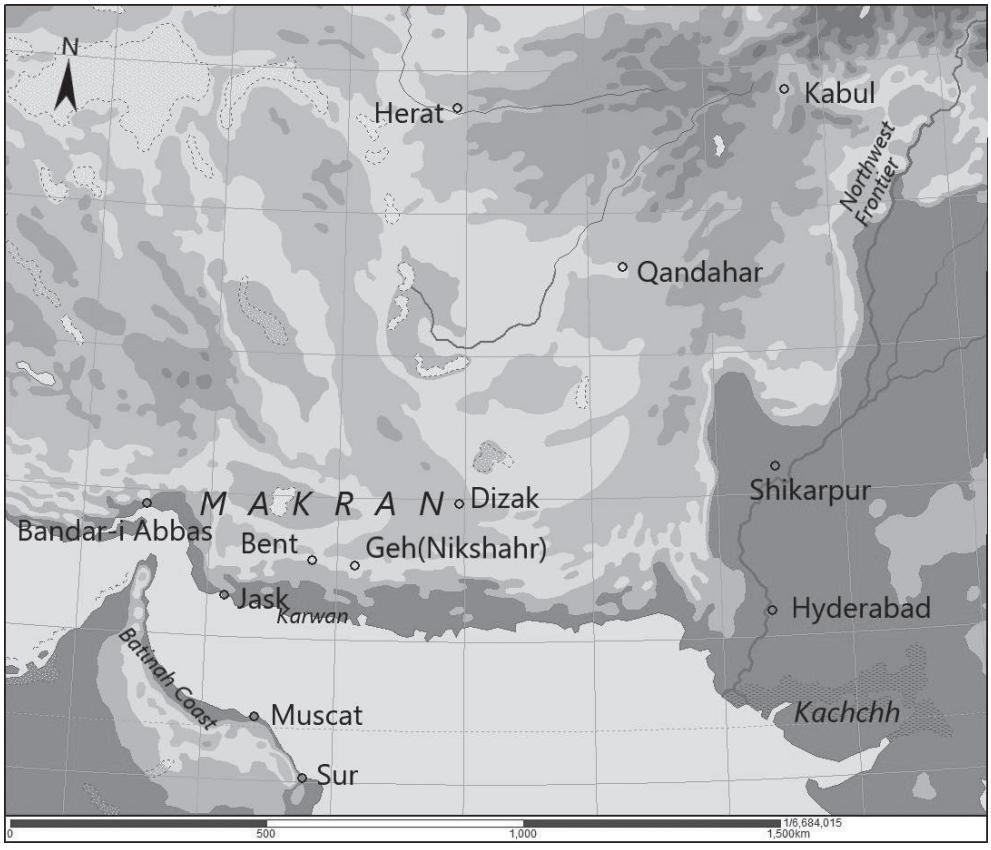
We must note here that the Afghans were able to carry on their arms trading activities only by cooperating with various other ethnic groups. In the Gulf of Oman region for example, they worked with Baluchs, Persians, Arabs, people of South Asian origin, and even European merchants who had penetrated the region. All those groups constructed trade networks not only spanning both shores, but connecting the region with other parts of the world, and Afghans connected their own networks with those of the other groups to advance into the region.

Therefore, in this paper I shall describe the activities of Afghan arms traders at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries as the product of intersection of various land and

maritime trade networks, with the Gulf of Oman as its arena. In due course, the cessation of the Afghan arms trade by the mid-1910s will be regarded as the result of the disappearance, or at least the transformation, of that intersection, which was the result of British anti-arms trade activities.

I. The Afghan Arms Trade in the Gulf of Oman Region

At the end of the 19th century the arms trade in the Persian Gulf region saw an explosive expansion, with Muscat as its entrepot, from where modern small arms imported from Europe were distributed all over the western Indian Ocean world.[5)] One of the major destinations of those weapons was the region spanning the Northwest Frontier and Afghanistan, where there was great demand for them among Afghan tribesmen. It was already reported in 1902 that European arms had made their way into this region. By 1907, British Indian authorities became increasingly apprehensive about the negative impact that the influx of various rifles was having on the security of the Indian-Afghan



Map Major place names covered by this chapter

frontier, which had been repeatedly disturbed by tribal revolts such as the general uprising of 1897–1898.[6] This apprehension became one of the most significant factors driving British anti-arms trade efforts in the Persian Gulf from the late 19th century, as they aimed to cut off the supply of modern firearms to the frontier.

It was quite natural, therefore, that Afghans took to arms trading on their own account. In fact, as early as the end of the 19th century when the arms trade began to expand, Afghans were forming their own caravans to descend from their homelands in the Northwest Frontier and Afghanistan. Their destinations were the ports on the Persian Gulf, such as Bandar-i Abbas, and their purpose was to purchase arms shipped from Muscat. For example, at the end of December 1897 it was reported that there were "a lot of Afghans from Kandahar" near Bandar-i Abbas,[7] and the scale of the Afghan trade continued to expand from the early 20th century. One of their caravans consisted of 1,000 men and 900 camels, and departed with 12,500 rifles and accompanying ammunition from Iranian Makran (i.e. the western part of Makran under the rule of the Qajar Dynasty) reaching Afghanistan in early June 1908.[8] A number of Afghans even crossed the Gulf to Muscat to arrange transactions and shipments of arms there, with as early as the end of December 1897, eight "Kabuli merchants" being reported to have departed Bandar-i Abbas to meet a steamship laden with arms at Muscat.[9] The number of Afghans who stayed behind temporarily to trade at Muscat increased, amounting to approximately a hundred at the end of 1906.[10]

The Afghan traders were assisted in their trade activities by local Afghan communities, which became nodes in a trade network spanning from the Northwest Frontier and Afghanistan to Iranian Makran. Those Afghans travelled from their homeland to Iranian Makran on various occasions and formed settlements there. For example, a settlement at Dizak in the eastern part of Iranian Makran, which was reported to be involved in the arms trade, was established by the followers of Muḥammad Ayyūb Khān, the third son of Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān, the second Amīr of Afghanistan (r. 1836–1866, 1868–1878), who presumably fled from Afghanistan on the Khān's downfall in 1880.[11]

A prominent figure among the Afghan settlers was one Khair Muḥammad, also known as the "Khalifa", an individual mentioned in documents as a man of religious influence, presumably of the Sunni inclination. After moving from his homeland in southern Afghanistan, he settled in the Karwan district in the costal part of Iranian Makran. As we shall see, he tried to establish colonies there by cultivating the land, and at one time he went so far as to construct a *kārīz* (underground irrigation channel) which he paid for with his own money.[12] He provided various facilities to the Afghan caravans which visited him, from storage areas for imported arms awaiting hand-over to the caravans, to the arrangement of transactions with Muscat merchants; and so forth.[13]

We shall now look more closely at how Afghan communities in the Gulf of Oman acted to connect the Afghan trading network with those of the various ethnic groups.

II. Afghan Cooperation with Various Ethnic Groups in the Gulf of Oman Region

II–1. Cooperation with Baluchs

Baluchs were an indigenous ethnic group of Makran, and as the main collaborators with Afghan arms traders, became involved in almost all stages of the trade.

In the period under consideration, Iranian Makran was not fully subjugated to the Qajar Dynasty, but was ruled by semi-autonomous Baluch chiefs who controlled the various oases scattered about the region and afforded facilities to the traders.[14] The Baluch chiefs played a crucial role for Afghan traders who crossed the Gulf of Oman to make transactions and then returned to the northern shore with arms they had purchased. In exchange for suitable payment, the chiefs provided the means of making the crossing in the form of Baluch *nākhudā*s and their dhows, and arranged the times and places for landing the arms. Baluch *nākhudā*s won the Afghans' trust, partly because their skill at sailing dhows and knowledge of the coastal regions on both shores of the Gulf helped them evade the British naval patrols. Timing their departures from Muscat, they did not usually head directly to the northern shore, but sailed either northward along the Baṭinah Coast, or south to Ṣur, then turning north for the coast of Iranian Makran.[15]

In the arrangement of the trade with Muscat, the Baluch chiefs' network spanning both shores of the Gulf of Oman worked to facilitate the Afghans' trading. A report by a British spy, an Afghan who disguised himself as a trader to investigate the actual situation of the trade, illustrates the Baluchs' role. The spy accompanied an Afghan trader named Muḥammad ʿAlī of Sulaimānkhel, who conducted his trade in cooperation with Mīr Muṣṭafā, a Baluch chief of Jask. Mīr Muṣṭafā introduced a guide who was related by marriage to a Baluch based at Muscat. The guide arranged the voyage to Muscat for Afghan traders and accompanied them on the Gulf crossing. At Muscat he provided them with accommodation at his sister's house, she being married to a Baluch man who was based there. The guide also arranged Baluch disguise for the Afghans for, as we shall see, by that time the Sultan had issued orders prohibiting Afghans from staying or trading at Muscat. The guide then introduced the Afghans to an arms merchant, at whose house arrangements were made for the purchase of arms.[16]

Baluch merchants based at Muscat provided facilities to Afghan traders also. One of those merchants was ʿAlī Mūsā, a subject of the Sultan of Muscat and prominent merchant of Baluch origin.[17] He not only sold arms to Afghans who came to Muscat, but also shipped arms to the northern shore by making contact with Baluch chiefs. He worked especially closely with Barakāt Khān, a Baluch chief of the hinterland of Jask and a younger brother of Mīr Muṣṭafā, who on various occasions was the consignee of arms shipped by ʿAlī Mūsā.[18] At some time in the latter half of 1909, they made an agreement concerning the shipment of arms from Muscat and their storage in Iranian Makran.[19]

ʿAlī Mūsā guaranteed the continuance of the arms trade at Muscat by making use of his status and connections. He was on intimate terms with the Sultan of Muscat mainly through his financial contribution which was realized with profits from the Muscat arms

trade; at one time the Sultan nominated him as a contractor for the Muscat customs.[20] Owing to the two men's closeness, the British attempts to restrict his arms trade activities was met with reluctance from the Sultan.[21] Moreover, ʿAlī Mūsā also used his connections within Muscat to help Afghan traders evade British anti-arms trade activities. For example, in March 1908 when the presence of a British vessel off Muscat delayed the departure of dhows laden with arms, he found out—from a baker who had a contract with the British Navy to provide bread to British vessels—that the British ship would soon set sail for Bushire. Accordingly, and as soon as it was under way there, the dhows left Muscat heading for the northern shore.[22]

Once arms were landed on the northern shore, Afghan traders again sought the help of Baluch chiefs in conveying them in caravans. As soon as the chiefs learned that a landing of arms had been made, they welcomed the Afghans to their oasis settlements, provided them with pack animals, guides, and provisions, guaranteed their safety, and in return levied money as a toll, reckoning the sum from the number of rifles. The main supporters of Afghan traders were Saʿīd Khān, a chief of Geh (today's Nikshahr), and Islām Khān, his cousin and a chief of Bent.[23] Sometimes the extraction of money took the form of blackmail; for example, when Saʿīd Khān confiscated arms landed in the Karwan district presumably in November 1906, he released the arms to their owners, Sarwānī (Shīrwānī) Afghans, only on payment to him of 1,200 rupees as "customs duty". A number of similar cases were reported.[24]

With their strong influence in the region, the Baluch chiefs created a situation which secured the continuance of the arms trade on the northern side of the Gulf of Oman. Despite the anti-arms trade policy of the central government, Qajar governors of Iranian Makran were unable to restrict the trade effectively with their limited influence in the region and in the face of the power of Baluch chiefs such as Saʿīd Khān and Islām Khān.[25] Furthermore, sometimes the chiefs offered money from their arms trading to the Qajar authorities, in order to involve them in the trade, to ensure its continuance. In the aforementioned case at the end of 1906, Asad al-Daulah, the Qajar governor at the time, obtained 6,000 rupees from the Afghan traders through the good offices of Saʿīd Khān, an action interpreted as an attempt to buy the connivance in the arms trade of the Qajar authorities in the region.

When we consider Baluch support for the Afghan arms trade, we cannot ignore the role played by Afghan settlers in Iranian Makran who brought together Baluchs and Afghan traders in various ways. Here, I shall introduce the case of the above-mentioned Khair Muḥammad. His influence in the field of religion gave him many Baluch disciples (*murīd*) including chiefs like Saʿīd Khān and Islām Khān, the former of whom contributed land in the Karwan district to enable Khair Muḥammad to establish a settlement. Khair Muḥammad also obtained contributions from his disciples, and his farming activities, including the construction of the *kārīz*, were based on that particular source of finance.[26] In addition, Khair Muḥammad's influence extended to the Northwest Frontier and into Afghanistan; in his own words he had 5,000 or 6,000 disciples in places like Qandahar and Herat.[27]

Utilizing his influence among both Afghans and Baluchs, Khair Muḥammad acted as

an intermediary between them. He invited Afghan traders from the Northwest Frontier and Afghanistan, including his disciples, to Iranian Makran,[28] and made indigenous Baluchs support them in the trade. Fearing alienating the Baluch chiefs and their people, the Qajar authorities were unable to take effective measures against him.[29] Khair Muḥammad contacted Baluchs also on the other shore of the Gulf of Oman. In April 1907, the ʿAlī Mūsā tried to cross the Gulf with arms to meet Khair Muḥammad, and in January 1908 attempted to embark on one of the British India Steam Navigation Company's vessels, presumably to go to Muscat.[30] Those two cases suggest a possible connection between Khair Muḥammad and the Baluchs in Muscat.

II–2. Cooperation with Other Ethnic Groups

Apart from the Baluchs, Afghans traded with individuals of other ethnic groups active in the Gulf of Oman region.

At an early stage, from the end of the 19th century to around 1905 when the Afghans were conducting their trade mainly on the north side of the Gulf, they were in contact with merchants in northern coastal cities like Bandar-i Abbas, where merchants of various origins were active. The principal merchant at Bandar-i Abbas, mentioned in British documents, was Ḥājjī Muḥammad Ḥusain Galadārī, a merchant of Persian origin who was also known as Ḥājjī Amīn. He seems to have been prosperous and influential, for the Qajar government gave him the title of Amīn al-Tujjār (lit. "the trustee among merchants"). He employed an agent at Muscat, a man from the famous Zawāwī merchant family of Muscat and whose wife was one of Ḥājjī Muḥammad Ḥusain's sisters. Using that connection, Ḥājjī Muḥammad Ḥusain traded arms on both shores of the Gulf.[31]

Merchants of South Asian origin too were active at Bandar-i Abbas. For example, ʿAbd al-Rasūl Dādanī from Hyderabad (Sindh) traded arms at Bandar-i Abbas with Muscat, where he had an agent,[32] and there are reports mentioning some South Asian merchants as well as ʿAbd al-Rasūl Dādanī, active at Bandar-i Abbas. According to a report by a British agent in October 1898, Afghan traders purchased arms from one Ḥājjī Muḥammad Ḥasan, a merchant of Memon origin (the Memon people came originally from Sindh, and the majority of them were Sunni Muslims). Another Memon merchant is mentioned in the report.[33] In January 1899, one "Tikam Doop Wali Ram," a British subject of unknown origin, was selling arms to Afghan traders who had come to the city.[34] A Bombay Police report lists merchants active in Bandar-i Abbas in summer 1899, including some Shikarpuri merchants.[35]

At Bandar-i Abbas, the existence of the people from Sindh was a conspicuous exception. As Markovits points out, merchants from Shikarpur had established a "symbiotic relationship" with Afghans in their trade with Central Asia at least from the first half of the 19th century.[36] Although much is left to be clarified concerning the Afghans' connection with Sindhi people, their cooperation in the arms trade at Bandar-i Abbas may be regarded as an extension of the historical connection between them.

From around 1905, with reinforcement of anti-arms trade activities in major port cities on the northern shore like Bandar-i Abbas, and an increase in the number of Afghans crossing the Gulf to trade there, arms dealing moved from the north to the

south, namely to Muscat, where Afghan traders' activities were enabled through their cooperation with various ethnic groups in addition to the Baluchs. Merchants who traded arms at Muscat included not only Omani Arabs but also people of South Asian origin such as Baniya, Parsi, and Muslim Indians, Persians, Armenians, as well as Europeans such as the French and Belgians.[37)]

Merchants of South Asian origin played an important role in Afghan arms transactions at Muscat because of their special position resulting from their economic power. For example, Ratansi Purshotam was a Baniya merchant from Kachchh, Gujarat, and an agent of the British Mackinon & Mackenzie company based at Bombay.[38)] He dominated the arms trade at Muscat at the end of the 19th century thanks partly to his position as a contractor of Muscat customs, which helped put him in a position from which he was able to sell arms to Afghan traders.[39)] In a British spy's report from 1909, there appeared another South Asian named ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Khān, the "Inspector of Customs" from Pune (Poona), who not only afforded to arms traders facilities such as the arrangement of dhows to transport arms to the northern shore, but also himself offered arms to traders. The spy, whom he also contacted, presumed that he obtained arms from merchants in return for connivance in the import of more arms than were declared at the customs house. ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Khān's uncle, the collector of Muscat Customs, was in collusion with his nephew in the arms trade.[40)] As mentioned above customs services at Muscat were farmed out to wealthy merchants in return for the payment of custom duties, and these South Asian merchants utilized their positions to provide facilities to Afghan traders.

Omani Arabs also were involved in the arms trade with Afghans. British spies' reports include the names of some Arab merchants, such as Hārūn and Muḥmmad ʿAbd allāh, who sold arms to Afghan traders. Other than directly dealing with them, Muscat merchants sometimes introduced Arab *nākhudā*s to those Afghans who had not arranged sea transport on the northern side with Baluch chiefs, although Afghans were reported to have put less reliance on them than Baluch ones.[41)]

When investigating the activities of merchants of various origins and their cooperation with the Afghans, we must also bear in mind that French merchants also had begun actively trading from the end of the 19th century, their share in the Muscat arms trade rising from a seventh in 1899–1900 to two-fifths in 1905.[42)] That growth in French merchants' trading was accomplished partly against a background of the French government's un-cooperative attitude to British activities against the arms trade, for the French considered that restriction of any kind of trade violated the Muscat-French Treaty of 1844, which had been based on the principle of free trade.

A principal French merchant was Antoine Goguyer, who settled in Muscat in April 1899 and began his business there. According to a British document, he invited other traders at Muscat to do business with him, pointing out that "by placing their orders with him, they would escape all the risks at present attending the arms traffic in the consequence of the British authorities," and "undertook to accept all risks of seizure and to send the arms in dhows flying the French flag to any port in the Persian Gulf."[43)] Goguyer's advertisement was supported by the French government's attitude to the

Muscat arms trade.

Goguyer also arranged the transport of arms to the northern shore of the Gulf. In the summer of 1907, for the benefit of certain Afghans he hired three ships to depart from Muscat with purchased arms,[44] and in 1911 he was himself the owner of at least two dhows, at least one of which was used by Afghans to carry arms.[45] Goguyer conducted his trade activities according to local Muscat custom, not only selling arms to visiting Afghan merchants but also providing them with accommodation in the form of two mansions he rented for the purpose near Muscat, where he even arranged for meals to be sent to them once every two or three days during their stays of usually about a month.[46] These activities of Goguyer had much in common with those of the other merchants based at Muscat, as mentioned above. Clearly Goguyer, even as a "European" merchant, was also part of the trading world of the Gulf of Oman region; it is therefore futile and meaningless to distinguish "foreign" from "indigenous."

To counter British anti-arms trade activities, Goguyer used his influence at home to obstruct British efforts. In reply to the British political agent at Muscat who had inquired about the activities of Goguyer, the French consul, who was in fact critical of Goguyer, confessed that it was difficult to restrict Goguyer's activities because of his supporters in the French government, whom he presumably won over with his money, in the shape of the profits from his arms trading. In other words, French merchants at Muscat used their connections spanning as far as Europe to assist Afghans in trading arms.

All these activities of merchants of various origins were carried out in the environment of Muscat as a port city state, whose government, especially the Sultan, assumed a favourable attitude to the arms trade. Muscat, relying on customs duties for its revenue, had welcomed various ethnic groups to conduct trade there, and at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the arms trade contributed significant profits to Muscat. In the 1890s, when trade at Muscat was in decline, only arms trading was brisk, accounting for a quarter of Muscat's customs revenue.[47] The Sultan of Muscat, ostensibly agreeing with British efforts to halt the arms trade, in fact not only connived in it but also secretly promoted it using every means at his disposal.[48] The Sultan's attitude bestowed on Muscat the role of a node where various trade networks, including that of the Afghans, intersected.

III. British Anti-trade Activities and the Cessation of the Afghan Arms Trade

The Afghan arms trade, which was at its peak in the years 1907 and 1908, came to an end by the middle of the 1910s as a result of British anti-arms trade activities. Based on concerns about the influx of modern firearms into the Indian-Afghan frontier and the potential deterioration of security there, the British implemented several measures: restricting Afghan passage to Muscat from the spring of 1907 and intensifying restrictive activities both on land and at sea from early 1910. The British strove not only to destroy the Afghans' trade network in the Gulf of Oman region, but to isolate it from those of the other groups.

The first target of the British was those Afghans engaged in trading at Muscat. In

March 1907, the British succeeded in inducing the Sultan of Muscat to declare an order prohibiting Afghans from staying at Muscat and conducting trade activities. The British had played on the Sultan's fear that the presence of a large Afghan population in Muscat would have an adverse effect on public order.[49] The British authorities in Muscat, having secured the cooperation of the French consul, were then able to put pressure on Goguyer, the French merchant, forcing him to withdraw his support from Afghan traders—at least officially.[50] In December, the Sultan decided to enlist the support of the British Navy to deport the Afghan residents at Muscat, and fifty three of them were deported to Karachi on board a British gunboat.[51] At the same time, the steam navigation companies were asked to refuse passage to Afghans attempting to embark for Muscat. In January 1908, the India Office asked the British Steam Navigation Company to deny embarkation to Afghans, and the Bombay-Persia Steam Navigation Company accordingly received a similar request in January of the next year.[52]

Despite such measures, Afghans' visits to Muscat did not cease completely, as they tried to avoid the restrictions by using local dhows and disguising themselves as Baluchs or Arabs, and Muscati merchants including Goguyer continued to secretly assist them. However, it is true that Afghans' activities at Muscat did become more difficult.

From the beginning of 1910, intensive restrictive activities were imposed both on land and at sea. In the Gulf of Oman, four British vessels patrolled regularly, capturing dhows conveying arms, and seizing cargos,[53] a measure which greatly discouraged both traders and *nākhudā*s; the loss incurred by the confiscation of arms made the trade less profitable than before, steadily discouraging the Afghan traders, while for their part the *nākhudā*s became increasingly reluctant to be involved in the arms trade. Moreover, freight costs rose considerably, as captured dhows were either confiscated or burnt on the spot.[54] The situation of the Gulf of Oman had turned most unfavourable for the maritime transport of arms.

In Iranian Makran, a British army corps consisting of 1,000 men and named the "Makran Field Force" landed at the Karwan district in April 1911, and carried out an eleven-day field mission, advancing inland to Bent.[55] Although no arms or ammunition were discovered, the "Makran Field Force" did identify arms depots created for Afghan traders and, more importantly, exerted great psychological influence on Afghans active in Iranian Makran. Apart from the possibility of being pursued by British forces, the fact that the mission was accompanied by Saʿīd Khān and Islām Khān, the Baluch chiefs who had hitherto been friendly to the traders, convinced them that the circumstances surrounding their activities were changing adversely.[56] After the mission, Saʿīd Khān and Islām Khān agreed, in return for subsidies, to cooperate with the British to prohibit arms trading in Iranian Makran, even going so far as to issue a warning that any Afghans found in their territory would be killed.[57] In those circumstances, Afghan settlers in the region seem to have abandoned their activities as intermediaries; Khair Muḥammad communicated with the British authorities in Iranian Makran to inquire into the possibility of his making a "pilgrimage" to Baghdad, and he is not recorded as being involved in the arms trade thereafter.[58]

Finally, Muscat ceased to function, at least officially, as a node for the arms trade

network, after long negotiations with the French and Muscat governments, which finally resulted in the establishment of an "Arms Warehouse" at Muscat in September 1912. All arms traders had to deposit imported arms there, with their withdrawal being strictly regulated. The realization of this system imposed heavy costs on the British; the Sultan of Muscat agreed to it only on payment of a subsidy amounting to 100,000 rupees a year to compensate his financial loss incurred by the cessation of the trade, and the French government made a concession only on the promise of compensation from the British to the merchants then holding stocks of arms at Muscat.[59)]

All these measures on the part of the British authorities finally succeeded in undermining the Afghan network in the Gulf of Oman region, and isolated it from the other networks, at least in the field of arms trading. From 1913, although the activities of Afghan traders did not cease completely, as a few Afghans continued to visit Iranian Makran to trade, the sort of large-scale trading which had been conducted in 1907 and 1908 came to an end.[60)]

Conclusion

In this paper, I investigated the activities of Afghan traders in the Gulf of Oman region, in order to elucidate the actual situation of multi-ethnic trade in Southwest Asia. The Afghan arms trade spanning India's Northwest Frontier, Afghanistan, Iranian Makran, and Muscat was facilitated through the intersection of their own trade network, constructed through the settlement of Afghans in Iranian Makran, with those of various ethnic groups, including Baluchs, Persians, Arabs, people from South Asia, and even French merchants active in the region. My analysis presents concrete examples of Afghan cooperation with other groups, not only in various trade processes such as seafaring, transactions, and transport, but also in their evasion of British efforts to suppress arms trading by the locals. The Afghan arms trade was the product of the character of the Gulf of Oman region as a multi-ethnic arena.

The cessation of the Afghan trade was brought about by British efforts to sever various essential connections which the traders maintained with other groups. Although the fate of the Afghan arms trade might suggest "the beginning of the end" of the Gulf of Oman region as a multi-ethnic arena of trade as the modern age began, it has continued to function as such even today.

Notes

1) For the purposes of this paper the "Gulf of Oman region" includes points geographically actually outside the Gulf, such as Bandar-i Abbas in the Persian Gulf.
2) The following two articles deal with this Afghan arms trade, albeit from the viewpoint of British imperial policy in the region, with little attention to the nature of the Afghans as traders (Burrell 1986; Moreman 1994). The works of Chew and Crews contain passing references to the Afghan arms trade (Chew 2012; Crews 2014).

3) On their activities in the pre-modern era, Dale and Gommans have produced representative works (Dale 1994; Gommans 1995).
4) Hanifi mentions the Afghans' trade between India and Afghanistan, mainly in dried fruits, and illustrates the effect of the establishment of the "national economy" of Afghanistan on their activities (Hanifi 2011). Lally's work deals with northern India, especially the Punjab, as part of the trading world of Central Eurasia, and examine the Afghan traders' activities connecting it with Central Asia (Lally 2021).
5) An outline of the Persian Gulf arms trade of this era is given in: Busch 1967: 270–303; Chew 2012: 98–159.
6) Moreman 1994: 204–206.
7) IOR/L/PS/20/FO39/1, no. 73, inclo. 51 [Anon. "Memorandum respecting the trade in arms in the Persian Gulf," 28 December 1897].
8) IOR/L/PS/20/FO42/2, no. 2, inclo. 3, 3 [Government of India to Viscount Morley, 30 June 1908].
9) IOR/L/PS/20/FO39/1, no. 73, inclo. 51 [Anon. "Memorandum respecting the trade in arms in the Persian Gulf," 28 December 1897].
10) IOR/L/PS/20/FO41/4, no. 68, inclo. 2, 100 [Grey to Political Resident, Persian Gulf, 12 March 1907].
11) IOR/L/PS/20/FO40/3, no. 18, inclo. 9, 25 [Yates to Government of India, 5 January 1902].
12) IOR/L/PS/10/101, no. 1696, 17 [McConaghey, "Appendix D," undated (ca. August 1906)]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO41/4, no. 141, inclo. 2, 156 [Assistant Superintendent, Jask Subdivision to Director, Persian Gulf Section, Karachi, 9 February 1907]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO43/3, no. 86, inclo. 17, 115 [Political Agent, Kalat, to First Assistant to Agent to Governor-General in Baluchistan, 17 August 1909].
13) Khair Muḥammand's storage of arms is mentioned in IOR/L/PS/20/FO42/2, no. 54, inclo. 1, 111–112 [Litchfield to Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, 10 June 1908]. I will later take up the example of his contact with Muscat merchants.
14) For a modern history of Iranian Makran, see Spooner 1988: 598–632.
15) IOR/L/PS/20/289, 43 [Anon. "Report of Secret Agents "E"," undated (ca. 1909)]; IOR/L/PS/20/289, 62 [Anon. "Report of Secret Agent "B" and "D"," undated (ca. 1909)]. Both the Baṭinah Coast and Ṣur were under the rule of the Sultan of Muscat, and transport of arms to them was therefore protected from British restrictive activities.
16) IOR/L/PS/20/289, 7–8 [Anon. "Report of Secret Agents "A" and "B"," undated (ca. 1909)].
17) IOR/L/PS/20/FO41/1, no. 9, inclo. 16, 13 [Gell to Government of India, 16 June 1902].
18) IOR/L/PS/20/FO43/2, no. 112, inclo. 1, 135 [Hunt to Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, 10 November 1909].
19) IOR/L/PS/20/FO43/3, no. 116, inclo. 2, 180 [Assistant Superintendent, Jask Subdivision to Political Resident, Bushire, 1 January 1910].
20) IOR/L/PS/20/FO/44/1, no. 29, inclo. 29 [Cox to Government of India, 30 December 1910].
21) IOR/L/PS/20/FO43/1, no. 45, inclo. 1, 31 [McConaghey to Cox, 21 September 1909].
22) IOR/L/PS/20/FO42/2, no. 173, inclo. 3, 206 [New to Mr. H. Whitby Smith, 1 June 1908].
23) IOR/L/PS/20/FO41/4, no. 141, inclo. 10, 161 [Ogilvie to Ducat, 8 February 1907]; IOR/L/PS/20/289, 8 [Anon. "Report of Secret Agents "A" and "B"," undated (ca. 1909)].

24) IOR/L/PS/20/FO41/4, no. 33, inclo. 2, 39–40 [Mudir of Persian Customs, Chahbar to Director-General of Customs, Bushire, 1 December 1906].
25) IOR/L/PS/20/FO41/1, no. 9, inclo. 24, 24 [Boxer to Kemball, 27 May 1902].
26) IOR/L/PS/10/101, no. 1696, 17 [McConaghey, "Appendix D," undated (ca. August 1906)]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO43/3, no. 75, inclo. 7, 101 [McMahon to Foreign Secretary, Calcutta, 24 January 1910].
27) IOR/L/PS/20/FO43/3, no. 86, inclo. 18, 116 [Khalifa Khair Muhammad Khan to Officer in Political Charge of Mekran Coast, undated (ca. November 1908)].
28) The traders mentioned as "followers of the Khalifa" were from the Achakzai clan, based in southern Afghanistan and the Northwest Frontier. IOR/L/PS/11/3, P280 [Crauford, "Account of negotiations between Ali Khan and the Afghans," 15 December 1911].
29) IOR/L/PS/10/101, no. 1696, 10 [McConaghey to Political Agent, Kalat, 15 June 1906].
30) IOR/L/PS/20/FO41/4, 182 [Grey to Cox, 27 May 1907]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO42/1, no. 93, inclo. 1, 108 [Cox to Government of India, 12 January 1908].
31) IOR/L/PS/20/FO/41/1, no. 9, inclo. 4, 7 [Bowring to Merk, 17 February 1902]; IOR/L/PS20/FO/41/1, no. 9, inclo. 16, 13 [Gell to Government of Bombay, 16 June 1902].
32) IOR/L/PS/20/FO/40/1, no. 2, inclo. 2, 4–5 [Cox to Meade, 14 November 1899]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO/40/2, no. 88, inclo. 2, 78 [Chenevix-Trench, "Report of the recent importation of Martini-Henry rifles into Persia by one Ghulam Khan, a British subject," 26 August 1901].
33) IOR/L/PS/20/FO39/2, no. 24, inclo. 27 [Rook, "Statement of no. 577 Constable, 3rd grade, Juma Khan Abas Khan," 6 October 1898]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO39/2, no. 46, inclo. 41 [Rook, "Copy of statement of Head Constable, 3rd grade, Ghazi Khan Inayatullah Khan," 22 October 1898]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO39/2, no. 50, inclo. 43–44 [Rook, "Discrepancy between the statements of Constable Juma Khan and Head Constable Ghazi Khan of Kurrachee Police," 9 November 1898].
34) IOR/L/PS/20/FO39/2, no. 80, inclo. 5, 110 [Rashid-ud-Din to First Assistant Resident, Bushire, 23 December 1898].
35) IOR/L/PS/20/FO39/2, no. 151, inclo. 2, 205 [Kennedy to Cox, 16 August 1899].
36) Markovits 2008: 66.
37) IOR/L/PS/20/FO43/2, no. 51, inclo. 78 [Omar "List of the traders in arms and ammunition established at Muscat," undated (ca. October 1909)].
38) As to him and his commercial activities, see, Allen 2019: 269–284.
39) IOR/L/PS/20/FO39/1, no. 22, inclo. 10, 26 [Sadler to Wilson, 25 February 1896]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO41/1, no. 9, inclo. 16, 14 [Gell to Government of Bombay, 16 June 1902]; FO60/716 [Assistant Superintendent, Jask Subdivision to Director, Persian Gulf Section, Karachi, 14 February 1905].
40) IOR/L/PS/20/289, 15–16 [Anon. "Report of Secret Agents "A" and "B"," undated (ca. 1909)].
41) IOR/L/PS/20/289, 17 [Anon. "Report of Secret Agents "A" and "B"," undated (ca. 1909)]; IOR/L/PS/20/289, 43 [Anon. "Report of Secret Agents "E"," undated (ca. 1909)]; IOR/L/PS/20/289, 62 [Anon. "Report of Secret Agent "B" and "D"," undated (ca. 1909)].
42) Lorimer (ed.) 1915: 2566.
43) IOR/L/PS/20C237, 23 [Anon. "Persian Gulf Gazetteer, part 1: Historical and political materials: Precis of arms trade in the Persian Gulf," ca. 1904].

44) IOR/L/PS/20/FO41/4, no. 203, inclo. 11, 248 [Grey to Laronce, 25 August 1907].
45) IOR/L/PS/20/FO/44/1, no. 72, inclo. 2, 73 [Commander-in-Chief, Bombay to Admiralty, 5 February 1911].
46) IOR/L/PS/20/FO41/4, no. 203, inclo. 11, 248 [Grey to Laronce, 25 August 1907].
47) Landen 1967: 152–153, 391.
48) IOR/L/PS/20C237, 23 [Anon. "Persian Gulf Gazetteer, part 1: Historical and political materials: Precis of arms trade in the Persian Gulf," undated (ca. 1904)].
49) IOR/L/PS/20/FO41/4, no. 141, inclo. 17, 172 [James to Hickley, 19 March 1907].
50) IOR/L/PS/20/FO42/1, no. 12, inclo. 2, 12 [Grey to Cox, 18 November 1907]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO42/1, no. 12, inclo. 4, 13 [Grey to Laronce, 14 November 1907]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO42/1, no. 12, inclo. 5, 13 [Laronce to Major Grey, 15 November 1907].
51) IOR/L/PS/20/FO42/1, no. 25, 40 [Litchfield to Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, 26 May 1907]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO42/1, no. 36, inclo. 1, 50 [Hose to Senior Naval Officer, Persian Gulf, 23 December 1907]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO42/1, inclo. 2, 51 [Grey to Hose, 13 December 1907].
52) IOR/L/PS/20/FO42/1, no. 256, inclo. 4, 351B [Senior Naval Officer, Persian Gulf Division to Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, 25 January 1908]. IOR/L/PS/20/FO43/3, no. 86, inclo. 6, 111 [Government of Bombay to Government of India, 25 January 1909].
53) Burrell 1986: 19–22.
54) IOR/L/PS/20/FO44/1, no. 12, inclo. 2, 13 [Naval Commander-in-Chief, East Indies to Government of India, 11 December 1910]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO44/3, no. 29, inclo. 3, 38 [Assistant Superintendent, Jask Sub-Division, to Lieutenant-Colonel Cox, 1 January 1912].
55) Burrell 1986: 19–22.
56) IOR/L/PS/20/FO44/1, no. 133, inclo. 120 [Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, to Admiralty, 22 April 1911].
57) IOR/L/PS/20/FO43/3, no. 153, 237 [Anon. "Memorandum of information for Persia and Persian Gulf for March 1910 (extract)," 2 May 1910]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO44/1, no. 139, inclo. 4, 125 [Anon. "Form of Agreement between Sardar Seyyid Khan of Geh, Sardar Islam Khan of Bint, and Captain Crauford, on Behalf of the Government of India," undated (ca. March 1911)]; IOR/L/PS/20/FO44/1, no. 191, inclo. 7, 184 [Anon. "Draft Agreement with Sardars Seyyid Khan and Islam Khan," undated (ca. May 1911)]. However, there is a report suggesting that Islām Khān was involved in the trade after this event. IOR/L/PS/20/FO44/3, no. 29, inclo. 3, 39 [Assistant Superintendent, Jask Subdivision to Cox, 1 January 1912].
58) IOR/L/PS/20/FO44/3, no. 19, inclo. 2, 31 [Government of India to Cox, 20 January 1912].
59) Busch 1967: 292–302.
60) A report dated July 1912 includes the passage, "the arms trade through Makran has been practically killed" (IOR/L/PS/11/29, no. 3313 [Gumbley to Political Resident, Bushire, 10 July 1912]). The arms trade in the following years experienced occasional fluctuations. IOR/L/PS/11/81, no. 3046 [Pinsent to Director, Persian Gulf Telegraphs, Karachi, 1 July 1914].

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Chapter 6 Chettiars and the Churning of Identities in the Colonial Indian Ocean Diaspora

Crispin Bates
The University of Edinburgh
Marina Carter
The University of Edinburgh

Introduction

South Indian Chettiars are generally viewed in popular and academic literature as high-status merchants and traders. However, when a French trader Louis Judde arranged a shipment of slaves from the French Indian settlement of Pondicherry to the Isle of France [now Mauritius], through an intermediary Paramanandan, four men and one woman "of the chetty caste" were among those rounded up and confined in a warehouse in June 1743. An acquaintance of Paramanandan reported the matter to Irusappa Muttu Chetti and Kudaikkara Rangappan who "went, with four other Chettis, to the place where the slaves were confined, and on the plea of inspecting the horses which were there for sale, entered the building". One of the enslaved men claimed that "he was inveigled into the building, on promise of being employed as a cooly to carry a bag, and that when he entered his head was shaved, and fetters were placed on his legs". Another stated that he "was offered betel, lightly smeared with lime, to chew, and that when he partook of it he was seized with giddiness, and was led away". Further enquiries revealed that several shipments of individuals trafficked in this way had already gone overseas, probably to the French Mascarene islands. The group reported the matter to the Governor, who secured the arrest of Paramanandan, the release of the confined chettys and the dismissal of a French official who had been implicated in the matter.[1)]

Louis Judde's trafficking of humans out of Pondicherry in the early 18th century disrupts commonplace understandings of the social status of slaves and migrant workers.[2)] Conventional studies of the colonial Indian diaspora have differentiated slaves and indentured labourers from passengers and traders on the basis of degrees of agency in their migration, freedom at the place of work and the resources available to them. Passenger Indians are distinguished by their ability to pay for their own sea voyage, while "traders" are considered of higher status and rarely occupy the same historiographical space as "coolies". In practice they may well have travelled on the same ships and to have shifted between categories in the course of their careers in diaspora. Historians are beginning to chip away at these traditional distinctions: Uma Dhupelia-

Mesthrie has pointed out that passenger Indians were also workers and has critiqued the use of "divisive" language. Goolam Vahed has similarly discussed how "Gujarati"—a term often used synonymously with traders and passengers in the diaspora literature—does not in principle "correspond to a homogeneous merchant community". These researchers provide examples to demonstrate religious, social and cultural differences within the category of "passenger" and point out that impoverished Gujaratis, migrating for work as a result of economic hardship at home, may be said to have had more in common with the trajectories of indenture than with merchant migration.[3] Highlighting the heterogenous identity of Indian diasporas necessarily entails re-investigating the appraisal of trader communities in diaspora, whose moneylending activities have generated negative stereotyping but who also often played important roles in facilitating cultural identity and political and economic consolidation of the larger subaltern communities.

I. Contextualisations

The group presently defined as Chettiars originate from coastal South India and may be considered analogous to a "merchant caste".[4] The word itself is associated with the Tamil terms "cettu" and "etti"—historically linked with traders.[5] Like other South Asian mercantile communities Chettiar interactions with Europeans span a broad range of activities and situations. Indian Ocean merchants were adaptive and flexible. At times bullied by pirates and obliged to pay for protection, they forced concessions, forged alliances and frequently bested their erstwhile adversaries, founding dynasties of trusted intermediaries and acceding to positions of great wealth and influence.[6] Chettiar merchants adapted their pre-colonial circuits to create new cross-cultural transactions with Dutch, French and British powers—supplying textiles, banking and other goods and services and establishing themselves in Calcutta, Ceylon, Burma, the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements [Penang, Malacca and Singapore], Siam [Thailand] and later Mauritius and South Africa.[7]

The specificities of South Asian Muslim and Hindu merchant communities are largely absent from the early historical colonial archive; we learn only of the presence across islands and littorals of merchants given unhelpfully generic labels such as Banians, Malabars, Lascars and Moors. Later we may read of "Chettys" in a range of spellings. It is often unclear what this nomenclature signifies. Navigating these uncertainties we can nevertheless apprehend that we are likely to encounter individuals belonging to mercantile "castes" in a wide range of contexts. For example the Chettiar Nicolaas Jurgen Ondaatje was employed as an interpreter and book-keeper in Colombo, Ceylon. His close association with a Dutch employer convicted of an unspecified crime led to his own downfall, when he was exiled as a convict to the Cape of Good Hope in 1727. However, in the Cape, while serving his sentence, he became a slave-owner and engaged in small scale trade transactions with family and acquaintances in Ceylon.[8]

The 1743 case with which we began revealed that it was not unheard of for individuals from a range of castes to be trafficked into slavery and that work-seekers

were more easily targeted. Early 19th century slave registration records compiled in Mauritius reveal the presence of individuals whose surnames may indicate a "chetty" caste status: Lindor Chetty, Brutus Chety, Alexis Pounapachetty amongst others.[9] In addition many individuals, including "chettys", were able to migrate overseas from India to Mauritius as skilled and unskilled workers in the 18th century without being enslaved, and census data indicate that some attained positions of considerable wealth and status.[10]

In 1783 sixteen engagements were drawn up between Laurent Lacoste and a group of workers from Cuddalore, offering free passages, money wages and food rations in exchange for work in the manufacture of cotton at the Isle of France [present day Mauritius]. In this case, the venture did not succeed and one of the contractees, Routrouchety Sadavendannay, headed a legal campaign for redress. The workers contended that the failure of Lacoste to uphold his offer of work and his subsequent inaction had reduced them to a condition of mendicity on the island, whilst unable to contract any other engagements. Amongst the claimants were three other "Chettis".[11] Conversely, and while it is not always possible to ascertain the origins and mode of migration of early colonial settlers, we can infer from property and slave ownership records, that some individuals of the "chetty" caste thrived, becoming wealthy slave owners and integrating into the French creole society. Boudagan Ramachetty and Sinnatamby Marimoutou Chety appear in civil status records detailing their marriages, in one case to a former slave, and in the other, to a Creole Christian.[12] These cross-cultural interactions demonstrate both that the gulf between trader and slave could be breached and sometimes fused, and that adaptation and identity switching were key factors in successful transplantation into colonial settler populations.

In marginal colonial spaces, such as remote islands, fledgling coastal settlements, or newly conquered territories, mercantile groups could be both extremely vulnerable and find exceptional commercial opportunity. And yet imperial history has tended to "obscure the indigenous ties across the Indian Ocean". As Engseng Ho has pointed out, the histories of Europeans are better known at least in part because "the bosses in Lisbon, London, and Amsterdam wanted to know what their motley crews were up to far away". The East India Company called its employees "writers" for a reason, requiring them to maintain "detailed logs and journals in the heat of the tropics". By contrast, "Gujaratis, Bohras, Banias, Chettiars, Shirazis, and Omanis who settled across the ocean" have left few textual records of their experiences.[13]

When the British conquered the French island which they renamed Mauritius in 1810, they brought with them a number of individuals of Indian origin who would go on to play significant roles in the evolving colonial society. Their experiences tend to be obscured in archives dominated by the familiar demarcations of colonizers and servile workers, but occasionally petitions surface which hint at complex social layers that historians have few opportunities to explore. In 1840, for example, a request for a hawker's license hinted at a rich story of colonial ocean criss-crossings. Anandarayelou Tambouchetty, who described himself as a "native of this colony" explained that his late father, Tamboo Chetty, "was a British subject of India and arrived in this Colony with the invading army, and acted as a distributor of rations to the Indian troops". After the

conquest Tamboo sent for his wife, and two children were born on Mauritius. Later family affairs "called him to Madras, where he unfortunately died, leaving his unhappy widow without any adequate means of support for herself or children". She resolved to return with her children to Mauritius, to reunite with friends and to gain her own livelihood and the son now requested a hawker's licence for his mother on that account. This was accorded and she was given leave to remain for a further year.[14)]

II. Velivahel Annasamy

Literate, commercially-savy Indians were undoubtedly valuable allies for British administrators in a recently-conquered and potentially hostile French-dominated settler colony. Contemporary memoirs testify to strained relations; on the departure of one early Governor, only five non-British individuals were invited to his farewell banquet—one of them was a Chettiar Hindu named Velivahel Annasamy.[15)] We know some details of Annasamy's career because of the testimony he gave before a Commission of Inquiry into the Slave Trade held in Mauritius in 1827. He is recorded as describing himself simply as a "native of Madras" and affirmed that, like Tambouchetty, he had arrived in Mauritius in 1810, accompanying Captain Douglas who was appointed Marine Storekeeper after the conquest. He had initially worked as a clerk in the Marine office before taking up employ at the Treasury. His last administrative post had been at the audit office in 1821. A year later he purchased two plantations, comprising several hundred acres of land, 285 slaves, a steam-driven sugar mill, 55 head of cattle and a number of carts. The purchase price was $178,850, and Annasamy secured the property with a down payment of $20,000, which he financed "from my private fortune, and from the revenue of a person of my own religion who is privately associated with me". That associate was Rama Tiroumoudy Chettiar; together the men would play an extraordinary role in this small island as it developed from a port economy to become Britain's premier sugar colony in the tumultuous years of the transition from slavery to indenture.[16)]

Due to the nature of the 1827 inquiry, Annasamy was questioned closely about slave transactions and labour management on his estates. He testified that he managed the properties personally "with the assistance of European and Creole overseers", who were therefore his employees and subordinates. He was interrogated as to his own experience of agriculture, replying that he had formerly been "employed under my uncle in collecting the land revenue" at Sumalakota [Andhra Pradesh, India]. He gave evidence about the working hours and personal lives of his slaves, "some of the women live constantly with one slave but in general they change. I have not interfered but have endeavoured to keep them united to the men with whom they live". Annasamy was asked about his views on comparative labour conditions in Mauritius and India, replying: "it is worse here ... because in India the labourers are paid for their labour, even those that are attached to the land ... they also plough in India and here they work with the hand". To the question whether he had considered employing Indians on his estate in Mauritius, he candidly replied, "I thought of it at one time but I altered my intention ... as it would have been difficult to keep them in order from the necessity of making a distinction

between them and the slaves". Nevertheless he opined that if well treated Indians could be employed on an estate where there were no slaves, but pointed out "they would need such treatment and indulgences as they were accustomed to in their own country and I don't think they could expect to meet with them in this colony". Asked about the expenses of slave versus free labour he explained that a free worker from India would cost him less in wages and food, because "if I buy a slave for 400 dollars and as interest here is 12%p.a. the interest on 400 dollars is 4 dollars a month and reckoning the food and clothing at 1.5 dollars a month, the expense on each slave is 5.5 dollars—I could hire a labourer in India at 2 dollars or 4 rupees including his food". To the query as to whether an Indian labourer would do as much work as a Mozambique slave, he responded that Indians "do more work in their own country than the slaves do here".[17)]

Evidently, it was of great interest, at a time when the abolition of slavery was being discussed to gain information as to the prospect of replacing slaves with "free" Indian workers from individuals with experience of that country. In fact, the following year, another merchant from India residing on Mauritius, the Parsi Ratunjee Bickajee was solicited by the British Governor Charles Colville "to import on indenture, for a short number of years, families of coolies, an industrious labouring class of that part of India, as their example of free labour may I think have good effect here, where it is at present hardly known".[18)]

Early experiments with Indian convict and free labour were followed by more large-scale recruitment in the 1830s when Annasamy and Tiroumoudy were among the first employers of workers obtained through the merchant-sponsored recruitment streams.[19)] When reformists in Calcutta objected to these unregulated labour exportation streams, and the trade was suspended in 1839 pending enquiry and the promulgation of appropriate legislation, Annasamy was a signatory to a petition addressed to the Directors of the East India Company appealing for the lifting of the ban on Indian immigration.[20)] Did the role of Tamil Chettiars encourage others to emigrate, as manual workers? A missive from the Colonial Secretary of Mauritius to the Madras Government in July 1841 is striking evidence of this. Ostensibly forwarding sixteen letters from labourers employed on the estate of a sugar planter in the southern Savanne district of Mauritius, the names of some of the recipients are worthy of note. They included "Pettiperoumal Chettyar at Pattancoully", "Cadiecrah Veerepouthisan Pillay at Sirengem district of Tronchinopollay", "Lingapillay at Valingeurnan district of Tanjore" and "Veerapattirapillay at Sayeeon, Damangelom district of Sivsingay".[21)] If these were letters to family members, they seem to indicate that members of the traditional "merchant castes" of south India were migrating to work on sugar estates. There is other evidence to support this, as Pillay, Moodely and Chetty nomenclature can be found in the registers of indentured migrants, and it is indicative, firstly that not all members of these "caste communities" were of privileged economic or social status, and some might well have been looking for labouring jobs overseas, but secondly, and more intriguingly suggests that embarking as a wage worker was also seen as a means of achieving economic mobility, especially if an employer could be found to facilitate this.[22)] The migration of skilled free workers and merchants was a long running tradition, pre-dating British

control of the Mascarenes, and short term labour may have been considered a price worth paying to gain a foothold as a free settler in an economically dynamic sector.

The presence of an existing network of Indian traders and skilled craftsmen, together with their active involvement in the migration of workers to Mauritius may have played a key role in the popularity of the island as a destination for labourers, as well as in decisions made to support family settlement of indentured workers on the island, and to initiate a range of measures that facilitated their transplantation. While employing workers from Calcutta and Bombay as well as Madras, clearly a linguistic and cultural affinity with the latter enabled Annasamy to conduct personal interactions for which French and British planters had to rely on intermediaries. Interviewed on 22nd August 1839 on his Bon Espoir estate, the workers described how one group had been directly recruited for his employment in India, while a second group had entered his service after their engagement with a French planter had expired. Several of them had been able to save some money in his service but complained of other "bad masters" in the colony. [23)]

Thanks to the visits of some high profile travellers who left written memoirs, we have a glimpse of how these Chettiar planters and merchants appeared to contemporaries. Jules Dumont D'Urville, a French explorer and naval officer, made an overnight visit to the Bon Espoir estate with Tiroumoudy during a trip to Mauritius and over dinner also made the acquaintance of Mr Annasamy. He took the opportunity to quiz them both about Indian culture and more particularly the "religion of Brama". They endeavoured to explain the metamorphoses of Vishnu and Shiva, positively assured him that there was no law in India obliging widows to throw themselves upon the funeral pyres of their husbands, denounced the exaggerated reports of fanaticism reported by Europeans, but admitted that the unfortunate influence of priests had led to the continuance of some superstitions. The Frenchman left feeling, as he later wrote, that humanity was not after all as degraded as he had feared in "that classical land of servitude"—India—and that progress might yet be able to tear them away from customs that enslaved them.[24)] Progress, however, came at a cost, the sugar business was mercurial and Annasamy, forced to sell his stake in Bon Espoir, soon faded from the colonial record, although his descendants would play an important role and regain control of the estate some time later. Nevertheless, his important presence in the first decades of British Mauritius, serves as a salutary reminder that simplistic pyramidal social constructs, especially on the colonial margins, obscure the complex realities of relationships that straddled and in so doing reduced in significant ways the force of ethnic and community divides.

III. Chettiars as Community Facilitators

Remarkably Annasamy and Tiroumoudy were not the only Chettiar Indian sugar estate owners in colonial Mauritius; the Sinnatambou and Arlanda families controlled the Mauricia and Clemencia estates respectively, further underscoring the importance of the Pondicherian trade links which had been set up much earlier under French rule.[25)] Once established overseas, these traders made strenuous efforts to set in place a chain migration to nurture and extend family-owned business and arrange strategic marriage

alliances. In April 1836, for example Mourgapa Chetty petitioned for residence permits for two of his relatives. He was described as a native of Pondicherry who "receives piece goods from India which he sells for his correspondents on commission" and who had already brought over his relatives with the object "that they should remain here in charge of the Petitioner's business, whilst he is absent on an intended voyage to India". Despite having failed to secure prior permission for their immigration, the colonial authorities acceded to his request and allowed his nephews to remain for one year in the first instance.[26] Senior figures of the Chettiar community, acted as key sponsors for new arrivals and could also intervene to help those in difficulties. Following Rappal Appadoo's conviction for vagrancy, Mr Annasamy of Corderie Street, Port Louis was able to find employment for him, so that he could be freed.[27]

The family ties of Chettiars in Mauritius indicate the range of occupations in which the community were engaged. Mourga Vayapoury Chetty, who arrived in Mauritius on board the *Antoinette* in 1830, had married the grand daughter of Meyepa Moutou, former master mason in the Surveyor General's department, and petitioned to become the legal owner of a British ship.[28] Economic ties were also forged between Chettiars and South Indians who had arrived as workers. Seevajoundachetty Lingachettee, for example, assisted Durmalingum in the acquisition of property in Mauritius, and the numerous examples of such transactions between merchants and ex indentured Indians played an important part in the large-scale transfer of land from the Anglo-French planters over the course of the 19th century in Mauritius.[29]

The mid 1850s and early 1860s were boom years for the sugar industry and as immigration surged so too did the service industries of shipping and grain and other items of consumption for the indentured population. Consequently during this period considerable numbers of Chettiars and other businessmen arrived. The passenger lists in the Mauritius archives provide a revealing overview of arriving free immigrants; ships arriving from Pondicherry and Tranquebar each carry several individuals listed as Chetty or Chettiar.[30] Among the published list of active merchants in 1854, one finds names such as Shobganchetty and Coopoochetty while data on family councils—held to determine inheritance and other affairs relating to minors and widows—provide useful information about kin and caste networks. In November 1851, for example a council was held to ratify the marriage plans of Appassamy Soupa Chettiar with the 20-year-old Sindamany Chelembron Virapa both of whose parents were deceased. An attorney's clerk, Pierre Mochee Pragassa Louis Moutou, was appointed to represent her interests. Other members of the family council were listed as clerks and traders. A second family council assembled to appoint curators for the widows Lutchounouna & Pavade on 11 July 1867 brought together Selverayon Mourga Vaayaboury, a trader, his cousin Mourongappa Souprayachetty, and other cousins named Pierre Michel Moutou, Jean Baptiste Arlanda Moutou and Abraham Paul Meyapa. The assembled group agreed to appoint Maurougappa Souprayachetty as curator of widow D. Lutchounouna and Abraham Paul Meyapa as curator of Widow Pierre Pavade. These gatherings provide useful insights into the familial ties of the Chettiar community and demonstrate their position both in the administration and in the commercial sectors of the island's economy.[31]

Despite the evident importance of kin and marriage ties binding the small community together, the Chettiar traders were careful to build networks linking them to the wider society. Their willingness to integrate took numerous forms. As well as playing an active role in Hindu festivals such as the annual *cavadee* events—to which all communities were invited, they also adapted to the wider Creole society of Mauritius as shown by their contribution to the building of a Protestant chapel in Port Louis where the names of Annasamy, Emile Arlanda, B. Socka Potichetty and Sinnatambou figure on the list of subscribers.[32] Over time, some key Chettiar families, like the Sinnatambous, adopted the Catholic faith while still maintaining links with the Hindu temples they had founded and settled permanently on Mauritius. Many other Chettiars took up new opportunities in South Africa and elsewhere when economic depression adversely affected their prospects in the Mascarene islands. This spatial mobility and cultural cohesiveness may help to account for the lack of a published record of this influential community's historical presence in small outposts like Mauritius despite their evident importance.

IV. Rajaruthnam Mudaliar

In 1867, several years after the death of Annasamy, his nephew, known as Velivahel Rajaruthnam Mudaliar, arrived at Mauritius from Madras ostensibly to claim his share of the estate. Very quickly, he would establish himself as a champion of the Indian workers and instrumental in effecting reform. Mauritian historians have described Rajaruthnam as an "Indian nationalist, and an 'intellectual trailblazer'". In the few years he spent on the island Mudaliar was active in many areas—in intellectual gatherings, at the courts, in the press, at temples and among the people—drafting letters, collecting signatures, and acting on grievances. He corresponded with reformers in London and Fiji, addressed royalty and bombarded the Governor with petitions.[33]

Rajaruthnam was not independently wealthy and in order to make a living he took on various jobs in Mauritius. As well as teaching the Tamil language at the island's premier educational institution—the Royal College—he earned money as a petition writer and as an official translator. He spent around 9 years on the island, and one of the reasons why he was so influential within this relatively short period was because this was a key period of agitation in respect of reforming the indentured labour system. In the year of his arrival the notorious Ordinance 31 of 1867 had been passed; this represented the culmination of a series of juridical impositions rendering indentured and ex-indentured labourers [known as "old immigrants"] subject to pass laws and other restrictions on mobility. With the sugar industry falling into recession and the hundreds of thousands of Indian workers introduced during the boom years now under-employed and struggling on low wages, the late 1860s and early 1870s saw the rise of punitive measures and "vagrant hunts" were organised with scores of individuals found on the public roads and unable to present tickets of leave or employer permissions being rounded up and incarcerated in the "vagrant depot".[34]

The abuses were legion and with the advent of a new Governor in the person of Sir

Arthur Hamilton-Gordon, steps were taken to call for an overhaul of the legislation. The name most associated with the agitation for reform at this time is Adolphe de Plevitz. Described as the "Hero of Mauritius" by the Anti-Slavery Society in Britain, Plevitz was a planter of Prussian origin who had married a Mauritian and settled on the island. Concerned when some ex-indentured workers who were leasing land from him were arrested and repeatedly harassed by the local police, he began taking statements from the time-expired Indians. This work, in which he was assisted by two individuals who remained anonymous at the time, but who are now known to have been Mr J. Yates-Stevens a former railway auditor, and Rajaruthnam, resulted in the famous "Petition of Old Immigrants". The cases laid out in this lengthy document were widely discussed, led to an assault being committed against Plevitz and ultimately to his being hounded out of Mauritius, but more importantly were a key factor in the announcement of a Police Enquiry Commission and subsequently the visit of a Royal Commission in the early 1870s.[35)]

Rajaruthnam immersed himself in the intellectual and political life of Mauritius within a short time of his arrival. He was invited to events at Government House where he met the leading British officials and rubbed shoulders with the French elite when he was invited to become a member of the local "Société d'Emulation Intellectuelle". At the same time, he took steps to create parallel organizations for the Indian community, founding the Indian Intellectual Improvement Society and lecturing his confreres on morals and leadership. Influenced by the nationalist movement in India he took steps to agitate for fair treatment of the community in Mauritius—securing the right for Indians to wear turbans at court and agitating for Indian representation in local government. When the Duke of Edinburgh visited the island he was presented by Rajaruthnam with an address on behalf of the Indian community, and when a new Governor was installed, it was again Rajaruthnam who was chosen to head a delegation demanding equal voting rights. He wrote letters on the issue of electoral representation of Indians in the local press. Classifying the population into three categories of Englishmen, Indians and Creoles, Rajaruthnam argued that the Council of Government should be selected from members representing in equal proportions the three groups. One set of proposals created a furore as he appeared to be arguing that the franchise should be extended beyond the ranks of property-owners and English speakers. This caused a stir in the local press, since Indians were numerically a majority on the island, and an extension of the franchise beyond the educated elite would have given them unprecedented power. Rajaruthnam was now on a collision course with vested interests, and although the new Governor, Arthur Hamilton-Gordon, the crusading Scottish judge John Gorrie, and the appointment of an Orientalist Charles Bruce as Rector secured him a favourable hearing, a position as court translator and a Professorship in Tamil language at the local College, he was soon obliged to quit the latter post, as the number of students willing to attend his class dwindled.[36)]

Meanwhile his advocacy, in particular the exposing of police corruption and the harassment and arrest of both time-expired workers and community leaders, had brought about the setting up of a Police Enquiry Commission, which examined 130 witnesses

including Moodeliar and Sinnatambou, between December 1871 and February 1872. While the enquiry did not produce a unanimous report, the findings were damning and Rajaruthnam's evidence of witnessing violence against Indians in the Immigration Office was cited as one of many indictments of an institution that had for some time been failing in its duty to act in defence of labour immigrants.[37)]

In April 1872, a few weeks after the Police Enquiry had completed its interviews, the Royal Commissioners [William Frère, Victor Williamson and a secretary] arrived at Mauritius. The views of the French planter class were neatly summed up in a scurrilous account published some years later which describes the trio as living extravagantly at the expense of the Mauritian taxpayers, making use of O'Brien the Chief of Police as a procuror of young women, organising boozy picnics, and ordering in so much champagne that their servants were seen regaling guests in their own huts with it, while the butler reportedly was able to buy himself a plot of land by virtue of collecting the deposits from returning all the empty bottles.[38)] Once again Rajaruthnam was not slow to make his views known and is cited in the published report of the Royal Commissioners in several places. In a section describing "battiaras"—defined as a persons who "hang about the public offices and seek to introduce themselves between the immigrant and Officers … on the pretence of rendering the immigrant some imaginary service" in the interest of "fleecing" them, the Commissioners noted:

> Our attention was forcibly drawn to the evil of such persons, in a letter addressed to us not long before our departure from Mauritius, by Rajaruthnum Moodeliar, one of the leading members of the Hindoo community in the Island, in which he directed our notice to certain letters which had in times past been written by him, and published in the "Commercial Gazette" upon this subject; and blaming both the Magistrates for not setting their faces against the practices of these men, and the Government for not adopting restrictive measures to check their insolence. (BPP 1875, XXXIV [Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the condition of Indians in Mauritius], paras 1209, 3424–3426.)

They did not, however, agree with all of his conclusions, citing occasions when action had been taken by the courts against the activity of "battiaras". Furthermore, alluding to Rajaruthnam's statement that he had seen a rattan used against an Indian in the Immigration Office in 1870, they were not impressed at his failure to intervene: "as he thought it was done to preserve order, he made no further enquiry and took no notice of the circumstance, which, we think, is very much to be regretted, considering that he is a leading man among the Indians in the colony".[39)]

The reservations increasingly being expressed about Rajaruthnam were not surprising in a small community where those who upset the existing order could soon find their private lives combed over and misdemeanours exposed. As his official protectors—Governor Gordon and Judge Gorrie—themselves made preparations to leave Mauritius for posts elsewhere, so too were the days of whistleblowers like Plevitz and Mudaliar numbered. After his ejection from the post of Professor at the Royal College,

Rajaruthnam was increasingly dependent on his work as translator and petition writer. In his letter writing he continued to be an indefatigable defender of Indian's rights. On 15th July 1873, for example, he was seeking to help Chellen who was working as a dhoby to gain his "old immigrant" ticket back from a former employer. But doubts were surfacing as to his charges and methods. When a group of Indians petitioned for redress after repeatedly being fined for "trespass" when trying to access the plots of land where they cultivated vegetables, it was discovered that they had earlier paid Mr Rajaruthnam 25 rupees for a letter he had written on their behalf. At this time five rupees was the monthly wage of an indentured labourer—hence a considerable sum of money. More concerning was a letter written by Adolphe de Plevitz himself to the Protector of Immigrants in that year. He was petitioning on behalf of a man named Appavoo who had reportedly been ruined having been impersonated before a notary. The fraudulent act was ascribed to a Mr Rajaruthnam, described as "a translator of Indian Languages of Church Street Port Louis".[40)]

Whilst there was no evidence that a charge of this nature was ever successfully brought against Rajaruthnam, and he continued his work as a valued intermediary, his efforts to defend his position as an "official translator" and to restrict the involvement of unregulated intermediaries undoubtedly made him unpopular. He petitioned Gordon's successor as Governor, Major General Sir A. P. Phayre, to call "your Excellency's attention to the fact that inaccurate, incomplete, and insufficiently stamped translations of documents written in Indian languages, made by unauthorised translators, were permitted by the Magistrates to be affirmed before them". Rajaruthnam's efforts led to several magistrates refusing to allow Arékion, Kittery and Abraham to undertake such work, but finding that Mr Esnouf, the master of the Supreme Court, had been instructed by the Acting Chief Judge that he should not refuse to allow translations to be affirmed before him, Rajaruthnam wrote again to the Governor requesting him "to order that no translations be allowed by Law Officers to be affirmed before them, unless the translators have been officially appointed by Government", describing the "existing vicious state of things" as compromising "the interests of suitors before the Courts, and by which the ends of justice are frequently defeated".[41)] Was his need to earn a living perhaps leading Rajaruthnam to unfairly seek a monopoly over the lucrative translation work, or was he seeking to protect labourers against incompetent work and perhaps against intermediaries who had been bribed by employers? Unravelling the intricacies of the charges for and against Rajaruthnam is a difficult task but it was certainly the case that forces were being brought to bear against him from various quarters.

The developing hostility towards Rajaruthnam even from within his community was revealed in a letter addressed to the Governor by four individuals including a man named Samy Chetty in September 1875. The writers claimed that Rajaruthnam dressed like a European in order to pass himself off as a judge and "protector" of immigrants, pretending to be able to assist Indians to break their engagements and return to India. They alleged that Rajaruthnam had stolen money and jewels from prominent Indian traders, had failed to pay his rent, and abused his position as translator by contacting opposing parties in legal matters in order to benefit financially. He continued to wear the

turban when convenient and had even obtained the title of "stanigar" [founder/president] of the Minatchi temple at Riviere des Lataniers enabling him to judge disputes and collect fines. The petitioners ended their letter with the ironic remark that Indians in Mauritius no longer needed the police, or magistrates, and could dispense with judges, notaries and solicitors because Rajaruthnam had set himself up as taking on all of those roles on their behalf. In response the Protector of Immigrants was asked whether he "knows anything of the circumstances herein stated" to which he reported that he was ignorant of all the allegations, other than having learned of the fees charged by Rajaruthnam to write petitions. The Procureur General, M. Colin—the senior legal officer in the colony—was also asked for an opinion and reported that while the allegations might be true, "they are general and vague. If the petitioners can really set forth a case in which money was extorted by fraudulent manouvres, I shall direct the police to inquire".[42)]

Rajaruthnam was very successful in straddling two worlds: he was able to ingratiate himself with the European colonial administration and the planter class, while retaining a position of spiritual and moral authority in the cultural sphere of the Hindu south Indians. In so doing it was inevitable that he would encounter opposition and leave himself open to attack. Whatever the veracity of the accusations against him—and the whispers that he was arrested over an attempted duel with Kittery—it is clear that he retained some authority within the Tamil community as he continued to act as spokesperson in discussions about the regulations for the celebration of the *thaipusam cavadee*, and acted in concert with others to support De Plevitz. He helped to raise funds from fellow Tamils in Mauritius for the relocation of his fellow whistleblower to Fiji and even wrote to the Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society (APS) in Britain for financial support, describing de Plevitz as "unable to gain a livelihood … persecuted, vilified and looked on with contumely, and this because he has sacrificed his own interest in behalf of the poor and oppressed".[43)] Presumably unbeknownst to him, however, in his own correspondence with the APS, de Plevitz had cautioned them against viewing Rajaruthnam as his likely successor writing, "he does not possess the qualifications required. I know no one in Mauritius who has the necessary energy of character, the will and experience, nor anyone who is independent enough to act with disinterestedness in behalf of the poorer classes".[44)]

Rajaruthnam left Mauritius soon after Plevitz but continued to correspond with him from Madras, seeking to raise his spirits and assisting him with a plan to import rice, oils, and curry spices for the use of Indians who had just been given the go-ahead to migrate to Fiji by their old acquaintance and the new Governor there—Sir Arthur Hamilton-Gordon. His time on the island had been brief but dramatic, and his position was undoubtedly complex. Justifiably lauded as "among the first persons to fight for human rights in the colony"[45)] his work as a translator and petition writer, and the fees he charged, especially after his dismissal from the Professorship in 1872, caused some discontent. Intermediaries could be a welcome thorn in the side of biased judges and magistrates but there were perhaps justified suspicions that Rajaruthnam was himself perilously close to being labelled among the "batiaras" he had so often and so

vociferously denounced.

V. Re-imagining the Intermediary: Tamil Traders and Subaltern Diasporas

The Chettiars who were active in Mauritius through its conquest from France and development into Britain's premier sugar economy, were present at a very dynamic and troubled period of the island's history. Great profits were made as the transformation of a port entrepot into a profitable agricultural possession got underway, especially at a time when the abolition of slavery and transition to indentured labour had brought rival sugar producers in the Caribbean to their knees. The plantation economy and the complex situation of a colony which juggled French and British legal codes nevertheless made investments there very risky, as many found to their cost, including some Chettiars, like Annasamy. As owners and employers of Indian slaves and indentured labourers, the Chettiars were more likely than Europeans to retain and accurately report the birth names of their workers, and to ensure the survival of cultural traditions—building temples on estates and financing religious festivals. They were not of course immune from complaints and allegations of mistreatment and non-payment of wages on the part of their employees. But they were aware that they had to work hard to be treated on an equal footing with their European counterparts.

The Chettiars' role as community facilitators across the Indian Ocean has not received the attention it deserves from historians, both in terms of fostering cultural capital and in securing socio-economic mobility, although Sunil Amrith has acknowledged that "Chettiar merchants established many of the early temples, plowing the profits from their already extensive Asian trading networks into structures commemorating their favored deities". He has also noted that while both western commentators and some Tamil elites scorned the popular *thaipusam cavadee* festivals, it was Chettiar merchants who "stood against the reformists and intensified their sponsorship of these popular festivals' albeit in their own quest for influence and leadership".[46] The same was certainly true in Mauritius. Vingtassa Sinnatambou Chettiar organised very well attended *cavadee* festivals that attracted a wide cross section of Mauritian society.[47] He has been described as a "champion of the Indian cause". During one festival, it was reported that when a large number of Indians were arrested on the precincts of his temple he sent a letter of protest to Governor Hamilton-Gordon as a result of which it was decided that Indian indentured labourers were no longer to be arrested in places of worship".[48] The Chettiars in Mauritius as elsewhere played a significant role in raising funds, for example through the organisation of lotteries. These were regulated by government. Thus in 1876 Salabay Chetty, a trader of Port Louis and "President of the Hindoo Church of Plaine des Roches" applied for a delay in the drawing of the lottery with which he was entrusted to avoid "loss, prejudice, trouble and annoyance" both for himself and "the members of his congregation".[49] Such examples of the mobilisation of capital and labour by migrant Chettiars for the collective benefit of the community suggest the need for nuance in appraisals of their role in developing colonial societies.

Conclusion

The scattered correspondence cited here, offers glimpses of a rich cultural and religious life forged between the mercantile elite and the labouring community: one of the many differences between the Indian Ocean and New World and which have been at times obscured in the quest to generalise about the plantation experience. The ties between them served to facilitate the transition of individuals from labouring to landownership and retail through moneylending and other activities. At the same time, it is important to recognise that not every Chettiar was wealthy. Thus when Tyahsamy Chetty petitioned to evict Veerasamy from his land, it became clear that both men were simply tenant farmers, and that while it was the Chetty who had secured the lease on the small parcel of land, he had subsequently sub-let a portion of his land to the man with whom he had then become involved in a dispute.[50] The vagaries of colonial life, in particular the conditions of displacement which saw Tamils fighting for recognition in a society with no prior knowledge of their traditional structures and communities, created difficulties but also unprecedented opportunities for persons of humble background to achieve a social status which would likely have been unthinkable in India. The presence of mercantile elites and a considerable class of free and skilled entrepreneurs and master craftsmen, undoubtedly facilitated the settlement of ex-indentured labourers, but those who thrived most were the communities best adapted to navigate very different worlds—able to mix on equal terms with European merchants and yet forge strong relationships with the masses, such as through their patronage of popular festivals. This was a role that the Chettiars seemingly made their own in Malaysia, Mauritius and elsewhere, demonstrating at the same time the churning of society and the blending and mixing of identities over time that is characteristic of littoral societies across the Indian Ocean.

Notes

1) Manning 2017: 173–174; Price (ed.) 1904: 227–230.
2) On the confusion of identities in colonial records there are parallels with the work of Megan Vaughan. See Vaughan 2018.
3) Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2009: 129; Vahed 2010: 615–629.
4) The classic anthropological text on South Indian Chettiars is Rudner 1994.
5) Suppiah and Raja 2016: 1–2.
6) Arasaratnam 2016: 159–179; Markovits 2008, especially Chapter 9.
7) Jeyaseela 1998: 128–137; Subramanian 2010: 137–138; Gokul 2016.
8) Tieken 2013: 113–122.
9) UKNA T71 series, vols. 566–571.
10) ANOM G1 476 [Recensement General de l'Isle de France, 1788].
11) ANOM G2 219 [Arrets du Conseil Superieur de l'Isle de France, 13 February 1788].
12) ANOM Etat Civil [EC] [Riviere du Rempart, 1808] and ANOM Etat Civil [EC] [Port Louis, 1780].
13) Bishara 2017: 18; Ho 2006: xxii.

14) MA RA 643 [Petition of Anandarayelou Tambouchetty, Port Louis, 9 December 1840].
15) The archives are mute on the subject of Annasamy's ethnicity but Paul Younger describes him thus in his book Younger 2010: 25; for the banquet story see Pitot 1899: 349–350.
16) MA IB 10 [Copies of Evidence given before the Commission of Inquiry, no 22, V. Anasamy, 16 August 1827]; Allen 1999: 153–154.
17) MA IB 10 [Copies of Evidence given before the Commission of Inquiry, no 22, V. Anasamy, 16 August 1827]. Parts of the evidence were also published in BPP 1832 (791) [Report of the Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, Appendix C "Evidence of Annasamy, A native of Madras, settled in Mauritius," 16 August 1827]. The questioning of Annasamy was directly related to the allegation of a former police chief in Mauritius, Edward Byam, who believed that he was merely a figurehead, concealing the financial interest of Governor Farquhar and his coterie in the estate. This was not proven but several historians have credited the story. Barker 1993: 200.
18) UKNA CO 167/102 [Colville Despatch of 31 December 1828].
19) MA RA 631 [Louis Ithier to Sir L Smith, 29 September 1840] regarding a group of Indians brought to Mauritius in September 1835 and contracted to work for Annasamy and Tiroumoudy; see also MA Z2A/85 [Police Correspondence, Macfarlan to Bushby, July 1835].
20) Ammigan 1989: 6.
21) IOLR Madras Public Consultations 247/63 [Dick to Secy to Govt Madras, 20 July 1841].
22) Poleechetty Gungachetty No.337593 is mentioned, for example in Allen 1999: 163.
23) BPP 1840 (331) [Nicolay to Russell, 13 January 1840]; BPP 1840 (331) [testimony of Annasamy, 22 August 1839].
24) Dumont d'Urville 1834: 506–508.
25) Ammigan 1989: 6.
26) MA RC 25 [Petition of Mourgapa Chetty, 18 April 1836].
27) MA PH 5 [Case of Rappal Appadoo, February 1885].
28) MA RA 765 [Petition of Mourga Vayaboury Chetty and Report of Procureur General, 19 January 1844].
29) This is underscored in the analysis of notarial transactions undertaken by Allen 1999: 155.
30) See for example the *Tenassarim*, September 1851 in MA Z2D 19, and the *Tamatave* and *Georges* in August and October 1858 in MA Z2D 36.
31) MA JL 73 [Family Council, 20 November 1851] and MA JL 73 [Family Council, 11 July 1867].
32) UKNA CO 167/243 [List of contributors to the Protestant Chapel in Port Louis 1841].
33) See, for example Reddi 1986: 34–56.
34) For a fuller account of the context see Carter 1995.
35) Plevitz 1987: 112–116.
36) Reddi 1986: 34–56.
37) MA B1B [Report to Major General Selby Smyth, President Police Commission by J. A. Robertson, Senior District Magistrate]. The report stated "Rajaruthnum tells us he saw in 1870 a peon use a rattan to an Indian and Mr Conier was sitting by [and did not attach any importance to the circumstances] … such a practise should not be allowed to exist for a moment in a Department which has at its head one who is styled the "Protector of

Immigrants".

38) Rauville 1908: 237–241.

39) BPP 1875: XXXIV, "Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the condition of Indians in Mauritius," paras 1209, 3424–3426.

40) MA PA 14 [A de Plevitz to Protector of Immigrants, 9 May 1873]; MA PA 14 [Letter of V Rajaruthnum, of 34 Church Street, Port Louis, 15 July 1873]; MA PA 14 [Petition of Ramalingum and 6 others, April 1873]. See also Rajarathnum's efforts on behalf of the orphan Cundasamy Naiken: MA PA 26 V [Rajaruthnum of 5 Quay Street, Port Louis letter to Protector of Immigrants, 24 November 1875]; MA PA 31 [Rajaruthnum letter of 3 May 1876].

41) MA RA 2274 [Rajaruthnum to Governor Phayre, 25 November 1875]. In response Rajaruthnum was informed that he must apply to the Chief Judge.

42) MA RA 2276 [Samy Chetty, Veerasamy and others to Sir Arthur Purves Phayre, Gouverneur de Maurice, and associated correspondence, September 1875].

43) Plevitz 1987: 113.

44) Plevitz 1987: 120.

45) Ammigan 1989: 10.

46) Amrith 2009: 552–553.

47) Carter 2008: 45–70.

48) Ammigan 1989: 11.

49) MA RA 2334 [Petition of Salabay Chetty to Governor Phayre, 7 April 1876].

50) The authorities declined to intervene. MA RA 2276 [Petition of Tyahsamy Chetty, 26 May 1875].

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Chapter 7 Different Migration Patterns of the Hadrami Sada: From a Comparison of the al-'Aydarus and the al-Habshi Families*

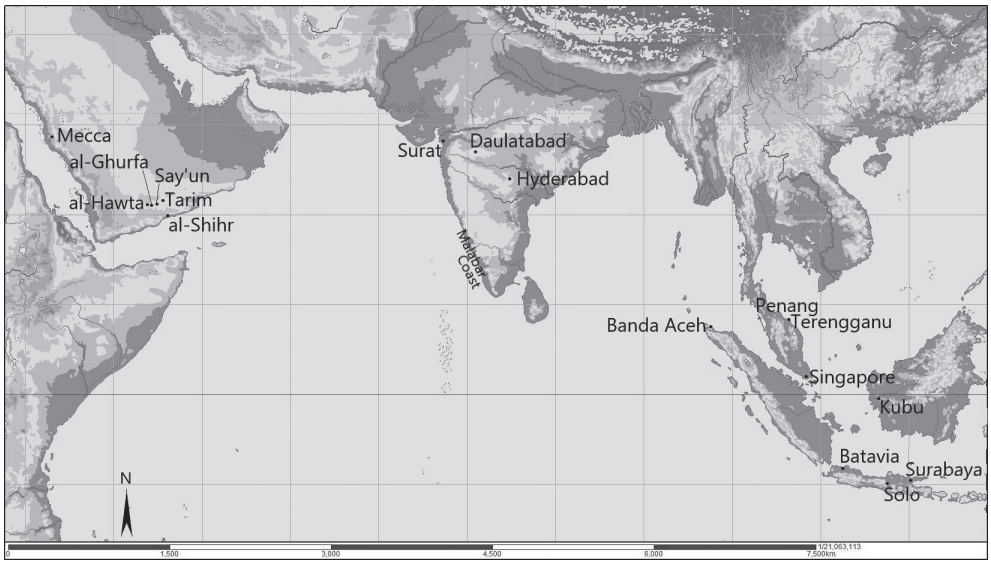
Kazuhiro Arai
Keio University

Introduction

The people of the Hadramawt region (henceforth, Hadramis) in South Arabia, are famous for their migration in the Indian Ocean region, the oldest maritime world in human history,[1] especially East Africa (Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, and Comoro), India (Gujarat, Malabar, and Deccan), and maritime Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and Southern Philippines). It is understood that kinship influenced the migration patterns of Hadramis, and the Hadrami sada, who trace their descent from the Prophet Muhammad, are no exception. Descendants of each family can be found in any of the major regions, but particular families tend to prefer a particular region as their migration destination. How and why did that preference arise? By utilizing biographical compilation produced from the 17th to the 20th centuries and drawing up genealogical charts, the present study attempts to explore the differences in the migration patterns of individual families. The particular objects of this analysis are the al-'Aydarus and the al-Habshi families, two highly renowned kinship groups in both present-day Hadramawt and regions across the Indian Ocean. The two focal points are, first, the times when those families began to expand within Hadramawt and to attain positions of great influence in the 'Alawi Tariqa, which was a Sufi order of the Hadrami sada; and second, their relationship with migration to the Indian Ocean maritime world.

I. History of Hadramawt through Individual Lives

It is difficult to reconstruct the history of Hadrami migration, for in comparison with other major regions in the Middle East, historical sources for Hadramawt are scarce, essentially limited to chronicles such as *Tarikh Shanbal*, *al-'Udda al-Mufida*, *Tarikh al-Shihr*, and a few others. For the history of political events, there is little scope for further analysis, although there is a relatively well-documented collection of biographies.[2] As is the case for other regions of the Islamic world, many biographical works on notables have been compiled, revised, and updated not only in Hadramawt but also other places where Hadrami Sufis and scholars were active. The most famous biographical



Map Major place names covered by this chapter

compilation in Southeast Asia is *Taj al-A'ras* (Marriage Crown), a Manaqib (hagiography) of Salih b. 'Abd Allah al-'Attas (d. 1862) which contains information on many Hadrami scholars in Southeast Asia in the 19th and 20th centuries. In India, *Tarikh Nur al-Safir* written by an India-born Hadrami sayyid, 'Abd al-Qadir b. Shaykh al-'Aydarus (d. 1628/9) lists Hadrami notables in the 10th century A.H. (15th century C.E.).[3] In Hadramawt, *al-Jawhar al-Shaffaf*, *al-Mashra' al-Rawi*, *Ghurar al-Baha'*, *Sharh al-'Ayniyya*, *'Iqd al-Yawaqit*, and *Shams al-Zahira* are just a few examples of biographical compilations or religious texts with sections of biography of Hadrami notables. Indeed, biography occupies the main body of literature on the history of Hadramawt, and this present study too relies on biographical literature, mainly on *al-Mashra' al-Rawi*, *Tarikh al-Shu'ara' al-Hadramiyyin*, and *Shams al-Zahira* (3rd edition). It must be pointed out that despite the apparent abundance of biographical literature, most works focus only on religious figures and those of sada, and to a lesser extent al-Mashayikh[4] clans. Although a religious figure was simultaneously a scholar and a kind of political figure active in the regional economy, we have little if any information on the lives and kinship relationships of peasants, nomads, and townsmen.

Since biographical literature is the main body of the historic "record," virtually all researchers who have worked on the history of Hadramawt have utilized it. The most conspicuous examples of such studies are Ulrike Freitag's *Indian Ocean migrants and state formation in Hadhramaut*[5] and Engseng Ho's *The Graves of Tarim*,[6] while examples of family history studies are Anne Bang's *Sufis and scholars of the sea*[7] (the Bin Sumayt Family), Esther Peskes' *Al-'Aidarus und seine Erben*[8] (the al-'Aydarus family) and my own still-unpublished Ph.D. thesis, "Arabs who Traversed the Indian Ocean"[9] (the al-'Attas family). Those studies reconstruct the history of each family based

among other things on biographies, other kinds of religious texts, contemporary accounts by both Hadramis and foreigners, and colonial documents. Although every study reveals some migration patterns of Hadramis, none fully discusses whether a particular migration pattern is a common aspect of all Hadramis, or characteristic only of certain families.

The purpose of this study is to compare different families and examine whether any particular family has its own particular pattern of migration abroad, and for this purpose I chose the al-'Aydarus and al-Habshi families. There are four reasons for the choice. First, both families belong to the same clan (i.e., sada), and there seems to be no difference between the two in terms of their positions in society, levels of education, economic situation, and firmness of belief. Second, both families migrated outside Hadramawt on a large scale—one can find figures from both families in East Africa, India, and Southeast Asia. Third, the eponyms of both families may be considered contemporary, allowing chronological difference to be offset. Finally, as we shall see, their migration patterns differ in timing and destination.

II. History of the Expansion of the al-'Aydarus Family

The al-'Aydarus family is one of the major Hadrami sada families whose genealogy goes back to the Prophet Muhammad (Löfgren "Aydarūs"; Peskes "al-Aydarūs"). The eponym of the family is derived from one 'Abd Allah b. Abi Bakr (d. 1461) who was known as "al-'Aydarus" and said to have been a famous Sufi and scholar, although the meaning of the word al-'Aydarus is unclear. 'Abd Allah was the author of *al-Kibrit al-Ahmar wa al-Iksir al-Akbar*, the first monograph on Sufism by a Hadrami sayyid.[10] A Manaqib was written for him that has survived in manuscript form (Bā 'Alawī n.d.). 'Abd Allah's prominence was probably not the result of chance, for his father too, Abu Bakr (d. 1418/9, No. 6 in Chart 1) was a famous Sufi who was nicknamed "al-Sakran (intoxicated or drunken)" because his appearance while in the ecstatic state of Sufism caused him to appear intoxicated. 'Abd Allah's grandfather, meanwhile, 'Abd al-Rahman al-Saqqaf (d. 1416, No. 7 in Chart 1) had been an even more famous Sufi and scholar in Hadramawt, whose descendants are known as the al-Saqqaf family, although many other families branched out and became known by different names[11] such as al-'Attas, al-Shaykh Abu Bakr b. Salim, al-Mihdar, Bin Shihab, Bin 'Aqil, and al-'Aydarus.

'Abd Allah al-'Aydarus's tomb is in the Zanbal cemetery in the town of Tarim, the centre of religious activities and learning in Hadramawt. Its cemetery is a place of "pilgrimage" for Hadrami sada and followers of the 'Alawi Tariqa, because it is the burial site of many key figures in the development of the clan and the tariqa such as Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Faqih al-Muqaddam (d. 1255), 'Abd al-Rahman al-Saqqaf (d. 1416), and 'Abd Allah b. 'Alawi al-Haddad (d. 1720). However, despite their importance in the history of Islam or the 'Alawi Tariqa in Hadramawt, no mausoleum was built for any of those key figures, although there are three mausoleums in the Zanbal cemetery, all of which are still well kept. Two of those three are for the members of the al-'Aydarus family, one for the eponym and another, larger one for 'Abd Allah b. Shaykh al-'Aydarus (1610/1), a direct descendant of the eponym.

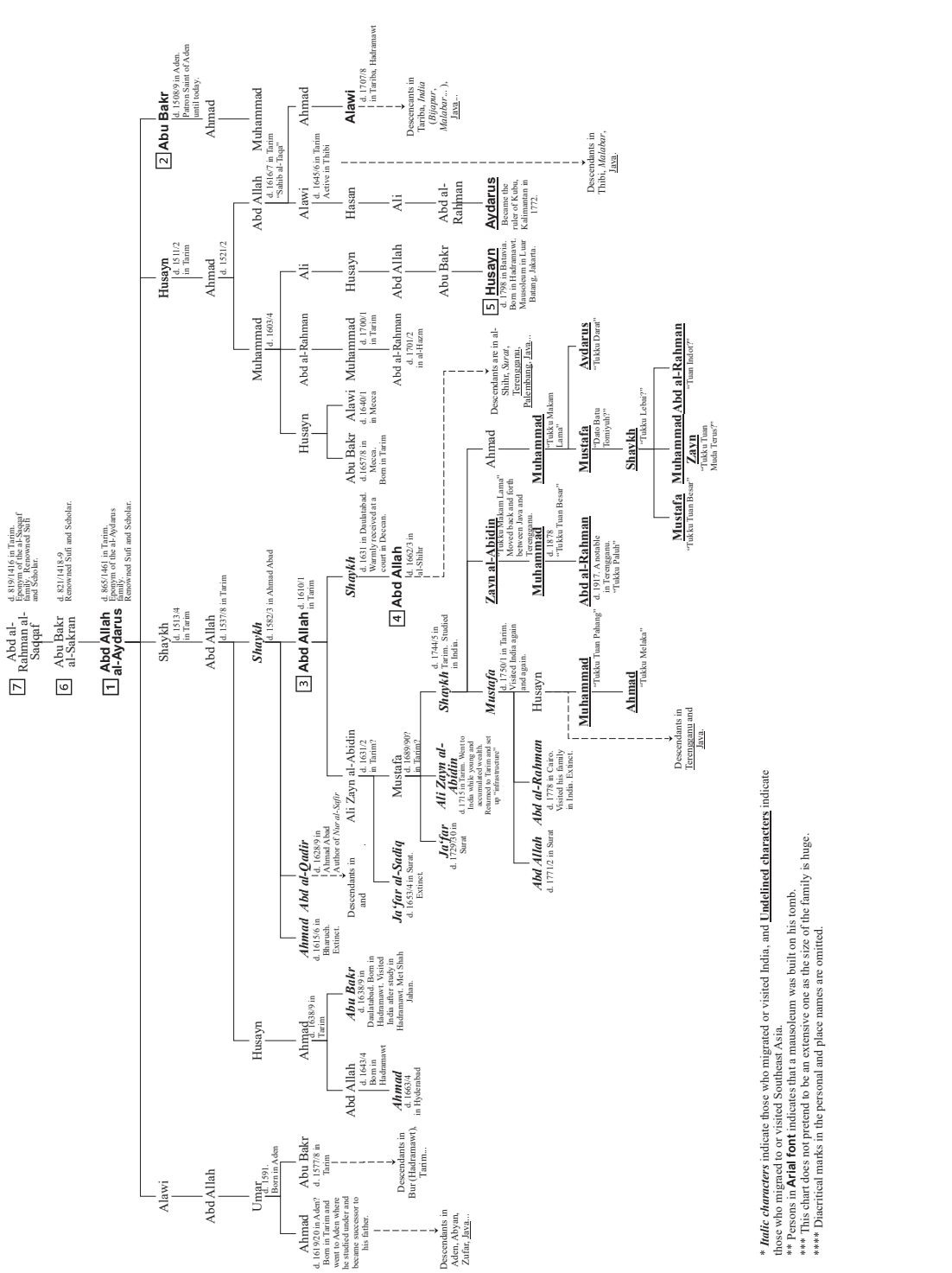


Chart 1 Family tree of the al-'Aydarus
Source: al-Mashhūr 1984; al-Saqqāf 1997; al-Shillī 1982.

* ***Italic characters*** indicate those who migrated or visited India, and **Underlined characters** indicate those who migrated to or visited Southeast Asia.
** Persons in **Arial font** indicates that a mausoleum was built on his tomb.
*** This chart does not pretend to be an extensive one as the size of the family is huge.
**** Diacritical marks in the personal and place names are omitted.

II–1. The Development of the al-‘Aydarus Family in Hadramawt

The al-‘Aydarus quickly developed into one of the most influential families in Tarim. The main genealogical line of the family is famous, namely ‘Abd Allah (eponym, d. 1461) - Shaykh (d. 1513/4) - ‘Abd Allah (1537/8) - Shaykh (1582/3) - ‘Abd Allah (d. 1610/1) - Shaykh (d. 1631) - ‘Abd Allah (d. 1662/3) (see No. 1, 3, and 4 in Chart 1). Indeed, the two mausoleums in Zanbal cemetery mentioned above and another in the port town of al-Shihr are for individuals of that main branch of the family, the same from which many of those who migrated to India and Terengganu, in the Malay Peninsula. In addition to Tarim, members of the al-‘Aydarus family are found in Tariba, Thibi, Bur, near Tarim; and in the old port town of al-Shihr.

II–2. The Expansion of the al-‘Aydarus Family outside Hadramawt: Aden

The al-‘Aydarus family began to expand outside Hadramawt just after the eponym’s first generation. Among four sons left by ‘Abd Allah al-‘Aydarus, the most renowned figure was Abu Bakr (d. 1508/9) who established himself in Aden. He has been recognized as the patron saint of the most important port city in South Arabia, and his tomb is maintained by the al-‘Aydarus family, even after its destruction during the civil war in Yemen in 1994. Another branch of the family, the descendants of ‘Alawi, another son of the eponym, moved to Aden (see the left column of Chart 1).

II–3. Migration to India

The members of the al-‘Aydarus family migrated to most regions around the Indian Ocean, although they are most famous for their migration to the Indian subcontinent, where they were not mere foreign minorities but played an important role in the development of Islam. The al-‘Aydarus family’s migration to and activities in India have been studied extensively by multiple researchers such as Ho, Peskes, and Kuriyama (2004), and though I have little hard information to add, I believe my visualization of their kinship relations and places of activity should be of help in understanding their migration pattern. Chart 1 shows the reconstructed al-‘Aydarus family tree based on three works of genealogy.[12)] The names shown in italics are of individuals who migrated to India; those underlined are of people who went to Southeast Asia. I cannot claim that the chart is exhaustive, but I do believe it grasps the general picture of the family’s migration to the Indian Ocean world.

Most of those who migrated to India came from the main genealogical line of the family, the first migrant being Shaykh b. ‘Abd Allah al-‘Aydarus (d. 1582/3) who died in Ahmad Abad. He left at least three sons in both Hadramawt and India. Ahmad b. Shaykh (d. 1615/6) died in Bharuch without male issue; another son ‘Abd al-Qadir b. Shaykh (d. 1628/9) is considered a successor to his father in India and his descendants are said to be in Surat and Hyderabad. ‘Abd al-Qadir b. Shaykh was also the author of the above-mentioned *Tarikh Nur al-Safir*, a chronicle of the tenth century A.H. that consists of biographies of notables of the period. The last of the three sons, ‘Abd Allah b. Shaykh (d. 1610/1, No. 3 in Chart 1) succeeded his father in Tarim, and from that ‘Abd Allah came other family members who migrated to India. Among them, ‘Ali Zayn al-‘Abidin b.

Mustafa al-‘Aydarus (d. 1715) exerted the greatest influence on Hadramawt, arriving there as a young man and going on to accumulate great wealth, returning to Tarim later in his life to invest in his homeland’s welfare and infrastructure. One can see the influence on Hadramawt of wealthy regions in the Indian Ocean world. However, it is safe to assume that their noble blood and high level of education, whether religious or not, made them notables in their towns, as intermediaries in disputes and as religious leaders. Many of them are said to have been warmly received at courts in various places. Indeed, Abu Bakr b. Ahmad al-‘Aydarus (d. 1638/9 in Daulatabad) even had an audience with the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan.[13] Many too were involved in the popular type of Sufism known as Tariqa ‘Aydarusiyya, a branch of the larger Tariqa ‘Alawiyya. As the migration of the family progressed, India became the place for its members to study Islamic sciences and Sufism, with, for example, Shaykh b. Mustafa al-‘Aydarus (d. 1744/5 in Tarim) said to have studied in India as well as Hadramawt. Even those who stayed in Hadramawt sometimes visited India to see their families. It seems reasonable to suppose then, as previous studies have suggested, that India was an extension of Hadramawt, or Tarim. We must also remember that the al-‘Aydarus family migrated to India during a time of economic prosperity in the region, when the Mughal empire was in its heyday and commerce in the cities and foreign seaborne trade were prospering.

II–4. Migration to Southeast Asia

After migration to India, members of the al-‘Aydarus family began to head to Southeast Asia, where they developed into one of the major families of Hadrami sada descent. According to a census taken probably in 1932 by the ‘Alawi Union (al-Rabita al-‘Alawiyya), an organization of Hadrami sada, the al-‘Aydarus was the second most populous family in Batavia and neighbouring cities (Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi and Karawang) with 344 individuals.[14] This number does not necessarily reflect the situation of the whole of Southeast Asia, as a particular family tended to concentrate in a particular place. However, considering that Batavia was one of the largest cities in Southeast Asia and attracted many Hadramis even from within the region, the figure is certainly plausible. Members of the al-‘Aydarus family were to be found in various places in Southeast Asia. Looking at Batavia, the most visible legacy of the family is the mausoleum of one Husayn b. Abi Bakr al-‘Aydarus (d. 1798) in the Luar Batang district that is now a part of northern Jakarta. Abu Bakr is considered the most famous Arab saint in the capital of Indonesia, and his tomb attracts many visitors, including non-Muslim Chinese. Little is known of the details of Husayn’s life, and he left no issue.

The al-‘Aydarus family developed into an important Arab-Hadrami-Sayyid clan which remains influential today. As for religious matters, rather less is known about the Southeast Asian branch of the family, although a set of prayers popular in Hadramawt known as ratib, composed by the eponym ‘Abd Allah (known as “Ratib al-‘Aydarus”) is read in Southeast Asia. However, other ratibs, by families such as Ratib al-‘Attas and Ratib al-Haddad are more popular in the region. The al-‘Aydarus family as a group is known for their activities in Kubu, West Kalimantan, and Terengganu, an eastern coastal region of the Malay peninsula. ‘Aydarus b. ‘Abd al-Rahman al-‘Aydarus became ruler in

Kubu, in 1772, and headship of the state was assumed by members of the family until it was abolished in 1958. The rulers of Kubu came from the line of Husayn b. ‘Abd Allah al-‘Aydarus (d. 1511/2 in Tarim), another son of the eponym. In Terengganu the members of the family came to be known as the family of religion; a man called Zayn al-‘Abidin b. Shaykh who was known locally as “Tukku Makam Lama” might actually have been the first of them to move to Terengganu. He was the son of Shaykh b. Mustafa (d. 1744/5) who died in Tarim but had studied in India, and was most probably a first-generation migrant from Tarim. He is said to have been accustomed to move back and forth between Java and Terengganu. Descendants of Shaykh b. Mustafa lived in both India and Southeast Asia.[15] In Terengganu, they came to be known under local titles such as “Tukku” and “Dato.” The most famous of the al-‘Aydarus in Terengganu was ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad (d. 1917) or “Tukku Paluh.”[16] In addition to those in Kubu and Terengganu, members of the al-‘Aydarus family settled in various places in Southeast Asia including Java where the Hadrami sada are most numerous.

III. History of the Expansion of the al-Habshi Family

The al-Habshi family is another major family of Hadrami sada. Their line too goes back to the Prophet Muhammad, and they can be found in virtually every region where the Hadramis migrated around the Indian Ocean. Also, *Simt al-Durar*, known as Mawlid al-Habshi, a litany in praise of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad composed by one ‘Ali b. Muhammad al-Habshi (d. 1915) is widely recited, especially in Southeast Asia, in the Prophet’s birth month in the Hijri calendar. The family has produced many religious figures in Hadramawt and abroad, and mausoleums of al-Habshi saints can be found in multiple places in Hadramawt, and in Singapore and Surabaya in Southeast Asia. In addition to religious figures, the family produced modern thinkers, entrepreneurs, and reformers. It can fairly be said that the al-Habshi family is as famous and important as the al-‘Aydarus.

The eponym of the al-Habshi family is one Abu Bakr who died in 1453/4, less than ten years before the death of ‘Abd Allah al-‘Aydarus, in Tarim, meaning that the eponyms of both the al-‘Aydarus and al-Habshi families were contemporaries and lived in the same town. Abu Bakr was known as “al-Habshi” because he stayed in Ethiopia (al-Habasha in Arabic) and did da‘wa[17] there. Little is known of his life in Ethiopia, and the details of his descendants there are not clear, except that his grandson Ahmad left further descendants in Ethiopia (No. 12 in Chart 2). Unlike the eponym of the al-‘Aydarus family, Abu Bakr al-Habshi as far as we know left only one son, ‘Alawi b. Abi Bakr. ‘Alawi however left at least three sons: the above-mentioned Ahmad, Muhammad, and ‘Ali. Descendants of Ahmad are said to have been in Ethiopia, with those of ‘Ali in Medina. Another son, Muhammad b. ‘Alawi b. Abi Bakr al-Habshi probably lived in Hadramawt, for he died in Tarim in 1566/7. Muhammad left two sons, ‘Abd al-Rahman and Ahmad (Chart 2). In sum, the al-Habshi family were not so numerous in Hadramawt until the time of the eponym’s grandson because either they left few sons, or they were outside Hadramawt.

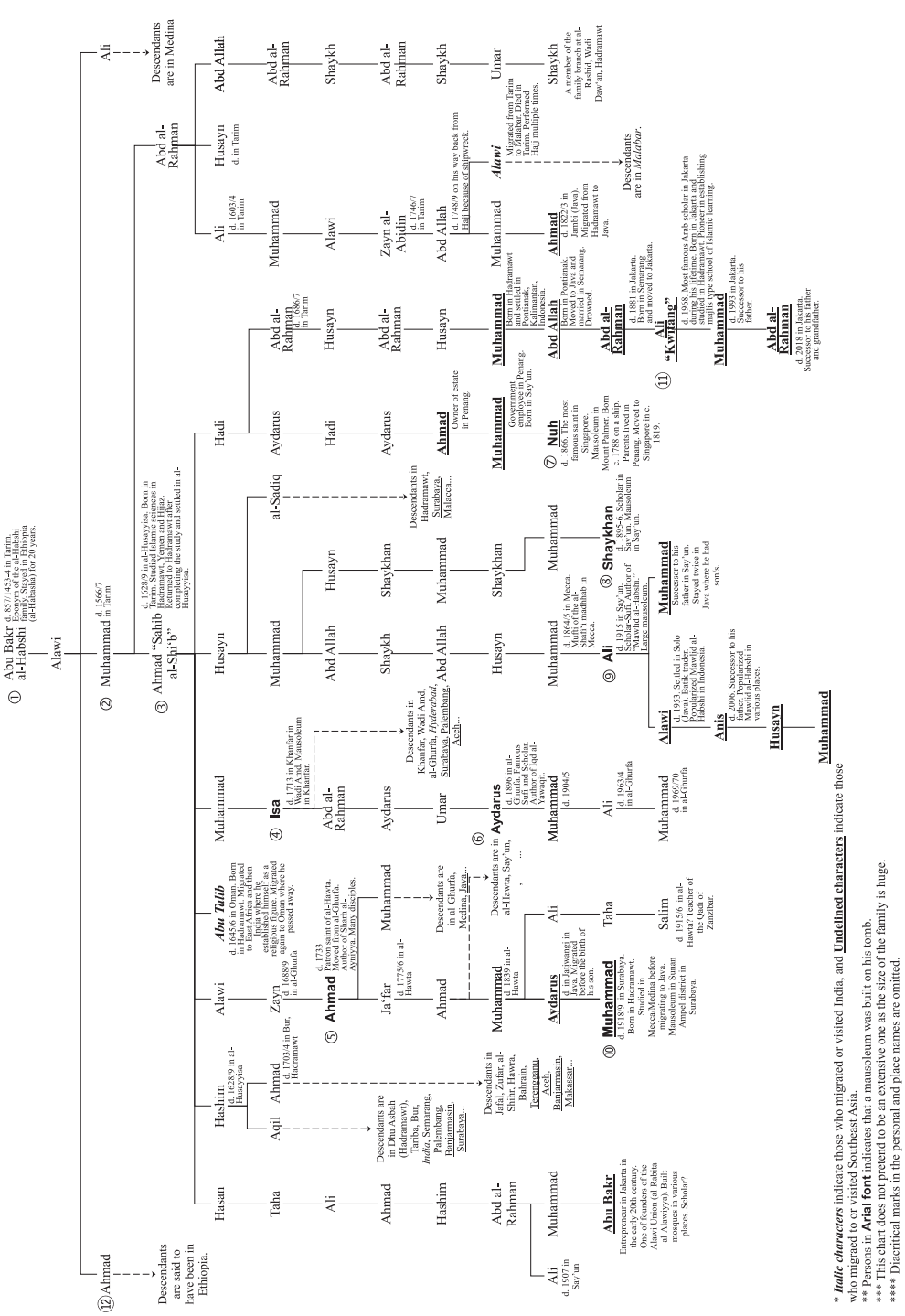


Chart 2 Family tree of the al-Habshi
Source: al-Mashhūr 1984; al-Saqqāf 1997; al-Shillī 1982.

* ***Italic characters*** indicate those who migrated or visited India, and **Underlined characters** indicate those who migrated to or visited Southeast Asia.
** Persons in **Arial font** indicates that a mausoleum was built on his tomb.
*** This chart does not pretend to be an extensive one as the size of the family is huge.
**** Diacritical marks in the personal and place names are omitted.

III–1. Expansion of the al-Habshi Family in Hadramawt

The expansion of the al-Habshi family began at the time of Ahmad b. Muhammad (d. 1628/9, No. 3 in Chart 2), who was known as "Sahib al-Shi'b (the Master of the Canyon)." He was so nicknamed because he lived in al-Husayyisa, between Say'un and Tarim in Wadi Hadramawt, and died there. The now uninhabited al-Husayyisa is known as the burial place of Ahmad b. 'Isa al-Muhajir, ancestor of all Hadrami sada who migrated from Basra to Hadramawt in the tenth century. His tomb, on a hillside with a mausoleum, is still a place of pilgrimage for Hadrami sada in and outside Hadramawt and for followers of the 'Alawi Tariqa. The mausoleum of Ahmad al-Habshi is situated just below Ahmad al-Muhajir's tomb, and both sites are still well maintained today. This Ahmad Sahib al-Shi'b is the genealogical node of the al-Habshi family, for he left at least seven sons; the majority of today's al-Habshi family are descendants of Ahmad.

After the time of Ahmad, the family began to expand, mainly in the western part of the inland wadis. 'Isa al-Habshi (d. 1713, No. 4 in Chart 2), a grandson of Sahib al-Shi'b, laid the family's foundation in the village of Khanfar, Wadi 'Amd, where his mausoleum is one of the symbols of the expansion of Hadrami sada influence to the west of inland Hadramawt. Zayn b. 'Alawi (d. 1688/9), another grandson of Ahmad Sahib al-Shi'b settled in al-Ghurfa, a village west of Say'un, and his son Ahmad b. Zayn (d. 1733, No. 5 in Chart 2) was the most prominent Sufi and scholar during his own lifetime. Ahmad b. Zayn was a key figure of the 'Alawi Tariqa and the author of *Sharh al-'Ayniyya*, a commentary on a qasida rhyming on the letter 'ayn composed by his master 'Abd Allah b. 'Alawi al-Haddad (mentioned above), the most famous Sufi from Hadramawt (al-Ḥabshī, Aḥmad b. Zayn 2007). *Sharh* is considered a standard religious text for followers of the 'Alawi Tariqa. Ahmad b. Zayn moved from al-Ghurfa to the nearby Khal' Rashid, established himself as a religious leader, and made the place hawta, a sacred enclave peculiar to South Arabia. That village is now known as Hawtat Ahmad b. Zayn or simply al-Hawta where the mausoleum of Ahmad was built in the middle of the graveyard. Yet another Sufi and scholar of the al-Habshi family was 'Aydarus b. 'Umar (d. 1896) of al-Ghurfa, a descendant of the 'Isa mentioned above and author of *'Iqd al-Yawaqit*, another important text of the 'Alawi Tariqa (al-Ḥabshī, 'Aydarūs b. 'Umar 2009). His mausoleum is the largest of its kind in al-Ghurfa. It was Ahmad b. Zayn, 'Aydarus b. 'Umar and 'Ali b. Muhammad (mentioned later) who made the position of the al-Habshi family in the 'Alawi Tariqa important. However, none of them was based in the traditional centre of Tarim.

III–2. Migration to India

The migration of the al-Habshi family to India was of small scale in comparison with that of the al-'Aydarus. The first of the al-Habshi to migrate to the sub-continent was perhaps Abu Talib (d. 1645/6), a son of Ahmad Sahib al-Shi'b. He was born in Hadramawt and migrated first to East Africa, then to India, where he established himself as a religious figure before moving on again to Oman, where he died. Abu Talib's life is representative of the movement of Hadramis in the 17th century, as he lived in all regions in the western half of the Indian Ocean, where there are still many Hadramis.

Little, if anything, is known about his descendants in the region he settled, but other than Abu Talib, members of the al-Habshi family are found in different places in India such as Hyderabad and Malabar (see Chart 2). They are from different branches of the family however, and nothing comparable to the al-'Aydarus "community" is known in India (see names in italic font in Chart 2). For the al-Habshi family, migration to India did not become an affair that involved the whole or a certain part of the family. During the time the al-'Aydarus family expanded to India, the al-Habshi family expanded within Hadramawt, to the western part of the inland wadis.

III–3. Migration to Southeast Asia

The main destination for the al-Habshi family outside Hadramawt was Southeast Asia, the most important place for not only the al-Habshi family but also other Hadrami migrants in the modern period. It is not clear when they started to migrate to the region, but al-Habshi were present in 18th-century Penang. Nuh b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Habshi (No. 7 in Chart 2) was born to a government employee in Penang around 1788, and since his grandfather owned an estate in the town we may reasonably assume that the family had already settled there by the mid-18th century.[18] The reason why some detail of that particular family is known to us is that Nuh became a saint, and according to his hagiography, which was published in both Malay and English,[19] he moved to Singapore around 1819, which was the year Stamford Raffles established a trading post on the island. Although his reason for going there might have been to pursue a new economic opportunity, he established himself as a religious figure in the island. After Nuh died in 1866 a mausoleum was built on his tomb on Mount Palmer, Singapore, which still attracts many visitors (mainly local Muslims of Indian descent) seeking baraka. Hawl, a yearly festival commemorating a saint is also held there.

Other than Nuh al-Habshi, at least two members of the al-Habshi family are known as prominent religious figures in Southeast Asia. One is Muhammad b. 'Aydarus al-Habshi (d. 1918/9) who was born in Hadramawt and studied in Mecca and Medina before migrating to Java. He was buried in a mausoleum in the Ampel district in Surabaya together with Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Mihdar (d. 1926), a fellow Hadrami sayyid of the al-Mihdar family.

The most famous al-Habshi in Java is 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Rahman (d. 1968) of Jakarta, who lived in the Kwitang district of the city and was nicknamed "'Ali Kwitang." Born in Jakarta, he studied in Hadramawt and became the most famous Arab scholar in the capital of Indonesia during his lifetime. 'Ali is known as one of the pioneers in establishing the majlis type of Islamic school. His family has a relatively long history in Southeast Asia, as the first person to go to Southeast Asia was his great-grandfather Muhammad, who was born in Hadramawt and settled in Pontianak, Kalimantan. His son 'Abd Allah was born in Pontianak but moved to Java and married in the city of Semarang. 'Abd Allah's son 'Abd al-Rahman (father of 'Ali Kwitang) was born in Semarang and moved to Jakarta where he died in 1881. While the family of Nuh al-Habshi moved in the British sphere of influence (Penang and Singapore), 'Ali Kwitang's family were in the Dutch East Indies. The mosque of 'Ali with his tomb

inside was maintained by his son Muhammad (d. 1993) and grandson ‘Abd al-Rahman (d. 2018).

While religious figures of the al-Habshi who physically lived in Southeast Asia left an impression on each place, there is another element that makes the name “al-Habshi” famous among the Muslims in that region, namely the above-mentioned *Simt al-Durar* or “Mawlid al-Habshi.” While there are arguments about whether recitation of Mawlid is in accordance with the orthodox faith of Islam, various works of Mawlid are recited in the Islamic world including the regions around the Indian Ocean. In Southeast Asia, there are three famous pieces of Mawlid among others; Mawlid al-Barzanji, al-Diba‘i, and al-Habshi. Which Mawlid a given group of people chooses to recite depends on the time, place, and occasion. There are bands in various places that recite a particular Mawlid. The Mawlid al-Habshi was composed by ‘Ali b. Muhammad al-Habshi (No. 9 in Chart 2, mentioned above), one of the most celebrated religious figures in Hadramawt at the end of the 19th and into the early 20th century. ‘Ali lived in Say’un, the central city of Wadi Hadramawt where his mausoleum, the largest and most prominently sited in the city, was built. ‘Ali, however, never went to Southeast Asia. Mawlid al-Habshi’s popularity there is thanks to the efforts of the al-Habshi family in Southeast Asia. Muhammad, ‘Ali’s son, succeeded his father as a religious figure in Hadramawt, looking after the mosque and ribat of ‘Ali in Say’un. That particular Muhammad went to Java twice during his lifetime and left male issue there. The more important of ‘Ali b. Muhammad al-Habshi’s sons for the dispersion of the Mawlid was ‘Alawi (d. 1953), who settled in the central Javanese town of Solo and traded in Batik (cloth with designs imprinted by wax-resist dying). He is said to have made a great effort to popularize the Mawlid of his father in Indonesia. His son Anis b. ‘Alawi (d. 2006) succeeded his father both in business and the propagation of the Mawlid in Indonesia. It was the family’s efforts that made the Mawlid al-Habshi spread so rapidly, in spite of its being a relatively new piece compared to the other two (al-Barzanji and al-Diba‘i). ‘Ali b Muhammad, the composer of the Mawlid, has become a famous saint in Indonesia, and a festival commemorating him and attracting tens of thousands of participants is held every year in Solo.

In addition to those prominent religious figures, members of the al-Habshi family migrated to and lived in various places in Southeast Asia, such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Semarang, Banjarmasin, Palembang, Aceh, Makassar, Penang, Singapore, and Malacca among others. Chart 2 shows that those who were in Southeast Asia came not from any particular line but from various branches of the family. It may be said that in the history of the al-Habshi family, Southeast Asia is the most important destination of migration.

IV. Comparison between the Two Families: The Timing of Expansion and Migration Abroad

The history of the al-‘Aydarus and al-Habshi families shows that they differ from each other in their patterns of migration, although both had similar origins. The al-‘Aydarus family began migrating abroad before the al-Habshi family, and their initial destination was India. On the other hand, the al-Habshi family did not go abroad on any great scale

until the 18th century. What, then, was the reason for that difference? Perhaps it was because the two families developed differently in Hadramawt.

I first saw the difference in the two families when I consulted *al-Mashra' al-Rawi*, a 17th-century work containing biographies of 284 prominent sada up to its author's time. The book mentions thirty-one members of the al-'Aydarus family, including those in India, but here only four of the al-Habshi family appear, an imbalance perhaps at least partly explained by the fact that the author, Muhammad b. Abi Bakr al-Shilli (d. 1682), was born in Tarim, Hadramawt, although in later life he was based in Mecca and so had access to only a limited amount of information on his homeland. A more plausible reason is that the al-Habshi family was not as famous as the al-'Aydarus until the 17th century. The achievement of the eponym of the family is not known except that he did da'wa in Ethiopia, but in many cases that meant no more than simply living as a Muslim, because most of the notable sada were educated in Islamic sciences, da'wa was a normal part of their lives. Abu Bakr al-Habshi was perhaps an "ordinary" Hadrami sayyid whose most significant characteristic was his experience of life in Ethiopia. No literary work is ascribed to him, and he is not mentioned in *al-Mashra' al-Rawi*.

An interesting fact becomes clear if one compares *al-Mashra'* with the 20th-century biographical compilation *Tarikh Shu'ara' al-Hadramiyyin* by 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad al-Saqqaf (d. ca. 1960). The latter is a five-volume book of the lives of 207 Hadrami poets from the pre-Islamic period to its author's time. The book deals only with poets, but most, if not all, Sufis and scholars in Hadramawt composed poems, so the book serves as a biographical dictionary of Hadrami intellectuals. Among them, fifteen were members of the al-'Aydarus family, and twelve were of the al-Habshi. In other words, compared to the biographical compilation in the 17th century, the difference between the two families is much smaller, suggesting that renowned Sufis and scholars appeared from the al-Habshi family only after the 17th century (see Table 1).

Why are the differences and changes over time important? It is because they might well explain the difference in migration patterns between the two families. In Hadramawt before modern times, fame as a religious figure or Sufi was closely related to fertility and abundance. Many of those who were featured in religious texts and religious biographies were wealthy people with some political authority. The eponym of the al-'Aydarus family was born to a celebrated family in Tarim, so that his descendants could lay firm foundations there and increased in number relatively early, as Chart 1 indicates. That proliferation means that a number of them were obliged to seek opportunities outside the family's centre, because there was limited room to make a living at home. Some moved to places within Hadramawt such as Tariba, Bur, and Thibi, but there were those who chose to go abroad. Their first choice was India, the most

Table 1 Number of individuals in the two biographical compilations

	al-'Aydarus family	al-Habshi family
al-Mashra' al-Rawi (17th c.)	31 persons	4 persons
Tarikh Shu'ara' al-Hadramiyyin (20th c.)	15 persons	12 persons

promising place for Hadrami migrants in the 16th and 17th centuries.

On the other hand, the al-Habshi family had to wait until the time of Ahmad Sahib al-Shi‘b to increase rapidly in number. Al-Husayyisa or the domicile of Ahmad did not become the centre of the family in any way comparable to how Tarim had for the al-‘Aydarus, probably because of geographical limitations. In fact, all descendants of Ahmad settled in different places, as mentioned. The absence of a clear centre then caused the dispersion of the family’s members that resulted in the foundation of multiple centres, such as al-Hawta, al-Ghurfa, Say’un, and Khanfar. Lack of both a clear centre and of sufficient accumulation of wealth might well be why so few of the family went abroad before the 18th century. In other words, the al-Habshi family searched for opportunities within Hadramawt, or anywhere they could go without taking ship. After laying solid foundations in Hadramawt, the al-Habshi family finally began to migrate in numbers during the 18th century, a time when political instability meant India was no longer the most attractive place for Hadramis. Additionally, improvements in transportation systems must have made travel beyond India easier, making Southeast Asia appear as the new, promising frontier for them.

Conclusion

In this article, I have tried to show differences in migration patterns between two Hadrami families, and that the reasons for the differences were connected to their particular circumstances. Even though the al-‘Aydarus and al-Habshi families both appeared at the same time in the biographical writings, they showed a sharp difference in their choice of time and destination for their migrations in the Indian Ocean world. The causes of the difference most probably lay in their respective trajectories of development and expansion within Hadramawt; the Hadrami migrants certainly did not appear in the Indian Ocean littoral from within a vacuum, and I would suggest that an influential family such as theirs must have begun to migrate abroad only after the sphere of its activities had expanded within Hadramawt to the degree that new members could find no room for activities inherent to their family group’s position: their religious duties and land-management for sada. That discussion perhaps more than others is likely to remain a matter of speculation, but the family’s actual recorded migration abroad should be viewed as a continuation of their activities within Hadramawt. Researchers working on the movement of people in the Indian Ocean tend to focus on interregional migration, but analysis of internal “migration” is surely as important as more visible movements overseas.

Notes

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1) For the sake of readability for non-specialists in the Middle East or Islamic studies, most diacritical marks representing Arabic characters are omitted in this article except for in the

bibliography.

2) For biographies of the Hadramis, see Serjeant 1950 and Arai 2021 (in Japanese).
3) *Tarikh al-Nur al-Safir*'s scope is not limited to Hadramis as it takes up figures of Egypt, Syria, Hijaz, Yemen, and India. However, probably on account of the author's birth and descent, the work contains information on many Hadramis including those in India.
4) The al-Mashayikh group has produced Sufis and scholars in the history of Hadramawt as the sada did. Their genealogy, however, goes back not to the Prophet Muhammad but to other great figures in history.
5) Freitag 2003.
6) Ho 2006.
7) Bang 2003.
8) Peskes 2005.
9) Arai 2004.
10) Peskes 2005.
11) The Arabic word is *laqab*. Its meaning is not exactly the same as what we understand by "family name", but is rather a nickname or familiar name, given after the place of origin/residence/da'wa, some anecdote, or a miracle.
12) al-Mashhūr 1984; al-Saqqaf 1997; al-Shilli 1982. The following accounts of the al-'Aydarus and the al-Habshi family are based on these works unless indicated otherwise.
13) al-Shilli 1982 2: 50.
14) *al-'Arab* no. 57 (3 November 1932). The most numerous family is the al-'Attas (627 figures), and the third al-Haddad (322) and the fourth al-Habshi (259).
15) One of Shaykh's grandsons, 'Abd al-Rahman b. Mustafa b. Shaykh al-'Aydarus (d. 1778) lived in Cairo but left no male heirs, so his patrilineal line became extinct.
16) The life of this person is discussed in Mohamad Abu Bakar's Sayyid Abdul Rahman bin Muhammad al-Idrus (Tukku Paluh): Peranannya dalam Konteks Sejarah Trengganu Abad ke 19 - Awal 20an. Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya, 1981. However, the present author has not had a chance to consult it.
17) Da'wa usually means proselytization to non-Muslims. However, it also means a call to insufficiently devout Muslims to follow the correct path of Islam.
18) Nuh's father and grandfather were first-generation migrants as Muhammad was born in Say'un, Hadramawt.
19) Surattee 2008 and 2010. The information given here on the lives of Nuh, his parents and grandfather is based on these two works.

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Chapter 8 Why Is the Zanzibar Revolution Not Depicted?: Comparison of Swahili Author Shafi Adam Shafi's Two Novels

Fuko Onoda
The University of Osaka

Introduction

In a newly born multi-ethnic nation, the concept of a "nation" is not self-evident. Since its birth in 1964 in Tanzania, home to around 130 ethnic groups, literature written in the national language of Kiswahili has helped to unite and strengthen its fragile community. It was considered the duty of writers at the time to promote the national guidelines to play a part in national construction.

Zanzibar, which has continued to be a node or passage point for the flow of people, goods, information, and values as one of the important trading ports of the Indian Ocean World, was incorporated into Tanzania after the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964. While efforts were being made on a national scale to give substance and strengthen the artificial and exclusive framework of the "nation", Zanzibar's writers were in a delicate position. This is because the exclusivity inherent in national policy was incompatible with the diversity rooted in daily life in Zanzibar, while many writers were also conscious of their duty to cooperate with the government's ideals. The focus of this paper is one of the Zanzibar writers in such a dilemma.

Shafi Adam Shafi is a leading Swahili author who expresses his unmistakable talent in rich, colourful language, and an expressive style. Both his two novels, *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad* ("Landlord Fuad's Palace", 1978) and *Vuta N'kuvute* ("Tug of War", 1999), depict the struggle by the people of Zanzibar against colonialism, until the Revolution of 1964 freed the island from the yoke of all colonial rule. However, during the revolution, Arabs of the former ruling class and economically privileged Indians were alike persecuted.

In the novel *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*, written around 1969, an Arab character plays a key role, and the revolution is directly depicted. On the other hand, the protagonist of *Vuta N'kuvute*, written in the 1980s, is an Indian, and the story ends just before the revolution. This paper compares the two novels and asks why the revolution is not depicted in *Vuta N'kuvute*. The aim is to trace the changes in Shafi's attitude on the political turmoil in Zanzibar, and delve into his struggles as a Zanzibari writer.[1)]

I. Basic Information

I–1. Biography of Shafi Adam Shafi[2)]

Shafi was born in 1940 on Unguja, the largest island of the Zanzibar Archipelago, to a Comorian family. He attended Seyyid Khalifa Teacher Training College (now Nkrumah College) from 1957–1960, followed by studies in China and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). From 1967 to 1972, he worked as a journalist for the official newspapers of the "Tanganyika African National Union" (TANU), Tanganyika's only political party. After Zanzibar's first president, Abeid Amani Karume, was assassinated in 1972, Shafi, then a newspaper journalist, was jailed for two years for his hostility to Karume's regime. In 1986, he joined the East, Central, and South African branch of the International Co-operative Union, and was responsible for publishing their monthly magazine, *The Corporator*. Shafi Adam Shafi is now president of the Union of Tanzanian Writers (Umoja wa Waandishi wa Vitabu Tanzania: UWAVITA) and the Tanzanian Literature Promotion Association (Baraza la Maendeleo ya Vitabu Tanzania: BAMVITA), and was awarded "Tuzo za Zeze" (The Zeze award) in 2002 by the Tanzania Culture Trust Fund (Mfuko wa Utamaduni Tanzania) for contributions to Swahili language and literature.

Shafi's literary works published to date include *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad* (1978, Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House), *Kuli* ("Coolie", 1979, Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House), which deals with the struggles of the trade unions in British colonial Zanzibar, *Vuta N'kuvute* (1999, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers) which in around 2000 became a set book for Tanzanian high schools, and *Haini* ("Traitor", 2002, Nairobi: Longhorn Publishers), a novel about Shafi's prison experience. His most recent book is the autobiographical novel, *Mbali na Nyumbani* ("Far from Home", 2013, Nairobi: Longhorn Publishers), and he has compiled numerous Swahili dictionaries.

Shafi is regarded both nationally and internationally as a leading author of Swahili political fiction. Tanzanian literary scholar M. Mulokozi, referring to Zanzibar writers Mohamed Suleiman, Said Ahmed Mohamed, and Shafi, states that "the most significant, and certainly most spectacular development in the Swahili fiction of the Seventies and Eighties has been the emergence of Zanzibar as the producer of the best Swahili fiction to date, and the apparent torch bearer for the Kiswahili novel of the near future."[3)]

According to French Swahili literature scholar Xavier Garnier, Shafi is "the Swahili novelist who has succeeded the most in linking political discourses to fictional ones."[4)] The Italian Swahili literature scholar E. Bertoncini praises Shafi, describing him as "a talented writer with rich, colourful language and expressive style."[5)] The Kenyan Gikuyu writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o also praised Shafi as a "master of fictional language," saying that readers "feel like they are actually inside the story, seeing, hearing and experiencing it."[6)]

Shafi's novels are characterised by their rich cultural depictions and frequent use of idiom, delighting readers by finely embellishing the novel's plot. Shafi employs commonly-used language that gives great insights into the exotic food, clothing, pastimes, and so on of a foreign land. Idiom and slang also convey the region's cultural depth and

add colour to the everyday lives of its people. The protagonists in Shafi's novels are always good and sympathetic characters, representing the author's own moral values.

I–2. Summary of the Two Novels

Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad

Fuad is an Arab who owns a vast clove plantation in Koani, a rural village located roughly in the center of Unguja Island. He habitually mistreats his African servants, daily inflicting inhuman abuse on them. Kijakazi, a middle-aged woman, is Fuad's personal servant and loves him like a son, serving him devotedly. Meanwhile, in town, some African workers who have fled their Arab masters or been dismissed by them, have organized themselves and are planning a revolution. When the day of the revolution arrives, the Africans arm themselves with farm implements and take over the police headquarters and a radio station, ultimately establishing a new government. After the revolution, Fuad's plantations, cars, and tractors are confiscated by the new government and all the servants move to the neighbouring village, now operating on egalitarian lines. Only Kijakazi remains on the plantation. Indifferent to social pressure, she continues to serve Fuad, but a fellow servant talks to her patiently and persuasively, until Kijakazi gradually regains some self-respect. Eventually, Kijakazi resists Fuad for the first time, and she also finally moves to the village to live among her fellow Africans. Finding himself unable to live on his own, Fuad leaves the country.

Vuta N'kuvute

This novel also is set on the island of Unguja, where Yasmin, an Indian girl, lives in a Shia Indian community in Ng'ambo, the hinterland of the main city, Stone Town. She is expelled from her community for running away from her marriage to a middle-aged Indian merchant, and ends up at the house of her only African friend, Mwajuma, a woman who enjoys a free and easy lifestyle earning a living as a Taarab singer. Mwajuma takes Yasmin under her wing, exposing her for the first time to a world of nightclubs, alcohol, and men. Gradually, Yasmin begins to feel at home among the Africans; she begins to have feelings for Mwajuma's brother, Denge, who is known to the police as an activist and resistance leader against the British rule. After destroying an exclusive British club and distributing political leaflets throughout Zanzibar, Denge is finally captured and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. In exchange for his help in "springing" Denge from prison, Yasmin accepts a marriage proposal from another African, a man called Bukheti. Just before the successful jailbreak and the smuggling of Denge onto a boat bound for Kismayu, Somalia, Yasmin and Denge share a brief but close embrace.

II. A Matter of Concern

Vuta N'kuvute ends with the African activist Denge, imprisoned at the end of his "tug-of-war" (*vuta n'kuvute*) with the British colonial government, escaping from prison and fleeing the country. The novel ends before Zanzibar's independence is achieved, so

to see what actually happened after independence, it is worth offering a brief review of the historical events.

The term "Zanzibar" in this paper refers to the two large islands of Unguja and Pemba, and their surrounding islets. Zanzibar came under Omani domination around the 17th century; in the 19th century, the Omani capital was transferred to Stone Town, Unguja. Zanzibar became a British colony at the end of the 19th century and was ruled jointly by the Sultanate of Oman and the British.

Under the British rule, racial and ethnic conflicts became more apparent than ever before, as the British cleverly used the social classes already existing in Zanzibar to help their policy of indirect rule. There were broad ethnic divisions in Zanzibar at that time among Arabs, Indians, Africans, and Shirazi. The Shirazi people, also known as Swahili, are believed to have first migrated to Zanzibar from the African mainland; they claim strong Persian blood from intermarriage with Persian traders and call themselves Shirazi, derived from the Iranian city of Shiraz. They distinguish themselves from other mainlanders, whom they refer to as "Africans"—people who came to Zanzibar as slaves or, more recently, as migrant workers.[7)]

The campaign for independence from the British was developed by three race-based parties: the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) mainly represented Arabs and Indians; the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) represented Africans and Shirazi from Unguja Island; and the Zanzibar-Pemba People's Party (ZPPP) mainly represented Shirazi from Pemba Island.

Three general elections were held, in which the ASP won the largest number of votes but lost out to a gerrymandering and a coalition between the ZNP and the ZPPP. Zanzibar gained independence from Britain in 1963, becoming a constitutional monarchy under a sultan and with a ZNP-ZPPP coalition government. However, independence did not mean freedom for the majority of Zanzibari people, who had actually supported the ASP.[8)] On 11th January 1964, the Zanzibar Revolution broke out, resulting in the overthrow of the government and exile of the sultan. The ASP renamed the country "The People's Republic of Zanzibar" with Abeid Karume as the first President, and on 23rd April 1964, Zanzibar and Tanganyika united to form the United Republic of Tanzania, with Julius Nyerere, the former president of Tanganyika, as President and Karume as Vice-President.[9)]

In view of the above history, the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964 in which Africans broke away from all domination and regained sovereignty, should surely have been the main goal of Denge and the other activists. However, in *Vuta N'kuvute*, the revolution is neither depicted nor even mentioned.

In fact, it is easy to imagine what Shafi desired to achieve in not writing about the Zanzibar Revolution. Perhaps, he simply preferred to emphasize romance rather than politics; his novel ends with Denge's untimely departure from the country and his heart-rending farewell to Yasmin, the woman he felt was destined for him. He left us with a cliff-hanger, a piquant political tragedy and human love story that leaves the reader hoping that Denge will one day see his wish fulfilled to be with Yasmin in an independent Zanzibar.

However, this paper also takes the view that it would have been impossible on

practical grounds for Shafi to write the Zanzibar Revolution in *Vuta N'kuvute*, and will consider is the reason. The answer will bring out further significant differences between *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*, which depicts the revolution, and *Vuta N'kuvute*, which does not.

III. The Zanzibar Revolution in *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*

Let us look at the portrayal of the Zanzibar Revolution in *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*. One of the Africans, Vuai, unable to bear the hard labour and unfair treatment on Fuad's plantation, secretly attends political meetings in the towns of Kijangwani and Raha Leo, both located in the hinterland of Stone Town and about a three-hour walk from Koani. At the meetings, Africans in similar circumstances gather to plan an uprising, and secretly gather a store of weapons. On the day of the revolution, they storm police headquarters and a radio station, and proclaim the overthrow of the Sultan's regime. The Sultan and his followers flee into exile by sea. In the evening of the same day, a new government is formed by the "national saviour" Afro-Shirazi Party.[10)]

Kijangwani and Raha Leo were both ASP jurisdictions, and its headquarters and civic centre were located there.[11)] From the above description one might think that the Zanzibar Revolution was a well-planned operation organized by the ASP leaders and put into action after months of preparation, but that is not accurate. The revolution was actually put into motion by one man, John Okello, an Ugandan Christian migrant worker who had only recently come to Unguja to follow his trade as a bricklayer. Okello led dozens of African former police officers recently fired by the ZNP-ZPPP regime, in an attack on police headquarters and a radio station. He ordered his followers to kill Arab men between the ages of 17 and 55,[12)] and used the radio station to broadcast a call to Africans to "take a gun and ammunition and start to fight against any remnants of imperialism on this island."[13)] As a result, an estimated 3,000 to 11,000 Arabs and Indians were killed across Zanzibar and many more were expelled.[14)] At the time of the revolution, ASP leader Karume was not on the island, for Okello's men had sent him to the continent for safety in case the revolution should fail. Karume returned to Zanzibar almost two days after the revolution had begun, after Okello broadcast to him to begin work as the new president.[15)] The Zanzibar Revolution was nothing but a sudden chaotic explosion of race-based violence and ensuing disorder.

Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad depicts the Zanzibar Revolution quite faithfully to the official government narrative, officially presented for the first time in *The Nationalist* on 12 January 1965, the first anniversary of the revolution. It emphasizes that "The revolution was led and organized by the Afro-Shirazi Party under the direct guidance and inspiration of Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume."[16)] Like the official narrative, *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad* omits mention of John Okello, for as soon as the revolution ended, Okello was promptly stripped of power and deported by the ASP. In fact, none of the major official publications, including that first official report in *The Nationalist*, makes any mention of Okello, which may be understood as intended to diminish the role of non-Zanzibaris in the revolution, and thereby ensure the legitimacy of Karume's leadership.

In the last part of *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*, Kijakazi is welcomed into the egalitarian,

communal farming village of Ujamaa, where for the first time she is shown respect by others. *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*, therefore, describes the sufferings of Africans in the pre-revolutionary period, the well-planned revolution under the control of ASP, and the liberation and downfall of the exploiters after the revolution. The novel is designed to explain to readers the necessity and significance of the revolution.

The novel's final section, in which the oppressed protagonist reaches Ujamaa village and finds peace of mind, is characteristic of "Ujamaa literature",[17] much of which was created at that time to educate the population about the principles of Tanzanian socialist policy, known as Ujamaa policy.[18] It was the duty of the elite writers in the early years after independence to establish a national literature using Swahili as the national language and, differently from western capitalist states, create a literature that was designed to nurture socialism.

In addition to celebrating socialism, Zanzibar writers were also obliged "to explain the basis and justification for the Zanzibar Revolution."[19] Shafi wrote *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad* in 1969, shortly after Tanzania's formation, so the novel may therefore be understood as Shafi's attempt to fulfil his duty as an elite writer to contribute to nation-building.

IV. Comparison of *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad* and *Vuta N'kuvute*

The two novels depict the same place at the same time, but they differ in more than just the presence or absence of the Zanzibar Revolution. The main difference between them lies in how they depict the separation between Africans and non-Africans (Arabs/Indians), which we will delve into below.

IV–1. Depiction of Separation in *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*

In *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*, the ruthless Arab master is placed in a dichotomous relationship with the good African servants, and the heterogeneity of the Arabs is emphasized through character and cultural portrayals in the entire work.

Shafi begins by describing the parlour of Fuad's palace. The walls are decorated with pictures of "ancient Arab kings" and a silver "*jambia*" dagger that is the major symbol of masculine power in Omani culture.[20] The floor of the parlour is covered with "a large Persian carpet." Carved wooden chairs, a riveted box, and velvet cushions are, like the other goods, instruments of "luxury and special relaxation."[21] With the depictions, Shafi is trying to give Africans, his presumed readers, an initial impression of how Arabs, represented by Fuad, are alien and far removed from the common people in Zanzibar.

The separation between Arabs and Africans is mainly depicted by the relationship between Fuad and Kijakazi, who never establish any reciprocal emotional bond with each other.

Kijakazi's devotion is never reciprocated by Fuad, and indeed the most painful scene between the two of them should be mentioned here. After the revolution, Fuad, who has lost his servants and property and has suffered a leg injury, calls Kijakazi into his

bedroom and orders her to massage his leg. Fuad compliments Kijakazi on her massage skills, and she is elated as it is the first time Fuad has given her kind words. When Fuad then orders Kijakazi to sing again the lullaby he heard in his childhood, Kijakazi sings it with a dreamy feeling. Then this happens:

> "Shut up!" Fuad's calm attitude up to that point changed abruptly. "You sound like a cow! Are you saying it was that song?" Fuad asked angrily. "This was the song, Master! This was the song you wanted to hear every day! This was the song I used to sing to you, the song you loved the most, I'm sure of it!" Kijakazi replied. She was trembling with fear that she had offended her Master, but at the same time, she was worried that she might hurt his leg with her trembling. "I don't want to hear your hoarse voice! You are not worth a shilling! Those savages annoy me, and you can't even sing to comfort me! Get out of here! May God curse you all!"[22)]

Towards the end of the novel, Kijakazi, encouraged by her fellow servant, finally turns against Fuad, abandoning him:

> "Listen to me, Fuad! I say it plainly. Today is the last time I will be treated like a slave, let me say it again, today is the last time! I am exhausted! I have been used by you all my life, but from now on, I want you to think of me as a human being. It's time for me to give myself a break! From now on, you will do all jobs including putting on your shoes and other things."[23)]

Leaving Fuad behind, Kijakazi visits the farm run by Africans as a cooperative. There, she finds good barns and a clean milking shed, on a sprawling estate with well-maintained quarters, all of it jointly owned and managed. Labour is shared, working hours are set, and "the people live equally."[24)] Kijakazi is welcomed into the village and is shocked by the respect she receives from others for the first time in her life.

> There, Machano offered his hand in greeting to Kijakazi.
> Kijakazi almost fainted from shock because she had never received such respect before from anyone. She could not even remember if she had ever been offered a hand before.[25)]

The well-managed, progressive village and the villagers' warm hospitality to Kijakazi convey the inherent goodness of the Ujamaa philosophy and reflect Shafi's own bright hope for modernization and equality among his people.

Meanwhile, abandoned by Kijakazi, Fuad slinks out of Zanzibar alone and un-mourned. The narrator coldly dismisses Fuad in the novel's closing sentence, "No one knew where he had disappeared to."[26)] The Arabs are portrayed as ruthless and inhuman, their psychological and social distance from Africans consistently emphasised, so much so that the expulsion of the Arabs and the complete disconnection between Africans and Arabs in the end of the novel are described as something to be celebrated.

IV–2. Depiction of Separation in *Vuta N'kuvute*

As in *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*, although its protagonist is an Indian girl who leaves her native community to join the African one, *Vuta N'kuvute* repeatedly emphasizes the social distance between the Indian and African (Swahili) communities.[27] Leaving is a huge decision Yasmin makes early in the novel, for it causes her to be disowned by the entire Indian community:

> I no longer have anyone but Africans in my life. […] Why on earth do people despise them? Are they not human too? Because they are poor? If it is because they are poor, then now I am poor too, and I am eating their mercy, eating Mwajuma's mercy. If it were not for her, how would I have lived to this day? Ah! I don't care what they say, it doesn't matter anymore![28]

Africans, on the other hand, despise themselves for being subordinate to Indians. In the following passage, Mwajuma shies away from walking with Yasmin:

> And Mwajuma, on the other hand, was unable to invite Yasmin to go out because she thought that Yasmin was an Indian girl and would not like to be seen with a Swahili girl for fear that other Indians would speak ill of her.[29]

Bukheti too shies away from asking Yasmin to marry him:

> What kind of pimp dares to enter an Indian Shia's house to deliver a marriage proposal from a black man?
> "But Yasmin, even if I were to deliver the marriage proposal, would your parents even listen to me for a second? Firstly, you are estranged, and secondly, your suitor..." said Bukheti. "What about my suitor?" Yasmin asked.
> "What about him?" Bukheti asked. "Do you think Indians will listen to the courtship of a Gunya[30] man from Mombasa?"[31]

The worlds in which Indians and Africans live are so far apart that Indian relatives cannot even find Yasmin when she enters "the Swahili world" (*Uswahilini*):

> What the letter was asking of Yasmin's uncle was a difficult task. Until that day he had not seen Yasmin since the day she was disowned, so where would he find her? Certainly, Yasmin had gone deeper into the Swahili world than her uncle had ever penetrated. (Shafi 1999: 74)

The depiction of the social separation between Indians and Africans in *Vuta N'kuvute* feels very realistic, and its seriousness is keenly felt by the reader. On the other hand, *Vuta N'kuvute* differs from *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*, in that being seen through Yasmin's eyes, the narrative perspective is basically Indian, about an individual who struggles with and eventually overcomes the separation between the two people. The portrayal of

separation in this work is more relativized and objectified, and therefore much less absolute than in *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*.

Vuta N'kuvute is far richer than *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad* in its depiction of Zanzibar culture and society, often having the effect of emphasizing Zanzibar's position in the Indian Ocean World. For example, people discuss the different types of bread in Unguja and finish by saying that "This shows how Unguja is an ethnic melting pot."[32] People usually go into Indian barbershops, and while waiting admire the posters of many-handed deities, with their snake heads. There are impressive descriptions of the streets of Unguja, where both Arab and Indian influences are evident. As a Taarab singer, Yasmin's hostess Mwajuma can sing not only in Swahili but also in Arabic and Hindi; the music itself is a product of Indian Ocean World culture, where Eastern African local music is mixed with influences from Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, and India.

In addition to the above cultural depictions, one of the characters in the novel is an Indian man who does nothing to hide his contempt for Africans, although he is secretly married to an African woman with whom he has children, which nicely shows how inseparable Indian and African lives actually are.

Shafi once explained in an interview that his reason for featuring an Indian girl as the protagonist in *Vuta N'kuvute* was to try to remove any sense of discrimination by highlighting the common humanity of Indians and Africans.[33] As the novel's narrator says, "Yasmin was an example of how people of any ethnic origin can come together and be so united that their differences become invisible."[34]

At the heart of *Vuta N'kuvute* lies the assertion that the separation between Africans and non-Africans is foolish and unfounded, and in that respect the novel is the opposite of *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*, which constantly emphasizes the differences between them, and ends with their complete separation and mutual exclusion. This is believed to reflect the author's own significant shift in perspective from the time of writing *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*.

V. Reasons for the Absence of the Zanzibar Revolution from *Vuta N'kuvute*

Why couldn't Shafi Adam Shafi have written the Zanzibar Revolution into *Vuta N'kuvute*? Perhaps the answer is that if he had tried to describe the revolution after all his careful attempts to depict the inseparability of Africans and non-Africans in *Vuta N'kuvute*, he would have had no choice but to portray the revolution in poor light, because it was in fact a case of race-based violence, of hatred fuelled by discrimination over many years that exploded into horrific revenge against the Arab and Indian populations. It was therefore incompatible with *Vuta N'kuvute*'s intention to overcome their mutual separation.

Furthermore, in *Vuta N'kuvute* it is not the Arabs but the British colonial government who are set up as the main opponents in the independence struggle; the main opponent of Denge and his comrades is the British character Inspector Wright (*Inspekta Wright*) and his African servant, Corporal Matata (*Koplo Matata*). In contrast to *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*, no Arabs in *Vuta N'kuvute* are hostile to Africans; even the Sultan is mentioned

only in the same sentence as the British colonial government and no distinction is made between the two. “The day we have a hundred young men like you in our company, the colonisers and their sultan will be in dire straits.”[35)]

By excluding the Arabs, who were the direct targets of the violence of the Zanzibar Revolution, Shafi seems to be trying to prevent the bloody nature of the revolution from overshadowing his love story, concealing the Zanzibar Revolution in *Vuta N’kuvute.*

There appears to be no literary work in the Swahili language that is directly critical of the Zanzibar Revolution. Why then does it appear that Swahili writers have been unable to portray the revolution critically? In considering that question, it is worth tracing the post-revolution history of Zanzibar.

Zanzibar under the ASP regime suffered from worsening shortages of food and goods as a result of failed economic policies, and fell into a politics of fear used to silence public discontent.[36)] When Karume was assassinated in 1972, Shafi, then a newspaper journalist, was imprisoned for two years simply for writing an article critical of him. In the late 1970s, forced migrations to Ujamaa villages were implemented, followed by an economic crisis due mostly to agricultural failures and the war against Uganda, making it evident that the Ujamaa policy would be unsuccessful.[37)] It can be assumed that by this time the initial fervour of the birth of the new nation had passed, and for Shafi, the sense of elite duty he had at the time of writing *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad* went with it.

In 1977, the ASP and TANU merged to form Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM). The merger meant that the Zanzibar Revolution was seen as an achievement not only for ASP but also for CCM, which adopted the ASP slogan “Revolution Forever” (“*Mapinduzi Daima*”). CCM highlighted the legacy of the revolution in books and pamphlets, while speeches were given on “Zanzibar Revolution Day”, a public holiday. In a way it was all an attempt to “Tanzanise” or “Africanise” the revolution, ignoring Zanzibar’s particular circumstances and positioning it as one of the historical monuments of the liberation of Africans from oppression. On the other hand, official documents were silent on the violent aspects of the revolution.[38)]

In 1992, Tanzania introduced a multi-party system, and in the 1995 general elections in Zanzibar, the opposition Civic United Front Party (CUF) shocked CCM politicians by coming within a narrow margin of defeating the CCM.

The introduction of a multi-party system in fact further accelerated the “Tanzanisation” and “Africanisation” of the Zanzibar Revolution. Chief Minister Omar Mapuri’s book, *Zanzibar, the 1964 Revolution: Achievements and Prospects*, nominated for the Noma Awards for African publishing, “reshapes memories of the revolution to speak present concern.”[39)] Mapuri sought to show that “the Revolution was the logical outcome of centuries of oppression and subjugation of the African people,” identifying the oppressors and subjugators over those centuries as “basically Arabs and certainly not indigenous Zanzibaris.”[40)]

Furthermore, Mapuri tried to position the struggle of CCM against CUF as a continuation of an African struggle for liberation. He connected CUF with the ZNP and ZPPP of the early 1960s, and claimed that Arab outsiders were seeking to regain control

over Zanzibar. Mapuri's book was burned at a public rally by representatives of the CUF.[41)]

To date, CCM has won a total of six general elections, though there has been bloodshed in every one, with repeated allegations of fraud. In 2017, a member of the main opposition party CHADEMA went into temporarily exile after an assassination attempt, and when in 2020 the CCM again won the general elections after suppression of opposition parties and the press, there were concerns from media and researchers outside the country about Tanzania's shift toward authoritarianism.[42)]

In 2016, a symbolic event occurred in Zanzibar that conveyed a sense of discouraging criticism of the revolution. At a ceremony held in the city of Unguja to celebrate the 52nd anniversary of the Zanzibar Revolution, young people in CCM uniforms held up a placard reading "Mixed race people are Hizbu, Zanzibar is a country of Africans" (*Machotara Hizbu, Zanzibar ni nchi ya Waafrika*). "Hizbu" derives from the Arabic word for "political party" referring to the Nationalist Party of the Subjects of the Sultan (in Arabic "Hizbul Watan Li Raiat Sultan"), the predecessor of ZNP. While the party existed, its Arab members distinguished themselves from Africans by calling themselves "Hizbu" and referring to African members as "Muddy Hizbu" (*Hizbu Matope*).[43)] The 2016 incident was frightening for those of Arab descent or with Arab relations who had been affected during the revolution, as it proved that race-based violence could recur in Zanzibar at any time.

After being criticized for the placard by opposition parties and on social media, CCM issued a statement saying that it opposed all forms of discrimination. "This message is not only discriminatory in its content, but it also goes completely against the spirit and aims of the leaders of the 1964 sacred revolution. It is also contrary to the fundamental principles and ideology of the CCM, which promotes national unity and cohesion" (CCM press officer Daniel Chongolo).[44)] While the CCM was condemning discrimination, it was also equating CCM with those who led the Zanzibar Revolution, implying that the current CCM, and even current Tanzania, is an extension of the revolution. Verification and reassessment of what happened in the revolution have therefore been postponed.

It may be assumed that portraying the revolution critically is risky in a situation where a party that legitimizes the revolution continues to be in power. More than a half century after the event, people still dare not speak out publicly about their own experience of the revolution.[45)]

In interviews in 2003 and 2009, Shafi talked about the revolution, and offered his thoughts on post-revolution politics in Zanzibar:

> Zanzibar is a country that has had revolutions in the past. The government and the Sultan that once existed were expelled by way of revolution, by battle, by bloodshed. (Omitted) The government [established after the revolution] did not hesitate to use forceful means. It frequently resorted to violence. It was a government that would not tolerate any criticism of itself. It set up a security apparatus and committed very severe violence against perfectly normal people. People were arrested unnecessarily and put in jail for no

> significant reason and without trial. (Omitted) People are afraid to speak of these things to this day.[46)]

Shafi himself describes the need to discuss the revolution and post-revolutionary politics, as well as the climate of reluctance to do so. Perhaps, then, it was that oppressive climate that dissuaded him from dealing critically with the Zanzibar Revolution in *Vuta N'kuvute*. However, behind that absence, we see an author who is creating amidst the constraints that are inherent in the literature of a local language.

Conclusion

This paper focuses on Shafi Adam Shafi's decision not to depict the Zanzibar Revolution in his novel *Vuta N'kuvute*, and examines the reason for that omission by comparing it with another of Shafi's novels, *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*.

After the birth of Tanzania, attempts were made to violently incorporate Zanzibar's complex and unique history into the "official" history, and Shafi himself cooperated in this attempt in *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad*. In *Vuta N'kuvute*, however, Shafi confronts the diversity and multi-layeredness of the land where he was born and raised. To borrow the words of Suzuki and Mio in the introduction to this book, we can understand the change of Shafi's attitude as a dynamic struggle between the state, which seeks to create an "outer edge" by limiting and excluding, and the "flow=network", which has no outer edge and transcends the boundaries of states.

The racial violence of the Zanzibar Revolution was no longer acceptable to Shafi, who had rediscovered the true nature of Zanzibar as a node in a complex flow=network.

Shafi did not choose to directly criticize the Zanzibar Revolution in *Vuta N'kuvute*; he chose not to depict it at all. In view of the post-revolutionary history of Zanzibar and the current political context, it may reasonably be inferred that there was a tendency to restrict free criticism of the Zanzibar Revolution. In *Vuta N'kuvute*, Shafi can be criticized for concealing the revolution. However, considering that, as we have seen, *Vuta N'kuvute* emphasizes the inseparability of Africans and non-Africans, it can also be interpreted that Shafi implicitly criticizes race-based violence without directly describing the revolution.

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Notes

1) In a paper to be published in the 106th issue of the *Journal of African Studies* (scheduled for publication in December 2024), the author discusses the representation of "the other" in the same two novels *Kasri ya Mwinyi Fuad* and *Vuta N'kuvute*.
2) For these biographical remarks, reference is made to Bertoncini-Zúbková 2009 and Diegner 2011.
3) Mulokozi 1985: 174.
4) Garnier 2013: 96.
5) Bertoncini-Zúbková 2009: 151.
6) From the back cover of *Vuta N'kuvute* (1999). English translation from Swahili by the author.
7) Karume 2004.
8) Petterson 2004.
9) Petterson 2004.
10) Shafi 1978: 76–84.
11) Myers 2000.
12) Okello 2021: 135.
13) Okello 2021: 153.
14) Clayton 1981: 81.
15) Okello 2021: 171.
16) *The Nationalist* in Dar es Salaam on 12 January 1965, reproduced as an appendix in Okello 2021: 228–244. The author does not refer to the original source.
17) For more information about Ujamaa literature, see Blommaert (2014: 91–93).
18) Although there are many studies on the Ujamaa Policy, I would recommend Lal (2015), which clarifies its merits and demerits through analysis of historical documents and in-depth interviews with those who experienced it.
19) Mazrui 2007: 41.
20) Myers 2000: 436.
21) Shafi 1978: 2.
22) Shafi 1978: 104.
23) Shafi 1978: 150.
24) Shafi 1978: 138.
25) Shafi 1978: 152–153.
26) Shafi 1978: 162.
27) In *Vuta N'kuvute*, Shafi seems unconcerned about the differences between Africans and Swahili people.
28) Shafi 1999: 38.
29) Shafi 1999: 29.
30) Gunya or Bajuni people are said to be the native inhabitants of Lamu island, Kenya (Amidu 2009).
31) Shafi 1999: 207.
32) Shafi 1999: 71.

33) Diegner 2011: 75.
34) Shafi 1999: 75.
35) Shafi 1999: 100.
36) Karume 2004.
37) Coulson 1982.
38) Myers 2000: 438; Loimier 2018: 37–38.
39) Myers 2000: 438.
40) Myers 2000: 439. The author does not refer to the original sorce.
41) Myers 2000: 439.
42) See Aljazeera 2020; Paget 2021; and Becker 2021.
43) Karume 2004: 14.
44) The Citizen 2016.
45) Loimier 2018: 56.
46) Diegner 2011: 53.

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Section Three:

Religion and Migration

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Chapter 9 Reformers Remembered: The Haddadian Paradigm as Retold in the 20th- and 21st-Century Eastern and Western Indian Ocean

Anne K. Bang
University of Bergen

Introduction

The poetry of the Hadrami scholar Abd Allah b. Alawi al-Haddad (1634–1719), as well as his other works on Islamic theology and practice, inspired several generations of Muslim leaders in 19th and early 20th century South-East Asia and in East Africa. Their efforts, expressed through teaching and writing made up what has been called the "Haddadian paradigm", a term coined by Ismail Farjee Alatas in his 2021 book *What is Religious Authority?*[1)] Here, Alatas traces what he terms the "articulatory labour" that was undertaken to spread a certain set of Islamic practices, beliefs, and social codes in Indonesia from c. 1800 to the early 20th century.

My concern here is not so much with the modes of articulation, nor the nature of the Haddadian paradigm—its spiritual, ethical, moral, and legal guidelines—but rather with the *articulators* themselves. The texts, prayers and practices of al-Haddad spread from Hadramawt (southern Yemen) eastwards to the Malay/Indonesian archipelago and westwards to the Swahili coast with the general migration patterns of the Hadramis.[2)] In these locations, they were articulated by teachers and scholars whose primary impulse was the *da'wa* (missionary) or *islah* (reformist) impetus inherent in the Haddadian-Alawi model. These were, as Alatas has pointed out, individuals who, through teaching, writing and other engagements, enunciated the Haddadian paradigm and diffused it in the Indian Ocean, inspired by the formative works by al-Haddads most prominent 18th-century students.[3)]

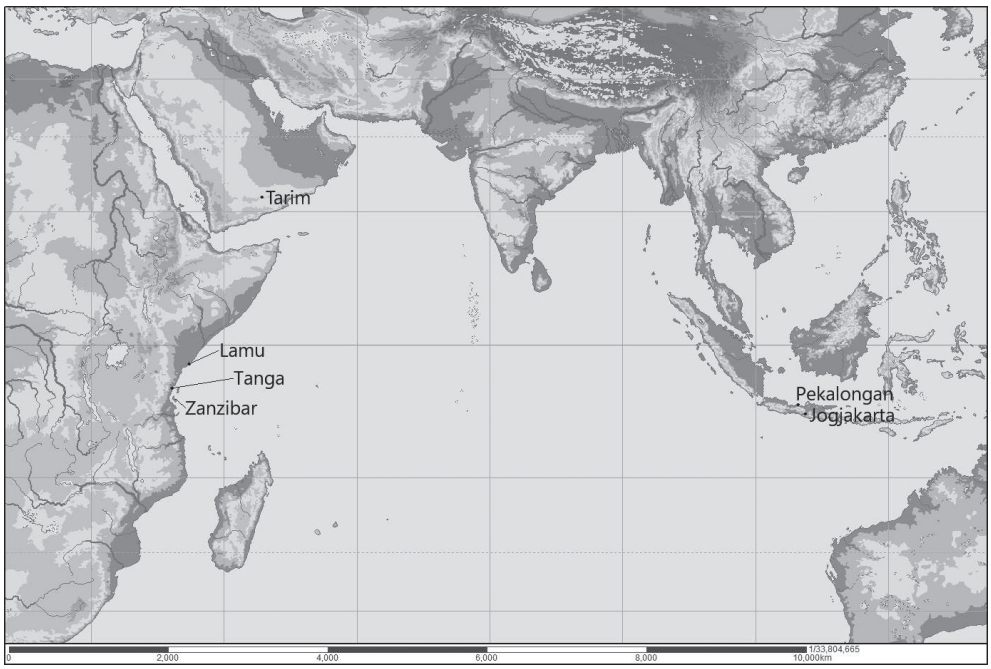
However, these articulators were also part of specific local and domestic political constellations that unfolded differently in the Malay/Indonesian and the Swahili world during the 19th—and not least in the 20th centuries. Here, I will not provide new research on these actors or their socio-political contexts, as many have been studied in-depth by scholars whose research will be referenced below. Rather, I will focus on the narratives that emerged in the 20th century around some of the primary "articulators". How have they been portrayed in later writings in Indonesia and in East Africa? How do they figure in biographical works and how have their works been appreciated retrospectively? What differences and similarities can be observed in how such portrayal

was done the two locations? And finally: What does this "re-telling" say about adaptations to the tidal wave of modernist thought in the Indian Ocean and the rise of "modern Sufism"?

I. What Is the "Haddadian Paradigm"?

Unlike so many migration-prone Hadramis of his time, Abd Allah b. Alawi al-Haddad spent his entire life at home in Tarim, Hadramawt, and his legacy has retrospectively been understood within the Alawi tradition as the start of a genuine revival. Al-Haddad himself is, to this day, routinely referred to as a *qutb* (the spiritual axis) of the Alawi *tariqa*. His devotional litanies (*awrad*) and his poetry have become part of practice from East Africa to South-East Asia and have been the subject of several commentaries over the centuries. Among his works, the most widely commented upon is the *Qasidat al-Ayniyya*, which is a poetic narrative of the Sharifian Alawi lineage; its personalities and the spiritual authority inherent in prophetic descent—as claimed by the Alawis of Hadramawt.

Also widely circulated and translated has been al-Haddad's last work, known as The complete call and the general reminder which deals with the dissemination of Islamic knowledge. Here, al-Haddad gives a classification of Islamic knowledge, divided according to who needs to know what in the Muslim community. His aim was to create



Map Major place names covered by this chapter

a set of texts that were accessible enough for general population to acquire the fundamentals of *aqida* (creed) and *fiqh* (law) through summarizing texts.

The works of al-Haddad were originally intended for "inner mission" in the Hadramawt itself, directed towards Bedouin and townspeople whose practices were deemed to be beyond the limits of the Sharia. His works have an overt "missionary impulse" which at the time was a clear break with the previous, more exclusivist Alawi tradition, as well as a directive towards social engagement such as founding *madrasas* (Islamic schools), engaging in arbitration and even political processes.[4] The aim, as formulated by I. F. Alatas, was to reformulate the Alawi *tariqa* from "a kind of patrician mysticism into a more accessible and attainable spiritual discipline accessible to every Muslim".[5]

Following the Hadrami migrants, al-Haddad's works soon came to have an impact throughout the Indian Ocean lands. By the early 20th century his poetry—and the associated abbreviated "teaching texts"—had become part and parcel of Islamic practice among many of Muslim communities from Borneo to Cape Town.

Retrospectively, the method and impact of al-Haddad has been described as follows by Alawis themselves: Al-Haddad realised that the spiritual exercises of the earlier Alawis (and Sufis in general) were simply too demanding and too far removed from life.[6] Thus, his recipe was simple: People should abide by the regulations of Islamic law, fulfilling all religious duties and avoiding that which is forbidden. Beyond that, they should remember God as often as possible, through reading the Quran and reciting prescribed litanies. The overall outcome was a set of ethical guidelines, meant to foster moral character (*akhlaq*), and traits such as compassion, generosity, patience, and other good qualities. Following the analysis by I. F. Alatas, the "Haddadian paradigm" may thus be understood as an articulation of the Sunna, a mode of connecting to the Prophetic past and making the Prophetic practice relevant to the present.[7]

For this purpose, al-Haddad composed several litanies, the most widely recited being known simply as the *Ratib al-Haddad.* The *Ratib* consists of Quranic lines ordered in a sequence understood to bring extraordinary *baraka* (blessing).[8] In the centuries since, and particularly from the late 19th century, the *Ratib al-Haddad* became a popular litany, often recited communally in mosques on Thursdays, in East Africa and in Indonesia.[9] Another widely recited text by al-Haddad is the *Wird al-Latif* (*The Gentle Litany*), generally perceived as protective against evil forces.

The Haddadian Paradigm in the Indian Ocean also has a very prominent textual dimension, despite being most widely known for its orally—and communally—recited litanies. Both in the Malay and Swahili world, works were authored that aimed to spread, explain, or defend tenets of the Haddadian paradigm. Al-Haddad's poems were subject to commentaries and the spiritual practices deriving from his teachings were recommended in writing repeatedly. In keeping with the teaching impulse, the Haddadian paradigm is perhaps most explicitly characterized by its "short texts" that outline basic duties and responsibilities of Muslims. Several such texts were widely circulated in 19th century Indian Ocean, but three stand out as particularly central "teachings texts" that span the ocean from Indonesia to East Africa:

Table 1 Three major teaching texts in the 19th Century Indian Ocean

Ahmad b. Zayn al-Hibshi (d. 1733, Hadramawt). *Al-Risalat al-Jami'a* Basic outline of the five pillars of Islam.	Salim b. Abd Allah b. Sumayr (d. 1853 in Singapore), *Safinat al-Najah* Legal primer that outlines the rules of ritual purity, prayer, zakat, fasting and the *hajj/umra*.	Ali b. Muhammad al-Hibshi (1843–1915, Sayun, Hadramawt), *Simt al-Durrar*. This came to be the defining mawlid text of the Riyādha mosque college in Sayun and later in its namesake in Lamu, Kenya and Solo (Surakarta), Indonesia—and several other Haddadian institutions.

I–1. The Haddadian Paradigm and the Modernist Challenge

The Haddadian paradigm clearly fell within what R. Loimeier has called an "esoteric episteme", whereby religious authority is based on a chain of earlier shaykhs whose knowledge (esoteric *and* exoteric) is understood to be passed on across space and time.[10] By the early 20th century, this entire episteme was coming under increasing criticism by modernist thinkers like Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905) and Rashid Rida (d. 1935), who expressed their views in new journals. Arguably the most influential was *al-Manar*, edited by Rida. The 1898 mission statement makes clear the general agenda of ridding Islam of (amongst others) "superstition", "false teachings" and "the cult of saints and the practices of Sufi orders" to pave the way for education, sciences, and arts—in short, Islamic modernity and progress.[11]

In her carefully constructed argument linking Islamic modernism to the rise of historicism in the 19th century, Monica Ringer observes that Islamic modernism tended to cast Islamic history as a march towards "improvement". She states that "… while magic was denounced as false consciousness of the Divine, and while miracles were cast as symptomatic of primitive ignorance of natural law, this did not mark the end of religion in the modern".[12]

Rather, religion in the Islamic world, was now formulated as rational and fully in line with the natural laws of modern science. Rashid Rida, for example, repeatedly argued that belief in sensory observable miracles (*al-karamat al-hissiyya*) was most prevalent among "commoners" (*al-awam*). He argued against the healing power of "holy men" and ritual cults such as the *zar*, stressing instead the importance of what he called "real knowledge". While not refuting the possibility that God may intervene among mankind, his default position was that the natural order of things is the expression of God's will.[13]

In other words: The association of the Prophet, and by extension, his descendants (the *sada*), and the *awliya* ("Friends of God", saints) with supernatural events is by Rida framed as hallmarks of an "unevolved" Islam. Instead, the moral betterment of the individual and the community should be the priorities of Muslims around the world. In this world-view, the Haddadian emphasis on making Islamic knowledge *accessible* was viewed positively, but the associated protective litanies, powers ascribed to the *sada* and belief in Divine intervention were dismissed outright as belonging to the past.

This conflation of the esoteric episteme (including the Haddadian paradigm) with "the

past" made for confrontational debates in first decades of the 20th century. To the Alawis and many other Sufi groups, the ability of saints to intercede with God, to cause miracles or to heal and harm, was as self-evident as the miraculous emergence of Islam itself. However, as Islamic modernist ideas became more widespread in the 20th century, in no small part due to the wide distribution of *al-Manar*, this also came to affect how earlier generations of teacher-scholars were remembered. Portrayals could range from correcting (such as expressing scepticism to certain aspects of a predecessor's life and work) to outright silencing. What follows discusses these processes in Indonesia and East Africa.

II. The Haddadian Paradigm in 19th and 20th Century Indonesia

According to I. F. Alatas, the Haddadian paradigm began to take root in in Southeast Asia from the early 1800s.[14] This coincided with the pacification of the old Javanese sultanates by Dutch colonial forces which meant that existing authority structures were crumbling. The gate was open to the Haddadian mode of articulatory labour—a task that was taken up by several Alawis in Indonesia. One early outcome was the 1809 translation into Malay of one of al-Haddad's texts summarised by his grandson.[15]

Another articulator was Abd Allah b. Umar b. Yahya, who was born in Hadramawt and later migrated to Dutch East India where he died in 1855.[16] Typically, he outlined Islamic tenets in a relatively brief treatise (*tadhkira*), defining beneficial sciences and warning against intricate theology that makes Islam inaccessible to people. Alatas describes Ibn Yahya (and other shaykhs like him) as *shaykh al-ta'lim*, first and foremost a *teacher*, rather than a spiritual guide or possessor of extraordinary abilities. Nontheless, Ibn Yahya himself came under criticism for his teaching activities—although it is not clear if this was instigated by the colonial rulers or the local community in Pekalongan where he had settled.

It is also worth noting the reformist attitude of a Haddadian scholar like Ibn Yahya. As Alatas has argued with reference to Ibn Yahya's treatise on Shia *ashura* practices, the aim was to "regulate, authenticate and reform—rather than eradicate"[17]—in this case overly emotional *ashura* expressions. Building upon the main legal tracts of the Haddadian tradition, Ibn Yahya still implicitly argues for reverence towards the descendants of the Prophet, including Husayn (as commemorated in *ashura*) and living descendants such as the Hadrami Alawis in Indonesia. In other words: The Haddadian reform was by scholars like Ibn Yahya understood as taking place within an existing epistemology that accepted the descendants of the Prophet as leaders of the Islamic *umma*.

Another example of such articulation—although not explicitly termed as Haddadian—is outlined by Francis R. Bradley who describe the activities of Patani scholars after the Thai invasion in 1786.[18] Scholars dispersed to Mecca returned to articulate trademark "Haddian" works such as abbreviated legal tracts (especially on family and inheritance law) and basic works on prayer, ritual purity and the Islamic pillars.

By the early 1900s, the entire Haddadian paradigm came under heavy criticism in South-East Asia—most notably voiced through debates in *al-Manar*. The impact of

al-Manar in South-East Asia has been studied by several scholars from different vantage points and will not be repeated here.[19] Suffice it to say that debates in South-East Asia centred on several issues, including *kafa'a* (compatibility in marriage), colonialism and the nation, modern education, and not least the ever-present topic of *bid'a* (innovations) as represented by for example healing practices or Sufi festivals. The confrontations tended to pit Hadrami Alawi loyalists (who were often, but not always sayyids themselves) against modernists favouring *al-Manar* arguments. The Hadrami Alawis argued that a female descendant of the Prophet (a *sharifa*) could not marry a non-sharif, regardless of wealth or education level. To the modernists, such obstinate belief in any "special powers" flowing in sharifian bloodlines was simply viewed as leftovers from a less enlightened past.

In his biography of the intellectual and publisher Sayyid Uthman (1822–1914) who lived and worked in Netherlands East India, Nico Kaptein outlines the writings and publishing activities of one of the foremost "Haddadians" of his era. Amongst his many other activities, Sayyid Uthman published the *Ratib al-Haddad* and the *Wird al-Latif* with interlinear Malay translations, clearly aiming to instil the ideals of the Haddadian paradigm in non-Arabic readers.[20]

Kaptein also discusses Sayyid Uthman's confrontations with the "Manarists".[21] In 1909, Sayyid Uthman published his work *Jam' al-nafa'is*, which expressed very "Haddadian" concepts, including the emphasis on *da'wa*, respect for the Prophet and his family, as well as extracts from al-Haddad himself, who was referred to by Sayyid Uthman as one of the "pious forefathers". Sayyid Uthman's treatise reached the desk of Rashid Rida in Cairo, via his ideological opponents who aimed to portray him as an "obstruction" to Muslim progress. Rida responded by modifying the criticism—stating that Sayyid Uthman most certainly *thought* he was promoting the Muslim cause, however misguided—but proceeded nonetheless to offer a harsh criticism of the *Jam' al-nafa'is*. The debate between Rida and the by now very elderly Sayyid Uthman continued until 1912 and is summarised by Kaptein as one between the younger, modernist Manarists and the older, parochial Haddadians represented by Sayyid Uthman. M. Laffan, who also has analysed the debates, goes even further, and characterized them as downright "vitriolic".[22]

III. The South East Asian Haddadian Articulators in Retrospect: Adapting to the Modernist Model?

For the Haddadian paradigm to retain its religious authority, it was obviously necessary for its tenets to keep being propagated. Part of this claim to relevance would be to have its main 19th-century articulators remembered and—better yet—revered. However, as modernist ideals gained ground and organised into the Muhammadiyah (founded 1912 in Jogkakarta), there emerged also a tendency to silence, or outright discredit the predecessors whose activities fell within the Haddadian paradigm.

Laffan argues that early 20th century developments in Indonesia were more explicitly political, i.e. eschewing debates over practice in favour of questions of

nationhood and the anti-colonial struggle.[23] Elsewhere Laffan has implied—more than explicitly argued—that the "division of labour" between the Muhammadiyah and the Sufi/*pensantreen* traditionalist equivalent Nadhlatul Ulama (founded 1926 in Surabaya) for a long time led to parallel authorities.[24]

That avowed modernists rejected the esoteric episteme is not surprising. However, I. F. Alatas indicates a certain "sanitizing" of the Haddadian heritage took place, even within the Nahdatul Ulama and Hadrami Alawi circles.[25] Focusing on the portrayal of the Ahl al-Bayt (the Prophet's descendants) in three 20th century Indonesian accounts, Alatas notes several shifts. First, there was the need to demarcate the ʿAlawi practice of giving pre-eminence the Ahl al-Bayt from Shi'ism. Secondly, and most prominently noted in the Indonesian scholar Salim b. Ahmad b. Jindan (1906–1969), Alawi traditionalism was combined with an extensive emphasis on *hadith* studies—very much in line with what was propagated by the modernists. In other words, Alatas states, an author like Ibn Jindan "occupies an interesting position where he enunciates the prominence of the *ahl al-bayt* by negotiating between modern Islamic reformism, with its emphasis on *hadith* studies, and Shi'ism".[26]

In many ways, this highlighting of *hadith* forshadows—as Alatas also point out—the emergence of "neo-traditional" Sufism in the 1990s, as exemplified by the teaching institution Dar al-Mustafa in the Hadramawt itself (founded in 1997). Often explained as the outcome of a perceived "spiritual malaise" of modernity (be that Western or Islamic), and the loss of cultural belonging inherent in Salafi teachings, Haddadian and BaAlawi teachers became sought-after tutors among converts in the west and Muslims in general.[27] Typical of this strand of practice—which is also prominent in many of the brother/sister institutions of the Dār al-Muṣṭafā—has been a downplaying of saint stories, miracles and the like, in favour of strong emphasis on *hadith* as a source of not only law, but also moral stature (*akhlaq*). As A. Knysh pointed out already in 2001, the Dar al-Mustafa also put a distinct "[…] salafi spin on themselves as representatives of Islamic "modernity" and a "forward-looking," "progressive" interpretation of Islam".[28] In other words: Like the modernists and Salafis before them, the teachers of the Dar al-Mustafa in the 21st century view themselves as the "way forward" in this age.

In sum, the 20th century Indonesian pattern has been to present their Haddadian predecessors in ways more recognizable (and more palatable) to the modernist sensibilities. P. Riddell has called this a process of "Sufi rehabilitation", but with a view to creating a "modern Sufism".[29] From the point of view of the heirs to the Haddadian articulators, this implied a selection process on what to highlight and what to under-communicate in the lives and works of their predecessors.

IV. The Haddadian Paradigm in 19th and 20th Century East Africa

The Haddadian paradigm was also part and parcel of the "reformist" Sufi orientation that emerged in East Africa from the late 1800s. The timing is somewhat later than what we see in South East Asia, possibly due to the later emergence of local print production, and possibly due to the unifying Islamic authority of BuSaidi rule well into the 1880s, before

the British take-over in 1890. In East Africa, like in South-East Asia, the impact of Al-Haddad's model is closely associated with scholars of Hadrami-Alawi origin or scholars closely affiliated with them.

I will here focus on two such articulators: Ahmad b. Abi Bakr b. Sumayt (1861–1925) and Hasan b. Muhammad Jamal al-Layl (d. 1904).[30] Both authored works that fall squarely within the Ḥaddadian paradigm, and both have been portrayed—in very different ways—in later biographical works from the 20th century.

Ahmad b. Sumayt was a central scholar in Zanzibar and East Africa for several decades, as an author, teacher and as a *qadi* to several Sultans and during the British Protectorate. Much has been written about his life, which will not be repeated here.[31] Suffice it here to say that Ibn Sumayt spent prolonged periods in Hadramawt where he studied with the "inheritors" of the Haddadian paradigm there. His main shaykh was Ali b. Muhammad al-Hibshi in Sayun, who was introduced above as the author of the *mawlid* text *Simt al-Durrar*. This text was also to become highly influential in East Africa through the Lamu Riyadha Mosque, founded around 1900 by Saleh b. Alawi Jamal al-Layl (1853–1936). Another important figure in Ibn Sumayt's circle was his long-time friend and intellectual companion Abd Allah BaKathir (1860/61–1925). Being first and foremost a teacher, BaKathir's main legacy was the Madrasa BaKathir in Zanzibar Town. These three men, who were also connected by marriage and by their shared Hadrami and Comorian backgrounds, made up a "triumvirate" of Haddadian articulators in early 20th century East Africa.

However, among these three, Ibn Sumayt was the only one to author lengthy works directly related to the Haddadian paradigm. In his spiritual advice (*wasiyya*) to his son Umar b. Sumayt, Ibn Sumayt highlighted the role of al-Haddad as a *qutb* who explained the teachings of al-Ghazali in shorter, more comprehensive formats. Given the fact that Umar, too, was a learned scholar with several study periods in Hadramawt to his name, the implicit understanding in the *wasiyya* is that ʿUmar can go to the "source" (al-Ghazali), while al-Haddad's extrapolations are recipes for instilling Islam among the "common people":

> The Alawis stayed with the words of the Qutb (al-Haddad) and he was altogether the essence of their *tariqa*. His works were incorporated into the study of the writings of the forefathers, drawing the seekers to it [the writings]. Know that the books of al-Haddad are like mere appendages of al-Ghazali.[32]

In other words: al-Haddad is here, between the learned father-and-son portrayed more as a gateway to al-Ghazali's *Ihya ulum al-din*—perhaps the singular work held in the highest esteem by the Alawi tradition.

Ibn Sumayt was more than familiar with the works on al-Haddad. During his lifetime, he wrote, and published three works commenting on poems by al-Haddad:

Table 2 Ibn Sumayt's commentary works on poems by al-Haddad

1315/ 1897–1898	1313/1895	Ahmad b. Sumayt	*Manhal al-wurrad min fayd al-amdad bi-sharh abyat al-Qutb Abd Allah b. Alawi al-Haddad*	Matba'a al-Miriyya	Mecca	Commentary on on a *qasida ra'iyya* (a poem of advice) by al-Haddad
1320/1902	1902	Ahmad b. Sumayt	*Al-kawkab al-zahir bi-sharh nazim hajir / Minhaj al-fada'il wa-l-mi'raj al-afadil*	Matba'a al-Madani	Cairo	Reprinted in Cairo, 1961. Two separate commentaries on two poems by al-Haddad 1 Commentary on the poem *Nasim hajir* by al-Haddad 2 Commentary on the *manzuma ha'iyya* by al-Haddad
1332/ 1913–1914		Ahmad b. Sumayt	*Tuhfat al-labib sharh lamiyat al-Habib*	Dar al-kutub al-arabiyya al-kubra	Cairo	Commentary on a *qasida lamiyya* (known as the *qasida Ghazaliyya*) by al-Haddad

In all these works, Ibn Sumayt extrapolates on the Haddadian paradigm and explains the meaning of each stanza. In the introduction to *al-Kawkab al-Zahir*, he states the reason for engaging with al-Haddad's poetry:

> There came to pass a discussion between myself and […] our brother in Islam Abd Allāh […] BaKathir (May God guide us on the path of righteousness) regarding this *arjuza* [poem in the *rajaz* meter] by the Sayyid, the *qutb al-irshad* Abd Allah b. Alawi al-Haddad and the exact meaning of it. So I started going through the details of the poem and what other people of knowledge had said. I was not able to decipher its meaning until reviewing the words of this group (*qawm*—people of knowledge) in their writings and looked carefully at the *abyat* and their convention. Whatever I found to be correct derives from their words. Whatever may be incorrect is due to my limited understanding.[33)]

Another Haddadian articulation by Ibn Sumayt was his translation of the above-mentioned *Risalat al-Jami'a* by Ahmad b. Zayn al-Hibshi into Swahili. This translation was done under the auspices of the colonial government for use in the Zanzibar Government schools.[34)] The combination here of a very typical Haddadian text (brief, point-by-point introduction to the duties of Muslims) and colonial developmentalism is an interesting point that will not be discussed at length here, but which points to disparate understandings of modernity emerging in inter-war Zanzibar.

A less productive, but more controversial articulator of the Haddadian paradigm was Hasan b. Muhammad Jamal al-Layl (d. 1904). We know little about this author's life and none of his works went into print. His main work, *Marsumat al-Ayniyya*[35)] is, like Ibn Sumayt's works also a commentary to the *Qasidat al-Ayinyya* by al-Haddad, via the commentary by Haddad's aforementioned student Ahmad b. Zayn al-Hibshi (d. 1733).

However, his purpose was not to derive the meaning of each minute stanza, but rather to prove the correctness of Alawi genealogy as outlined by al-Haddad and al-Hibshi. In other words: The work was polemical and derived from a quarrel which very much mirrors developments in Indonesia. A *qadi* had married a *sharifa* (a female descendant of the Prophet) to a non-sayyid, which made Hasan b. Muhammad Jamal al-Layl reach for his genealogical works to instill reverence for Alawi descent. In other words, Hasan used al-Haddad to defend the spiritual authority of the *ahl al-bayt* and the traditional notion that such authority is diminished on earth when a *sharifa* produces non-sayyid offspring.

V. Memorializing the East African Haddadians: Sanitizing or Historicizing?

How have the lives and works of these Haddadian articulators been remembered in 20th and 21st century East Africa? The main biographical work of East African scholars is without a doubt that written by Abdallah Saleh Farsy (1912–1982). Farsy himself was a product of the same teaching tradition as Ahmad b. Sumayt, Abd Allah BaKathir and Habib Saleh, and thus also that of Hasan Jamal al-Layl. Over the years, Farsy turned towards a more modernist stance (some say Salafi, or even Wahhabi, which is hard to substantiate from his writing). In East Africa, he is best known for his translation of the Quran and Quranic commentaries into Swahili, and for his periods as Chief Qadi—first of Zanzibar and then of Kenya.[36] The work in question, known today as *Baadhi ya Wanavyuoni wa Kishafii wa Africa Mashariki*, profiles the most influential scholars in Zanzibar and East Africa from approximately 1870 until the mid-1920s. This means that the latter generation was Farsy's own teachers and seniors, whom he throughout the work is simultaneously praising and partly distancing himself from. The book was first published in Swahili in 1945 and then again in 1972 with revisions.[37] It was translated to English by R. Pouwels and published as an annotated version in 1989, after Farsy's death.[38] Pouwels noted in the introduction (based on conversations with Farsy) that Farsy had been hesitant to publish the work widely in Swahili for the fear of creating *fitna*, controversy or conflict.[39]

In Farsy's account, Ahmad b. Sumayt and his colleague Abd Allah BaKathir feature as the main characters of intellectual history of East Africa. Approximately half of his account is devoted to these two men, who are very much portrayed as "teaching shaykhs" in the vein of Ibn Yahya in Indonesia. In the case of Abd Allah BaKathir, this was certainly the case, given that he wrote only one book, refused official positions, and devoted his time first and foremost to what was to become the Madrasa BaKathir in Zanzibar (presently Madrasat al-Nur). While heaping praise on BaKathir for his piety and his important role in the community, and his family and followers, Farsy cannot refrain from adding the following regarding BaKathir's burial place:

> "Neither that tomb of his, nor any others […] should have been built [since] building tombs is sinful, as is constructing domes on mosques. These are matters which the Prophet strictly forbade, even though they are done by those who refuse to take heed".[40]

Farsy's portrayal of Ibn Sumayt is clearly one of utmost respect for a fellow scholar who he knew as a young boy—and especially for his understanding of Arabic textual traditions, as well for his dedication to knowledge. However, Farsy is notably brief on the actual content of Ibn Sumayt's works, which he undoubtedly had read at an early stage in life. Listing Ibn Sumayt's Haddad commentaries, Farsy gives simple statements like "explication of the *nasim hajir*" or even no comment at all.[41] His most substantial comment is given to Ibn Sumayt's only work that derives from legal teaching, where Farsy offers a background to the lectures on which the book was based. In fact, while listing Ibn Sumayt's published works, Farsy does not mention al-Haddad at all, nor his works, nor his influence on scholars like Ibn Sumayt and BaKathir.[42] Furthermore, when describing the rites performed in connection with Ibn Sumayt's death, Farsy cannot resist stating: "All these above ceremonies are forbidden, but people still do them."[43]

So how are we to understand this apparent double-speak of Farsy? On the one hand profuse praise and on the other a clear under-communication of what of his predecessor wrote and published? And the explicit criticism against some of the rituals performed upon their deaths? My interpretation is that Farsy here is praising the knowledge rooted in textual (and specifically: Arabic) sources of Islam, as opposed to other practices deriving from the esoteric strain of Islam. He is also explicitly praising the activism of establishing schools, teaching fundamentals of Islam to young and old—while at the

Photo 1 The grave of Abd Allah BaKathir in the well-maintained graveyard of the Madrasat al-Nur in Zanzibar. Photographed during the marking of the 100 (*hijri*) years of his death, 17 March 2022. (Photo by Anne K. Bang, 17 March 2022)

same time implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) criticizing aspects of the Haddadian paradigm on which this activism was founded.

This is even more evident if we turn to Farsy's treatment of Hasan Jamal al-Layl. In fact, Hasan is awarded no more than a few lines by Farsy, where he briefly mentions the quarrel over *kafa'a* without any further comment.[44] However, elsewhere Farsy makes his view on the issue very clear:

> "There are some who hold it that it is sinful [haramu] for a non-sharif to marry a sharif. What would these people say if they knew that Sh. Abdul-Aziz, Sh. Ali b. Abdallah and Sh. Said b. Dahman also had wives who were Sharifs? It would behoove them to desist from inventing such things".[45]

It transpires from Farsy's account that he values the tradition from which he came. The scholars given pre-eminence by Farsy are those most distinctly propagates scriptural learning—which is the main legacy of the Haddadian paradigm in East Africa.

On the other hand, Farsy—unlike his contemporaries in South East Asia—omits any epistemological discussion on the value or non-value of the *ahl al-bayt* as models of piety. He also makes no mention of Shiʿism at all, neither to distance himself, nor to place the polemical label of *rafida* on anyone. This may have to do with what Pouwels noted as Farsy's worry about *fitna* (discord) in the community, but more likely because Shi'a communities in East Africa at the time of Farsy's writing were thought of as bounded communities, mostly of Indian origin.

How are the stories of Ahmad b. Sumayt (and his colleague Abd Allah BaKathir) retold today? In March and May 2022, the marking of the 100 *hijri* years of their deaths[46] were held in Zanzibar. Especially that of Ahmad b. Sumayt drew big audiences and visitors from far and wide. In many ways these events aimed to re-affirm the Haddadian foundation that these memorialized forefathers laid to present-day practice. In the case of Ahmad b. Sumayt, there were in fact two official events, one religious and one more academic.

The former included a ceremony which (presumably to the consternation of Farsy, if he had lived) including draping a new cloth over Ibn Sumayt's grave in the Malindi Friday Mosque in Zanzibar.[47] The *samai* (sw: listening, Arabic: *sama'*)[48] was held in front of large banner featuring the image of Ahmad b. Sumayt. Directly next to the banner sat two very prominent "grandsons" of the Haddadian articulators: Sayyid Ahmad Badawi, grandson of Habib Saleh of the Riyadha Mosque in Lamu and Habib Abd al-Qadir b. Muhammad b. Ali al-Hibshi, grandson of Ali b. Muhammad al-Hibshi, who had travelled from Hadramawt. Their prominent presence may here be interpreted as a signal not only of continuity, but also as continuity within a genealogical line.

Also in attendance were leaders of the Qadiriyya and Shadhiliyya[49] orders in Zanzibar, as well and other religious leaders from Egypt,[50] Yemen and the UAE. This, in turn may be interpreted as a demonstration of unity and common ground among the established orders, and perhaps also as a signal that all now recognize their origin in the Haddadian mode of reformist Sufism?

Tanzanian students trained at the Riyadha in Lamu performed during the samai, with tambourines, flutes, and song. The recitations were a mix of litanies by Ali b. Muhammad al-Hibshi and al-Haddad himself. This showcases the spread of these texts (and their associated mode of authority) beyond the coastal urban centers and into the African continent.

The academic event marking the 100 years of Ibn Sumayt's death had a slightly different type of attendance and an altogether different flair.[51] Firstly, the proceedings were held in a conference hall, this too decorated with large photos of Ibn Sumayt. Many students were attendance, including female students. Secondly, the event was conducted entirely in Arabic.

On this occasion, the works of al-Haddad were explicitly discussed as part of the legacy of Ibn Sumayt, as well as the role of the *ahbab* (the descendants of the Prophet) in Islamic cosmology. The published works of Ibn Sumayt were discussed in a series of *dirasat* (lectures) by several speakers, who gave expositions not only of their meaning, but of their meaning in the present day. Among the speakers was Shaykh Samir Hamad, director of the Shams al-Maʿārif Institute in Tanga who spoke on the *Manhaj al-Fada'il*. The next speaker, who appeared on zoom from Yemen, gave a lecture on the *Kawkab al-Zahir*. The Imam of the Friday Mosque in Zanzibar spoke on Ibn Sumayt's importance in preparing the prayer times for East Africa.

The image that was projected during this event was the present-day network of institutions that derive from the earlier Haddadian articulators. Also very prominent was the emphasis on Islamic knowledge, and knowledge production, which was especially targeting the students in the room. In short, the event was very much an affirmation of what the tradition has now *become*—much in the vein of what is projected by the Dar al-Mustafa scholars.

VI. Haddadians Remembered in East Africa

In sum, we see in East Africa a pattern that is similar to that in South-East Asia: The Sufi predecessors are commended for their teaching, yet the esoteric foundation of their scholarship is downplayed. Farsy's relatively gentle rebukes are clearly designed not to upset a population whose outlook on Islamic teaching was shaped by the Haddadian paradigm. Farsy's less gentle refutation of Hasan Jamal al-Layl indicates that some things were beyond discussion: The descendants of the Prophet are Muslims like all others, here in East Africa as in South-East Asia.

The commemoration events held in Zanzibar show the same development as in South-East Asia: a new form of Sufism that promotes itself as part and parcel of "modern" Islam. Extraordinary charisma or miracle stories are gone in favor of academic, sober assessments of textual legacies. That said, the events also featured the hallmarks of the Haddadian paradigm that have come under particular criticism from Salafi quarters. The events show that the Haddadian tradition in East Africa has made adaptations to modernist (and later Salafi) criticism, yet their core rituals remain proudly on display.

Conclusions

In Indonesia and East Africa, the "lives and times" of the earlier Haddadian articulators were retold in the form of biographies published in the 1900s. However, in both locations, elements of "selective memorializing" can be observed, whereby elements such as for example miracles, were omitted in favour of praise for "modern" work, such as teaching, founding schools, devising prayer times etc. In both locations, we see a gradual convergence by which the former articulators of the Haddadian paradigm are represented almost as modernists. In other words: The paradigm itself is historicised into a process by which it is framed as a phase in a development towards modernism.

That said, there are also significant differences between the two locations. The clear organisational divide that took place in Indonesia (between the Muhammadiyyah and Nahdatul Ulama) made for distinct "echo-chambers" that did not emerge in East Africa until later. In East Africa, on the other hand, communities were smaller and organized not in two main associations but along a multitude of ethnic, religious and social lines and juxtaposed against the mainly non-Muslim mainland. This meant that biographers like Farsy under-communicated contested theological points with potential for social friction. Although he could criticize outwardly elements of practice (particularly funeral prayers and grave-building), he does, for example, not engage with the *mawlid* celebrations or the intrinsic value of the *ahl al-bayt*. This would be too disruptive to a community that still operated under the established Haddadian paradigm.

The "re-telling" of the Haddadian predcessors may at both locations seem to be an adaptation to the rising influence of Islamic modernism, and later, Salafism. However, there is also a clear element of positing the Sufi episteme itself as distinctly modern. In this perspective, we may view commemorations such as those in Zanzibar in 2022 as more than mere "adaptations" (i.e. the omission of miracle stories and the like) but as rituals that communicate present-day Sufism as fully modern, highly localized alternatives to the modernist/Salafi orientation. In other words: The Haddadian paradigm is now being re-localized through the memorialization of earlier representatives in both East Africa and Indonesia.

Notes

1) Alatas 2021.
2) Much has been written on Hadrami migration in the Indian Ocean in general and the Swahili world and South East Asia in particular. For Hadrami migration to South East Asia, see: Freitag and Clarence-Smith (eds.) 1997; Freitag 2003; Feener 2004: 353–372; Ho 2006: For migration to East Africa, see full bibliography in Bang 2019.
3) Among these the early transmitters of al-Haddad's writings and ideas was Ahmad b. Zayn al-Hibshi (d. 1733). Another transmitter was Muhammad b. Zayn b. Sumayt (d. 1758) who was a student of Ahmad b. Zayn al-Hibshi and who authored a biography of al-Haddad. The 19th century saw a new generation of such "revitalizers" in Hadramawt, whose activities will be listed but not discussed in-depth here.

4) Elmasry 2017.
5) Alatas 2021: 67.
6) For a typical description, see al-Badawi 2022: 192–193.
7) Alatas 2021: 60–61.
8) For a translation and explanation, see Elmasry 2017: 312–318.
9) On the *Ratib al-Haddad* and its role and changed meanings in 20th-century East Africa, see Bang 2014: 143–162.
10) For a discussion, see Loimeier 2005: 216–254.
11) Here quoted from Abushouk 2007: 304.
12) Ringer 2020: 20.
13) On the modernist take on the supernatural, views on superstition, miracles, healing and esoteric authority, see Riyad 2009; Stolz 2012: 223–247, 2017; Bang 2024: 23–37. See also Schwensen 2024; Coppens 2024.
14) Alatas 2021: 71–80.
15) Riddell 1997: 222. Riddell gives the title of this work as: *SabiI al-Hiddya wal Irshad fi Dhikr Nubdha min Fadd'd al-Kutub al-Hadad.*
16) Alatas 2021: 71–80.
17) Alatas 2020: 411–438, 430.
18) Bradley 2014: 89–111.
19) Abushouk 2000, 2006, 2007; Mobini-Kesheh 1999; Abaza 1998.
20) Kaptein 2014: 214–221.
21) Kaptein 2014: 174–175.
22) Laffan 2003: 112.
23) Laffan 2003: 137–138. According to Laffan, this was espcially the case in Sumatra, which sent a small contigent of students to Rashid Rida's school in Cairo.
24) This "parallell universes" situation was at least suspended during the independence struggle and again in the 1990s and 2000s in the face of radical jihadist movements. In the latter situation, both associations have been viewed as bulwarks against radical impulses. See Laffan 2006: 91–115.
25) Alatas 2015: 139–164.
26) Alatas 2015: 156.
27) Quisay 2023.
28) Knysh 2001: 412.
29) Ridell 2001: 215–265.
30) On Muḥammad b. Hasan Jamal al-Layl, see Bang 2014: 117–118.
31) On the life and work of Ahmad b. Sumayt, see Bang 2003.
32) *Wasiyya* from Ahmad b. Sumayt to his son ʿUmar. For a full translation and reference to original print, see Bang 2012: 419–434.
33) bin Sumayt 1961: 4.
34) Bang 2003: 173–187. See also Loimeier 2009, *passim*.
35) For a more in-depth discussion of this work, see Bang 2014: 117–119.
36) On the life and work of Abdallah Saleh Farsy, see Loimeier 2009.
37) The first version was entitled *Tarehe ya Imam Shafi na wanavyuoni wakubwa wa Afrika ya*

mashariki (History of Imam Shāfiʿī and the great scholars of East Africa), Zanzibar: Mwongozi Press, 1945.

38) Farsy and Pouwels 1989.
39) Farsy and Pouwels 1989: ii, note 3.
40) Farsy and Pouwels 1989: 144.
41) Farsy and Pouwels 1989: 184.
42) Farsy and Pouwels 1989: 184.
43) Farsy and Pouwels 1989: 202. "*Yote haya ni bid'a ila watu wanafanya tu*."
44) Farsy and Pouwels 1989: 82.
45) Farsy and Pouwels 1989: 70. The question of funerary rites became a highly contested issue in East Africa during the inter-war period, as was also the case in South-East Asia. While related to the adaptations of the Haddadian paradigm in the 20th cenury, these debates will not be discussed here.
46) The two died within a very short period of eachother. Abd Allah BaKathir died on 14 Sha'ban 1343/9 March 1925, while Ahmad b. Sumayt passed away two months later, on 13 Shawwal 1343/7 May 1925. The marking of the dates were made according to the Islamic calendar, in the hijra year 1443.
47) Maj Maul Ahbaab (Majma TV) 2022a.
48) Maj Maul Ahbaab (Majma TV) 2022b.
49) The Shādhiliyya was represented by the Head of East Africa, Shaykh Nur al-Din, head of the Shadhiliyya; also present was Shaykh Abd al-Hamid Butt, of the Naqshbandiyya.
50) A prominent Egyptian representative at the gathering was Usama Said al-Azhari (Ph.D. from Al-Azhar). He is considered one of the most influential Sunni-Ghazalian scholars. He is also the author of Quranic commentaries and a scholar who does not shy away from intra-Islamic debates. The Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Centre n.d.
51) ZCTVMEDIA 2022.

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Chapter 10 Introspection of Sectarian Identity across the Indian Ocean: Reading 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Mundhirī's Works*

Yohei Kondo
Fukuoka Women's University

Introduction

Over centuries, scores of people have crossed the Indian Ocean, some to live temporarily in a foreign land, others to settle permanently. As a foreword by Scarcia Amoretti mentions in *Islam in East Africa: New Source*, it is "in the Indian Ocean that different identities have fed on a common cultural humus and enjoyed a significant exchange of intertwined experiences."[1)] As a result of such migration, certain regions on the Indian Ocean rim have developed cosmopolitan environments.[2)]

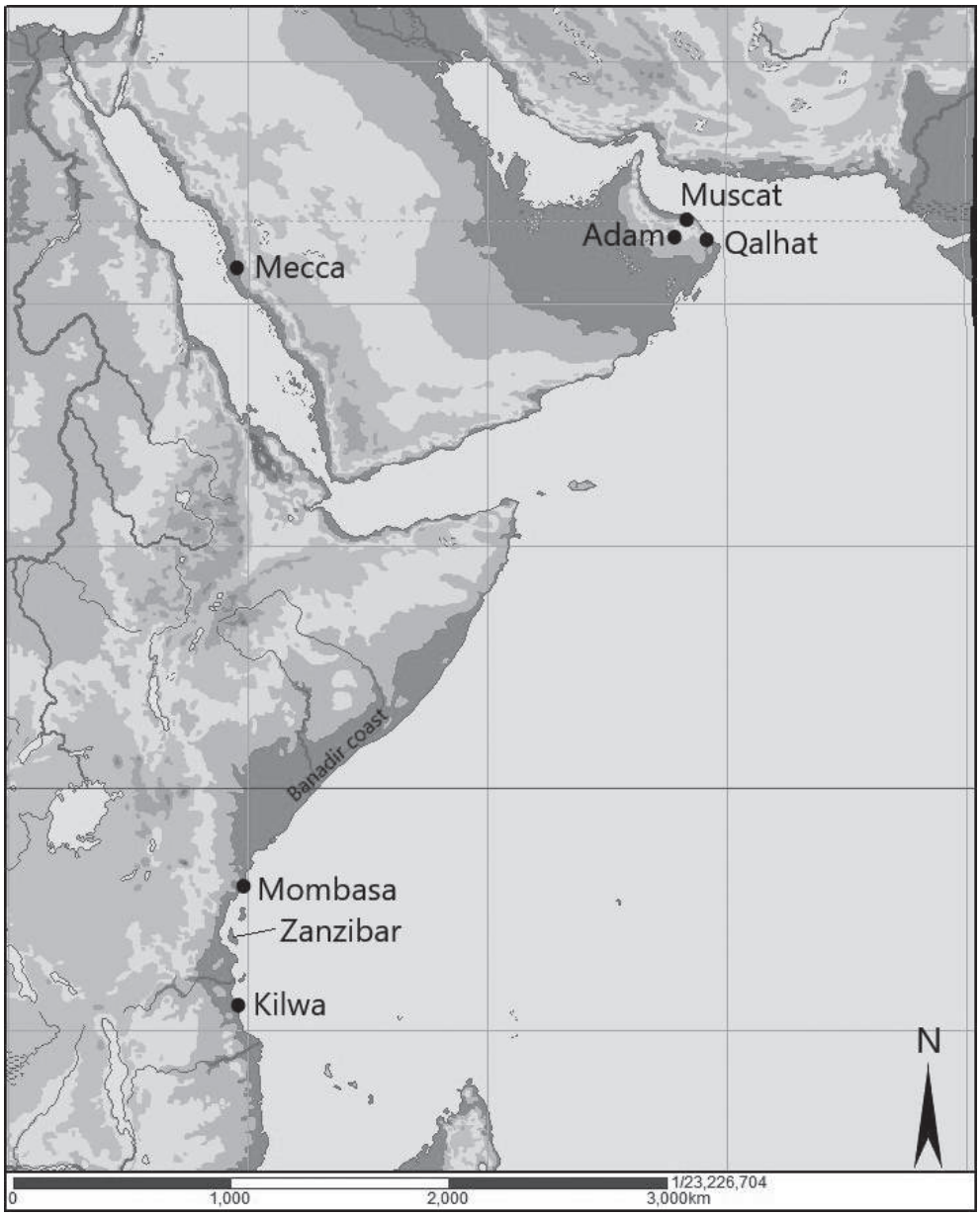
Among the people who have lived their lives against such cosmopolitan backgrounds on the East African coast, this paper focuses on the Ibāḍīs who, like the Sunnis and Shī'īs, constitute an Islamic denomination. They based themselves variously in the Arabian Peninsula, North Africa, and East Africa; the Omani Ibāḍīs for example crossed the Indian Ocean and lived in island towns such as Kilwa, on Zanzibar, and in coastal areas. Extant sources indicate that among the religious diversities within the region, the Ibāḍīs had always maintained communications among their scattered communities to maintain their religious unity and identity. However, it is far from inconceivable that as time went on, certain Ibāḍī scholars on the East African coast might have reviewed their religious teachings and practice, and eventually sought to coexist both with local non-Ibāḍī Muslims and others.

As a religious minority in both the wider Muslim world and their own local society, how then did the Ibāḍī Muslims position themselves within that society? What was their understanding of themselves, and how did they maintain their identity? What types of activity did they perform to ensure harmonious coexistence with the locals? By seeking answers to these questions and directing our attention to minority groups, we can depict the diverse societies on the East African coast comprehensively and vividly.

The present paper will consider primarily the works of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Mundhirī (1866–1925), Ibāḍī judge of Zanzibar from 1902 until his death in 1925. Reading his works and other Ibāḍī literature, we learn what elements of their teachings he and other Ibāḍīs in Zanzibar recognized as something they felt they must defend, and what they regarded as relatively insignificant. Furthermore, we shall see how they wished

to maintain their sectarian identity and ties with their homeland of Oman which lay behind them on the other side of the Indian Ocean, and was the heartland of Ibāḍism.

The following section will focus on the Ibāḍī presence in East Africa. After briefly describing the career of Alī b. Muḥammad b. ʻAlī al-Mundhirī and his writings, I shall



Map Major place names covered by this chapter

use his history to attempt to illustrate the Ibāḍī intellectual effort to maintain self-identity while coexisting with other religious groups on the East African coast.

I. Ibāḍism and East Africa up to the First Half of the 20th Century

Ibāḍism emerged from a schism in the early days of the Islamic community, after which the Ibāḍīs succeeded in forming communities in locations ranging from Central Asia to North Africa. However, Oman played a significant role in the development of Ibāḍism and, as a particular example, from time to time until the middle of the last century, several Omani Ibāḍīs established themselves in the interior of Oman. Subsequently, a few Omanis seem to have moved to East Africa.

There are indications that an Ibāḍī community existed at least from the 11th century AD, most especially on Kilwa Island. For example, the Omani Ministry of Heritage and Culture (presently the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Youth) owns a manuscript written in Jumādā al-ūlā of 531 AH (1137 AD), which includes a letter from Muḥammad b. Mukhtār, active in the first half of the 11th century, to the people of Kilwa Island.[3] In addition, his successor Abū al-Mundhir Salama b. Muslim al-ʻAwtabī, sent a letter to the Kilwan Ibāḍīs concerning their local affairs.[4] Furthermore, twelfth-century Ibāḍī scholar Muḥammad b. Saʻīd al-Qalhātī wrote a rhyming prose poem entitled *al-Maqāma al-Kilwiyy*a.[5] The prose poem includes the dogmatic and legal differences between the Ibāḍīs and Sunnis. We may reasonably assume that the writer expected the recipients to maintain their identity as members of the Ibāḍī denomination.

Some Ibāḍīs of Omani origin deepened their relationships in East Africa through marriage. For example, the Omani-Zanzibari historian Saʻīd b. ʻAlī al-Mughayyrī (1882/3–1958/9) is reported to have mentioned that the first of his ancestors to emigrate from Oman to East Africa was Shaikh ʻAlī b. Masʻūd al-Mughayyrī who migrated during the Yaʻāriba dynasty (1624–1742). Al-Mughayyrī settled in the town now known as Mombasa on the coast of Kenya, and married a woman of the Būsaʻīdī family.[6]

Regarding the substantial increase in the Ibāḍī presence on the East African coast, scholars agree that it was related to the establishment and expansion of the Būsaʻīdī dynasty.[7] As that dynasty became established in mid-18th-century Oman and took control of the East African coast, Ibāḍist Omanis migrated to East Africa, where they served as Sultans' judges and administrative staff.[8] Among Ibāḍī scholars who migrated to the coast, Nāṣir b. Jāʻid (or b. Abī Nabhān) al-Kharūṣī (1778–1847) must be mentioned, for as one of the leading scholars of the time[9] he accompanied Sultan Sayyid Saʻīd b. Sulṭān (r. 1804–1856) to Zanzibar and travelled between Zanzibar and Oman, before his death in the former.

Zanzibar's history since the 18th century has been most significantly shaped by the expansion of its commercial activities, which were dominated by Arab and Swahili traders from the Banādir coast to Madagascar.[10] Social and administrative services were managed by the British protectorate which was established over Zanzibar in 1890, whereafter a series of administrative reforms followed. According to Bang, under Būsaʻīdī's rule, the "*ulamā*" as a group had exercised considerable influence over

government affairs,[11] but now the state *"ulamā"* would find themselves caught in the middle, under pressure both from their British superiors and their fellow Zanzibaris.[12] From 1908 to 1925, the higher court of Zanzibar Town was the domain of four judges, three of whom were Sunnī with only a single Ibāḍī.[13]

While the Ibāḍīs have indeed had political and juridical influence on the East African coast, they have for many years remained a minority group. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–1369) reported that the inhabitants of Mogadishu and Kilwa were Shāfi'is[14] while, according to Bang, in 1907 Judges Lindsay-Smith and Morison estimated that about 80 percent of the Sultan's subjects were from the Shāfi'ī school of law.[15] In addition, Declich notes that within a generation or two, the Omanis had changed their affiliation to Sunni-Shāfi'ī Islam.[16]

II. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Mundhirī and the Mundhirī Family

II–1. Life of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī

'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Mundhirī (or al-Mandhirī) was born in 1866 in the Malindi quarter of Zanzibar city to a family of Omani origin (Adam, interior Oman) which seems to have settled in Zanzibar before the reigns of Sa'īd b. Sulṭān. al-Mundhirī's father Muḥammad (d. 1869) served as the Ibāḍī judge during the reigns of Sa'īd b. Sulṭān and Mājid b. Sa'īd (r. 1856–1870 in Zanzibar). 'Alī b. Muḥammad's grandfather, 'Alī, founded a family library in Zanzibar.[17] 'Alī b. Muḥammad studied under his paternal uncles 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī, Sulaymān b. 'Alī, Mubārak b. Khalfān b. Muḥammad al-'Awsajī, Muhammad b. Sulaymān b. Sa'īd al-Mundhirī, and so on.[18] He began his career as a judge some time after 1902, and from 1908 served as Chief Ibāḍī judge under the sultans Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd, 'Alī b. Ḥamūd, and Khalīfa b. Khālib.[19]

'Alī never left Zanzibar which, as Bang points out, was highly unusual for a scholarly family since it was usual for scholars to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥajj*), which many combined with a period of study in the Ḥijāz. It was common for Ibāḍīs to also sojourn in Oman.[20] 'Alī in fact died at his home in Malindi on January 10, 1925, and Bang notes that his obituary described him as a loyal servant of the Sultanic Courts who enjoyed a very high degree of authority in the law; his opinions were sought and greatly valued by many. In fact, it seems that he led an irreproachable life, was gentle and charming, and eminently suited to his judicial duties.[21]

II–2. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī's Works

'Alī b. Muḥammad was a judge, jurist, theologian, and great promoter of his beliefs. He left a number of writings:

(a) *Nūr al-Tawḥīd*

This is a summary of Ibāḍī beliefs and was written in 1900. It contains various topics, such as the essence of Islam and its interpretation, the attributes of God, interpretations of obscure verses (*mutashābiha*) in the Qurʾān, and Divine predestination. It also deals with association (*walāya*) and disassociation (*barāʾa*), exhortation to do good,

forbiddance of wrongdoing, and so on.

(b) *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*
This work briefly describes the differences between Ibāḍism and other denominations in their views regarding belief and legal provisions. Completed in 1899, it is addressed to "the clever young man," shaykh Sālim b. Sulṭān b. Qāsim al-Riyāmī.[22)]

(c) *Nahj al-Ḥaqāʾiq*
Written in December 1896, this work summarizes the tenth century AD Omani Abū Saʻīd al-Kudamī's book *Kitāb al-Istiqāma*. It deals with the critical concepts of Ibāḍī community membership, namely association (*walāya*) and disassociation (*barāʾa*).[23)]

(d) *Ikhtiṣār al-Adyān li-Taʻlīm al-Ṣibyān*
This is an Ibāḍī legal work describing purification, worship, charity, fasting, pilgrimage, and social relationships, such as filial piety. As the title suggests, the contents are concise, omitting much of the detailed explanation behind actual practices. ʻAlī completed writing it in 1896, shortly after *Nahj al-Ḥaqāʾiq*.[24)]

(e) *Jawāb al-Risāla al-Niṣṭūriyya*
In this book, completed in 1891, ʻAlī b. Muḥammad sets out a counterargument to the claims of Nestorian Christianity. The teachings of ʻAbd al-Masīḥ Isḥāq al-Kindī, active in the 9th century, reached 19th-century Zanzibar during ʻAlī b. Muḥammad's lifetime. In his book published in London, al-Kindī doubts God's revelation and denigrates Muḥammad's prophethood and miracles.

(f) *Bayān al-Ḥaqq li-Ahl al-Ṣidq*
al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm's contents mentioned above seem to have had an impact not only on Ibāḍis, but also on Sunnis. Sunni Muḥammad b. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm al-Zandijālī wrote a book refuting that book's contents, and this work contains a reply. It details the contents of *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* and is particularly keen to present the differences in views between Ibāḍī and the Sunnis regarding the splitting of the Islamic community in its early days.

The date of writing is unclear; internal evidence suggests that he wrote it after 1914 since he addresses the word "raḥima-hu Allāh" to Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Atfayish (1821–1914), a distinguished Algerian Ibāḍī scholar. It was copied by Sāʻid b. Masʻūd Riyāmī in 1350 AH/1931–1932 AD, and 630 pages of it are preserved in the National Archives of Zanzibar. It is available on Oman's Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs website under MS No. ZN 41.[25)] As the following section will show, local Sunnis refused to read the contents because of the work's controversial nature.

In addition to these works, ʻAlī b. Muḥammad issued fatwas (*jawābāt*), manuscripts of which have been preserved.[26)]

Although ʻAlī b. Muḥammad did not study abroad, he was surrounded by an environment from which he was able to gain sufficient knowledge and information, made

possible by the development and spread of printing and publishing in the Middle East and North Africa. Printing was introduced there in earnest in the 19th century, and the publishing industry flourished with it. Muslim intellectuals and the industry gave attention to the editing of classical works,[27] while improvements in distribution facilitated the movement of printed materials. Indeed, Zanzibar could boast its own publishing company; ʻAlī b. Muḥammad must have been able to develop his writing activities using a wide range of works from his family's library, other literature printed by the local community, and books published not only in the Middle East but worldwide.[28]

III. Introspection of Sectarian Identity across the Indian Ocean

III–1. Relationship with the Ibāḍīs in Oman and North Africa

Flipping through the pages of ʻAlī b. Muḥammad al-Mundhirī's writings, we immediately notice that he appears to have been equally familiar with the trends and history of Ibāḍīs in their Eastern and Western enclaves. He was able to maintain his religious identity by using Ibāḍī sources, for example in his *Nūr al-Tawḥīd*, where he traces the Ibāḍī lineage right back to the lifetime of the Prophet. He counts his own religious predecessors, stating, "we associate with our predecessors, such as the Emigrants (*muhājirūn*), the Supporters (*anṣār*), the Successors (*ṭābiʻūn*) to them with good religious deeds (*iḥsān*). We also associate those to whom their teachings are bound or whose virtues, knowledge, righteousness, devotion, and defence are well-known, such as ʻAmmār b. Yāsir, ʻAbd Allāh b. Wahab, ʻAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ, Jābir b. Zayd, Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl, the Imam ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Fārsī, and the shaykh Abū Saʻīd al-Kudamī, as well as the devoted scholars after them."[29] ʻAlī b. Muḥammad mentioned there the leading figures among Ibāḍīs both in North Africa and Oman, namely Rustamid Imam ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Fārsī (r. 788–824) and al-Kudamī (lived in the tenth century). He appears then to have built his religious identity from both Eastern and Western Ibāḍīs.

In addition to the materials preserved in the waqf collection of the Mundhirī family, it is believed that ʻAlī b. Muḥammad read many other Ibāḍī writings. For example, he mentions al-Rabīʻ b. Ḥabīb (d. ca. 796),[30] the author of a collection of the Prophetic ḥadīths *al-Jāmiʻ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, and in the context of grave sin he quotes the Qurʾanic commentary by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfayish.[31] In the context of *walāya* (association) and *barāʾa* (disassociation), ʻAlī b. Muḥammad refers to the discussion between al-Kudamī and his master Muḥammad b. Rūḥ, both of whom were active in Oman in the tenth century.[32] Additionally, in the historical context, he cites the writings of Ibn Sallām and Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Warjilānī, who were active in the 9th and 12th centuries, respectively.[33] Furthermore, in addition to mentioning Nāṣir b. Abī Nabhān in the context of astrology,[34] a representative scholar of 19th-century Ibāḍīs, al-Mundhirī sometimes cited *Qāmūs al-Sharīʻa* compiled by Jumayyil al-Saʻdī, a scholar active in the first part of the 19th century.[35] In addition, al-Mundhirī once cited an episode regarding an Ibāḍī delegation to the Umayyad caliph ʻUmar b. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, which we can see both in Abū ʻAbd Allāh al-Kindī's (d. 1114) *Bayān al-Sharʻ* and al-Saʻdī's *Qāmūs al-Sharīʻa*.[36]

It is worth mentioning that ʻAlī b. Muḥammad was more than an unthinking scholar

who followed his predecessors blindly, for his most striking point consists in the problem of *taqlīd* or uncritical adoption of the legal opinion, practices, and teachings. In *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, of which he wrote:

> Unlike the [other] Ibāḍī communities (*bi-khilāfa ma'āshir al-Ibāḍiyya*), we do not obligate uncritical adoption [of the legal opinion, practices, and teachings] (*taqlīd*) by those who are not infallible (*ghayr ma'ṣūm*). Moreover, we do not forbid efforts (*mujāhada*) in it [that is, adopting a new interpretation and practice], nor forbid listening to those who are not infallible. By contrast, we take the truth wherever we find it, whether in yours or ours. Furthermore, we cast out falsehood against those who bring it, whether from yours or ours.[37)]

Here, al-Mundhirī contrasts his position with those of other Ibāḍī communities. Although his words might be "for public consumption," we may reasonably point to his readiness to accept opinions and practices from other Muslims over sectarian boundaries.[38)]

In his *Bayān al-Ḥaqq*, he explains his intentions. Al-Mundhirī argued that his opponent was assuming that to the four founders of the Sunni schools of law (*al-ʾaymma al-arba'a*), *taqlīd* was obligatory. Against that, he mentioned a narrative from the four founders, saying that "*taqlīd* can only be directed to the Prophet; the views of the companions need to be considered; and that the others are just human beings, just like us." Al-Mundhirī therefore concluded that to the founders of legal schools *taqlīd* was not in fact obligatory. He then went on to develop his argument in the books *Kīmiyāʾ al-Sa'āda* and *Fayṣal al-Tafriqa bayna al-Islām wa al-Zandaq*a by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111).[39)]

We can point out his readiness in his book *Ikhtiṣār al-Adyān li-Ta'līm al-Ṣibyān* to examine, think for himself, improve religious practice and religious affairs, or at least better adjust them to daily life. He sometimes cites earlier Ibāḍī opinion and practices and then states his own opinion, sometimes from the standpoint of *istiḥsān*.[40)] For instance, in the context of drainage of impurity using different-sized buckets (large, middle, and small), he mentions the preceding opinion that "…[one]…should not drain it with the largest." He then reveals his own opinion "I prefer (*istaḥsantu*) not to drain with the smallest, but with the middle of them, if we do not drain it with the largest."[41)]

Furthermore, al-Mundhirī examines the opinions of Ibāḍī authorities. On the exposure of the genitalia during prayer, for instance, he shows Ibn Baraka's opinion that if no one sees it occur, the prayer is not invalid. By contrast, al-Mundhirī held that exposing the genitals was an act of disobedience; since obligatory acts are not guided by disobedience, worship is therefore not to be performed with the genitals exposed.[42)] In addition, al-Mundhirī refers al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb's opinion that in the matter of "gushing fluid", women are not obliged to wash (*māʾ dāfiq*). al-Mundhirī on the other hand says that it would be more prudent to support the view that washing is an obligation.[43)] Such examples reveal al-Mundhirī's attitude to examining and questioning preceding opinions and to the improving of religious practice in Zanzibar, and that he was certainly aware of and open to different views.

We may therefore conclude that al-Mundhirī had the opportunity to familiarize himself with views starting from the 8th century up to his own lifetime, and we can see his attitudes to *taqlīd* and finding better legal practices in the context of Islamic reform movements from the 19th century onwards.

III–2. Relationship with the Sunnis

Bayān al-Ḥaqq mentions the relationship with the Sunnis. For example, ʻAlī b. Muḥammad reports that Shāfiʻī Muḥammad b. Amad al-Battāwī attended to his father's Majlis.[44] While Shāfiʻī Abū Ṭayyib Muḥīy al-Dīn b. Shaykh al-Qaḥṭānī had learned from Muḥammad b. ʻAlī, there also seem to have been occasions when Muḥammad b. ʻAlī and his son ʻAlī learned from al-Qaḥṭānī. ʻAlī b. Muḥammad heard from al-Qaḥṭānī a dialogue between Mālik [b. Anas] and Hārūn al-Rashīd concerning the difference of opinion in the Islamic community as God's mercy. He also wrote that al-Qaḥṭānī belongs to the Sunni virtuous men (*fuḍlāʾ*), and responded personally to ʻAlī's father Muḥammad who had asked him about the differences between the Shāfiʻīs and Ibāḍīs.[45] Therefore, we can confirm the mutual intellectual curiosity between the two denominations in *Bayān al-Ḥaqq*.

Bayān al-Ḥaqq is considered a controversial work against the Sunnis, especially the Shāfiʻīs. The opponent, Muḥammad b. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm al-Zandijālī, used Sunni writings to criticize the contents of al-Mundhirī's *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*. Al-Mundhirī declared the Ibāḍī stance concerning (1) vision of God, (2) the requirements of faith (*muʾmin*), (3) intercession at the Last Judgement for grave sinners, (4) the subcategory of unbelief (*kufr*), (5) the lawfulness of drunkenness, (6) the lawfulness of the marriage of a man to a woman with whom he has committed adultery, (7) *walāya* and *barāʾa*, and (8) on the Sunnī schools (*madhhab*). While he highlighted the practice of *ijtihād*, as seen above, his opinion on those topics was the same as that held by the Ibāḍī majority. In *Bayān al-Ḥaqq*, al-Mundhirī propounded a counterargument based on such Sunni writings; he cited the opposing argument and then replied in terms such as "you say that…, and we respond that (*wa-qawlu-ka…fa-jawābu-hu*)". Accordingly, he sought to prove the legitimacy and correctness of the Ibāḍī position by stepping into his opponent's arena.

It is well known that since at least the 9th century, the Ibāḍī read and studied non-Ibāḍī writings and constructed counterarguments to non-Ibāḍīs,[46] and the Mundhirī family appears to fall within that tradition.

In the course of his refutation of Muḥammad b. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm al-Zandijālī's criticism, ʻAlī b. Muḥammad made the best use of Sunnī writings. For instance, in defending the Omani people, he referred to a Prophetic saying found in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 875), which reads, "even if you would bring with what the people of Oman would attack you, they would not hit you. (*law inna ahl ʻUmān atayta mā sabbū-ka wa-lā ḍarabū-ka*)." He continued by mentioning al-Nawawī's (d. 1277) interpretation of the same prophetic saying.[47] Elsewhere, he took the commentaries of Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* by Egyptian Shāfiʻī scholars Ibn Ḥajr al-ʻAsqalanī (1372–1449) and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qasṭallānī (1448–1517) as counterarguments against al-Zandijālī,[48] as well as the views of the North African scholars al-Qāḍī Iyāḍ (1083–1149)[49] and

al-Qurṭubī (1214–1273).[50] Furthermore, in the controversy surrounding historical events and their interpretation, he referred to the historian Ibn al-Athīr (1160–1233).[51] All of this reveals that ʻAlī b. Muḥammad had sufficient knowledge to discuss the Sunnī and meet them on their own turf; we can see that his style of argumentation was based on the traditional apologetic manner. Reading *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* we realize also the extent of ʻAlī b. Muḥammad's knowledge.

We may consider ʻAlī b. Muḥammad's erudition in terms of Ibāḍī interest in the non-Ibāḍī works of al-Ghazālī, which Ibāḍī scholars—ʻAlī b. Muḥammad most certainly among them—were always eager to read.[52] On another occasion, Muḥammad b. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm al-Zandijālī criticized him, saying that although referring to al-Ghazālī's book, ʻAlī b. Muḥammad had not in fact read the relevant section. In contrast, ʻAlī b. Muḥammad referred to al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-ʻĀbidīn* as the authority, saying that it was composed after his *Iḥyāʾ*, one of his most famous works.[53]

Other Muslim denominations have described the Ibāḍīs negatively as a group descended from the Khawārij, that is, as having gone out from ʻAlī's camp at the Battle of Ṣiffīn in 657. In rebuttal, al-Mundhirī asserted that Ibāḍism had indeed emerged from the Khawārij, but the Khawārij was the very group which went out from the wrong leader (i.e. ʻAlī).[54] We see the same argument concerning the Khawarij in 13th-century Omani scholars' writings.[55]

The latter half of *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* concerns the interpretation of the seventh century schism in the Islamic community. Al-Mundhirī argued that people in Oman at the time had nothing to do with the civil war. According to it, the people of Oman at that time faithfully followed the teachings handed down by the Prophet Muhammad. As a result of examining the views that spread within the Islamic community after the civil war, they found that the claims of ʻAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ, the eponym of Ibāḍism, were the closest to the views and practices they held, and therefore they tied their faith to him.[56] By making that claim, Al-Mundhirī was attempting to reconcile the legitimacy of the Omani people with that of Ibāḍism.

As in other matters, ʻAlī b. Muḥammad sometimes expressed himself aggressively against the eponym of the Shāfiʻī School of Law; his attitude was prone to degrade the Shāfiʻī's reputation. He picked up on a Prophetic ḥadīth, which states that "a man by the name of 'Muḥammad b. Idrīs' does more harm to our community than Iblīs." He went on to say that "if you do not disassociate yourself from al-Shafiʻī despite of this ḥadīth, it is not permitted for you to disassociate yourself from ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. Murjam, the assassin of ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, because both are all in the status of those who saw the permissibility of putting ḥadīths as a victory for their doctrines."[57] However, I shall not discuss its authenticity here; I rather wish to emphasize that ʻAlī b. Muḥammad made use of whatever was available to him and faced his opponents head-on.

Furthermore, he succeeded in defending his position by taking advantage of the lack of sophistication, contradictions, and tendency to sophistry of his opponent's arguments.

III–3. Against Sectarian Fanaticism

Despite the differences and the controversy on paper, as in ʻAlī b. Muḥammad's *Bayān*

al-Ḥaqq, scholars point out that there is abundant evidence that, in practice, Ibāḍīs and Sunnis in Zanzibar behaved cordially to each other. In addition to the exchanges mentioned above, a collection of letters written to and by the Sunni scholar ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-ʻAmawī includes correspondence with Ibāḍī scholars: they exchanged questions on points of grammar, and there is also one question addressed by al-ʻAmawī to an Ibāḍī scholar on a matter of jurisprudence.[58)]

How can we interpret this double standard more convincingly between the general practice mentioned above and ʻAlī b. Muḥammad's attitude found in *Bayān al-Ḥaqq*? A clue may be found in the writings of Nāṣir b. Jāʻid (or b. Abī Nabhān) who in reply to a letter from an Ibāḍī in North Africa, mentioned a saying, that "most of the people in paradise are fools (*akthar ahl al-janna al-bulh*)" which is said to have been handed down as the words of the Prophet Muhammad.

Nāṣir b. Abī Nabhān explains that "fools" (*al-bulh*) are people with no intelligence (*nabāha*) but who worship God out of duty, as they understand it, and by means, as they know them. They wish also to avoid what is forbidden. Directing his attention to the Prophet's reported saying, Nāṣir b. Abī Nabhān interprets it as referring to people who remain stupid (*balāda*) in their knowledge and thinking. Moreover, although lacking in wisdom and intellect, they know of God and are aware of their duty to worship Him. Nāṣir b. Abī Nabhān argued also that fools know nothing of the differences of opinion among schools, and that is the reason why they never stray from their particular beliefs and actions. They seek God with sincerity, and if they die in that state, they may claim to be in Paradise. Nāṣir b. Abī Nabhān appears to have intended by the term "fools" to refer to the Muslim public in general.

In addition, he argued that the thoughts and activities of scholars, ascetics, and mystics who did not claim to belong to the Ibāḍīs were, in fact, in accordance with those of Ibāḍīs. Referencing al-Ghazālīʻs writings, he argued that they did not blindly believe in false sects and that their intention was to draw closer to God and simultaneously to distance themselves from anything other than God. He then wrote that God would not award success to fanatical sectarian scholars, nor to ascetics who adhered to delusional doctrines.[59)]

We can clearly see the similarity of argumentation between Nāṣir b. Abī Nabhān's letter and ʻAlī b. Muḥammad's *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* in the context of *taqlīd*. ʻAlī b. Muḥammad uses the term "sectarian fanaticism" (*taʻaṣṣub*) in a negative sense.[60)] Although ʻAlī b. Muḥammad never met Nāṣir b. Abī Nabhān—only his master Mubārak b. Khalfān al-ʻAwsajī met him (*adraka*)—and it is unclear whether ʻAlī b. Muḥammad shared the value; he must at least have reached the same view as Nāṣir b. Abī Nabhān's, that they would do best to coexist peacefully with the Sunnis and other religious groups. In other words, we may interpret ʻAlī b. Muḥammad's writing as the result of his opposition to the sort of sectarian fanaticism exhibited by Muḥammad b. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm al-Zandijālī.

Conclusion

To summarise, the Ibāḍīs lived as minority groups in the East African regions. The expansion of the Būsa'īdi dynasty in the 19th century contributed to the maintenance of Ibāḍism in the region, although a number did convert to Sunnism. Under such circumstances, the activities of the Mundhirīs, especially 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mundhirī, are worthy of attention for anyone wishing to understand the migrations of Ibāḍīs there. Although geographically remote, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mundhirī was nevertheless able to gain access to Ibāḍī writings both in North Africa and from Oman. He was able also to consult Sunnī (and probably Shī'ī) writings in order to criticize them and to build and strengthen his own sectarian identity. 'Alī b. Muḥammad might never have set foot outside Zanzibar himself, but his world of thought was far-reaching.

While he had the opportunity to familiarize himself with views from the eighth century to his own time, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mundhirī was no tunnel-visioned follower of preceding scholars. *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* and *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* clearly show that his mind was built on foundations of his own intellectual capability. We see his views on *taqlīd* and on devising better legal practices in the context of Islamic reform movements since the 19th century.

As far as the relationship between the Sunnis and Ibāḍīs is concerned, we can see from *Bayān al-Ḥaqq* that there was mutual intellectual interaction and critical interest between the two denominations. 'Alī b. Muḥammad observed Ibāḍī doctrines, sometimes opposed Sunnis fiercely, even taking exception to the eponym of the Shāfi'ī school of law.

Perhaps a key to understanding the ambivalence inherent in the Ibāḍī attitude to the local society is to be seen in Nāṣir b. Abī Nabhān's thought, particularly in the condemnation of sectarian fanaticism. By excluding religious fanatics from eligibility for God's salvation in the afterlife, Nāṣir and others influenced by the same idea succeeded in laying the foundation for peaceful coexistence in the local community beyond sectarian boundaries.

As mentioned in the Introduction, further investigation will offer a comprehensive and vivid understanding of the history of Ibāḍism on the East African coast and its propensity for religious coexistence.

Notes

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1) Amoretti 2001: 6.
2) For a general description of the significance of the Indian Ocean in world history, see Sheriff 2006: 15–30.
3) al-Shaybānī 2015: 114.
4) al-'Awtabī n.d. (see Custers 2016: Vol.1, 571–572); For a detailed history of Kilwa, see Pouwels 1978: 393–409.
5) al-Qalḥātī n.d.

6) al-Mughayyrī 2001: 26.
7) Declich writes, for instance, during the 19th century, the East African coast is said to have undergone significant political, economic, social and cultural changes due to the creation of the new Arab state of Omani Būsa‘īdī in Zanzibar (Declich 2004: 7).
8) As Ghazal points out, the consolidation of al-Būsa‘īdī power in Oman in the late 18th century and Omani expansion into East Africa and the Indian Ocean corresponded to the birth and development of the Ibāḍī *nahḍa* (a religious renewal movement) (Ghazal 2010: 21). Ghazal examines the intellectual network between Zanzibar, North Africa, and the Arabian Peninsula in the 19th and subsequent centuries.
9) His father Abū Nabhān Jā‘id b. Khamīs al-Kharūṣī (1734–1822) was regarded as the most remarkable learned man at that time and nicknamed as “the chief shaykh (*al-shaykh al-raʾīs*).”
10) Issa 2006: 343.
11) Bang 2001: 59.
12) Bang 2001: 59.
13) Bang 2001: 60.
14) Baṭṭūṭa 1987: 266.
15) Bang 2001: 70. Scholars understand that in the 19th century, some Ibāḍīs there, not all of them, converted to the Shafi‘ī school.
16) Declich 2004: 7.
17) Declich 2004: 10. The National Archives of Zanzibar contains 46 manuscripts of the Mundhirī family. On the waqf archives of the Mundhirī family, see also O’Fahey and Vikør 1996: 5–23; Kamis 2001: 17–25; Declich 2001: 47–57.
18) al-Shaybānī 2012: 8–12.
19) Al-Sa‘dī (2007) *Mu‘jam*, I, 368–371. For the genealogy of the Mundhirī family, see Declich 2004: 10.
20) Bang 2001: 64.
21) Bang 2001: 64.
22) Hoffmann 2005: 103. Hoffman sees this brief treatise “indicates the real sense of threat that late-19th century Ibāḍī scholars in Zanzibar felt when they realized the attraction that Sunni Islam held for many Ibāḍīs. Ibāḍī scholars had cordial and collegiate relationships with their Sunni counterparts. Religious conflict was remarkably absent from the domains of the sultans of Zanzibar” (Hoffmann 2005: 112).
23) The National Archives of Zanzibar and the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Youth of Oman reportedly have manuscripts, but the author has yet to see them. See also Hoffman 2005: 103.
24) Custers 2016: Vol.1, 391.
25) al-Mundhirī n.d.
26) Among them there is a fatwa which discusses the Christianity. O’Fahey and Vikør 1996: 9–14. The present author has not seen it.
27) For the movement of editing and printing in the Middle East, see El Shamsy 2020.
28) For printing activity in Zanzibar, see Custers 2006: 56–64.
29) al-Mundhirī 2015: 28.
30) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 67, 97, *passim*.
31) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 200, 435. He also mentions Aṭfayish’s opinions on al-Mundhirī n.d.: 15, 21

and 74.

32) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 316. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad also mentions *Mukhtaṣar Abī al-Ḥasan al-Bisyawī*. al-Bisyawī was an Omani scholar in the 10th and 11th centuries (al-Mundhirī n.d.: 39).
33) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 37, 43.
34) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 329.
35) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 21, 439.
36) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 589.
37) al-Mundhirī 1980: 6.
38) The 10th-century scholar Ibn Baraka in Oman discusses *taqlīd* in the section where he accepts (*jāʾiz*) the blind adoption of opinions and practices by the Successors. Ibn Baraka 2007: Vol.1, 22–25.
39) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 29–32.
40) Ibāḍīs understand *istiḥsān* to be included among the sources of ijtihad. The 12th century Omani scholar Abū Bakr al-Kindī puts it this way: to leave the analogy behind and adopt what is more appropriate for the people. Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī (d. 1914), a contemporary of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mundhirī, defines *istiḥsān*, stating that it is a duty to seek the best in what one does and that if it happens to the *mujtahid*, it is his duty to take it. See, Majmū‘a min al-Bāḥithīn 2008: Vol.1, 253–254.
41) al-Mundhirī 1987: 20. His use of *istiḥsān* are also found in other pages of the booklet 13, 16.
42) al-Mundhirī 1987: 31.
43) al-Mundhirī 1987: 14.
44) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 340.
45) Muḥammad b. ‘Alī posed his question through a poem. See, al-Mundhirī n.d.: 11.
46) See Kondo 2019: 87–98.
47) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 77.
48) al-Mundhirī 1987: 179–180.
49) al-Mundhirī 1987: 71, 94.
50) al-Mundhirī 1987: 25. Elsewhere al-Mundhirī refers to al-Munāwī (d. 1621), who wrote a *sharḥ* of *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaghīr* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (1445–1505). al-Mundhirī n.d.: 23. Besides them, he cites many opinions of other Sunni scholars.
51) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 26, 290, 441, *passim*.
52) North African Ibāḍī Abū Ṭāhir al-Jayṭālī (d. 1329/30 or 1349/50)’s *Kitāb Qanāṭir al-Khayrāt* is an adaptation of *al-Ghazālī’s Iḥyāʾ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*. Also, see al-Kharūṣī 2017: 90.
53) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 142–143.
54) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 221, 266.
55) al-Kindī 1984–2006: Vol.3, 208.
56) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 42–43. We can see the same argumentation in a letter by Naṣir b. Abī Nabhān states. See Jumayyil al-Sa‘dī (1983–) *Qāmūs al-Sharī‘a,* 7, 311.
57) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 251, 258, 295.
58) Hoffman 2005: 107.
59) al-Kharūṣī 2017: 87–91.
60) al-Mundhirī n.d.: 16, 95, 108.

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Chapter 11 A New Aspect of Hinduism in the Diaspora and Its Significance: Tamil Ritual Worship at Hindu Temples in Jakarta, Indonesia

Hiroshi Yamashita
Tohoku University

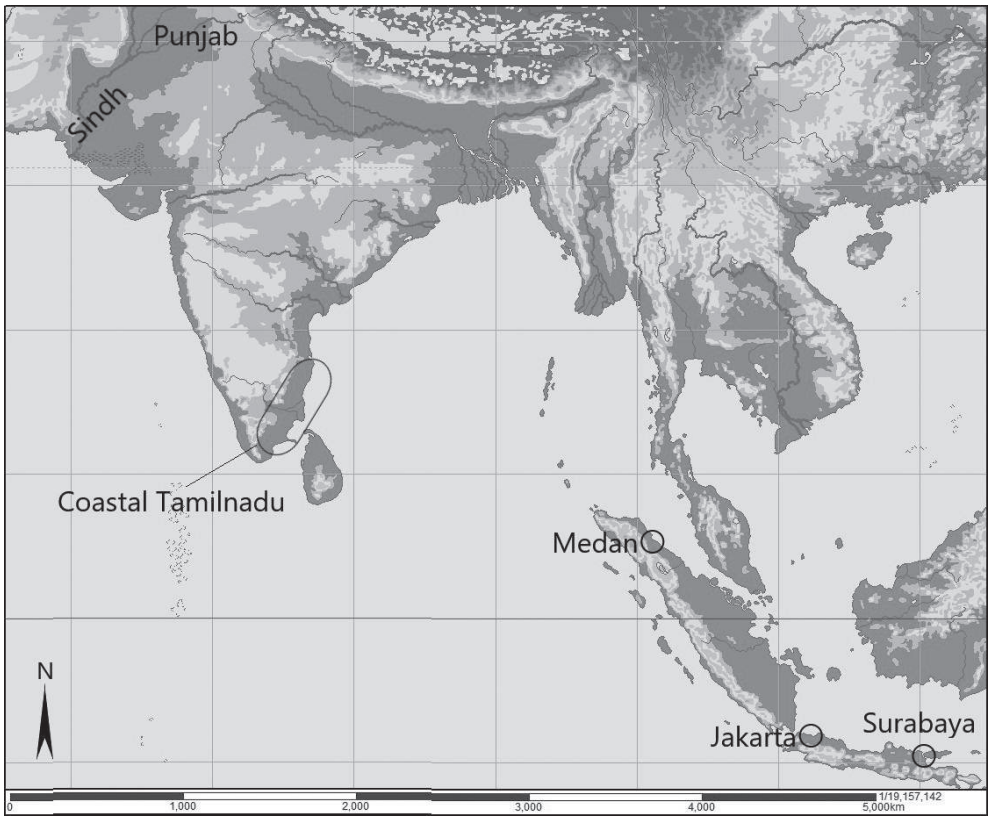
Introduction

Since ancient times, the Indian Ocean has been a road of culture. Ideas, religions, cultures, artifacts, and systems originating in West and South Asia have spread almost exclusively from the West to the East via the Indian Ocean. These were brought to distant lands by the "sea route" much faster and more directly than the land route holding various foreign elements from different times and places of origin accumulated on top of the original indigenous elements, coexisting or merging, creating new identities and maintaining their existence, a process that continues to this day.

This paper focuses on contemporary Hinduism in the Greater Jakarta metropolitan area, and considers how new and old Hinduism brought over different eras and from different regions of the Indian subcontinent to Indonesia have found identities and formed mutual relationships in order to find a place in new lands and coexist peacefully.[1)]

I have discussed in other papers[2)] a tendency for the homogenisation of temple rituals as described by the term Agamisation, applied to Hindu rituals observed in the Indian diaspora worldwide. Nevertheless, it is equally true that overseas Hinduism is neither simple nor uniform but rather shows complexities which depend on particular circumstances in host countries and the characteristics of immigrant groups. Each diaspora retains its own unique practices, including ones that can occur only there. This paper will discuss the significance and practices of Indian immigrants at Hindu temples in Jakarta.[3)]

From the distant past right up to the present, Indonesia has received various populations from South Asia across the Indian Ocean. In recent years, ever greater numbers of NRIs (Indians living abroad with Indian nationality) have immigrated to major cities including Jakarta, the capital, and most are of the professional classes, a status which makes them all the more noticeable. The practice of Hinduism in Jakarta now presents a variety of phenomena, as old and new immigrants coexist and interact with each other, revealing a unique aspect of diaspora Hinduism.



Map Major place names covered by this chapter

I. The Arrival of Indian Immigrants and Demographics

Modern migration across the Indian Ocean from the Indian subcontinent to Indonesia began at the end of the 19th century, when Tamils from southern India settled in the Medan region of northern Sumatra to work on tobacco and rubber plantations. Later, Sikhs from the Punjab were taken on as security personnel, but the scope of their work expanded to livestock farming and eventually the financial industry. As the population of Indian origins increased, a Tamil mercantile community called Nagarathar (or Nattukottai Chettiar) came from South India, in search of business opportunities. On the other hand, the Sindhis originally from the northwestern part of the Indian Subcontinent settled mainly in urban areas and immediately engaged in commerce. Since the independence of their countries, streams of Sindhi immigrants have flowed from India and Pakistan into Indonesia, many of whom have since acquired Indonesian citizenship,[4)] but there remain many who have lived there for many years with only permanent residency status (PR). Then, with the development of metropolitan Jakarta, a number of Tamils and Sikhs who had already settled in the Medan region in Sumatra moved to Jakarta. Furthermore, in

recent years, NRIs, mainly in Jakarta, have developed a presence that cannot be ignored among residents of South Asian origin.

There are almost no reliable statistics on the Indian population in the Republic of Indonesia, including those issued from the Indonesian government, making it extremely difficult to provide accurate numbers. The Indian government once estimated the Indian population (PIO) in Indonesia at 55,000 (2000), with about 2,000 families living in Jakarta (2002)[5] but according to India's Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, Indonesia is home to a total of 36,050 Indians, of whom 1,050 are NRIs.[6] However, one sociologist points out that the published number of Indian immigrants is lower than the approximate numbers obtained from his own field research,[7] which means the details of population trends are unclear and causes difficulty with accuracy.

For reference only, according to that particular sociologist's estimate,[8] there were slightly fewer than 100,000 Indian Indonesians in Indonesia in 2006, and 16,000–19,000 of them lived in Jakarta, where there were 5,000 Sindhis, 2,000 Sikhs, and 1,500 Tamils who had arrived from North Sumatra. Apart from those, there were 8,000 NRIs with Indian nationality in Jakarta, 1,200 of them Tamils. Therefore, including NRIs, 24,000–27,000 people of Indian descent lived in Jakarta. There is also a sizeable population of Indian Indonesians in North Sumatra, with an estimated 60,000 Tamils and 20,000 Sikhs.

II. Overview of Shiva Mandir and Its Monday Prayers

It is said that there are at least ten Hindu temples in the Greater Jakarta metropolitan area. Among them, Shiva Mandir in Pluit, northern Jakarta is acknowledged as the largest and provides an interesting example.

Built on what was originally a Hindu cemetery, the temple was founded in 1954 by a Gujarati named Manilal to enshrine the Linga of Lord Shiva, the god of death who is generally believed to haunt graveyards.[9] According to an interviewee—an aged female devotee who has known the temple since its early days—there was almost nothing around the temple in that area, but subsequently, Sindhis came to own and manage the building which has since become a center of worship for Hindus. Its management committee is made up exclusively of Sindhis.[10]

The temple, which among many other subordinate gods installed the Shiva Linga as its chief deity, takes the form of a compound temple as often seen in the worldwide diaspora. In the temple precincts, small shrines of Ganesha, Hanuman, Murugan, Ayyappan, Venkateswara, Buddha, Sai Baba-s (Shirdi Sai and Satya Sai), and the Navagrahas are arranged around the main shrine, as well as shrines for the saints worshipped by Sindhis. The reason for the inclusion of so many gods and saints is to attract as many devotees as possible, while the presence of a statue of Buddha is not unusual in Indian Hindu temples within Asia. Although the number of visitors is extremely small, several Chinese pilgrims visit this temple after visiting the neighboring "Wihara Satya Dharma" Buddhist temple.

Every Monday evening—chosen because it is a special day for Shiva in Hindu tradition—Hindus of northern Indian origin, mainly Sindhis, assemble there in Shiva

Mandir to perform *bhajan* and other activities together. A series of rituals starts at 6 p.m. (Photo 1) and ends at 9 p.m. after which comes the distribution of *prasadam* (Photo 2), which is vegetarian food sanctified and returned by God as a blessing.[11] The timing is therefore ideal for housewives, children, and those returning from work.

A *bhajan* program on each Monday lasts 1–2 hours. The deities to which *bhajans* are offered range from Ganesha, to Shiva, Krishna, Srilakshmi, and so on. Although there are singers to lead the singing and drummers to keep the *bhajan* songs in time, there is no dedicated priest to lead the entire process of collective worship. The devotees say their own prayers in front of the gods they believe in, or join in the chorus of *bhajans*. As the time for the luxurious *prasadam* approaches, the number people—most of them Sindhi—increases significantly, eventually swelling to nearly 200 people.[12] The festivities culminate in a ritual in which each devotee stands in a line facing the Shiva Linga. One by one, they then throw flowers and hold up votive lights. While some of the devotees who gather on Mondays still hold Indian nationality and some only have PR, many are naturalized Indonesian citizens of South Asian origin. NRIs from northern India working in Jakarta join in too, but there are few participants from South India, and Tamils are rarely seen there at all because, as will be discussed in the next section, Tamils have a separate place of worship in the same temple, an area set up for use early in the morning at weekends; it is assumed that most Tamils assemble there.

Photo 1 *Satsang* of Sindhis and North Indians on Monday (May 4 2015, photo by Hiroshi Yamashita)

Photo 2 Distribution of prasadam after the Monday rituals (May 4 2015, photo by Hiroshi Yamashita)

III. Weekend Rituals Practiced by Tamil NRIs

As mentioned above, this temple, run by Sindhis, is a gathering place for South Indian Hindus also, especially Tamils, although vastly fewer of them gather there. Every Saturday morning, people who worship Venkateswara or Balaji[13], the Lord Vishnu in the Tirumala-Tirupati hills in South India, gather and use the space set up in front of their small shrine of the Lord to perform the systematic orthodox rituals for the god, while those who worship Ayyappan, the divine son of Shiva and Vishnu and who is popular in South India, gather each Sunday in front of the small Ayyappan shrine to carry out their orthodox rituals.

The services held on Saturdays and Sundays are very different from those on Mondays, for Tamil Brahmans play leading roles as voluntary priests in conducting the rituals at weekends. However, the volunteers are secular NRIs who do not make a living from the priesthood but follow professions such as engineers or accountants. As volunteer priests they perform Agama Hindu rituals to the divine icons, expanding on their knowledge and methods of their routine domestic rituals. Since even Brahmans have different ways of doing things depending on their particular families, it is usual for a senior Brahman NRI who is well versed in rituals and recitations to act as the chief priest, and a series of rituals are performed to the gods based on his procedures and instructions. As they are not professionals but volunteers, not all of them can be expected to remember all possible required *mantras*, nor are they familiar with the *grantha* script traditionally used in the Sanskrit liturgical books of South India. While reciting unfamiliar *mantras*, *stotras*, and so forth, some Brahman priests therefore do so with one eye on a booklet written in Devanagari, or the ordinary Tamil script.[14]

On Saturday mornings, approximately 10 Srivaishnava Brahmans (Iyengars) across the Vadagalai and Tengalai subsects, perform rituals to Venkateswara and other subordinate deities (Photo 3). On Sunday mornings the leading role is changed, as approximately 10 Smarta Brahmans (Iyers) perform rituals to Ayyappan as the main deity and many other divine images such as Ganesha, Murugan, Shiva Linga and others (Photo 4). In this way, on both days, roughly ten individuals act as temporary priests and lead the religious services in turn. There is no overlap between Saturday's priests and Sunday's, and as the Vaishnavas and the Smartas belong to separate endogamous groups and they do not usually mix with each other in the performance of temple rituals: there is in any case no one available to work on both days, and they do not support each other.

Lord Ayyappan's shrine was introduced in 2001 in the northeastern corner of this Pluit temple,[15] with Venkateswara's shrine built nearby soon afterwards. The *kumbhabhisheka* (consecration ceremony) to commemorate the foundation of Venkateswara shrine[16] was held in 2004, and the construction of both buildings coincided with the period when many NRIs began to arrive in Jakarta. The structure and main statue (*mulasthana*) of Venkateswara were donated by the Indorama Corporation, an Indonesian conglomerate founded by an Indian business magnate, M. L. Lohia, and which employs the staff, which includes a number of NRIs.

The sequence of the Saturday and Sunday morning rituals consists of both *abhisheka*

Photo 3 Volunteer Brahmans (Srivaishnavas) conducting Saturday rituals (March 28 2015, photo by Hiroshi Yamashita)

Photo 4 Volunteer Brahmans (Smartas) conducting Sunday rituals (March 29 2015, photo by Hiroshi Yamashita)

and *puja* elements.[17] That is to say, after welcoming the deity with the prescribed rituals, the ceremony is conducted by the priests who, while chanting Sanskrit *mantras* and *stotras*, pour various auspicious liquids and other substances (honey, milk, yogurt, turmeric, rice flour, sandalwood, coconut water, etc.) in the prescribed order onto the stone statue, with a short interval between each libation for the pouring of water over the idol. Then, the main idol is solemnly covered with clothing and ornaments until at last, with the god properly dressed, flower petals are thrown abundantly over him, a mirror is held up to the face of the idol, incense is burned, and a horsehair fan is waved by the chief priest. The highlight of the scene is *arti*, the ritual in which light from a flame is offered to the deity.

Although the target gods are separate, there is little difference in content between Saturdays and Sundays, with both groups performing similar elaborate rituals over the course of three to four hours.

IV. The Meaning and Background of Regular Ritual Acts

Unlike the people of northern Indian descent who regularly hold the *satsang* on Monday evenings, most of the people who gather for the ceremonies held on the Saturday and Sunday mornings are NRIs from the southern state of Tamil Nadu, who attend with their families. It is true that Sindhi and Sikh devotees are sometimes seen at worship services carried out by South Indian Hindus on Saturdays or Sundays, but Sindhis can attend an extensive prayer meeting on Monday evenings also as mentioned above, while Sikhs hold their gurudwaras near Pasar Baru (so-called “Little India”) in downtown Jakarta and in the port hinterland of Tanjung Priok, in the northeastern part of the city. For the most part, therefore, both Sindhis and Sikhs gather in their own places of worship to conduct their religious meetings.

Why, then, do busy Tamil NRIs get together once a week and spend most of the

morning hours performing elaborate rituals? Essentially, they do it to fulfil their religious duties based on their awareness of their status as Brahmans, the priestly class. If an Agamic or Sanskritic deity is to be enshrined in a temple, appropriate rituals must be performed to that deity, regularly without break, and only by Brahman priests. NRIs usually return to their homelands after completing their stays of 10 to 20 years, but the Brahmans who are to play the role of priests have continued, one by one, to maintain their role by handing the baton to new members. Furthermore, in addition to their awareness of their priestly responsibilities they must be conscious of and consider the expectations of south Indian Hindus, including Tamils in Jakarta, for if the rituals were to be discontinued, that would lead directly to the loss of their public place of worship.

However, regular religious gatherings are of course not established solely for the religious and faith-related reasons described above. Behind them lie various semi-secular motives too, such as confirmation of religious and cultural identity, enjoyment of a sense of unity felt in sharing the *prasadam*, socialising among people who share the same religious and linguistic culture; exchanging information, teaching religious traditions to younger generations—or simply taking a break.[18] The fact that the entire group ritual is structurally "participation-based", such as repeating the same gestures and formulas with others and enjoying the *prasadam* together, contributes to fostering a sense of ethnic unity also. In this way, the weekly congregational worship is also a convenient device to satisfy the various needs and desires of the people who have gathered, so that a religious gathering serves as a polysemous space coloured with unique meanings for each participant.

Incidentally, there are also statues (five in total) of the Bengali-style Goddess Durga at Shiva Mandir, displayed behind glass panels along the north wall of the precinct. They are not usually worshiped, but during the Durga Puja season, Bengalis gather there and hold ceremonies.

V. Joint Use of Shiva Mandir by Sharing Space and Time

From the above it can be seen that although there is a large difference in the number of people who gather, the time and space in Shiva Mandir are well arranged to be utilized without discord by Hindus of various origins—northern, southern, and even eastern Indian (See Table 1). Moreover, the secular Tamil Brahmans too, who play the role of priests, are denominationally divided in time and space to perform their religious rites, according to whether they are Srivaishnavas or Smartas.

Shiva Mandir is essentially a temple run by a management committee made up exclusively of Sindhi people, its use by Tamils made possible only under the pretext of being "the same Hindus" and only with the compliance of the temple management. In other words, by borrowing the eaves, the Tamils are able to practice their unique rituals. However, it is obvious that the Sindhi people are the main players in the religious activities that take place at this temple, partly because the site itself is owned by them, and because they are by far the largest number of people attending the Monday services. From the temple management committee's side, though the presence of Tamil shrines

Table 1 Special Prayer Gatherings in Shiva Mandir

Date & Time	Priests	Main deity and position	Type and number of attendees
Saturday (6:30~10:30)	Tamil Vaishnava Brahmans Approx. 10 (+1 professional priest)	Venkateswara (= Vishnu) [Northeast corner of the temple]	Around 40 people (Tamils who worship Venkateswara)
Sunday (7:00~10:00)	Tamil Sumarta Brahmans Approx. 10 people	Ayyappan (+Shiva) (= Hariharaputra) [Northeast corner of the temple]	Around 40 people (Tamils who worship Ayyappan, etc.)
Monday (19:00~21:30)	None	Shiva (Linga) [In the main Sanctum]	200~300 people (Sindhi and others who worship Shiva, Krishna, etc.)

raises the total number of people who visit the temple, and the collection of offerings and donations increases accordingly. That economic factor also lies behind the cooperation between Hindu groups in the north and the south.

VI. Divergence from the Formal Agama Ritual and Its Awareness

It is difficult to obtain permission to photograph deities or to videotape ritual sequences in Agamic Hindu temples in southern India, but photography is often permitted in temples in the diaspora, including Jakarta. The priests and others all say that the reason why both visitors and devotees (and even priests) are allowed to film at the Shiva Mandir in Jakarta is that compliance with Agamic norms remains incomplete. Above all, the structure and layout of the shrine itself deviates from the Agamic standard, and the voluntary nature of the officiation by the Tamil Brahmans means it is no wonder that rituals at Shiva Mandir are not observed in strict conformity with the rules stipulated in the relevant scriptures, since of course they are performed by non-professional priests who, lacking specialized training, are imperfectly versed in the Vedas and Agamas.[19)]

Flexible adjustments are made in different situations. The days of the week (Saturday and Sunday) and hours (several hours from early morning) of the weekly rituals, for example, are predetermined so that the ritual performance does not interfere with the employment of either priests or participants. If for example the appointed day for a ritual happens to fall on the second day of a three-day holiday, that day is moved to the first day of the holiday, and the schedule is appropriately changed so that such holidays may be enjoyed as intended on consecutive days. For instance, if a Friday coincides with a national holiday, a ritual originally scheduled for a Saturday will be carried out on the Friday. The date and time are flexible, and necessary adjustments are made for convenience's sake. However, in the case of solar and lunar eclipses, contraindicative rules are strictly observed to refrain from performing rituals.

As background to the granting of permission to photograph and film in Hindu temples, there are various constraints that oblige the temple authorities to deviate from the regulations of the Agama. That deviation is openly acknowledged and shared equally by priests and devotees, all acutely aware that in religious practice in the diaspora they

must bow to the dictates of expediency. At this temple, where unqualified Brahmans serve as volunteer priests, ordinary devotees, including non-Brahmans, are free to clean the area around the sanctum, wash ritual implements, cook the sacred food and offer it to the gods, as well as making sandalwood paste for ceremonies, preparing flower garlands to decorate the idols, and assisting in performing rituals. Even the taboo on the divine icons has been lifted. In short, the sort of direct service to gods and temples which is not permitted in India, is possible here. In a harmonious atmosphere reminiscent of a community space everyone, regardless of rank or gender, is happily engaged in their various duties. A sacred space filled with such positive significance created by direct participation in ritual acts however deviating from strict norms can be realized only in a diaspora that is free from the rigid application of a caste-based social order and the strict distinction between purity and impurity.[20)]

The above are cases of deviation for unavoidable reasons, but there are also cases in the Southeast Asian diaspora where regulations are violated quite deliberately and for good reasons. For example, at the Dandayudhapani (=Murugan) Temple in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, the *kavadhi* ritual on the day of Taipusam to be celebrated in the Tamil month of Tai (late January to early February) has been moved to the date of the Panguni Uttilam festival in the Tamil month of Panguni (late March to early April). Then again, in Medan on the Indonesian island of Sumatra, the Dandayudhapani Temple of the same name deliberately delays the Taipusam festival, featuring the *kavadhi* event, by one day. In any case, by adjusting the schedule so that it does not overlap with the famous Taipusam at the Batu Caves of suburban Kuala Lumpur, the Dandayudhapani Temple at Medan avoids being overshadowed and can therefore expect more visitors to participate in its own event. Here then, observation of the strict religious regulations regarding the execution of ceremonies is more or less a secondary consideration, and a dimension of secular gain is given priority.

VII. Religious Practices BVY Medan Tamil Immigrants: The Full Moon Festival at Bhadra Kaliyamman Temple, Tangerang

I would now like to draw attention to certain aspects of the Medan Tamils, who migrated inland from the Medan region to metropolitan Jakarta. They had left their homes in groups and travelled from north Sumatra to Jakarta on the island of Java in search of employment and business opportunities. If Tamils recently arrived as NRIs were to be seen as new immigrants, the Medan Tamils could be described as old immigrants, although both groups were of the same Tamil origin. Even after they had settled in Jakarta, the Tamils from Medan lagged in general social progress, rarely developing close relationships with other newcomers; they are not on terms of intimacy with the Sindhis, for example, who are long-established in Jakarta. Tamils from Medan and their families rarely attend Saturday or Sunday prayers led by Tamil NRIs at Shiva Mandir, and hardly anyone goes to a North Indian worship gathering on Mondays at the same temple. A few—certainly not many—Tamils of Medan ancestry might visit the temple, but casually, to pay homage to the gods, rather than to participate in specific rituals.

There are a number of Hindu temples in the Greater Jakarta area managed by Tamils of Medan origin. In Tangelang City on the western border of Jakarta, there are temples such as the Durga Temple and Bhadra Kaliyamman Temples built by Medan Tamils, which observe practices unique to Tamil Hinduism. On the other hand, now that we are in the era of the third and fourth (and even fifth) generations, intermarriage with Indonesians is not uncommon, and while many have remained Hindu they are also becoming increasingly "Indonesianised".[21] Among them, as with other Indonesians, it is customary to send children to normal Indonesian language schools, and given that the Tamil language and Tamil script are taught almost nowhere, Tamil as an ethnic language is clearly declining, as shown by the fact that many of the notices in temples are written in Indonesian; when used, it is written in the Roman alphabet rather than the Tamil script.

The following is an example of the Full Moon Festival (Panguni Uttiram) held during the Panguni month of the Tamil calendar on May 2, 2015 (Saturday) at the Bhadra Kaliyamman Temple (Photo 5). Despite the fact that the actual full moon appeared two days later on May 4 (Monday), for the convenience of the congregation, the festival was brought forward to the Saturday evening. The ceremony began at approximately 6:30 p.m. with a non-Brahmin (pandaram) priest[22] wearing a sacred thread performing *nitya-puja*[23] to all the deities while chanting Sanskrit mantras. In addition to its main deity Bhadra Kaliyamman, the temple enshrines Ganesha, Murugan, Hanuman, Nataraja-Shiva, Draupadi, and Kubera (actually a Chinese-style Maitreya statue), and the *pujas* were performed in that order. After the *nitya-puja* was completed, the male devotees withdrew from the ritual space, followed by the full-moon rituals of married women under the leadership of the same priest, with which the Agama Hindu session came to an end.

The second half of the festival began after a short break. The male owner of the temple, stripped to the waist, walked in front of the giant Bhadra Kaliyamman statue. As soon as he gazed upon it, he was possessed by the goddess and became a spirit medium to connect the goddess and the devotees. He met all the devotees in turn, listened to their troubles, uttered oracles, healed the sick, and distributed holy ashes. Considering the gradual increase in the number of participants in the second half of the session characterized by this divine possession, this phase was the highlight of the day. A total of 200 to 300 devotees gathered that evening and formed a line, each taking turns to see the medium and receive the goddess's blessing. Before long the medium came out of his state of divine possession and the festival ended without a hitch. By the time the *prasadam* was distributed, it had turned 10 p.m.

Well over half the assembled devotees were of Chinese descent; in fact, many of the regular devotees of this Tamil temple are Chinese, and Buddhists, but they nevertheless come to this Hindu temple for every important ritual event. This is in sharp contrast with the Shiva Mandir, mentioned earlier, where virtually no devotees of non-Indian ethnicity attend the gatherings. However, there is a good reason why Bhadra Kaliyamman Temple attracts many ethnic Chinese believers, for it is not uncommon for spirit possession to play an essential part in Chinese folk religion in Southeast Asia.

Photo 5 Full Moon Festival at Bhadra Kaliyamman Temple (May 2 2015, photo by Hiroshi Yamashita)

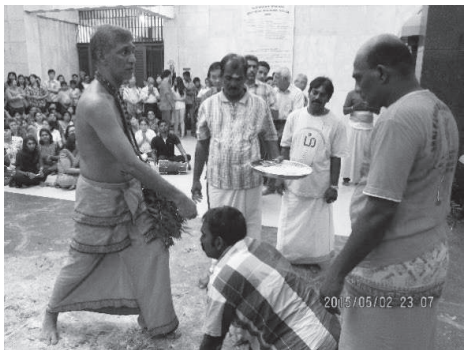


Photo 6 The owner-cum-priest in divine possession (May 2 2015, photo by Hiroshi Yamashita)

VIII. Management Strategy at the Bhadra Kaliyamman Temple

Built in 2010, this temple is a solid structure of reinforced concrete. However, because it is located in a peaceful but predominantly Muslim residential district, great care is taken in every detail of the management of a temple to what is a minority religion, not due to any restrictions imposed by the local community, but self-restraint. The temple was built to face the uninhabited riverbank, and the gate is always kept closed. The temple refrains from the use of the bells, drums, and reed instruments which would otherwise emit the clamorous sound typical of Hindu temples and, again out of consideration for the surroundings, the *Urvalam* ritual procession through the town of divine floats, which would normally be the highlight of the festival, is not practiced here.

While showing such consideration for the neighbourhood, the temple managers are no less keen to expand its activities. For example, they have purchased adjacent land for the construction of a multi-purpose hall that could also be used for weddings and other events, and have managed to obtain permission from the authorities for the temporary use of vacant land along the river for the Taipusam ceremonies unique to Tamil Hinduism. The development of such a project could not be covered by the limited number of Tamil donors, and it was financial contributions from Chinese Indonesian devotees that secured the development of this temple.

The same priest with the sacred thread active in the first session, who is employed at the Bhadra Kaliyamman Temple, is proficient in Sanskrit *mantras* and is familiar with the Agamic rituals. Apart from being of *Pandaram* descent, he looks exactly like a Brahman priest, plays an equal role in his job, and just sufficiently fulfils the expectations of his followers. The goddess Bhadra Kaliyamman in Tamil villages was originally a deity with prominent non-Agama characteristics, such as occasional animal sacrifices and practices involving divine possession, and in character was incompatible with orthodox Hinduism.[24] Nonetheless, in Jakarta the greatest possible "Agamization" is preferred, for example in the transformation of the chief deity into a vegetarian, and consequent

avoidance of offerings of meat and wine, while priests perform rituals that require a great deal of Sanskrit. However, the role of this professional priest ends completely with the first stage in the whole sequence of rituals, before the later phase begins, which is characterized by possession and oracles contrary to the ideals and traditions of the Agama. The priest—or rather shaman—of the second session, who also is a non-Brahman and none other than the owner of the temple, displays spiritual qualities different from those of the professional priest. The owner-cum-priest, who plays a key role as a spirit medium, has been successful in attracting large numbers of people of Chinese descent to become believers (Photo 6).

Under the special conditions of the diaspora, in the midst of the various forces at work, Bhadra Kaliyamman Temple thus incorporates heterogeneous elements, tendencies, and ethnicities, and combines them successfully, giving rise to a unique religious phenomenon that can exist only in and be nurtured by the diaspora.

Conclusion

The practice of Hinduism by Indian immigrants as observed in temples in metropolitan Jakarta is backed by multi-layered pluralism in a different sense from what is seen in India. As in the Bhadra Kaliyamman Temple, there are examples of searching for a unique path that transcends ethnic divisions, although there are contrary cases also such as that of Shiva Mandir, where diverse elements from across South Asia are accommodated and stand side by side, ostensibly without conflict.

The situation is related to the backgrounds and numbers of the groups that came from India. For example, since it is practically impossible for a small number of newcomers to build and manage a new temple of their own, they are obliged to seek to share existing religious facilities. The ritual practice of the Tamil NRIs, borrowing a corner of Shiva Mandir, which is managed by northern Hindus, can therefore be understood and explained in that context. On the other hand, the Tamils who moved from Medan to Jakarta are more numerous; they are predominantly low-caste individuals and untouchables, whose religious tendencies are still primarily non-Sanskritic or non-Brahmanical. The regional factors of their origin were therefore so obvious and significant that they had no choice but to build independent temples to maintain their faith.

Hindus as a monolithic union cannot constitute a force to move forward in order to dismantle the localized ties formed around shared region and language, nor can they ultimately converge and integrate multifarious variants of Hinduism, including rituals, into a uniform and equal practice. The reality is rather the opposite.

There is indeed a recent example of friction at the Shiva Mandir, between regional and more standard Hindu traditions, with the result that no compromise was reached between the two. Tamil devotees took the lead in the Shiva Mandir in establishing new separate shrines to Ganesha and Murugan. On May 6, 2015, professional priests from Varanasi and Singapore were invited to perform the consecrating rituals. To coincide with the festival, the devotees attempted to install a statue of goddess Meenakshi beside the

Shiva Linga, the main deity of this temple complex. They negotiated with the temple committee to do so but in vain, for while Meenakshi is considered the consort of Shiva in the Tamil Hindu tradition, that role is not sanctioned in pan-Indian Hinduism. The committee was therefore reluctant to compromise with the southern variation of Hinduism. We can see therefore that even if the northern and southern versions of Hinduism can cohabit in the one temple, no concessions are made to unification and homogenization of "Hinduism in practice."

Regarding the religious practice at Shiva Mandir, it is undeniable that somewhere in the background there is a certain motivation providing the Tamil minority with convenience and facilities, and it is reasonable to suppose it emanates from some sense of spiritual brotherhood as "the Hindus" or as "Indians". The "Hindu consciousness" in that case, however, is found to be more nominal than tangible or substantial. It has none of the transregional pan-Indian religious identity derived from any monolithic idea of "the Hindus" lying behind the ethnic divisions of people who separately perform collective acts of worship. Rather than that, it seems to be a smaller-scale, regional and linguistic affiliation, or perhaps a sense of belonging formed essentially through a shared origin, immigration history and similar present circumstances. Immigrants who visit the diaspora temples are unanimous in saying that living abroad has awakened Hindu identities of which they were not even aware while they were in India. We may take such remarks to be honest expressions of real feelings, but despite ideological awakenings in the sphere of religious practice, they eventually do revert to narrower, regional identities.

In the first place, "Hinduism" or "the Hindus" is an artificial term coined to describe an imported concept, and while to that extent it does indeed have the power to evoke a subtle kind of psychological unity, it is unlikely to be a driving force for the convergence of diverse religious practices into a single entity.

It cannot be denied that the environments and conditions of "diaspora", which are far removed from homeland context and trends, have opened the way to diversified developments according to the situation, but have not led from diversity to convergence, in spite of the wake left by a more comprehensive identity of "Hinduism" or "Hindus."

A sociological concept called "ghettoization" describes the tendency of certain ethnic groups in immigrant societies to form smaller groups and coexist in a mutually isolated and scarcely negotiable manner, as typically seen in metropolitan areas of Toronto or Chicago.[25] A similar trend can be observed in urban Indonesia too; however, due to their small numbers, it is virtually impossible for each individual Indian immigrant community even to maintain, let alone expand, its faith without some degree of mutual cooperation and coordination, or even approaches to other ethnic groups, such as Chinese immigrants. As a result, the typical development of extremely exclusive and self-contained religious ghettoization is certainly diluted, if not fully prevented.

In any case, once such a group finds an acceptable niche in its host society and secures a foothold for its existence, it does not aim for a larger "Hindu" identity, but rather focuses its efforts on preserving expressions of belief characterized by regional and linguistic features. Ritual space is used to confirm and strengthen narrower regional ties, and ultimately the orientation toward so-called "ghettoization" is maintained. It is true

that the diaspora environment provides a rare opportunity for inclusive identities such as "Indian" and "Hindu" to emerge within individuals and groups who might not otherwise become so conscious of that status in their everyday lives if they had remained in India. At the same time, however, it also contains factors that consolidate the sense of belonging to a closed identity. It can be said that the religious landscape woven by Indian immigrants in Jakarta is supported by these two apparently contradictory forces.

Notes

1) For the overview of contemporary phases of Hinduism in Indonesia, see Yamashita 2021: 269–286.
2) Yamashita 2015: 253–275; 2022: 183–205.
3) For an overview of contemporary Hinduism in Indonesia, see Yamashita 2021: 269–286.
4) Lal 2006: 195.
5) Lal 2006: 195.
6) http://moia.gov.in/writereaddata/pdf/NRISPIOS-Data(15–06–12)new.pdf (accessed on September 4, 2015). The relevant web page from India's Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs has already been deleted and is no longer accessible.
7) Mani 2008: 231.
8) Mani 2008: 230–236.
9) Mani 1993: 116.
10) Shiva Mandhir 2015. According to the list given in this brochure, the total number of committee members is 11. All of them are apparently of Sindhi descent.
11) This *prasadam* is prepared by Indonesian Muslim employees at the temple or supplied by Indian restaurants in the city. Indonesian cuisine is sometimes mixed although it is usually vegetarian. The necessary expenses for the preparation of the *prasadam* are often borne by the patron of the day's assembly or the temple management committee, but the cost is also covered by donations to the temple. On the other hand, the *prasadam* served after the rituals of the South Indian people every weekend consists mainly of food prepared at home and brought by the devotees.
12) A shuttle bus of Gandhi Memorial International School (GMIS) in Pasar Baru is provided every time to pick up Sindhi devotees and their families who live in that area. Therefore, the number of worshippers increases rapidly around the time the *bhajan* begins.
13) This God is also known as Perumal. Their small shrine in Shiva Mandir is called Perumal Sannidhi (Perumal Sanctum).
14) For the present situation of lay Tamil Brahmans, See Fuller and Narasimhan 2014: 217–221.
15) Shiva Mandhir 2015. See also http://jakartaayyappa.com/about.php (Sree Ayyappan Sannidhanam - Jakarta, 2015) (accessed on September 4, 2015). There is testimony that at first it was only a pictorial image.
16) Information obtained from devotees of the temple.
17) These rituals are collectively called *sodasopacarapuja* (Puja consisting of sixteen *upacharas*) and *pancamrtasnana* (bathing with five honeydew). For the details of rituals, see Ramachandra

Rao 1985: 31–47.

18) Yamashita and Okamitsu 2014: 191–193

19) For example, the idol of the main deity is required to stand facing a particular direction according to the prescriptions of the Agamas, but that might not be feasible in the diaspora due to unavoidable circumstances.

20) Yamashita 2022: 199–200.

21) Mani 1993: 111–112.

22) He is a Tamil Indonesian born in Medan. He says that as a *pandaram* he mastered the Hindu rituals in Malaysia. *Pandarams* are Tamil non-Brahman priests who conduct rituals in non-Agamic temples.

23) *Nitya-puja* is a series of ritual acts that are performed at a fixed time every day, usually starting from Ganesha, passing through all the deities enshrined and finally to the main deity, and ending with an *arati* (a ritual of passing a lamp clockwise over the image of the god) to the main deity.

24) For the characteristics of non-Agamic village deities in Tamil Nadu, see Yamashita 1993: 357–400.

25) Gurmukh Singh 2009.

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Section Four:

Methodological Journeys

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"Gyres", Indian Ocean and Beyond: Discovering the Indian Ocean World
Edited by Hideaki Suzuki and Minoru Mio

Chapter 12 Contemporaneous Lives in Indian Ocean Worlds

Smriti Srinivas
University of California, Davis

Introduction[1)]

Since the 1980s, the re-invigoration of Indian Ocean studies has provided new frameworks for evaluating issues such as transnational networks, littoral societies, migrations, trade and commodities, Eurocentric perspectives, and cosmopolitanisms. It would be fair to say, however, that it is still dominated by historical research, and the Indian Ocean's rim has provided the primary ground for conceptualization with an emphasis on ports, coasts, and islands. In this essay, in concert with my recent interventions in Indian Ocean studies,[2)] I put the study of the ocean into conversation with cultural anthropology, seeking to expand the spatial and intellectual boundaries of the former, an encounter that is only sporadically carried out. This encounter depends on a consideration of different archives, on ethnographic modes of writing, but also on the choice of analytical categories. Thus, I offer here *the urban sensorium* and *spirited topographies* as key concepts that can mediate this relationship. As a point of departure, I will define *the urban sensorium* as those sensations, smells, sights, sounds, and so on, played out in our negotiations of cityscapes that invite sensory and mnemonic comparisons and juxtapositions and render new landscapes familiar to us. *Spirited topographies* are the religiosities or the religious imaginations and practices that align and bind (distant) spaces into sometimes novel yet contiguous geographies.[3)] Taken together, they represent the cultural potencies and poetics of binding landscapes and bodies or creating sensory and social interchanges, openings, and exits. Finally, I emphasize the critical interventions that can be made by connecting *contemporaneous life-stories, micro-histories, and memories*, including our own, to Indian Ocean studies.[4)]

As we shall see in the section below, specific landscapes and waterscapes inform my memories of childhood and youth; at the same time, a preoccupation with landscapes, waterscapes and memories shapes my earlier work on Bangalore (Bengaluru) that weaves layers of the city's history, its material economy, and ecology of lakes and gardens with religious performances and localities.[5)] I carry this preoccupation into the space of the ocean. Life-stories, micro-histories, and mnemonic flows to and from ocean worlds connect the personal and the historical, and the (auto)biographical and the anthropological, to the shifting spatiality of the ocean. The Indian Ocean appears not as a cartographic space nor merely in its geographical specificities, but instead rests on *the*

Map Major place names covered by this chapter

sense of the ocean as imagination and memoryscape. It inheres in several scales from the naming of homes that evoke places elsewhere across the waters, to the mobilities that carry individuals, families, and religiosities from one site to another, to the sensoria and memories that morph oceanic spaces on to interiors, and to the ebbs and flows of shorelines. The approach here unsettles our *methods* for studying oceanic spaces by treating them less as surfaces to travel on, as locations to depart from or arrive at, or as enclosures for cultural practices, and more as sites crossed by trajectories of life, religiosities, and memories.

I. Mnemonic Flows[6)]

As a point of departure, I offer a "map" of my phenomenological knowledge of Indian Ocean worlds. This charts the historical, biographical, and intellectual conduits intertwined with the many places and displacements I have reckoned with and the many homes and affective communities that I have inhabited, lost, or carried with me to other places. It emerges from an understanding obtained through specific mobilities and processes as well as the ways in which sites offer themselves as counterpoints to others through embodied crossings and flows.

I come to the ocean and anthropology via a peripatetic life spent with parents who were in the Indian civil and foreign services. My first six years were spent in postcolonial Assam and I retain vivid images of jeeps and winding roads, a milestone on the India-Burma border, our bamboo-framed homes in Dibrugarh and Tezpur near the Brahmaputra, and tea plantations that were linked to older histories (Figure 1). The lush estates and lifestyles of the colonial period were continued after independence by new managers of these plantations until the tea industry was nationalized in the 1970s. In 1971, we moved across the Bay of Bengal to Malaysia (Figure 2). *Crossing the Bay of Bengal*[7)] portrays

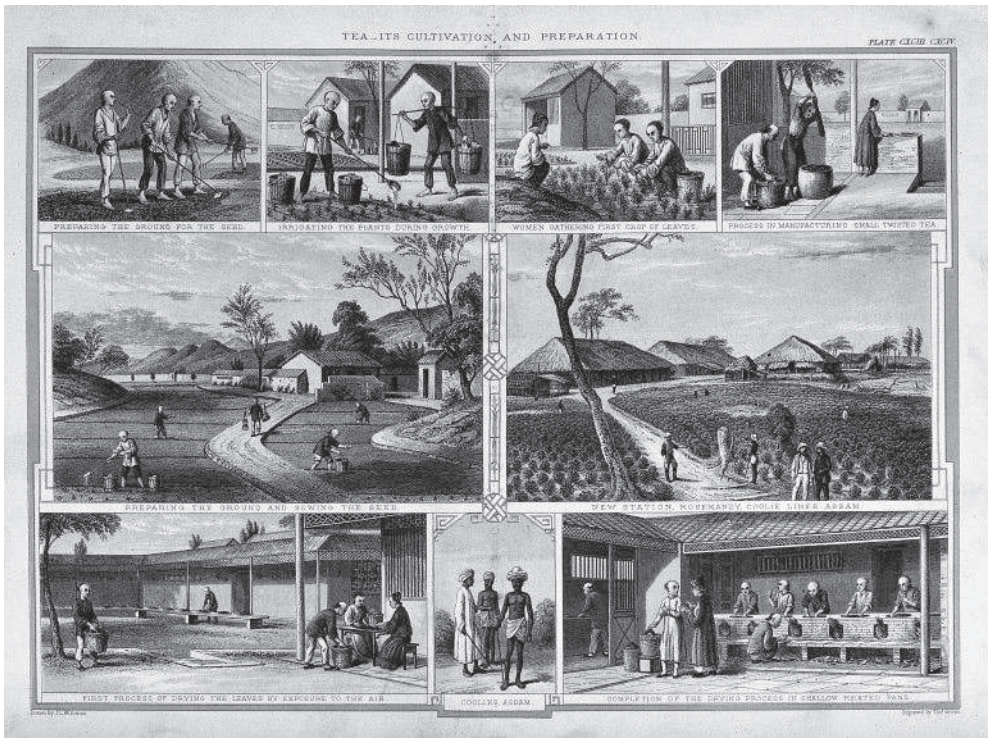

Figure 1 Nine scenes showing tea cultivation and preparation on an Indian plantation. Engraving by T. Brown, c. 1850, after J. L. Williams. 1850. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nine_scenes_showing_tea_cultivation_and_preparation_on_an_In_Wellcome_V0019221.jpg (accessed on September 1, 2020)

Figure 2 Countryside in Malaysia, c. 1971 (Photo by N. Srinivas, personal collection of Smriti Srinivas)

movingly the family histories, itineraries, and circulations between India, Ceylon, Burma and Malaya in the 19th and early 20th centuries—what Sunil Amrith calls the "blood and dirt" that gave the frontiers their dynamism or shaped the ecologies of regions. Seen across the ocean, thus, plantations become ways to connect coolitude,[8] labor conditions, and extractive economies in the colony and postcolony: the Assamese tea plantations bore striking resonances to Malaysian rubber plantations. Farmers largely abandoned rubber by the 1990s but the Malaysia I knew predated the decline of plantation life associated with working class Tamils or the growth of a neoliberal Malay Islamic modernity that increasingly negated Indian pasts.

My Southeast Asian life prepared me for Hong Kong which, although more high-rise, presented a sensorium emerging from entangled maritime histories that seemed very much like Singapore and Penang—the port city typology[9] seemed to work for the 1970s (Figure 3). A few years later, I was to encounter in Bangalore, India, the modernist architectural idiom that I had first encountered in Kuala Lumpur (with its iconic Parliament building with a 17-story tower) and Hong Kong, in the lone skyscraper that the city boasted of—the 106 meters tall Public Utility Building.

Hong Kong, however, did not prepare me for the radical shift in sensory, political, and cultural life as I crossed borders into China in 1974. Blue and green uniforms; thousands of bicycles on Peking (Beijing) streets; the smell of cooked cabbage in the

Figure 3 A view of Hong Kong, 1974 (Photo by N. Srinivas, personal collection of Smriti Srinivas)

commune near our socialist style apartments; furious ice-hockey between Soviet and US teams (watched by their Cold War embassy blocs) on the frozen Summer Palace Lake; watching endless re-runs of *Sparkling Red Star* (1974) on state TV while eating pork dumplings; Tiananmen Square (Figure 4). Mao's China complemented the many socialisms and postcolonial projects flowing in Indian Ocean worlds from Vietnam to Tanzania offering a counterpoint to other utopian, non-state imaginaries—Gandhian, non-Brahmin, or Buddhist.[10)]

This arc from Assam to Malaysia and China is not purely autobiographical and conjunctional. Earlier material and historical connections existed between Assam, Burma, Malaya, and China that are portrayed, for example, in "Stages of Tea" (Figure 1). In *Empire's Garden*, Jayeeta Sharma shows how in the mid-19th century, the discovery of Assam tea held promise for the region's transformation from a wild frontier into an Edenic garden for prospectors, missionaries, and local gentry.[11)] As tea and rice replaced forests, laborers were imported under various regimes to work in these "gardens of empire" creating complex interplays between race, ethnicity, religion, commodities, and places that had long-lasting consequences. "An indentured existence in the Assam garden racialized previously diverse groups into the status of 'aboriginal coolies.'"[12)] Some indentured laborers were Chinese. *Chinatown Days*[13)] is a novel that explores an intergenerational story of Chinese labor, who were brought to Assam to help build the

Figure 4 Tiananmen Square, Peking, c. 1975 (Photo by N. Srinivas, personal collection of Smriti Srinivas)

plantations. Their oceanic passage speaks of loss of connections, filiations with local populations through marriage and economic exchanges, and emergence as a small, compact but significant migrant community whose loyalties were put to test during the Indo-China war of 1962.

Our family returned from China to post-Emergency India in 1977 and we moved to south India, including many years spent in Bangalore and Mysore. To my youthful self, the ocean ebbed from obvious sight. My undergraduate education at Madras Christian College, however, brought Indian Ocean connections into close focus again: within two weeks of classes beginning in 1983, my college shut in protest against the anti-Tamil violence in Sri Lanka. Thousands of refugees lived in camps close to my college for years after, while those in my Young Women's Christian Association hostel became friends. My Sri Lankan experience is one reason that my South Asia anthropology classes read *Funny Boy*,[14] Shyam Selvadurai's coming of age novel set in Colombo, which skillfully weaves together traces of oceanic histories, postcolonial identities, and communal violence with questions of friendship and agency.

In 1986, I came to the Department of Sociology at the Delhi School of Economics as a graduate student. "D-School" began in 1948 soon after Indian independence and stood on the northern side of the city in the old British Civil Lines just outside the ramparts of the Red Fort and the Old City of the Mughal rulers of Delhi. In the interests of decolonization, my department steadfastly refused to make the choice between anthropology and sociology, in part because the classificatory apparatus of colonial knowledge girded the distinction. In any case, if the social complexity of India ranged from fishers and tribal groups to metropolitan centers, this separation did not make intellectual sense.

By the time I entered graduate school, following the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984 and the anti-Sikh pogroms thereafter, Rajiv Gandhi, the commercial pilot and reluctant Prime Minister of the country, had succeeded his mother in office and in the years to come would usher in India's economic "liberalization." Delhi had also announced its claim to be a "world city" by hosting the 1982 Asian Games that resulted, among other things, in the construction of huge overpasses and sports facilities in New Delhi, and the displacement of large numbers of the urban poor to the city's fringes. The same engineer responsible for the construction of the Public Utility Building in Bangalore—Kamal N. Hadker of Sterling Engineering Consultancy Services—was also involved in the construction of the spectacular Indira Gandhi stadium and other structures of the 1982 Games.

Although Delhi was morphing in striking ways in the late 1980s, and most of my experience of space was urban, I instead chose to do my doctoral fieldwork in villages in the Himalayan frontier region of Ladakh where, given my childhood and early youth spent in spaces and borderlands between India and China, I felt very much at home. In Ladakh's Nubra valley, once the cultural crossroads of Asia before it was transformed into a battleground between India, China and Pakistan, I examined the material and symbolic remaking of Muslim and Buddhist identities and the oracular possession of a Buddhist monk, who was inhabited by a *lha* or deity that crossed the border from Tibet

into Ladakh. One argument that my village members made about this event was that with the Chinese occupation of Tibet and the destruction of *lhatos* or shrines, homeless deities were seeking new habitations in people's bodies.[15] In a spectacular case of spirited topographies, this monk-turned-oracle, who had been my friend, held up a mirror to my sense of homelessness, displacement and journeying, just as Ladakh connected several geographies, histories, languages and stories, a link to the old Silk Route between the Himalayas and Central Asia that existed alongside the boats and ships that crossed the Indian Ocean.

In 1993, having completed my doctorate from D-School, I returned to Bangalore, the city in which I had spent a few years as a teenager in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Established as a fort-bazaar in the center of India's Deccan region in 1537, Bangalore became part of the expanding kingdom of the Wodeyars in Mysore in the 17th century. Under Tipu Sultan (1750–1799), the "Tiger of Mysore" and a strenuous opponent of British power in South Asia, Bangalore appeared on many military, diplomatic, and trade maps. After the last Anglo-Mysore war in 1799, the presence of the British Cantonment to the east of the medieval Old City with its soldiers, churches, merchants, railroad, and bungalows, created other networks over land and sea. Ushered in by the 20th century, Bangalore was known for its numerous horticultural gardens, the 18th-century Lal Bagh, the 19th-century Cubbon Park, and hundreds of lakes girding the city. An industrial and scientific base was also established early as Bangalore was the first city in India to be electrified (about 1902–1903), because of British investment, and because of the enlightened policies of the "Diwans" (minister-administrators under the Mysore kings).

Dominated by the textile industry between 1900 and 1950, under the aegis of the new nation-state, the city witnessed the rise and the centrality of the public sector (1950–1980) through the establishment of engineering works and, later, electronic goods, which set the tone of development for nearly three decades when a number of industries and educational institutions came into existence. This period also saw intensification of employment in government bureaucracy, the administrations of state-run enterprises, and other parastate organizations. These processes not only caused the city to expand through new industrial estates, but also created some of the largest in-migrations in its history from neighboring regions. In 1901, the population of the metropolitan area was 228,000; in 1951, the figure had risen to 991,000; and in 1981, the population comprised 2,913,000 persons.[16]

While, by the mid-1980s, the stage was set for global linkages because of the pool of technical, scientific, and professional strata, it was also set for the establishment and development of local microelectronics, information-based, and software industries in Bangalore. By the end of the decade, with the liberalization of the Indian economy and the removal of certain restrictions on imports and licensing, the microcomputer revolution occurred in Bangalore. The idea of Bangalore as the "new Silicon Valley" emerged through these long-term changes as well as the concessions announced for technology parks by the government in 1985.[17] By the 1990s, Bangalore seemed to be poised to renew its promise as the city of the future with a projected increase in its population to 5,800,000 persons by 2001.[18] In the 21st century's neoliberal landscape, with about 14

million persons today, Bangalore is embedded within clearly identifiable global networks of aviation, biotechnology, information, and infrastructure.

Performances and practices of the body related to them weave in and out of these numerous histories and spaces (Figure 5 and 6). Memories of place, like my own about the city, also follow these cultural pathways. In *Landscapes of Urban Memory*,[19] I write about these recollections of place, which are not static even if they are locally marked. They are modes of cultural self-invention intimately tied to historical, spatial, somatic and ritual practices. For example, ritual processions by different strata in the city dedicated to many deities and saints, create kinetic maps and oral narratives that are symptomatic of migrations, mobilities, and memories. These landscapes are a means of accessing how various strata and communities construct the metropolitan world. In my book, I explore the landscape of memory that emerges from a vernacular Mahabharata epic and its Karaga festival dedicated to the goddess Draupadi, a performance that is one of Bangalore's largest civic rituals.

Figure 5 A view of Bangalore/Bengaluru, 2017 (Photo by Jeff Bartak)

Figure 6 A view of Bangalore/Bengaluru, 2017 (Photo by Smriti Srinivas)

II. Centering the Ocean

In the late 1990s, I moved from a position in sociology at the Institute for Social and Economic Change in Bangalore to a position in anthropology at the University of California, Davis, via stopovers in New York City, Washington D.C., and Columbus, Ohio, as an urbanist and scholar of comparative religion. My next two monographs mirrored this mobility and were transdisciplinary and transcultural in imagination and method tying together embodiment, the social, several spatial scales, and temporalities.[20] Amidst these movements, I returned several times yearly to South Asian worlds including Bangalore.

Somewhere in this process, I turned to an engagement with Indian Ocean studies beginning with a four-year Mellon Research Initiative (2015–2019) that I co-directed at UC Davis that brought together 19 faculty and graduate students from different disciplines alongside an international working group of scholars to create an explicit intellectual community focused on Indian Ocean life-worlds. A major goal for our initiative was to shift the conversation in Indian Ocean studies away from largely historical studies of trade, migration, diasporas and religion towards new directions for the field by focusing on the contemporary, place-making, new networks, and quotidian practices. One outcome of this process was *Reimagining Indian Ocean Worlds*.[21] This return to the Indian Ocean, however, references a shift from an individual sense of the ocean to an intellectual project that brings together the sensorium and memories of childhood or young adulthood, the lived, the embodied, and the understood, a journey to

a wider conceptual terrain that clarifies phenomenological experiences. As I show below, the oceanic aspects of my thought have echoes and repetitions, are shaped by ebbs, flows and currents that also travel inland; they connect lives, experiences, and histories, whose appearance as disparate and far flung, is belied through method, imagination, and memory.

Although I have had a long-term personal and intellectual engagement with Bangalore, it is in retrospect and from the standpoint of reformulating our understandings of the Indian Ocean that I ask: through what concepts and approaches can we inquire into *spatiality* within Indian Ocean geographies such that noncoastal cities like Bangalore come into view? In the South Asian context, a great deal of the urban historiography of the Indian Ocean has focused on ports and the littoral, maritime and mercantile networks, in part because the scholarship has been preoccupied with the possible realignments of the Indian Ocean trading system from the 16th century onward. However, it is important to recall that there are a number of inland cities—for instance, Ahmadnagar, Hampi, and Srirangapattana in southern India (in addition to the oft-cited Hyderabad and its Afro-Indians and Hadramis) before and after the 16th century—that were clearly fulcrums or nodes in Indian Ocean networks. Furthermore, in the South Asian context, ports were symbiotically connected to caravan routes and interior cities, and continental overland trade (like those routes that crossed Ladakh) and maritime trade were complementary to each other.[22] In the contemporary period, cities like Delhi that are distant from the ocean are proximate to a network of "dry ports," i.e. ports without coasts thereby allowing the reimagining of Indian Ocean worlds without being tied to the littoral.[23] What are the ways, then, that we can approach the porousness or flexibility of Indian Ocean worlds (rather than "the Indian Ocean") and the different modes of conceptualizing its urban presence?

What follows is an intervention that locates Bangalore's Indian Ocean-ness through two possibilities. The first comes from the *sensations, desires, and memories played out in our negotiations of urban space—the urban sensorium*—such as tastes, forms of embodiment, music, foliage, architecture, and the aesthetics of particular homes and shrines, *that render new landscapes familiar to us.* This is most commonly the experience of people moving between port cities as older moral and material landscapes and experiences are mapped onto new ones[24] or where the materiality of ports (houses, doors) manifests or makes possible transoceanic experiences.[25] We should argue, however, that this is true also of interior urban places, such as the bungalows, verandas, and swimming pools in homes constructed by creole Hadramis from Singapore and Java in inland Tarim.[26] The second possibility comes from *religiosities—spirited topographies—that align and yoke (sometimes far flung) spaces into novel yet proximate geographies.* In the Indian Ocean context, the work of religions like Islam has received the most attention, but we should also inquire into other topographies created by mobile "spiritscapes."[27] It is possible, for example, to make conceptual comparisons between cities that emerged within the context of older Indian Ocean histories and South Asian migrations, and those that are connected to mobilities that bypass the ocean through recent guru-based movements[28] or connect places across the Indian Ocean and beyond to

the Pacific and the Atlantic through the transnationalization of yoga practice.[29)]

The possibilities presented by the urban sensorium and spirited topographies are located in a specific moment: I invoke here the late 1960s to the late 1980s, when, following the linguistic reorganization of states, Bangalore became the capital of Karnataka and entered a phase when its oceanic links seemed remote. This was the time period when my family returned to south India and Bangalore, which had a distinct sensory landscape that I identify closely with my youth ranging from movie-going experiences in particular theaters in the city to active lending libraries operating out of garages to a variety of iconic restaurants serving international cuisine. This was the landscape of pre-liberalization India that nevertheless, in cities like Bangalore, offered transcultural experiences and mobilities in several arenas that were tied in complex ways to emerging forms of postcolonial habitation. The decades under discussion here preceded the Indian Ocean studies "turn" and the expansion of its historiography but have received the least attention by the field. These were, however, significant years in Africa and Asia against the background of the nonaligned movement and decolonization; and despite Cold War polarities, there were flows and circulations of socialist, nationalist, architectural, utopian and religious discourses—which had their rumblings and swirls elsewhere—that sought in critical and imaginative ways to reconfigure the contours of postcolonial citizenship.

Some of these circulations, discourses, and mobilities eddied in Bangalore city, as I show in the next section, but one can reference in passing other currents: In Karnataka, this period also witnessed the rise of the Dalit Sangharsha Samiti and the emergence of a defiant anti-caste activism, bringing into the city energies and imaginations that referenced anti-race struggles. Again, Kolar Gold Fields (KGF) on the outskirts of Bangalore city brought Tamil migrants within the scope of the city; with them came the Buddhism of Iyothee Thass and his followers who set up viharas and libraries in the city. These practices were fostered by earlier histories and networks: in the early 1900s, KGF had a range of visitors, mostly Buddhist monks from Burma, Sri Lanka and Japan (and some from the UK, including one Irish monk) who visited, gave lectures, and offered diksha. These vernacular flows and their spatial and political worlds were, thus, also open to mists from elsewhere.[30)]

III. An Urban Sensorium[31)]

In the 1970s, despite linguistic jingoism that marked the previous decades, Bangalore's Cantonment area and new neighborhoods further east had become a magnet for Indian families returning from East Africa or Malaysia. Returnees from Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda, in particular, were building homes with names like "Malaika" or decorating apartments with tables supporting African images and window curtains made of fabric purchased in markets in Dar es Salaam or Kampala that fluttered in the monsoon season. The crises of African postcolonial citizenship and Asian disenfranchisement that sent these families to Britain or North America have been graphically described in films like Mira Nair's *Mississippi Masala* (1991) and analyzed by scholars.[32)] Expelled African

Asians had to engage with the politics of Blackness in Britain or experiment with their Asian American positionality in the United States. For those who returned to India, the question was: which city was hospitable enough to accommodate the quotidian and somatic desires of a cultural citizenship that no longer fit easily into nationalist frames?

While the decline of plantation life associated with working-class Tamils or the growth of neoliberal Malay Islamic or Southeast Asian modernities that negated certain Indian Ocean pasts has been analyzed,[33] the lives of non-Tamil returnees from Malaysia and Southeast Asia to India—those who were businessmen, doctors, or technical specialists—have not been studied. With homes on upscale Lavelle Road or Cunningham Road outside the Old City, Bangalore offered a transcultural, nonprovincial, and ecumenical home to these families in much the same way it did to East African Indians, even though there were clearly some class differences to the repatriations under way. May Joseph writes:

> 1970s Bangalore became a tactile East African outpost with Indians from Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, such as my family, setting up businesses and building homes in the garden city. A prominent shopping center Shrungar Shopping along Mahatama Gandhi Road had a couple of businesses in the mid-1970s, whose proprietors spoke Swahili amongst themselves. Kids like me sang Swahili songs, inspired by Miriam Makeba, at high school. Ngomas were created at school and college festivals as part of the multicultural fabric generated by African Indians assimilating into the Bangalore milieu. The East African diaspora in Bangalore were a small but distinctive community. Their homes displayed Makonde sculptures, kitenge and kangas for décor, and the music of OssiBisa and Santana, demarcating their African roots vis a vis their new Bangalore life. Wearing safari suits and kitenge designs were particularly striking at the time. It was a chaotic, melancholic, confusing era where the memory of place and the place of memory melded in an Indian Ocean aesthetic that was experiential and informal, but distinctive.[34]

Common to both East African Indians and returnees from Malaysia and Southeast Asia and their techniques of sensorial and somatic self-cultivation that rendered Bangalore familiarly intimate were the following: English was a lingua franca in the parts of the city they inhabited so that other vernaculars could largely be suspended in public life; it was a temperate garden city reminiscent of their lives in Kuala Lumpur or Nairobi; the children could wear bell bottoms and eat Sloppy Joes at the iconic Casa Piccola or Chinese at Chungwah (many Indian metropolitan sites did not offer international cuisine until the 1990s); and their daughters (having swum at Lake Club in Kuala Lumpur or at Kunduchi and Bahari beaches in Dar and possessing swimsuits) easily made the school swim team (most girls in the city did not swim then). Some arenas of self-making were local such as neighborhood lending libraries occupying marginal spaces in garages or small roadside shops that offered fiction and magazines in English that displayed the city's connection to trans-local spaces: this is where young people borrowed Nancy Drews, consumed Mills and Boon romantic novels, or read spy novels by John le Carre that opened out to worlds beyond the city. Other spaces

transcended specific localities: the Public Utility building with dozens of floors of shops and its iconic restaurant, Top Kapi, on the penultimate 24th floor on MG Road was well-known for its dance floor towards which some of these families gravitated (Figure 7). There was (and is) a rock and metal music scene particular to Bangalore, with vibrant bands and reputed musicians living in the city (such as the guitarist Konarak Reddy), such that it is a destination for international bands touring India for the first time, from the Afro-rock group Osibisa to Sting, Metallica, and the Rolling Stones. The many movie theaters around MG Road and Brigade Road, such as Blue Moon and Lido, screening films like Bruce Lee's *Enter the Dragon* (which had a wide circulation all the way from Dar to Hong Kong), rounded off this sensorium. Bangalore had an internationalist (rather than simply Anglo or American) "cool" that made these families think twice about relocating to (post) Emergency Delhi or their regional homes of origin in Lucknow or Kerala.

Figure 7 Utility Building and Symphony Theatre, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bangalore, c. 1979 (Credit: Postcard from a tourist concern in Mysore; personal collection of Emily Stevenson)

Other mobilities that made Bangalore an Indian Ocean destination in the 1970s and the 1980s can only be mentioned in passing: these were the flows of (male) students from Iran (who were eluding or unsure of the claims of the revolution) and Palestine, whose class position made it difficult to travel to Europe. Bangalore—with its numerous educational institutions for engineering and technical subjects, its mosques and Sufi shrines, a large Parsi population, and its irrepressible cool—made these students, with their motorbikes and Cantonment girlfriends, also feel at home. Elements of the urban sensorium here included the multiple possibilities of leisure: long motorbike rides through the city on lovingly-tended Yezdi and Java bikes; dining at a host of eating places from street-hawkers and small shops selling chicken kaati rolls in Shivajinagar to mutton biryani at Nagarjuna restaurant in the MG road area; playing badminton or football in a variety of locations in the city. With names like Merwan and Faisal, these students shared enough cultural capital with other Bangalorean youth that made it possible for them to traverse a common landscape in the Cantonment.

IV. Spirited Topographies

If rumors about the garden city and displaced dreams led outward from East Africa, events in the late 1960s brought places like Nairobi and Kampala across the ocean close to Bangalore's citizens—especially devotees of Sathya Sai Baba (1926–2011). One of South Asia's most well-known gurus, he is easily recognized by millions in India and overseas by his flame-colored, foot-length silk gown and mass of crinkly black hair. Born of humble parentage in Puttaparthi village in the Deccan region, by the turn of this century, he stood at the apex of a global religious movement with a wide range of institutional forms—for example, the emphasis on service as devotional praxis, the construction of colleges and hospitals, and disaster relief—for social self-care and self-cure. Though Baba invoked several Indian religious traditions, he also placed significance on "world" religions, making his philosophy highly mobile and garnering devotees from North America to Japan, from India to Africa.

From the mid-1960s onwards, on a flight to Bangalore from global destinations such as London, Los Angeles or Singapore, one was likely to meet devotees who were traveling to India to see Sathya Sai Baba in Puttaparthi or in Whitefield, an exurb for Anglo-Indian families with spacious bungalows, gardens, and nurseries that was located on the eastern outskirts of Bangalore. In the 1960s, this was largely a horticultural region but included a few chemical industries and the Joy ice-cream factory. The most important of the new institutions coming up there was the hermitage of Sathya Sai Baba named "Brindavan" (Figure 8). From 1964 onwards, a bungalow in Brindavan became the principal residence of Sathya Sai Baba when he visited Bangalore. A few years later, a college campus for men was also inaugurated near Brindavan. In 1983, the old bungalow that had been Baba's residence was demolished and "Trayee Brindavan," was built for Baba to reside in and also conduct meetings and interviews with devotees and office-bearers.

Brindavan appears in many devotees' accounts: It is mentioned, for example, by

Figure 8 Sathya Sai Baba in Brindavan, c. late 1970s (Photographer unknown, personal collection of Smriti Srinivas)

Indra Devi, the famous yoga teacher from California who began to seek out and visit Sathya Sai Baba from 1966 onwards and features on the cover of her book, *Sai Baba and Sai Yoga;*[35] she conducted yoga classes during the "Summer Courses in Indian Culture and Spirituality" for students held in Brindavan starting in 1972. In her book as well as in other accounts, we encounter against the backdrop of Brindavan, both well-known Indian devotees such as Baba's biographer, N. Kasturi, and Dr. V. K. Gokak (the Vice-Chancellor of Bangalore University) and a global network of devotees including the American psychiatrist, Dr. Samuel Sandweiss, the British writer Arthur Osborne, and the Australian Theosophist, Howard Murphet. The site features prominently in photographs taken by Kekei Mistry, Sathya Sai Baba's devotee and official photographer for many years, who was an East African returnee to Bangalore. Brindavan was, and is, a hub for pan-national and global devotional flows.

Elsewhere[36] I recount the journey made by Sathya Sai Baba to East Africa in 1968 and its significance for devotees in the newly emergent African states. The first mention of East Africa is on the occasion of the world conference of Sathya Sai Service Organizations in Bombay in 1968: Dr. C. G. Patel from Kampala, Uganda, seems to have played a major role in inviting Baba to East Africa. To seventeen hundred delegates at the conference on May 17, Baba affirmed that his message was meant for all nations and that he intended to visit East Africa. On June 30, he left by plane from Bombay to Nairobi (Figure 9).

Baba had several public meetings in Nairobi and Kampala; the crowds—comprising both South Asians and Africans—numbered thousands. He addressed gatherings of

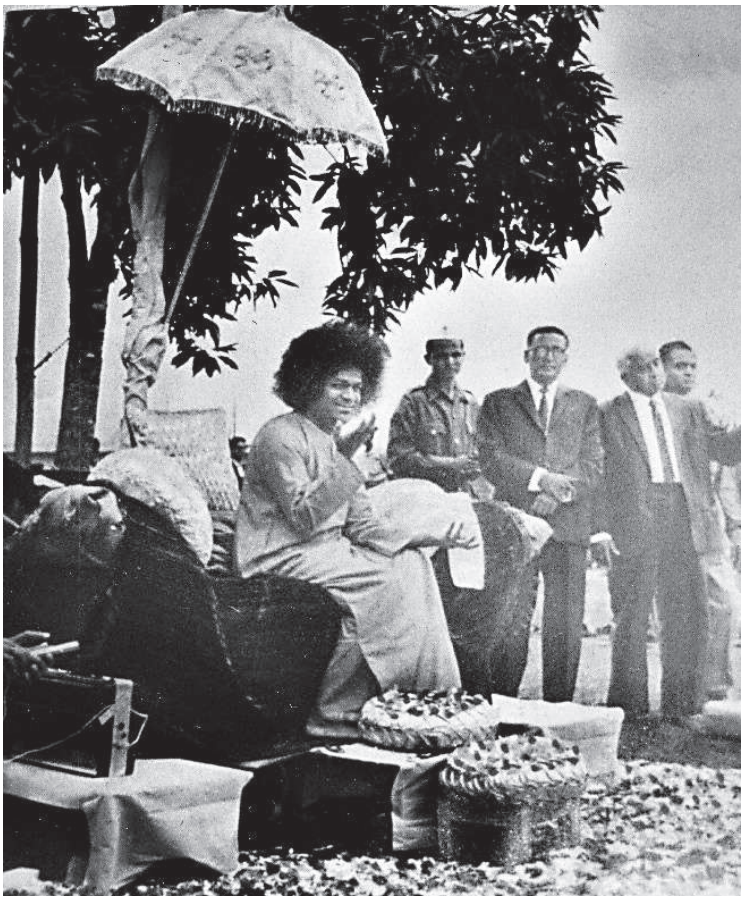

Figure 9 Photograph of Sathya Sai Baba in East Africa hanging in the Sai Center, Nairobi, 2001 (Photographer unknown)

doctors, businessmen, Rotarians and Lions, Makerere University students, and villagers and met delegations of devotees from Nairobi, Jinja, Nakuru, Eldoret, Mwanza, Dar es Salaam, and Mombasa, who wished to establish institutions based on his message. Many people he met in personal settings and made gifts of holy ash, talismans, or pictures of Christ or of himself; Baba is said to have healed some. His talks were in Telugu, but there were oral testimonies that Baba spoke in Hindi to Asians and in Swahili and Kikuyu to Africans. After a whirlwind two weeks, he arrived back in Bombay on July 15, 1968.

In the East African context, the religious sensorium familiar to most people of South Asian descent would have been Oshwal Jain, Sikh, Goan Christian, Memon, Ismaili, Swaminarayan, and Parsi. The guru-based movement from south India (rather than Gujarat or the erstwhile Bombay Presidency from where most South Asians hailed) created unexpected contiguities between bodies and places (not least because of Baba's

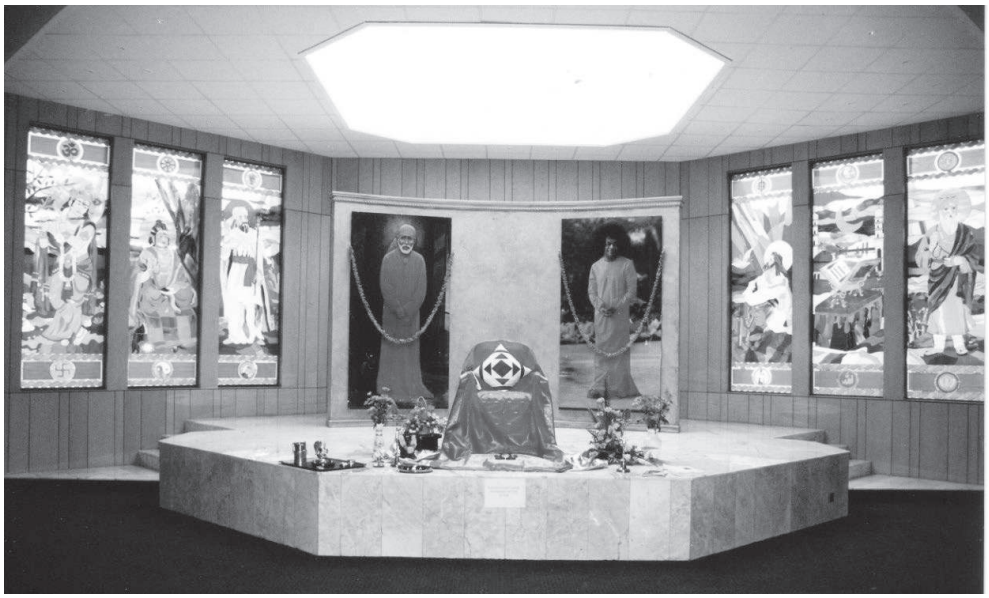

Figure 10 Photograph of altar area of the Sai Center, Nairobi, 2001 (Photo by Smriti Srinivas)

"Afro") with its theosophical universalism (Figure 10) that invited different communities of South Asians, and Asians and Africans, into affective fellowship otherwise fraught in the national realm.

I cannot go into detail here about the development of devotion to the guru; the circulations of texts, miracle stories, and devotees that tied cities and smaller towns in East Africa together; or the affective registers through which Asian or African devotees interpreted the guru. I emphasize, however, that Baba's visit occurred just before the large exodus of South Asians from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s. Accounts reflect devotees' anxiety, for instance, in the insistence that Baba's message was the strongest and surest basis for racial and regional harmony or in the naming of members of the government—including General Idi Amin Dada—who met Baba during his tour. Baba apparently indicated that Indians should leave Uganda, and many followed his counsel. Devotion to Baba and belief in his paranormal abilities traveled with the exiles from urban East Africa to other cities, such as Bangalore and Bradford.

Envoi

The sense of the ocean invoked here is through the work of imagination, of following the course and crossings of embodied and mnemonic flows, and employing a method that treats space as a site traversed by life-stories, and inhabited by many micro-histories, religiosities, and memories. Bangalore's Indian Ocean-ness, then, is about the affective, sensorial, somatic, or spiritual possibilities of rendering many landscapes, even those that

are far-flung geographically, intimate and proximate. At the same time, histories of place, persons, and communities render some localities more hospitable than others to such workings of the sensorium or creating topographies that arise through devotional mobilities. Through specific historic events from the late 1960s to the late 1980s—such as the rise and dominance of Islamic modernity in Malaysia, the disenfranchisement of Asians in East Africa, the journeys of gurus, leaders, spiritual seekers, and postcolonial citizens to and from South Asia—Kampala, Nairobi, Kuala Lumpur, Bangalore and Bradford are brought into (unpredictable) contemporaneity. The Indian Ocean then exceeds its rim and littoral: spaces can be transposed onto others through naming, remembering, and sensation and city/home/exile/travel/return are existential projects manifested through forms of embodiment, our memories, and quotidian and religious imaginations and practices.

Notes

1) I am grateful to V. Geetha, Ishani Saraf, and Anuj Vaidya, who read different incarnations of this essay, for their ideas and comments that helped grow it in new directions. Some parts of this article were originally published as Srinivas 2022 (Copyright by the Department of Asian Studies, The Pennsylvania State University. Used by permission).
2) See, for instance, Srinivas, Jeychandran and Roberts 2022; Srinivas 2021; Srinivas, Ng'weno, and Jeychandran 2020a.
3) See also a recent roundtable by that name (Hancock and Srinivas 2018) that focused on the spatial, material, and sensory media with which religiosity is enacted within urban lifeworlds.
4) See Joseph 2020 for a deeply evocative essay on the place of memory and memory as place, and the role of first-person narration and the embodied self in writing the Indian Ocean.
5) Bangalore's name was changed to Bengaluru in 2014. Since most of this chapter refers to fieldwork and insights before that change, I use Bangalore throughout the chapter's text for simplicity's sake and to prevent confusion; both names appear if images were taken after 2014.
6) Some paragraphs in this section build on Srinivas, Ng'weno, and Jeychandran 2020b: 2–5.
7) Amrith 2013.
8) Cf. Carter and Torabully 2002.
9) Broeze (ed.) 1989.
10) See Alter 2000; Geetha and Rajadurai 1998; Queen and King (eds.) 1996.
11) Sharma 2011.
12) Sharma 2011: 236.
13) Selvadurai 1997.
14) Chowdhury 2017.
15) Srinivas 1998.
16) Bangalore Development Authority 1995: 16.
17) Heitzman 2004.
18) Bangalore Development Authority 1995: 16.
19) Srinivas 2001.

20) *In the Presence of Sai Baba* (Srinivas 2008) tracks the global religious movement centered on the Indian guru, Sathya Sai Baba (1926–2011) in India, the U.S. and East Africa linking regimes of spatial, somatic, and symbolic production to analyze affinities, differences, and refabulations between sites. *A Place for Utopia* (Srinivas 2015) triangulates utopian designs and practices in South Asia from the early 20th century to the early 21st century with American and European ones.
21) Srinivas, Ng'weno, and Jeychandran 2020a.
22) See Chaudhuri 1990; Frank 1998; Heitzman 2008.
23) Saraf 2020. Gordon 2008, for instance, looks at noncontiguous networks to discuss inland Burhanpur and its Indian Ocean connections. Heitzman's examination of the longue durée of South Asia's urban history and the anchoring, layering, and juxtaposing of multiple spatial templates and languages of space is a key point of departure (Heitzman 2008). See also Eaton 2005 and Anderson 2012, whose focus on individual lives allows us to incorporate inland sites, different cities and landscapes, and several oceanic worlds together. Vink 2007 on a "new thalassology" recognizes the flexibility of spatial and temporal boundaries of the Indian Ocean.
24) E.g. Green 2011.
25) E.g. Meier 2016.
26) Ho 2006: 249–255.
27) Roberts and Roberts 2016; see also Jeychandran 2019.
28) Srinivas 2008.
29) Miller 2024.
30) I am grateful to V. Geetha for these thoughts and insights; on the Irish monk and other such Buddhist trajectories that crisscrossed South and Southeast Asia, see Turner, Cox, and Bocking 2020.
31) This section is inspired by many conversations with May Joseph on our mutual interests in this time period.
32) See Joseph 1999; Mamdani 2011.
33) See, e.g. Amrith 2013; Willford 2014.
34) Joseph 2020: 55.
35) Devi 1975.
36) Srinivas 2008.

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Chapter 13 Creolising Swirls, Transoceanic Gyres: Creolisation Theory and Transcultural Phenomena in the Indian Ocean World

Ananya Jahanara Kabir
King's College London

Introduction

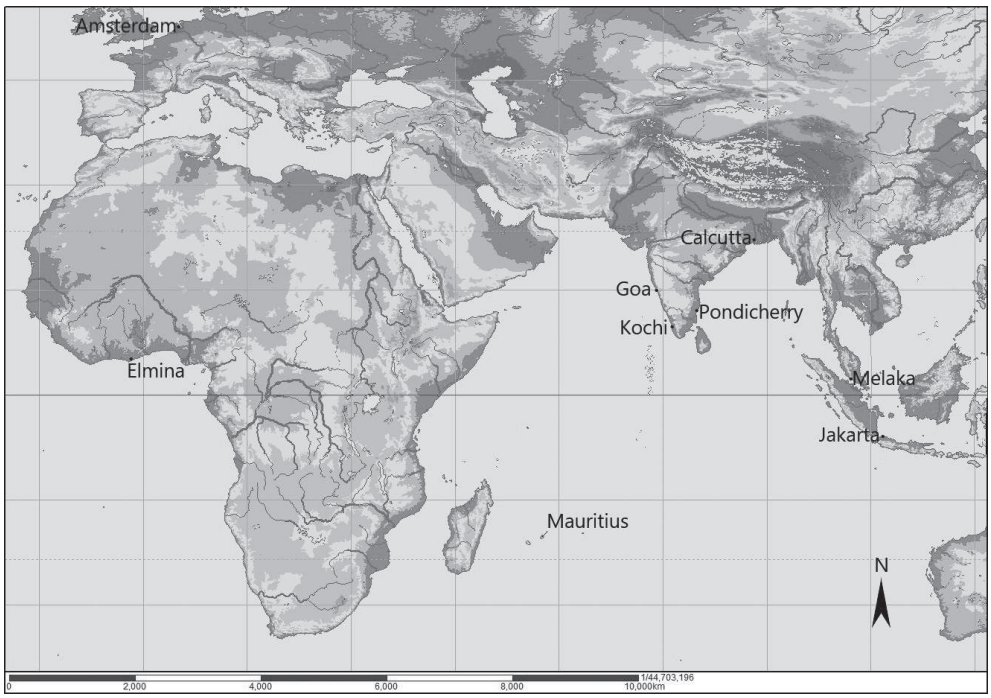
In this contribution to the "Gyres" volume, I offer a model of, and for, creolisation as a heuristic tool that can explicate transcultural processes in the Indian Ocean world. This model departs from a commonly held binaristic understanding of creolisation as the product of opposed cultural entities. Instead, I argue for swirled and layered gyres that explicate better the relationship of colonial and pre-colonial temporalities, as well as the involvement of multiple players (merchants; missionaries; colonisers; the enslaved and the indentured; adventurers) within the Indian Ocean creolising matrix. Not only do these elements help us complicate theories of creolisation generally reliant on the "master-slave" complex arising from Plantation society, they also reveal how consideration of cultural phenomena in the Indian Ocean world cannot delink it from a transoceanic perspective, and how the flows privileged by transcultural theories cannot make sense without taking into account the sites where those flows converged and diverged.

I draw on fifteen years of work on creolisation, as process and as theory, through which I have entered the Indian Ocean world as a topic of research: first, the archipelagos of the Western Indian Ocean (the Mascarenes, Seychelles), and subsequently, peninsular India's coastlines. Increasingly, this work's horizons are demanding an expansion to the Swahili coastline on the one hand and the interface of the eastern Indian Ocean with the Pacific via the South China Sea on the other. Being a literary and cultural historian who is always interested in bringing together the empirical and the theoretical in dialogue, my understanding of creolisation as theory has shifted and updated itself in keeping with these expanding horizons.[1)] My essay presents an overview of this scholarly trajectory and its potential for cultural histories of the Indian Ocean world as an interconnected and networked space.

My introduction to theories of creolisation was in a context quite remote from these current concerns and their geographic remit. Three decades ago I was in Oxford, studying for an MPhil in Old Germanic philology. It was common practice then to debate if the evolution of the English language during the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods was the product of contact between speakers of different languages, some mutually

intelligible, drawn together through either conquest, trade, or both.[2] To explain these processes and consequences, paradigms from the study of pidgins and creoles—contact languages created in and through modernity—were brought to the study of the pre-modern world.[3] While my career eventually took me beyond that time-space, that training regained relevance when, in 2004, I undertook the doctoral supervision of two students from Mauritius, working on cultural production from Mauritius (literary responses to Plantation Hinduism, and the politics of sega music).[4]

These doctoral projects took me to the lived complexities around the term "creole" in the Mascarenes. But, based as we all were in the School of English, University of Leeds, which had been a pioneer in the incorporation of postcolonial literature and theory into the discipline's teaching curriculum, our explorations into "creole" identities were conducted within the frame of scholarship on créolité and creolisation centring on the Caribbean. To think about sega and Sita in Mauritius, while teaching Derek Walcott and V. S. Naipaul, was a daily education in the limits and possibilities of creolisation theory. At the same time, these years (2000s) being the heyday of Homi Bhabha's theorisations around hybridity, one was impelled to figure out what the discursive relations between that term and various derivations of "creole" might be.[5] The brisk activity in linguistics also conducted in the School at Leeds meant constant conversations with colleagues aware of the state-of-the-art in creole language studies. All these elements entered my toolkit when I applied for and began work on an ERC-funded project exploring the



Map Major place names covered by this chapter

global popularity of African-heritage social dance.

I. From Transnational to Transoceanic via Creolisation

The word "creolisation" and "creolised" were not present in the ERC project title, which was, in full: "Modern Moves: Kinetic Transnationalism and African-Diasporic Rhythm Cultures".[6] In the project's eight-page long final report, they appear over 30 times, pointing to the cumulative importance the concept had gathered in five years (2013–2018).[7] The project's underlying question was: how have dances formed through the traumatic histories of slavery and colonialism, become a mode of exhilaration, joy and discovery for people worldwide? To answer this question, a five-member team, numerous research associates, and practitioners conducted multi-sited field and archival research using an interdisciplinary, multi-lingual methodology drawing from dance studies, performance studies, ethnomusicology, anthropology, and literary and cultural studies. We concluded that "creolisation, or the unexpected creation of new cultural products through the encounter, often violent and coercive, of different population groups and their cultural heritages, is the most important cultural force behind the historical formation of the dances we studied, as well as their continued evolution as social and demotic phenomena".[8]

Among the specific frames team members (including myself) used to elaborate on this conclusion, I want to draw out two that are most pertinent to the current discussion. Firstly, through the *Creole Atlantic*, formulated by my team member the ethnomusicologist Elina Djebbari, we connected theories of creolisation to the concept of the Black Atlantic originally coined by Paul Gilroy.[9] This move was enabled by observing the crystallisation of structured dances that emerged from the encounter between European and African population groups not just in the Americas, but within urban sites in the Atlantic world. While creolisation is usually understood as occurring on the American side of the Atlantic, we concluded that, in the realm of embodied practices, it occurs on the African side too. Thus, we were able to expand on received notions of creolisation to show linkages between the two sides of the Atlantic world. To grasp these linkages in synchronic and diachronic dimensions, I began departing from linear models of connectivity however elastic they might be (e.g. the French "aller-retour") towards metaphors of webs and spirals.[10] This shift was the first step towards what I identify now as the "swirl".

The second frame, formulated this time by me, was that of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean cultural systems as *divergent connected worlds*. By examining the history and postcolonial practice of the quadrille genre, I concluded that the Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds share a history of creolisation which, by the early 20th century, diverged along economic and geopolitical lines by the early 20th century. Studying the quadrille as a dance form that creolised in both these cultural systems, I concluded that this shared history began diverging in the early 20th century. On the one hand, only the Atlantic Ocean world gives rise to creolised market-friendly social dances (such as the partner-dances, salsa, tango, kizomba) that were eventually diffused globally.[11] Not only did such

contact-based, creolised partner dances *not* emerge in the Indian Ocean world; in the postcolonial era, creolised dances from the Indian Ocean world proliferate through heritage discourses rather than marketisation.[12)]

In 2018, I hypothesised that "under neoliberal transformation of racialized identities into the commodification of heritage, these now separated cultural histories [of the Indian and Atlantic Ocean worlds] are ripe for re-convergence through innovative partnerships"—and that "these discoveries promise exciting new approaches to research on Indian Ocean cultural and creative economies".[13)] My new project "Fort Creole: Transcolonial Enclaves and their Archipelagic Memory" tracks these convergences beyond dance to other genres of embodied cultural expression and their valorisation in second-order creative responses (e.g. novels on creolised histories of India). An important step in assessing this play of divergences and convergences was the idea of "transoceanic", which replaced what I increasingly realised was a terra-centric bias of "transnationalism", and the attendant concept of "archipelagicity", whereby transoceanic histories of creolisation could be understood as an epistemic system.[14)] This shift was motivated by the heuristic weight I was now granting to creolisation as analytical tool for calibrating the genesis of culture through fragments that circulate on multi-scalar levels.

II. Creolising between Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds

The consciously analytical deployment of the words "transoceanic" and "creolisation" was catalysed by an awareness on my part of the fabric known as Dutch Wax.[15)] While studying African heritage dance I had noted dancers activating Africanity through clothes tailored in this material. However, its patterning distinctly brings together West African, Central African, and Indian Ocean aesthetics. In Ghana, I found the block print of the Indian garment I was wearing uncannily repeated on a historical block displayed in Elmina's Java museum.[16)] In Elmina also stands the first Portuguese fort on the African coast, now a UNESCO monument to the memory of enslavement.[17)] The lesser-known Java Museum is a private initiative, set up by Elmina's Ulzen family with roots in the slave trade's imbrication with the VOC's East Indies ventures;[18)] another product of which is Dutch Wax.[19)] Through specific actors, then, material and embodied culture circulating in the Afro-Atlantic world were pulled into entanglement with the Indian Ocean world to shape present-day Elmina as a site of competing memorialisation projects.[20)]

Elmina is a town with multiple colonial and postcolonial aggregations. It includes: a Portuguese fort; a Dutch cemetery, domestic architecture, and gridded streets; a "Liverpool Street" with both Dutch and English churches; and Asafo shrines set up by Fante coastal associations, whose statuary combine nautical, military, European heraldic, and local cosmogonic signifiers.[21)] This variegated materiality complicates the singular narrative of enslavement that crowns Elmina via the shiny-white castle with a dark history. From those shadows emerge a creolised community who once spoke a Fort Creole, bear Iberian and Germanic family names, and who accrued mobility because of their broker status.[22)] As the Ulzen family shows, this very group was recruited by the

VOC for military service in Batavia between 1831–1872, to become further creolised there as the *belanda hitam* (Black Dutchmen).[23] According to local legend, they returned to Elmina with bales of Dutch Wax cloth.[24] This anachronistic tale alerts us to memorial investment in histories that are "entangled, international, multilingual, networked, connected",[25] and convergent in Elmina.

Black Dutchmen were people marshalled into the service of empire; Dutch Wax fabrics are objects and commodities. Yet both are products of a fundamental, incremental transformation through voyages crossing multiple continents and oceans, instigated by the Dutch as a mercantile maritime power which was also part of an inter-imperial network of collaboration and competition. Elmina, a hinge between linked oceans, thus invites a transoceanic frame of enquiry, as well as a heuristic lens that can explicate, too, its current condition as a backwater of the postcolonial nation. But Elmina today is also a town that stinks: of drying fish, open sewers, rotting garbage.[26] The sensorium interacts with the sedimented built environment to transmit a history of long-range cultural encounters across the Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds as well as their *longue durée* results. Elmina thus became my first case study whereby I articulated the notion of transoceanic creolisation as a method and heuristic tool that allows us to grasp together these spatiotemporal dimensions.[27]

By "creolisation", I signal historical processes that generate new, adaptive, unexpected cultural forms in "contact zones" such as Elmina,[28] that are themselves creolised in the process. Creolisation involves physical intimacy between peoples, but creolised cultures are disseminated through proximate co-habitation of groups with divergent values, beliefs, and agency, in creolised space. Creolisation as a theory of culture has become strongly associated with the Afro-Atlantic conjuncture, though it has been selectively applied to the Indian Ocean world.[29] Developing those applications further, I use *transoceanic creolisation* to analyse encounters between Africans, European, Asians, and mobile mercantile groups, who move between the Indian and Atlantic Ocean worlds.[30] This heuristic reveals littoral contact zones not just on the West African Coast but elsewhere too, as creolised/ creolising spaces, created through *trans*oceanic interculture, and de- (even re-) creolised under postcolonial conditions.[31]

III. Transoceanic Creolisation and Regional Gyres

It is a scholarly commonplace to study creolisation through performed and embodied culture within the circum-Atlantic region (particularly the Caribbean).[32] A transoceanic frame allows us to track such creolisation along a coeval horizon across the Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds. In particular, the Lusophone space, which, at one time, stretched from Brazil to Macau, was perforce a transoceanic web of people, cultures, and commodities connecting the Atlantic and Indian Oceans through the long timeline of the Portuguese empire and its relationships with other global and regional powers.[33] The case of Goa, for centuries a nodal point in this world and, like Elmina, possessing a politically intricate hinterland, is especially instructive in this regard.[34] In Goa, waltzes, contradances, polkas, and mazurkas were popular at exactly the same time as in the

circum-Atlantic world, as were creolised Brazilian genres particularly favoured within the Lusophone world: fados, modinhas, maxixes, and choros.[35)]

But such transoceanic creolisation goes beyond the rendering of imported European genres in local kinetic accents. By the 19th century, a Goan music-dance form, the Mando, emerges, which I have identified as a peninsular Indic creolised quadrille.[36)] In the Mando, the transoceanic, regional, and local together generate creolisation on linguistic, kinetic, musical, sartorial and memorial levels. Its lyrics are in an elevated, Latinate Konkani; its music is composed in European notation; it is played on violins and a percussive instrument of the Western Ghats, the ghumott, and it is danced in quadrille form by men in tuxedoes and women in the outfit called pano-bajo, whose sarong-kebaya silhouette reference creolised South East Asia, and their accessories, both that region and Iberia.[37)] With its embodied and performed references to exchanges between the Goan hinterland, the Atlantic world, and the eastern and western Indian Ocean, the Mando demonstrates how transoceanic creolisation operates through regional gyres of cultural change that aggregate into transoceanic gyres.[38)]

While the interplay of multi-scalar gyres is usefully parsed through the Mando, this form is but the secular culmination of centuries of transculturation. In 1606, the fifth church council of Goa prohibited dancing and singing the "lascivious" sarabanda and cafrinho.[39)] The sarabanda, like fandango and villancico, emerged through a gyre that circulated an early Iberian imprint in the New World.[40)] It enfolds transcultural exchanges within the Andalusian contact zone that gained traction in the Spanish Americas to return, recharged with African-diasporic rhythms, to the Iberian Peninsula and, clearly, beyond to Goa. A parallel gyre radiates from the cafrinho, which condenses the European impact on the "pre-colonial traffic in goods, slaves, and ideas around the Indian Ocean" by adding the Portuguese diminutive to the charged term "kafir" (Arabic for non-believer; subsequently racialised).[41)] A Luso-Asian creolised word names a new cultural product emerging with the Portuguese advent in the Indian Ocean world, that still circulates through the Western and Eastern Indian Ocean worlds to mark a distinct creolised dance-music genre.[42)]

These regional gyres allow us to track how European expansionism "restructured the geography and cosmology of the connecting tissue of the Indian Ocean world",[43)] to bring into dialogue creolisation occurring on either side of the African continent. Equivalences between Goan and Creole Atlantic expressive practices are not superficial imports; they signal the further creolisation of culture on Indian coastlines that began with Vasco da Gama's arrival on the Malabar coast with trumpeters, choristers and organists amongst his crew in the service of "instrumental diplomacy".[44)] Within half a century "polyphony was being cultivated in Goan churches and taught widely to Indian boys", to the accompaniment of "Indian instruments".[45)] The pragmatic deployment of Indic resources to realize European musicality drives the creation of novelty through creolisation, so that "tonal harmony" itself became a creolising force.[46)] The same sacred music rang out across the 7,000 miles separating the Se cathedrals of Old Goa and Bahia.[47)] This melding of transoceanic and diverse regional cultures extruded an incrementally deep creolisation of mentalités on the plane of the Indic body.

IV. The Swirl as Calculus of Creolising Gyres

The Mando is a multi-faceted product of creolisation where at least two cultural aggregates are at play: the European and the Goan, often generalised in popular discourse as "Portuguese" and "Indian". The terrestrial bias evident in these labels can be counteracted by re-situating them in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds respectively; but as we have seen above, analysing the different aspects of the Mando as cultural product also lays bare the traces of many other creolised cultural products from Mexico to Macau. The concept of regional and transoceanic gyres helps us track how these elements entered Goa. The gyre is a pliable vector through which we can map these movements of ideas, materials, languages, technologies, and people. But neither is culture static, nor does newness emerge through a one-way street. Hence the fruitful implication, in "gyre", of a loop or circuit through which cultural goods circulate. Yet by itself, the gyre cannot capture the dynamism and unpredictability involved in creolisation. I thus propose for the latter the model of the swirl.

An eloquent explication of the swirl appears in a memoir of Indian Ocean diasporic life: "One should legitimately expect a structured and linear narrative which would be cold, logical and detailed. The reader would have understood that this will not be the case, except if we refer to the progress in mathematical teaching as recommended by academic inspectors, mathematics that was baptised 'in depth spiral progression'. Does this give you vertigo, make your head spin, give you motion sickness in the space-time continuum? Me too. I know where I am going, I think, but the trajectory is already in the descending whirl and I cannot see the bottom of it. I can only feel the speed of the descent and of the augmented rotation, and I feel like I have thrown myself into a reverse tornado where the whirling winds are going to drag me always deeper down."[48] Ostensibly introducing the vertiginous movement between Pondicherry, Saigon, Paris, and Reunion that constitutes the author's family history,[49] this passage unexpectedly elucidates, too, the mechanics behind the swirl's heuristic utility.

All cultural products are, arguably, layered with influences from places far and near, corresponding to sites of production, consumption and even transportation. With creolised products, these layers sediment moments of innovation, co-operation, and cultural genesis despite apparently unconducive factors such as unequal power relations, economic rivalry, divergent social codes, and lack of common language. Yet the sedimentation is always potentially destabilised by the very swirling together of divergent cultural materials that circulate through gyres, whether of transoceanic or regional scale. Creolised ontological stability is but the precarious balance of centrifugal and centripetal tendencies. This productive yet endemic instability results in creolised culture's notorious variability: polysemy on the one hand, and, on the other, compositional variation within products sharing the same name.[50] We can calibrate or even predict such instability by mapping ontological fluctuations on to the axes of historical conjunctures and geographical determinants.

In the Indian Ocean world, these characteristics are exemplified by iconic food items associated with intense mercantile exchange over the longue durée sustained by multi-

scalar, creolising gyres. Take the generic similarities and divergences between Calcutta's *potoler dolma* (stuffed bottle gourd or *potol* in Bangla), Pondicherry's *podulangai farci* (stuffed snake gourd or *podulangai* in Tamil), and Melaka's *inchimintu* (stuffed bitter gourd): three examples of curried stuffed gourds.[51] The template is the Turkic *dolma*, brought to monsoon Asia by its Armenian diasporas.[52] Since vine leaves are not common in the Indian Ocean world, why not stuff one of the many gourds cultivated for over 10,000 years in Asia?[53] The lexical solutions adopted to describe the new product and the specific combinations of protein stuffing and gourd vary according to local elements swirled into the mix—thus *inchimintu* recalls Cantonese *yong foo gwa* (bitter melon stuffed with fish) while bringing together the creolised suffix *mintu* (from Portuguese "-mento") and the verb *inceh* (Kristang, "to stuff").[54]

V. Cultural Brokers in the Indian Ocean Swirl

Morphemic variations across these lexical solutions return us to the principle of shared divergent worlds, now discernible on an intra-oceanic scale. While *potoler dolma* confirms (through "dolma") the Armenian input into this item within the repertoire of creolised Indian Ocean cuisine,[55] the terms *podulangai farci* and *inchimintu* carry lexical traces of the French and Portuguese respectively, whose inputs are not discernible within the preparation of this dish. However, these traces take us to Creole communities in Pondicherry and Melaka formed through early encounters between Europeans and locals. The names borne by the dishes thus memorialise creolised cultures that favour further innovation—as evidenced by the ways in which *potoler dolma* developed in Calcutta. Muslim cooks, moving between Armenian, Anglo-Indian, Jewish and Muslim kitchens diffused the technique widely, using beef mince as the stuffing of choice.[56] Hindus, in keeping with culinary taboos, devised substitutes ranging from mutton and carp to *chhana* (cottage cheese), *echor* (raw jackfruit), and *mocha* (banana flower).[57]

No binaristic model, be it Hegelian synthesis or Bhabha-esque hybridity, can capture these ingenious responses to the seemingly orthogonal desires for novelty and conservatism. Rather, such unpredictable innovation is best explicated through the swirl, which offers not only a model of, but a model *for* creolisation particularly suited to the historical circumstances of the Indian Ocean world.[58] The tendency to theorise creolisation through binaries derives from the master-slave dialectic underwriting the cultural geographies of the Americas which Plantation-based theories of creolisation largely draw upon.[59] At the same time, the Afro-Atlantic conjuncture has underplayed the role of merchants in creolisation in a way impossible to sustain in the Indian Ocean context.[60] Its regional and transoceanic gyres forming its creolising matrix were powered by mobile mercantile groups long before the European advent.[61] Indeed, merchants were only one kind of cultural broker in the creolising swirl, whose role has been to move (on) the vortex's edges rather than occupy the centre.

What has been said of "transcultural history", then, corresponds particularly well to creolisation in the Indian Ocean world: that it must "go beyond a [merely] subaltern history" to "consider a whole range of cultural brokers such as judges, diplomats, and

traders, … priests or missionaries, … artists, anarchists, or seafarers".[62] The geographic hinterland and precolonial trading flows constitute the spatiotemporal frame from which arise the need for these brokers for the Europeans venturing into the Indian Ocean. From the dubash whose interpretational skills went far beyond language to decode intricacies of socio-economic savoir-faire, to the transoceanic merchant families who financed swathes of trade, to people of religion, rebellion and resistance who broke ranks and borders, the Indian Ocean world from pre- to postcolonial times has been traversed by groups who have repeatedly proven indispensable as agents of creolisation without being its direct subjects.[63] This very longevity and indirectness demands we rethink what creolisation in this context can mean.

The multiplicity and diversity of cultural brokers in the Indian Ocean world confirms that creolisation, here more than anywhere else, has to go beyond the merely biological. Yet we cannot ignore the fact that Eurasian communities—some, but not all, calling themselves "Creole"—created through intimacy between European men and local women, dotted its sweep from the advent of the Portuguese onwards.[64] To point to them is not to relapse into binaristic thinking; there were many kinds of Europeans and locals involved, including, on the Malabar coast, women born of relations between South East Asian women and men from maritime Muslim communities, themselves shaped through contact with the Arab world.[65] Themselves the product of swirled gyres, then, these early Creole communities occupy the centre of fresh swirls drawing in forces of cultural exchange, innovation, and transformation. Motoring these forces are mercantile tastemakers responding to the material demands of a creolising habitus radiating from these communities, and whose own homes become showcases for creolised architecture, furniture, sartorial choices, and food habits.

VI. Swirls, Gyres, Ports, and Forts

As transoceanic and regional gyres were swirled together, a creolised Indian Ocean modernity emerges as an aspirational shared taste. The question now arises as to the spaces conducive to such creologenesis. Cross-Indian Ocean flows of goods, people, and ideas are increasingly studied through their material, intellectual, religious, political and embodied dimensions, through structures such as debt and law, and through merchant groups such as Gujaratis, Armenians, Chettiars, and Sindhis.[66] But where do these flows converge? Across disciplines and fields, the discursive language of flows has somewhat obscured the cultural dynamics of sites.[67] We have a seemingly paradoxical state-of-the-art: the confirmation and elaboration of a richly networked Indian Ocean space, but, as yet, neither overarching theory of, nor heuristic for, cultural connections arising from this amassed empirical data. It is here that the swirl emerges as a model of transcultural exchange and innovation that can help us connect flows and sites through a calculus of creolisation by engaging, simultaneously, intra- and transoceanic gyres.[68]

We turn then to the hustle and bustle of 19th century ports, where communities shared tightly demarcated spaces, observed each other's lifeways, experimented with foreign inputs, tweaked them by the addition of local elements, and spread these

innovations. Before the port, moreover, there was the fort. Similarities between the postcolonial afterlife of Elmina as an African town centred on a European fort, and its equivalents on India's peninsular coastlines, led me to build a project that wishes to depart from standard understandings of colonial India as British India, from a privileging of Anglophone postcoloniality, and from compulsive returns to India's territorial heartland as its civilisational centre of gravity.[69] Instead, I have shifted the view to the lodges, factories, forts, and *établissements* that predated the subsequent layer—the British imperial ports of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras.[70] In these networked littoral contact zones, intense intercultural interactions congealed flows into material and embodied cultural forms.[71] The enclaves became transcolonial nodal points, where the creolising swirl twists gyres into centrifugal and centripetal forces that ripple through spatiotemporal layers.

Vasco da Gama's disembarkation on the Malabar Coast in 1498 opened the route for a spatially specific European presence in India. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch, the Danish, the French, and of course, the British. From the 16th century onwards, these powers founded and fought over fortified settlements up and down India's long coastlines. Here, locals and visitors traded, bargained, compromised, and collaborated with each other. Intimacies proliferated. New communities sprung up through hitherto unimaginable proximities. New names were coined. Whether large, like Goa, or tiny, like Mahe, whether a bustling town, like Pondicherry or Kochi, or a fort deserted today, like Sadras, whether separated by postcolonial state borders, such as Tranquebar and Karikal, or flowing into one another, like Bandel, Serampur, Chinsurah, and Chandernagor in Bengal's Hooghly district: these enclaves were once hubs of accelerated transformation through trade and colonialism. What is their relationship to postcolonial memory? My provisional answers are shorthanded in the term "creole Indias".

I am deploying this term while being fully aware that the term "creole" is almost never invoked to describe any aspect of Indian culture and history. Indeed, so far it has appeared largely to mark a historical lack: what Claude Markovits articulated as the "early demise of Creole India" and attributed to the Marquis of Cornwallis's administrative policies in 18th century British Bengal.[72] But was there only a single "creole India", thus foreclosed? Do "Creole India(s)" live on in collective memory? Who remembers them and why? And how might recollections of India's creole pasts fit or exceed standard narratives of postcolonial modernity? To investigate the creative memorialisation of India's creole pasts, however, it is necessary to establish where and how such creolisation happened, how did decreolisation—the demise of Creole India(s) occur, and under what conditions recreolisation occurs. It is here that I find the synergy between "Creole Indias" and the concept of gyres. Situating the enclave within the gyres that traverse the Indian Ocean world and beyond to connect oceans, coasts and hinterlands, is also to reconnect the postcolonial metropolis and mofussil to the port and fort through cultural influences that have swirled in, and out, over the *longue durée*.

Conclusion

The theorisation that I have attempted here was early stimulated by historian Sanjay Subrahmanyam's "plea", "that we not only compare from within our boxes, but spend some time and effort to transcend them, not by comparison alone, but by seeking out the at times fragile threads that connected the globe, even as the globe came to be defined as such".[73] Subrahmanyam's "fragile threads" are the swirling gyres through which creolisation emerges as a sociocultural process to connect in non-terrestrial, non-continental, and non-nation-statist ways enclaves across the littorals of the Indian Ocean world to produce an epistemic and affective structure that does not wish to homogenise or aggregate into some version of a lost "whole". In this task, we are assisted by the embodied, ephemeral, and improvisational energies emitted by "creolisation", that offers us resources for privileging process, incompletion, fragments, and shards. Using these resources cumulatively and dialogically, we can assess not merely what existed in the past, but how the past can be constantly activated in the present. The past then is not merely as a reservoir of authenticity ever-degraded in the present, but as a dynamic system of culture that creolised through the interaction of different elements. In the Indian Ocean world, where postcoloniality is characterised not just by territorial border wars, but also ever-escalating culture wars around purity, authenticity, hierarchy, and the right to belong, it is perhaps timely to shift the discourse to the gyres that ensure the dynamic swirl of creolised cultural fragments, and the sites, objects, and practices where they crystallise before further, unpredictable, dispersal and re-assemblage.

Notes

1) For a genealogy of the term "creolisation", its relationship to "creole", and how I develop it, see now Kabir 2023a.
2) Dawson 2003: 40–57; Danchev 1997: 79–108.
3) Romaine 2017.
4) Rajkomar 2012; Thannoo 2013.
5) Bhabha 2013; for a recent discussion of the relationship between "hybrid/ity" and "creolisation", see Mufwene 2023.
6) See the project website https://www.modernmoves.org.uk/about-us/ (accessed on May 1, 2025)
7) The final report's summary is at https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/324198/reporting/it (accessed on May 1, 2025)
8) https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/324198/reporting/it (accessed on May 1, 2025)
9) Gilroy 1993; Djebbari 2020: 110–134; Djebbari and Grabli 2022.
10) Kabir 2020a; see also Pinnix 2019: 423–451.
11) For an introduction to creolised partner dances based on contact, see Kabir 2020a; Chasteen 2004.
12) I summarise here the findings presented in Kabir 2020: 135–157.
13) See https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/324198/reporting/it (accessed on May 1, 2025)

14) See Japanese thinker Ryuta Imafuku's theorising on these concepts, in Imafuku, Kabir, and Raimondi 2024.
15) For which, see Kabir 2023b and Sylvanus 2016.
16) On the Java Museum, see Jeyachandran 2016: 87–120. On block-printing as part of the postcolonial Indian everyday life, see Kumar 2006: 3371–3374. The sensory-memorial shock of finding similar block print in a space shaped by Dutch mercantile imperialism is discussed by me in Kabir 2024.
17) Schramm 2007: 71–98.
18) Ulzen 2013.
19) As Megan Vaughan sums up in Vaughan 2006: 150: "This is, ultimately, '[t]he story of how, in the 19th century, Dutch agency brought together Indonesian designs, West African tastes and textile industries in Northern Europe". See also Kouoh (ed.) 2013.
20) As I argued in Kabir 2020c.
21) See DeCorse 2001; Apter 2017: 17–18.
22) Konadu 2022; On Fort Creoles, see Rickford and McWhorter 2017. We will return to the issue of brokers later in the essay.
23) Kessel 2005.
24) In the Museum itself there is a note that admits "there is no historical evidence" for "this popular legend". These words are those of Inneke Van Kessel, whose research unearthed the story of the Ulzen family on which Manus Ulzen based his memoir *Java Hill*.
25) Games 2014: 373. On the anachronism, see Kabir 2020c: 7–8, at n. 4.
26) The artist Ibrahim Mahama tapped powerfully into this sensorium with his contribution to the Ghana Pavilion of the 2019 Venice Biennale, "A Straight Line through the Carcass of History 1649" (2016–2019), (smoked fish mesh, wood, cloth, scrolls and archival materials). The stench of smoked fish emanating from the mesh filled the Pavilion and beyond to mount an olfactory assault on the Biennale's visitors. 1649 is the year that the Dutch built Ussher Fort to consolidate their hold on what subsequently became the Dutch Gold Coast.
27) For the full argument, see Kabir 2020c.
28) The concept of the "contact zone" was first articulated by Mary Louise Pratt, in Pratt 2007.
29) For details, see Kabir 2023a: 6–8.
30) A method I developed in Kabir 2020d.
31) For the intersection of littoral and transoceanic gyres, see Kabir 2022. I develop "transoceanic Interculture" from the "oceanic interculture" coined by Joseph Roach, *Cities of the dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (Roach 1996). On decreolisation as recreolisation, see Kabir 2020e.
32) For a recent set of case-studies, see Kabir (ed.) 2020.
33) Boxer and Hartwell 1973; Bethencourt 2007.
34) Bastos 2005; Frenz 2014.
35) See Kabir 2020d: 1582 and 1595–1596.
36) The analysis of the Mando as an peninsular creolised quadrille of the Western Indian Ocean world complements my analysis of transoceanic insular quadrilles also creolised in this space, and presented in Kabir 2020b.
37) In particular, the fan used by women dancers, and the handkerchief used by the men. For

details, as well as of the arguments summarised in this paragraph, see Kabir 2020d.

38) Kabir 2020d: 1600–1604, though here I use the terms "transoceanic circuit and 'regional sub-circuits".

39) Rivara 1862: 266: "Como não ha cousa, que mais incite a sensualidade, que cantos, e baile e lascivos, e deshonestos, manda esta sagrada Synodo sob pena de excommunhão que nenhuma pessoa daquy por diante seja ousada a bailar ou cantar a sarabanda, nem as cantigas, que chamão mundã, ou cafrinho, nem os mande bailar, ou cantar" ("Since there is nothing that encourages sensuality more than songs and lascivious dishonest dances, this sacred Synod orders under penalty of excommunication, that nobody from now on dare to dance or sing sarabanda, nor the cantigas that are called munda or cafrinho, nor order to dance or sing them to others"; my translation). As evident from this quote, a third dance, the "munda", is also named in the decree; in Kabir, "Rapsodia", 1600–1604, I explicate the temptations and complications of drawing a straight line from this dance to "mando", as several 19th century commentators did, as well as the conclusions to be drawn from their lexicographic exercises.

40) Goldberg and Pizà (ed.) 2017; Brainard 2000; Underberg 2001.

41) Baderoon 2012: 4. See also Baderoon 2009: 73–76.

42) Radhakrishnan 2021. On Luso-Asian linguistic creolisation, see Cardoso 2011.

43) Baderoon 2012: 3.

44) Coelho 2007: 99; see also Coelho 1997a: n. 4.

45) Coelho 1997a: 137–40, and Coelho 1997a: n. 32.

46) *Pace* Kofi Agawu's insistence, in Agawu 2014: 8, that "tonal harmony was a colonizing principle". Note, too, Pereira, Martins and Costa 2005: xiii–iv, on the Portuguese introduction of harmony into a Konkani musical culture hitherto defined, as in the rest of India, as monophony. For the development of polyphony within 17th-century Goa, see Coelho 1997b: 40–42.

47) Coelho 2007: 88; Chakravarti 2018.

48) Sandjiv 2021: 21. The original text is "[O]n devrait s'attendre légitimement à un récit structuré, linéaire, froid, logique et circonstancié. Le lecteur aura compris que ce ne sera pas le cas, sauf si on prend pour référence les progressions dans l'enseignement des mathématiques préconisées par les inspecteurs d'académie, mathématiquement baptisées « progression en spirale d'approfondissement ». Ça vous donne le vertige, le tournis, le mal du transport dans l'espace-temps ? Moi aussi. Je sais où je vais, je pense, mais la trajectoire est déjà dans le tourbillon descendant et je n'en vois pas le fond. Je sens juste la Vitesse de la descente et de la rotation augmenter et j'ai l'impression de m'être jeté dans une tornade inversée où les vents tournoyants vont m'entraîner toujours plus profond."

49) The trajectory is explicated by Pairaudeau 2016.

50) Kabir 2020b: 147; Kabir 2020d: 1627.

51) A comparison elaborated further in Kabir (2024b). Interestingly, *pudulangai* and *potol* are conflated in Mauritian Creole: see "**Patolle/Patole** : Appelé Pudalangai en tamoul ou est connu comme le « serpent végétal », le Patole est un légume qui fait partie de la famille des cucurbitacées, un vieux légume à l'île Maurice ainsi qu'à l'île de la Réunion". https://www.latelierdekristel.com/lexique-creole-francais/ (accessed on May 1, 2025). In Goa, podulangai farci is called *podollim recheado*, where *podollim* is Konkani for snake gourd and *recheado* the

Portuguese for "stuffed".

52) Sarda 2017; Bhattacharya 2015: 102–125; Aslanian 2019.
53) Erikson et al. 2005.
54) See entries for *incheh* and *inchemintu/ inchimintu* in Baxter and Silva 2004: 39. For the dish, see for now, Plus Ultra 2018.
55) I use the term "repertoire" to indicate aggregates of embodied culture that exist in complex relation to the archive, or graphic record augmented by technological capture, pushing beyond its application to performance in Taylor 2003. For another example of an Indian Ocean culinary repertoire, see Hoogervorst 2022: 1–22.
56) Marks 1991; Dasgupta, Gupta, and Chaliha 1995. On this matter, I also draw on my personal experience and family memory.
57) As described in an iconic Bengali-language cookbook of modern Calcutta cuisine: Debi 1995.
58) Kabir 2023a: 10.
59) See Mintz and Price 1976: 4–19.
60) But see now Radburn 2023; also Weiss 2016. The Sephardim in the Dutch Caribbean have been an exception—see, for instance, Rupert 2004: 109–122.
61) See, for example, Margariti 2008: 543–577; Bishara and Wint 2021: 44–64; Middleton 2003: 509–526; Risso 2018, and Gupta and Gupta (eds.) 2001.
62) Abu-Er-Rub et al. 2019: xxxiii.
63) For a sample of scholarship on the different categories of brokers named here, see: Agmon 2017; Županov 2005; Ho 2006; Mawani 2018; Harper 2021.
64) My research indicates that the ur-community of "Creoles" in India were the group calling themselves "paranki/ parangi", who emerged on the Malabar coast's present-day Fort Kochi area in the wake of the Portuguese advent. This Catholic group, speaking now-extinct Luso-Asian Creoles, gradually spread into growing enclave-based communities on the Coromandel Coast, lending those enclaves a distinct Luso-Asian air despite their establishment by the French, Danes, Dutch, or even the British, and their corresponding nomenclatures (e.g. the Bas Créoles of Pondicherry; the Topazes of the Dutch enclaves, etc). Repertoires of shared embodied culture (see ns 51 and 52 above) connected these Indic creole communities to those in South East Asia (Burghers, Mardijkers, etc). These links, as well as the relationship of Creole groups initiated by the Luso-Asian encounter to the Anglo-Indians of British India and Sri Lanka, need to be explored further. The work by Hugo Cardoso and his colleagues on Luso-Asian Creole languages is the best starting point, e.g.: Cardoso 2010: 95–119; Cardoso 2021: 298–335; Castro et al. (eds.) 2022.
65) Dias 2009: 88–140.
66) See here the bodies of work by Patrick Eisenlohr, Nile Green, Pedro Machado, Sarah Fee, Pamila Gupta, Isabel Hofmeyr, Fahad Bishara, Stephanie Jones, Sebouh Aslanian, Engseng Ho, and Claude Markovits. This extensive scholarship needs separate address beyond a footnote and the remit of this essay.
67) Sedgewick 2014: 143–70; Smith 1996: 63–77. See however, Harper and Amrith 2012: 249–257.
68) And, I would add, cultural inputs circulating through overland Eurasian routes—a dimension that needs eventually to be folded into this schema.

69) DeCorse 1991: 92–96; Shumway 2014: 84–98; Odegard 2020; Jayasena and Floore 2010: 235–260; Andrade 2010: 165–186.
70) Kosambi and Brush 1988: 32–47.
71) Kabir, "Creole Indias, creolising Pondicherry."
72) Markovits 2017: 55–70.
73) Subrahmanyam 1997: 762.

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List of Contributors

Kazuhiro Arai is Professor at Keio University, Tokyo, Japan. His research focuses on the migration of the people of Hadramawt (a region in the Republic of Yemen) to the Indian Ocean littoral. His primary fieldwork sites have included Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Singapore, and Malaysia) as well as Hadramawt itself. Most recently, his work has examined the veneration of saints in Hadramawt and its influence on Java, particularly in relation to the development of Indonesian Islam. His doctoral dissertation explores the history of the al-Attas family, one of the prominent Hadrami clans originating from Hadramawt, which has established significant diasporic communities in Southeast Asia. His publications include '"Revival" of the Hadhrami Diaspora? Networking through Religious Figures in Indonesia', in Brehony, Noel et al. (eds.) *Hadhramaut and Its Diaspora: Yemeni Politics, Identity and Migration*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2017, and 'Interreligious Coexistence and the State: The Problem of the Use of the Word Kāfir in Indonesia', in *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies* 14 (2021).

Anne K. Bang is Professor at the University of Bergen. She has published extensively in peer-reviewed journals and authored several books. Her most recent work is *Zanzibari Muslim Moderns: Islamic Paths to Progress in Interwar Period* (London: Hurst, 2024).

Crispin Bates completed his Ph.D. in Indian History at the University of Cambridge and is Professor of Modern and Contemporary South Asian History in the School of History, Classics & Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh. He has also served as Director of Edinburgh University's Centre for South Asian Studies. A former Research Fellow of Churchill College, Cambridge, he has held the visiting positions at several international institutions, including the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris), the Netaji Asian Studies Institute (Calcutta), the Institute of Oriental Culture in the University of Tokyo, the National Museum of Ethnology, Kyoto University, and Hitotsubashi University in Japan. He is currently Honorary Professor in AFASAS, University of Kyoto, and in the Asia-Europe Institute, University of Malaya. He published 17 books and numerous articles on various aspects of Indian social and economic history. From 2006 to 2008, he served as Principal Investigator on an AHRC-funded project titled 'Mutiny at the Margins', which examined the 'Indian Uprising of 1857'. He later led a second AHRC project on the history of South Asian overseas labour migration during the colonial era, which involved archival research across the Indian Ocean region. His current research, supported by the AHRC, investigates the impact of anthropology on governance in post-independence India under the project *The Other From Within*.

Marina Carter is Research Assistant at the University of Edinburgh. She received her doctorate in History from St. Antony's College, University of Oxford.

Ananya Jahanara Kabir FBA is Professor of English Literature at King's College London. Her research explores creolisation across the Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds, critical philology, and the relationship between literary texts, embodied cultural expressions, and memory work. Professor Kabir is the author of *Paradise, Death, and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (2001); *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir* (2009); *Partition's Post-Amnesias: 1947, 1971 and Modern South Asia* (2013). From 2013 to 18, she directed the ERC Advanced Grant-funded project 'Modern Moves'. A Fellow of the British Academy, she has received India's Infosys Prize in the Humanities and Germany's Humboldt Research Award. She is also on the editorial board of the new Cambridge University Press journal, *Public Humanities*.

Yohei Kondo is Associate Professor at Fukuoka Women's University, Fukuoka, Japan. He received his Ph.D. in Islamic Studies from the University of Tokyo in 2013 and has conducted research for 15 years on the history and thought of Ibāḍism in Oman. He has published articles in both Japanese and English, including "Establishing Common Grounds: Ibāḍī Theories of Abrogation," *Sophia Journal of Asian, African, and Middle Eastern Studies* 39 (2021); and "Transmission of Knowledge among the Ibāḍīs in Oman: Ibn Baraka's Notebook (taqyīd) and Its Circulation," *Nouvelles chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen*, Special Issue, 3 (2021). He has also edited several collections of papers in Japanese and English, such as *Survival Strategies of Minorities in the Middle East: Studies on Religious and Politico-Social Minority Groups in Middle Eastern Societies* (Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2021).

Claude Markovits is an Honorary Senior Research Fellow at the CNRS, Paris. A specialist in contemporary Indian history, he has written extensively on various topics, with a particular focus on the Indian mercantile communities. His publications include *The Global World of Indian Merchants 1750-1950: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), *Merchants, Traders, Entrepreneurs: Indian Business in the Colonial Era* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008); and *India and the World: A History of Connections, c. 1750–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

Minoru Mio is Professor at the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan, and Project Leader of the Indian Ocean World Studies Project at the National Institutes for the Humanities. He has conducted extensive fieldwork on popular religious practices in Rajasthan and Gujarat, India for over 35 years. He has published widely in both Japanese and English, including "Looking for Love and Miracles: Multivocal Composition and Conflicts among Believers in a Sufi Mausoleum Festival of Rajasthan, India," *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 29-1 (2004). He has also edited several volumes in both languages, such as *Kanryu-suru bunka to syukyo* (in Japanese; Gyres of Indian Culture and Religion) (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2015).

Fuko Onoda is a Project Assistant Professor at the Graduate School of Humanities, Osaka University, and a researcher at the Center for Innovative Research, National Institutes for the Humanities. Her interests include Swahili literature. She has published articles and books on contemporary Swahili fiction, poetry, and classical poetry in Japanese and English. Notable publications include *Futomei no kanata no sakka Kezilahabi: Suwahiri bungakukaino chohatsusha* (in Japanese; Kezilahabi, a Writer beyond the Opaque: A Provocateur of the Swahili Literary World) (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 2022); and "An Alienated Intellectual? Rereading E. Kezilahabi's Novel *Kichwamaji*," *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 26-3 (2017). She is also engaged in translating Swahili novels into Japanese and in promoting the dissemination of Swahili literature to broader audiences.

Reiko Otsubo is Fellow of the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. She received her Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology from the University of Tokyo in 2012. Her current research focuses on Yemenis in South Korea, ethnic businesses operated by Yemenis, and coffee-related businesses in Okinawa, Japan. Notable publications include *Shikohin Kato to Iemen Syakai* (in Japanese; Qat and Yemeni Society) (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 2017); "Popular Culture or Drug: Controversial Qat in Yemen," *Senri Ethnological Reports* 152 (2021); and "Fluid Merchants and Consumers: Qat and Yemeni People," *The Arabian Peninsula: History, Culture, and Society* (UTCMES, 2021).

Ichiro Ozawa is Associate Professor at Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan. He is a historian studying modern West Asia, particularly Iran and Afghanistan. His recent research explores the history of trade and exchange in the frontier regions of Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan (British India in 1945) from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century, with a focus on Makran (the coastal region along the northern shore of the Gulf of Oman), where Afghans and Baluchs were active as traders. His recent publications include "Seafaring Afghans: Trade Activities of the Afghans across the Gulf of Oman at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries," *Ritsumeikan Journal of History* 41 (2022) (in Japanese); and "Khair Muhammad: Trade Activities of Afghans Settled in Iranian Makran," *The Journal of Cultural Sciences, Ritsumeikan University* 681 (2023) (in Japanese).

Smriti Srinivas is Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Davis. Her research focuses on religious imaginations and practices, cities and urbanisms, body cultures, South Asia within a comparative framework, and Indian Ocean worlds. In addition to numerous articles and edited journal symposia, her books include *A Place for Utopia: Urban Designs from South Asia* (2015); *In the Presence of Sai Baba: Body, City and Memory in a Global Religious Movement* (2008); *Landscapes of Urban Memory: The Sacred and the Civic in India's High-Tech City* (2001); and *The Mouths of People, the Voice of God: Buddhists and Muslims in a Frontier Community of Ladakh* (1998). She is also co-editor of *Reimagining Indian Ocean Worlds* (2020) and *Devotional Spaces*

of a Global Saint: Shirdi Sai Baba's Presence (2022). Professor Srinivas has received fellowships from institutions such as the Mellon Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Humanities among others. The University of California Humanities Network, American Academy of Religion, the Atlanta History Center, and the India Foundation for the Arts funded her research. She is an editor of the *Routledge Series on the Indian Ocean and Trans-Asia*.

Hideaki Suzuki is Associate Professor at the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan. He specialises in Indian Ocean World history with an array of topics such as slave trade, piracy, mercantile networks, port towns, and Japanese products during the interwar period. His current research involves global history, with a special focus on the abolition of slavery and slave trade. He serves on the advisory board of *Monsoon: Journal of the Indian Ocean Rim*. His publication include *Slave Trade Profiteers in the Western Indian Ocean: Suppression and Resistance in the Nineteenth Century* (Cham: Palgrave, 2017), and he is the editor of *Abolitions as a Global Experience* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2016).

Yoshiaki Takemura is Associate Professor at the Faculty of International Co-Creativity and Innovation, Osaka University of Economics, Japan. He obtained his Ph.D. in 2012 from Osaka University with a dissertation titled "Living as a God: Ethnographic Study on the *Teyyam* Practitioners, Kerala, South India." His research focuses on the interaction between the transformations of bodily movements and the dynamics of social, economic, and political spheres. He is currently working on the politics of institutionalisation and the impact of new media technologies on Indian dance in Singapore. His recent publications include: "Conflict between Cultural Perpetuation and Environmental Protection: A Case Study of Ritual Performance in North Malabar, South India," in Pallabi Chakraborty and Nilanjana Gupta (eds.) *Dance Matters Too: Markets, Memories, Identities* (2018); and "Ramayana in the Performing Arts: Connection with the Government and Local/National/Global Indian Identity in Singapore," in Madoka Fukuoka (ed.), *Ramayana Theater in Contemporary Southeast Asia* (2022).

Hiroshi Yamashita is Professor Emeritus at Tohoku University in Sendai, Japan. His academic interests span classical subjects, such as Indian philosophy, Tamil religious literature, and South Indian Hindu devotional traditions, as well as aspects of popular culture, including contemporary literature and mainstream cinema in South India. Over the past two decades, his research has focused on the religious practices of Indian immigrants. His publications include *Hindu-kyo no Jiten* (in Japanese; *Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, 2005); *Ajia no Hariuddo: Gurobarizeshon to Indo Eiga* (in Japanese; *Hollywoods in Asia: Indian Cinema under Globalization*, 2020); *Encyclopedia of India* (new edition, 2016); and *Away from Home: Immigrants' Identity in Cross-cultural Settings* (2023).

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