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Introduction

Unrecorded Lives

John C. Hawley

When anthropology student (and later, novelist) Amitav Ghosh set out from Oxford to Egypt in 1980 to find a suitable subject for his research, he may not have suspected the impact the trip would have on his life. He succeeded in completing the required tome for his degree and then went on to write *In an Antique Land* (1992), an unusually constructed book that deals with themes of historical and cultural displacement, with alienation and something we might these days, under the influence of postcolonial theory, call “subaltern cosmopolitanism.” Others might recognize the genre in which Ghosh is writing as one we have all tried our hand at, in one form or another: a record of discomfort in confronting the inconsistencies of another person’s—the “other” person’s—reality. The book is hardly recognizable as a novel; nor is it simply a historical investigation, since it blends an anthropological record with a travelogue, a diary, and speculations. “Within the parameters of history,” Ghosh told one interviewer, “I have tried to capture a story, a narrative, without attempting to write a historical novel. You may say, as a writer, I have ventured on a technical innovation” (Dhawan 1999: 24). In *India in Africa, Africa in India* we

are attempting a parallel “innovation”: using what we know of the past to inform our understanding of the present Indian Ocean world; examining today’s imaginative interpretations of India by Africans and Africa by Indians to speculate on how, historically, these regions understood each other.

Ghosh gathered evidence relating to a Jewish merchant operating in the twelfth century in Aden, and he was seeking to document, more remarkably, the merchant’s barely recoverable Indian slave. In the process, Ghosh learns as much about the interpretation his visit gets from the Africans he meets as he does about the merchant Ben Yiju’s reception in India and the role of the slave “Bomma” in the world of Indian Ocean commerce seven hundred or so years ago—for Ghosh was as much an object of fascination to the Egyptians as they were to him. There has been a coming and going for centuries, sometimes enforced, sometimes enthusiastically entered into, and one might have thought that this would have made for greater understanding among the various parties. But exactly the opposite was the case when the young doctoral student sat across from the aged imam in the Egyptian village and was told by him to stop doing the strange things that the villagers had heard were done by Hindus. Did his people bury their dead, or cremate them, he was asked. Was he circumcised? Did they worship cows? Is there military service for all in India, as there is in Egypt? Why did they not “purify” (i.e., infibulate or circumcise) their women? In fact, the imam and his villagers seemed to encourage him to remain apart from them, making sure that the young interloper did not enjoy the sense of community that they created during Ramadan. As Ghosh puts it, “to belong to that immense community was a privilege they had to re-earn every year, and the effort made them doubly conscious of the value of its boundaries” (A. Ghosh 1992: 76).

These defensive lines in the sand brought Amitav Ghosh to the depressing conclusion that Indians and Africans were now “delegates from two superseded civilizations.” He had been constantly objectified by the Muslims in the villages, constantly made to feel ridiculous for the “reprehensible” practices that the Egyptians had been told were typical of the Hindus. He tried for months to be allowed to visit this crusty old religious leader, and when they finally sit down together, he records that both Indians and Africans, with such a long history of cooperation and exchange on various levels, now built walls of intolerance against each other, as though they were competitors for scraps at the table:

[W]e understood each other perfectly. We were both traveling . . . in the West. . . . [I]t seemed to me that the Imam and I had participated in our own final defeat, in the dissolution of the centuries of dialogue that had

linked us. . . . We had acknowledged that it was no longer possible to speak, as Ben Yiju or his Slave, or any one of the thousands of travelers who had crossed the Indian Ocean in the Middle Ages might have done: of things that were right, or good, or willed by God; it would have been merely absurd for either of us to use those words, for they belonged to a dismantled rung on the ascending ladder of Development. (A. Ghosh 1992: 236–37)

“Traveling in the West” is a stunning description of the apparently complete domination of world commerce and cultural motifs by the United States and its economic partners, and the impact this continues to have on the peoples on the periphery.¹ Partha Chatterjee argues elsewhere that, whereas “most countries in Asia have become deeply entangled with the global economy in the last ten or fifteen years [including India] . . . nearly half of the countries of Africa seem to have lost their connections with international trade. Thus, one thing is clear: globalization is not some great carnival of capital, technology, and goods where we are all free to walk away with what we want” (Chatterjee 2004: 85–86). The imam and the young Ghosh were well aware of the impact this has had on relations among the “lesser” players on the world stage, despite their own prominence in former centuries.²

Some Indians reading Ghosh’s account of Egyptians scrutinizing the young writer might wince, recalling that barely eight years before his uncomfortable trip Uganda had expelled its Indian citizens with breathtaking speed and, some have argued, with national relief. The role of the Indian merchant in Uganda and elsewhere in Africa had been a contentious issue since the time of British occupation, and even if several generations had followed that earlier time of arguable manipulation of one group against another, scapegoating Indians served Idi Amin’s strategies for self-preservation. For those who lived through it, the memories are sharp, lasting—and conflicted. As Jameela Siddiqi (n.d.) puts it, “the vast majority of Asians never thought of Uganda as home. But when ousted heartlessly [in August 1972]—and inhumanly—many cried bitter tears of fury for the ‘homeland’ from which they were being forcibly evicted. It took an expulsion to make Uganda feel like home.” A student at Makerere University at the time, Siddiqi recalls that “the vast majority of educated, and reasonable-minded Black Ugandans were actually very supportive of Amin’s decision. . . . The only Black Ugandans who were genuinely upset at the Asian expulsion were the very poor ones, many of whom were employed in Asian businesses and homes.” In Nairobi, meanwhile, according to Trevor Grundy (2002), “the mood among Kenya’s much larger and even more powerful Indian community was of good-humored incredulity”—but that humor soon changed when they saw that Ugandan Indians were

being forced to leave with less than fifty pounds sterling and two suitcases of possessions per family.

If we were to shift our focus now, and in our imaginations see thousands of Africans in the Middle Ages and later who made the journey to Pakistan, India, and Sri Lanka, we would find a history as troubled—though not as well known—as that of the Indians in Africa. It would be multi-layered, still controversial in interpretation, richly variegated across geographical borders, of individuals and communities either assimilated into local Indian cultures, or standing apart as defiantly African (for their history, see, in this volume, Singh, Obeng, Oka and Kusimba, and McLeod; elsewhere, see Basu 1998, 2005; Chauhan 1995; Chaudhuri 1985, 1990; Risso 1995, Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Alpers 2004, and Robbins and McLeod 2006). In some contexts these Indians of African heritage are called *Habshis* (*habashi* designating people of Abyssinian heritage in Arabic/Persian dictionaries); more frequently they are referred to as *Sidis*, possibly from a northern African term of respect, an honorific term specially coined to designate respected descendants of loyal defenders of Muslim rulers in India, or an association with black sainthood (Basu 2005: 5).³ They came in several shifts and for varying purposes, many in the 1100s, with the largest numbers arriving in the 1600s. Some were slaves; others, merchants. Over time, some groups ruled specific areas. Nowadays there are about 30,000 in Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Kerala. Their social position in India is the subject of several of this volume's essays (see, especially, Oka/Kusimba, Obeng, and McLeod).

The position of *Sidis* in Indian society is complex: among the *Sidis* themselves there is a mix of pride in their African musical heritage, in their particular form of Islam, and in their special gifts of emotional expression (Basu 1998: 119–35), countered by a suspicion by some of them that they are, in fact, seen by fellow citizens as non-Indian (Caitlin-Jairazbhoy 2004: xii). Among other Indians, they are sometimes looked down upon as low caste (Basu 2005: 5); they are, some argue, neglected by the government (Caitlin-Jairazbhoy 2004: xiii–iv), yet in some districts they have been accorded status as a Scheduled Tribe (Chowdhury 2005: 1).

The history of relations between communities surrounding the Indian Ocean remains something of a “hidden transcript” in our world, though the historical record of these encounters has drawn lively academic interest in recent years.⁴ Joseph Harris noted in 1971 that there were comparatively fewer studies of African Indians than there were of Indian Africans, perhaps because, as Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Edward Alpers surmise, “the slave trade from East Africa to India did not become the kind of grand enterprise that developed from West Africa to the Americas” (Caitlin-Jairazbhoy and Alpers 2004: 13). Careful records were not kept.

Many of the slaves converted to Islam and adopted new names. Today, though, “an explosion of interest (relatively speaking) in African Indians” can be explained by the increasing communalization in India that “has put the Sidis themselves on alert, making at least a few of them more self-conscious of their identity as African Indians and others of the inherent tension between being both African and Indian” (17).

In any case, Alpers has demonstrated that all parts of the Western Indian Ocean were connected at least as long as the first century (Alpers 2004: 27), and archaeological evidence suggests that contacts go back as far as the Harappa Civilization (2600–1760 BC). In the Persian Gulf and Arabia, most Africans were enslaved (Alpers 1997); during the era of Muslim domination in India, Africans played a significant role as military slaves (Alpers 2004: 31),⁵ and the Portuguese, English, and French later used African slaves as both servants and soldiers in India (2004: 34). And the movement was not simply one-way, from Africa to India: Alpers notes that a group of African Christians near Mombasa were known as “Bombay Africans” (35).

Entering into this revitalized conversation, the contributors to our volume confirm that the exchange between Africa and India has been well established over centuries. But they also demonstrate that it remains vibrant today. Several of the essayists offer specific examples in support of the recent book by Sugata Bose which, in focusing on the period between 1830 and 1970, contends that the Indian Ocean continues to be a “system or arena” (Bose 2006: 13–14).⁶ Bose suggests that it always retained a vibrant symbiotic relationship with the colonizer that allowed it to function with a continuing internal consistency and independence (31), as it continues to do. “The peoples of the Indian Ocean,” he writes, “made their own history, albeit not without having to contend with economic exploitation and political oppression, and the oceanic space supplied a key venue for articulating different universalisms from the one to which Europe claimed monopoly” (273).⁷

In this volume we present the facts of these encounters between India and Africa over the centuries: we present them as a history of displacement, of re-rootedness in a new place, of cultural challenge and cross-fertilization. In the process of this exposition of the relevant history, two larger questions regarding other such migrations run as an undercurrent throughout the book. First among them is the issue of how one defines oneself or one’s nation against the backdrop of a new geography; second is the question of how this long history of interchange between India and Africa might still inform contemporary discussions of globalization. Taken together, these questions suggest that the Indian Ocean world offers a philosophical challenge to the hegemony of Western modernity.

The Need to Claim One's (African or Indian) Home

Consider Amitava Kumar's recent collection *Away* (2004), subtitled *The Indian Writer as an Expatriate*. The book demonstrates that one's origins are today increasingly imaginary and garbled. Giorgio Agamben notes that "the birth-nation link has no longer been capable of performing its legitimating function inside the nation-state, and the two terms have begun to show themselves to be irreparably loosened from each other" (Agamben 1998: 131–32). As evidence, consider the musings in the fiction of Abdulrazak Gurnah and M. G. Vassanji. Responding to a reporter's question about why he wrote *The Gunny Sack* about his native land of Tanzania, Canadian writer Moyez Vassanji remarks:

I think all people should have a sense of themselves, a sense of where they come from, and it just happens that people in East Africa—I think Indians as well as Africans and especially in Tanzania—don't have a sense, a historical sense, of where they come from. . . . [I]f you just compare it with what goes on in the West, where everything is recorded, you can see that *our lives have not been recorded* (Nasta 2004: 70; emphasis added)⁸

Asked a similar question about why *he* writes stories, Zanzibar novelist Abdulrazak Gurnah notes that his writing "began from a sense of being loose or adrift," and his memory itself becomes his subject:

You don't always remember accurately and you begin to recall things you didn't even know you remembered. Sometimes such gaps are filled in so convincingly that they become something "real." . . . At first it might seem like this is a bit of a lie; in reality what you are doing is reconstructing yourself in the light of things that you remember. (Nasta 2004: 353)

With such artists trying to "re-construct" something that may never have existed for these individuals (stories told to them, bits and shards of personal experience), our essayists attempt to imagine an Indian Ocean culture—partially localized in Africa and India, but existing, as well, wherever contemporary Indians and Africans now live. In what ways is conversation between and among Indians and Africans still ongoing, and how constructive is it?

Does the concept of India speak to Africans, and the concept of Africa speak to Indians?⁹ If essays here by Campbell and Obeng examine an arguably successful assimilation of Africans into Indian society (though the writers may disagree about the depth of that acceptance), those by Nair and Govinden underscore the subterranean tensions that ground the Indian reception in Africa. May Joseph elsewhere writes movingly of the "performance" of citizenship that such migrants often feel is required of

them even if their families have lived in the adopted country for several generations.¹⁰ Can (and should) pan-Indianism find common cause in pan-Africanism?¹¹ Many of the essays in this collection deal with literature and the creative arts, the world of the imagination, the world that expands beyond national boundaries and finds a home in unlikely places—"Indian" dance, however that may be conceived, in Senegal; "African" music in India, and thereby in the Indian diaspora in Africa and beyond. Writing in 1997, Brian Larkin notes that, "for over thirty years Indian films, their stars and fashions, music and stories have been a dominant part of everyday popular culture in northern Nigeria" (406). Such cultural exchange is elaborated upon in Gwenda Vander Steene's article in our collection and suggests that Africans and Indians continue to fascinate each other, fully independent of what may be going on in Europe or America.

The Lure of the Global

Aihwa Ong describes a "flexible citizenship" in the twenty-first-century interchange among mainly well-educated and financially privileged international travelers, but this class's glorification of hybridity is criticized by others as self-serving (e.g., Revathi Krishnaswamy 1995; Meenakshi Mukherjee 1971; Tim Brennan 2001). As Bishnupriya Ghosh writes, "the endless troping of mobility, hybridity, travel, nomadism, and flexibility in postcolonial critical theory, despite all claims of resistance to oppressive political and economic regimes, finally serves to flatten structural antagonisms and make light of abiding cultural differences" (B. Ghosh 2004: 20). A discussion of cosmopolitanism without the inflection of status shows that it shares a family resemblance to the concept of alternative modernities so that, in contrast to the *jouissance* in slipping the yoke of one's national bonds, Samir Dayal can offer Amitav Ghosh's *In an Antique Land* as proof that "cosmopolitanism is not to be claimed as exclusively the fruit of Western expansionism."¹² The larger world is indeed increasingly "flat," in Thomas Friedman's sense, but the Indian Ocean world exemplifies the smaller "worlds" that have for many centuries shared a sophisticated knowledge of other cultures as daily factors in their lives.

The present collection of essays supports Dayal's thesis. As Kwame Anthony Appiah argues, "Thoroughgoing ignorance about the ways of others is largely a privilege of the powerful. The well-traveled polyglot is as likely to be among the worst off as among the best off—as likely to be found in a shantytown as at the Sorbonne. So cosmopolitanism shouldn't be seen as some exalted attainment: it begins with the simple idea that in the human community, as in national communities, we need to develop habits of co-existence: conversation in its older meaning, of living together, association"

(2007: xviii–xix). Janet Abu-Lughod provides a useful summary of the countervailing history that supports a less Eurocentric (and now, U.S.-centered) understanding of that term.¹³ In light of the long history of commerce that she describes, *India in Africa, Africa in India* floats the notion of a globalization from below (from the global south, in one imaginary; from subalterns, in another). Such revisualization, still inevitably caught up in the historical ramifications of the terms upon which it must rely, prompts a series of interrelated questions that various of our essayists here address: how, for example, was the general sense of an expanding cultural and mercantile exchange experienced differently in Indian Ocean trade of earlier centuries compared to that of today's global market?

If we seek to de-link cosmopolitanism from “the Modern” in this volume's essays, it is because we follow Wai Chee Dimock's notion of “deep time,” the idea that “the continuum of historical life does not grant the privilege of autonomy to any spatial locale . . . [and neither does it] grant the privilege of autonomy to any temporal segment” (Dimock 2006: 4). Following Fernand Braudel and the *Annales* school, Dimock argues that scale enlargement, viewed as an alternative to standard national histories, “changes our very sense of the connectedness among human beings. . . . [so that] the subnational and the transnational come together here in a loop, intertwined in a way that speaks as much to local circumstances as it does to global circuits” (5, 23). The essays in this volume, therefore, consider a cosmopolitanism that has been long established between India and Africa, that is not tied to high social class, and that precedes the concept of the nation-state.

Social Science and the Humanities in Conversation

Michael Pearson asks his readers to see “the seas and shores of the Indian Ocean as being a discrete unit that can be investigated like a state, or a city, or a ruler” (1998: 8), and draws a conclusion that may surprise many: namely, that “the mere presence of Europeans in other parts of the world did not ipso facto ‘make a difference’” (9). Which leads to a question central to our volume: what of the presence of Africans in India, or Indians in Africa—to what extent did they (and do they) make a “difference”?

This returns us to our earlier question about the impact of geography on one's sense of origin. In this volume's first substantive essay, Gwyn Campbell discusses the anthropological and sociological ramifications of slave trading and other forces that brought Africans to India in the first place. Campbell's argument echoes the anthropological perspective advocated by Aradhana Sharma and Akhil Gupta, who note that “cultural struggles determine what a state means to its people, how it is instantiated

in their daily lives, and where its boundaries are drawn” (2006: 11). But in Devarakshanam (Betty) Govinden’s very personal essay that follows Campbell’s, the state seems hardly relevant: Govinden instead recuperates a whole generation’s history by discussing her family’s roots in South Africa, echoing some of the perceptions touched upon in Amitav Ghosh’s *In an Antique Land*. What value did the state have in her family’s life and sense of itself as African? Seeking some middle ground between the two essays, Savita Nair next explores local and under-explored levels of contact between individuals, broadly grouped as Asian, European, and African, as an alternative to formal activities at the Colonial Office and India Office. Looking at Kenyan court cases from 1918 to 1920, Nair shows that Kenyan Indians’ subordinate position was complicated by Britain’s imperial and administrative control over Indians in India. Due to British Indian ascendancy, British administrative control of Indians in East Africa was becoming less clear—most of all, to the Indian expatriate community. This was all doubly infuriating, since Indians had been in East Africa longer than Europeans, as accepted plainly in Churchill’s defense of Indian claims to rights. The economic definition and implications of being “middlemen” may have been apparent, but Indian self-referential understanding of social place and worth was far from “middle” and far from apparent. These first three essays focus principally on the legal constraints in the lives of Indians and Africans.

Almost directly as a response to these constraints, Anjali Gera Roy, Gwenda Vander Steene, and Dana Rush demonstrate how the arts offer a more democratic access to the control of “India,” in its various incarnations, by today’s Africans. The section concludes by discussing “the space between,” the various island communities of the Indian Ocean, here represented by Mauritius, east of Madagascar, and Sri Lanka. Thangam Ravindranathan offers a fascinating analysis of the dilemma of an uprootedness and tenuous nationality that continues for generations, roughly paralleling Amitav Ghosh’s recent novel about the Sundarbans, *The Hungry Tide* (2004), and the “restrained melancholy” of a “dismembered posthumous journey” that dominates Ravindranathan’s haunting historical recuperation of the doubly sited Benares. These essays chart the impact on one’s psyche of being away from home.

Our book’s second geographical section deals with the African diaspora in the Indian Ocean world. Rahul C. Oka and Chapurukha M. Kusimba discuss the role commerce played in this traffic. Once the Africans had arrived in India, by whatever means, acculturation became the leading issue for their community. The next two essays deal with aspects of that accommodation: Pashington Obeng notes the place of religion in their history and in our own times, and John McLeod looks at contemporary influences

of marriage practices among the Sidi. As a parallel to the earlier section on the arts, Jaspal Singh concludes the section by discussing the continuing fascination that “Africa” elicits from contemporary movie-goers as it is imagined by Indians not of African descent.

Elsewhere Malcolm Waters describes globalization as being the “direct consequence of the expansion of European culture across the planet via settlement, colonization and cultural mimesis” (Waters 1995: 3). But how European is the global system today—or, for that matter, in earlier ages when the Indian Ocean world did rather well for itself without European dominance? In this volume we turn to the Indian Ocean world as an intriguing sphere of mutual exchange on economic and cultural levels that continues to run parallel to the current dominance of the West: in a word, we are looking at alternate universalisms, analogous to the discourse communities that hold together Latin American cultures, Eastern European, Western Asian, Southeast Asian histories—“global” histories defined by preoccupations other than those of the West.

When Gandhi arrived in South Africa he says that he expressed a desire to study the conditions of Indians there, and that his first step was to call a meeting of all the Indians in Pretoria and “to present to them a picture of their condition in the Transvaal” (Kumar 2004: 113). He had been greeted by white South Africans as a “coolie barrister” and saw that he was to be treated much the same as the black South Africans were treated. After a while, he says, he “made an intimate study of the hard condition of the Indian settlers, not only by reading and hearing about it, but by personal experience. [He] saw that South Africa was no country for a self-respecting Indian, and [his] mind became more and more occupied with the question as to how this state of things might be improved” (117). The speech in Pretoria, as he recalls it, was the first public speech of his life (113) and may, perhaps, serve as a fitting reminder that the ramifications of the interchange between India and Africa have extended, and continue to extend, far beyond the common shores of the Indian Ocean. The book is dedicated to his memory, and also to that of Phaswane Mpe and K. Sello Duiker, whose short lives embodied “the hard condition” of many in today’s Indian Ocean world.

Notes

1. Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo argue that those who might resist the globalizing juggernaut are complicit in its inequities: “the enduring asymmetries of domination, inequality, racism, sexism, class conflict, and uneven development in which transnational practices are embedded and which they sometimes even perpetuate” (2002: 6).

2. Scholars such as Paulin Hountondji (1997) make the case for a pre-colonial African epistemology, and for Africa as an independent source of knowledge. We acknowledge, of course, with Philip D. Curtin, that even those who consciously set out to avoid their own ethnocentric biases cannot help but stumble and fall (Curtin 1984: x). See also George 2003: 196.

3. There is little agreement among scholars on the spelling of the term, with most opting either for *Sidi* or *Siddi*, but not to be confused with the Hindi *Siddhi*. In the present volume, we have generally chosen the shorter spelling unless we are quoting or using someone's formal name. See note 1 in chapter 11 by Jaspal Singh in this volume.

4. James C. Scott elsewhere advocates "the analysis of the hidden transcripts of [both] the powerful and the subordinate [because such an analysis] offers us one path to a social science that uncovers contradictions and possibilities, that looks well beneath the placid surface that the public accommodation to the existing distribution of power, wealth, and status often presents" (Scott 1990:15).

5. See Shihaan de Silva Jayasuriya and Richard Pankhurst (2003) for more on this history of Africans in India and for the implications of point of origin in the distinction among the terms *habshi*, *sidi*, and *kaffir*.

6. Seeking to temper the arguments of historians such as Andre Wink, K. N. Chaudhuri, Ashin Dasgupta, and Kenneth McPherson, Bose contends that their work "has hampered the development of a historical method that would unsettle the discredited, yet entrenched, notions of a West versus rest and other accompanying dichotomies" (2006: 21).

7. For the history of the region, see Chaudhuri (1990), Chittick and Rotberg (1975), Ward and White (1972); of the Sidis, see Rashidi (1993), Chauhan (1995), Indrani Chatterjee (2006); of Indians in East Africa, see Mangat (1969); for economics and trade issues, see Risso (1995), Clarence-Smith (1989), Chaudhuri (1985); for politics, see Bhargava (1990), Mukherjee and Subramanian (1998), Rumyantsev (1988), Rais (1987), Misra (1978), Allen (1966).

8. Vassanji strikes a resonant chord here, in the context of this volume's recurring interest (starting with our discussion of Ghosh) in the subaltern in history. As Gyanendra Pandey wisely notes, "In the critique of historiography, as in that of politics, one may begin with a question about perspective: whose standpoint does the historian adopt, whom does s/he speak for? . . . Whose voice *can* we recover (or represent)?" (Pandey 2006: 50).

9. For all the dreams of Bandung, plenty of xenophobic stereotypes war against optimism: in Siddiqi's opinion, for example, Indians in Uganda "managed their own community affairs from a largely moralistic Indian standpoint," standing apart from a full Africanization of their identities; and, in fact, "Black African servants were often the only (rather limited) link that Asians had to African culture" (Siddiqi n.d.).

10. "I recall my own efforts at expressively staging citizenship in those early years of independence, my enthusiastic attempts to demonstrate that I was, indeed, a good Tanzanian socialist: marching along with my peers, emulating the best *ngoma* dancers by shaking my hips just so, beefing up my Swahili so that I would be among the handful of Asians accepted into the local Swahili medium secondary schools, singing Swahili songs with the right accent (Asians were constantly mocked for their poor pronunciation of Swahili), trading my skill in drawing frogs and butterflies for help from green-thumbed comrades with my *shamba*, or vegetable garden, so that I would not fail the year" (Joseph 1999: 2).

11. The history of Indians and Africans living together in the Caribbean is beyond the scope of this book but surely would make an appropriate companion volume. Consider, for example, Brinda Mehta's study (2004). For examples of works on Pan-Africanism see Ronald Segal's work (1995), Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze's reader (1997), and Fred Hord's edited volume (Hord and Lee 1994).

12. James Ferguson argues that "the anthropologist's evenhanded assessment of 'modernities' . . . by pluralizing without ranking the different relations to 'modernity' of different world regions, runs the risk of deemphasizing or overlooking the socioeconomic inequalities and questions of global rank that loom so large in African understandings of the modern. In this way, a well-meaning anthropological urge to treat modernity as a cultural formation whose different versions may be understood as both coeval and of equal value ends up looking like an evasion of the demands of those who instead see modernity as a privileged and desired socioeconomic condition that is actively contrasted with their own radically unequal way of life" (Ferguson 2006:33).

13. "In the thirteenth century and considerably before as well, the Asian sea trade that traversed the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the South China Sea was subdivided into three interlocking circuits, each within the shared 'control' of a set of political and economic actors who were largely, although certainly not exclusively, in charge of exchanges with adjacent zones. . . . The westernmost circuit was largely inhabited by Muslims, with ship owners, major merchants, and their resident factors being drawn from the ports of the Arabian Peninsula or the more interior capitals of Baghdad and Cairo . . . Muslim merchant ships exiting the Gulf made stops along the northwestern coast of India (usually of Gujarat) before proceeding to the Malabar Coast farther south . . . [where] they conducted their business through sizable resident 'colonies' of Muslim merchants. Some of these merchants originally came from the Middle East but had settled, married, and generally assimilated to their new home; others, however, were indigenous to the region but, through the prolonged contacts of trade, had converted and adopted Muslim culture and language" (Abu-Lughod 1989: 251).

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