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DIRECTIONS IN RESEARCH

## Expanding the Scope of African Diaspora Studies: The Middle East and India, a Research Agenda

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Since ancient times, Africans have traveled across the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean and settled both as free and enslaved people. They traveled as merchants, proselytizers for Islam and Christianity, entertainers, soldiers and sailors, concubines and laborers, and as adventurers. They have shared their cultures, adapted to host cultures, and contributed to the development of overseas societies; and many of the descendants of those settlers remain in a number of countries around the world today. Their presence therefore is essentially global.

Most notably in the pre-Atlantic phase of the slave trade, Africans participated in the expansion of trade and Christianity into southern European cities like Nantes, Seville, Toulon, and Genoa; they also participated in the expansion of Islam from the Middle East and into South Asia from the eighth century and encountered non-Muslim Africans who over the centuries had established residence in the Persian Gulf region and South Asia. Thus, centuries prior to the global slave trade, Africans had settled in both Europe and Asia as merchants and missionaries as well as singers, dancers, and adventurers. And in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Ethiopians joined the European Crusaders in the Middle East and accompanied some of them to Europe—Rome, Venice, Aragon, and elsewhere. Over time, these African missionaries became more involved in the Christian faith in Europe and settled among African merchants and others in European cities. In both Europe and

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Asia, therefore, free communities of Africans emerged before the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade. It was, however, the slave trade that took most of the millions of Africans abroad to both Asia and the West. As free and enslaved Africans and their descendants settled throughout the world, they became stereotyped by previous beliefs embedded in publications of classical and other writers, general cultural lore, and as a result of the slave trades across the Mediterranean and Red Seas, Indian and Atlantic Oceans.<sup>1</sup>

Pre-Islamic Arabs conducted a trade in Africans from northern and eastern Africa to parts of Europe, across Turkey, the Middle East, India, and as far as China centuries before the Atlantic slave trade peaked in the nineteenth century. They and Muslim Arabs enslaved Africans as domestic servants, concubines, soldiers, sailors, dockworkers, agricultural laborers on date plantations and coconut groves, pearl divers, and on salt flats. Although the Arab dhows generally carried only about a dozen Africans at a time, and often fewer, the numbers added up over time and left descendants throughout large stretches of the Asian continent, for example, Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, India, and beyond.<sup>2</sup>

From the fifteenth century on, the Portuguese took shipments of captive Africans to the Persian Gulf region, India, China, and Japan; the Dutch transported them to India and Indonesia; the French shipped them to India and the Mascarene Islands (Bourbon and Mauritius); the British took them to India, Mauritius, and China; and of course all of them and the Danes shipped captive Africans to Europe and the Americas. The Euro-North Americans brought them to the Americas as well. Thus communities of African descent have made the African presence global.<sup>3</sup> Although this international displacement of Africans has proven a major force in world history and culture, only now is it beginning to receive the serious research attention it deserves. This research is promising because it is, for the most part, interdisciplinary and global. What is required, however, is a continued refinement of the definition of the concept of *diaspora*, the focus of this essay.

The African diaspora concept subsumes a triadic relationship—Africa as homeland, Africans and their descendants, and the adopted residence/home abroad—built on many years of voluntary and involuntary dispersions, with secondary and tertiary migrations as well. In addition, this diaspora has the following characteristics: Collective memories and myths about Africa as the homeland or place of origin; a tradition of a physical and psychological return; a common socio-economic condition; a transnational network; and a sustained resistance to Africans' presence abroad and an affirmation of their human rights. All of these factors characterize the dispersed communities of African descent abroad. Although the African presence in Asian history and culture provides the primary framework for this essay, the concept of *diaspora* and its characteristics pertain as well to the global presence of African-derived peoples. Thus, although I do not dwell on the well-known aspects

of the African presence in the Western world, I do provide what I regard as appropriate context giving meaning to the *global* connections of Africa and the African diaspora.

### Collective Memories

Collective memories of the homeland clearly demonstrate the continuity of African cultures in a number of places. Oral history, religion, songs, music, dances, ceremonies of various kinds, crafts, and games range among the indicators of that continuity. While no published accounts of African experiences in Asia exist comparable to those of the Candomble in Brazil and Santeria in Cuba, for example, there are clear cases of cultural continuities that helped to sustain the history and traditions of communities of African descent in various parts of Asia.

In addition to my observation of the Swahili language, African songs and dances, and oral accounts of African villages, enslavement, and great personalities passed on from generation to generation in India, Ruth Stone reports that African themes also are evident in Omani songs sung by sailors leaving Muscat (Oman) for the East African coast, some of which she translated. D. K. Bhattacharya documents an African dance in Gujarat (India) during which the participants recall their African ancestors; and Omar Khalifi has written about Habshi (African) musicians who play the African lyre (tambura bowl) in the Persian Gulf states. Khalifi also refers to traditional African ceremonies in parts of Sind and Baluchistan in Pakistan. Jayanti K. Patel notes that Swahili is used in Gujarat and refers to a number of revered Africans in India's history, including Baba Ghor, who reportedly led a group from Kano, Nigeria, to Ethiopia, then Mecca, and finally into Gujarat, and who became well known as a merchant in the agate trade.<sup>4</sup>

Another notable African personality in India was Malik Ambar, the enslaved Ethiopian who led an eighteenth-century revolt of thousands of enslaved Africans and others and ultimately assumed power in the Deccan. He ruled the area for the first quarter of the century before he was defeated, but during that time he founded towns, constructed canals, developed a taxation system, and fought successfully in a number of battles against the Moguls of India. He allied himself with freed Africans (Siddis) on Janjira Island, just opposite the city of Bombay. Malik Ambar was proud of his African heritage and committed to making contributions to his adopted Indian homeland. For much of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, the Janjira Siddis dominated much of the western coast of India. Even the Dutch and English were forced to negotiate an alliance with them in the nineteenth century. No longer a power in the region, Janjira Siddis continue to dominate politics and the economy of the island. Other Africans recalled by their descendants in India and Pakistan are: Sidi Makbut, Sidi Pyara, Sidi Mmulu, and Mai Parsan. These examples beg for additional research and could sustain meaningful comparative studies of culture and leadership in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean diasporas.<sup>5</sup>

Collective memories and symbols had a significant impact on African protest and resistance movements in Iraq. Only scant information exists about the first reported uprisings in Iraq in 689 and 694, but the revolt of 869 has received more, if still insufficient, documentation. We know, however, that Africans captured and sold in Ethiopia, Eastern Sudan, and the East African (Swahili) coast were enslaved in the Iraqi area of Basra, historically a crossroads city that thrived on agriculture, commerce, finance, and religion. Some observers have estimated that as many as 15,000 enslaved Africans inhabited the area.<sup>6</sup>

Although enslaved Africans were accepted as converts to Islam, could marry, have a family, and own some property, Arabs justified their enslavement with the prevailing stereotypes that generally depicted Africans as inferior, prone to thievery, ugly, and subservient—myths later prevalent in the West. Africans were enslaved as concubines, eunuchs, labor for the date plantations, coconut groves, docks, and on the dhows, as domestic workers, craftsmen, soldiers, and pearl divers in the Persian Gulf. Hours characteristically were long, overseers on the plantations and coconut groves usually cruel, and food insufficient. That was the context in which Ali Muhammad, also known as Ibn Salih, organized the enslaved in the Basra area around the banner of Islam, demands for social and economic betterment, and freedom, and where he also attracted freed slaves to his ranks. To organize his units, he used a series of libations, oaths, and pledges of secrecy and then challenged the Abbasid Empire in 869. The uprising resulted in the establishment of a short-lived state in southern Iraq around Basra that existed until 883.<sup>7</sup> The extent to which Africans continued to protest, rebel, or integrate into Muslim society deserves very serious study.<sup>8</sup>

Although the African people's struggle for freedom in the diaspora of Iraq and India existed long before the commencement of the Atlantic slave trade, and in spite of the paucity of documentation, it may be useful for researchers and teachers to draw comparisons with later struggles for freedom in Haiti and elsewhere in the Americas. It is interesting to note, for example, that the African Boukman in Haiti, like Salih in Iraq, also combined oaths with libations to establish unity among Africans in the struggle for freedom and thus paved the way for the diaspora-born, Christian Toussaint L'Ouverture to mount the successful Haitian liberation movement. Similar examples can be found in Guyana, Jamaica, and elsewhere in the Caribbean.<sup>9</sup>

Without a doubt, collective memories of Africa as homeland continued in the Indian and Iraqi diasporas, helped to develop those countries, and today sustain an identity that still helps to shape those societies. As noted above, a few Indian scholars have written about this African dimension of history from an Indian perspective.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the African diasporic perspective deserves more thorough application in order to present a more complete reconstruction of the national and global relationships.

### Tradition of Return

One could argue that the best manifestation of cultural continuity is the existence of a tradition of return, especially after centuries of enduring direct and systemic efforts to eradicate or distort a people's cultural and historical roots. Such indeed is the history of the African diaspora in the Americas. European and American slave masters, for example, employed both passive and overt means either to erase the memory of Africa or derogate it to the point of meaninglessness. Africans were told they had no history or culture and were forbidden to speak their languages, sing their songs, perform their dances, and engage in traditional ceremonies. While the situation in Asia was not buttressed by law or religion, as was the case in the United States, for example, Africans were demeaned and marginalized on the Asian social and economic scale.

Not surprisingly therefore, the African diaspora in both the East and West has a long tradition of a psychological and physical return. Evidence of a psychological return appears in the language of songs Africans sang, the nostalgic stories they told about life in their villages, and the prayers they made in their religious ceremonies pertaining to their return to Africa, even if only after death. We know a great deal about these factors in the Western experience, but only a few studies have been published about this subject for Asia.<sup>11</sup> This therefore remains a fertile field for research. But resistance in the areas of capture and the loading points of the slave ships, the several mutinies on board the slave ships, and the many runaways document a strong tradition of physical return efforts during the enslavement process. That tradition continued as systemic racism and violence against Africans and African-descended people thrived throughout the diaspora.

As is well known, enslaved Africans escaped from American plantations to the western United States, Canada, Mexico, and Cuba, hoping to find Africa and freedom; they escaped and formed maroon societies in Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico, hoping to replicate African society. The return movements from Cuba and Brazil to West Africa in the 1830s, the Marcus Garvey movement and the emigrations from the United States to Ethiopia in the 1930s and 1950s—all confirm that neither time nor manumission eradicated the desire to return to the homeland. Perhaps the most dramatic and best-known return movements were those that led to the founding of Sierra Leone in the eighteenth century and Liberia in the early nineteenth century by repatriates from Europe, the United States, Canada, and the Caribbean.<sup>12</sup>

Much less well known is the story of Africans captured in northeastern Africa and the Swahili coast, who were taken to parts of Asia where some of them were liberated and, along with others captured in the Indian Ocean, returned to the continent. These Asian return movements were launched from Bombay, India, primarily by the Church Missionary Society in the 1870s. The reasons for the return mirrored those of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century movements from Europe and the

Americas to West Africa. Not only did the Africans face racial stereotyping and social and economic discrimination; they also had a deep longing for a return to their homeland. In the case of Asia, several hundred returned from Yemen and India in particular and settled along the coasts of Kenya, Mozambique, and Zanzibar. These Africans' return was voluntary and occurred within a generation of their departure, and they resettled in the general areas from which they had originated, most notably the Kenyan coast, Freretown in particular. Because of their short stay abroad, the much smaller numbers involved (only hundreds), and the lower priority given at the time to East Africa by the imperial powers, the experiences of these returnees proved less disruptive than in the case of either Sierra Leone or Liberia. Still, the fact that the returnees had received a missionary education abroad and general orientation to European and Asian cultures (several spoke English and some Indian languages), facilitated interaction with the Asian communities in East Africa and made the returnees uniquely attractive to the colonial administration as interpreters, translators, civil servants, and the like. They therefore tended to adhere to European values, thereby alienating themselves from the majority of the local people in East Africa. Yet one should note that they also participated in "uplift" and "development" activities and became leaders in East Africa's twentieth-century nationalist movements.<sup>13</sup>

A rare example of African Indian/East African identity occurred in 1972 when a delegation of African Indians visited Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda to explore common interests. Certainly a dramatic moment in Kenya, the media covered the event anxiously, while the delegates met with several government, business, academic, and other groups. I am unaware of any follow-up activity, but the visit itself had a significant impact at the time and at least remains part of the collective memory and tradition of return that beckons for further research.

Another aspect of the returnees in great need of study are the contributions they made both abroad and on their return to Africa. Not nearly enough has been written about either of these. Music and dance innovations have received some credit, but scholars must still look into issues such as food and eating habits, dress, language, work, and contributions in agriculture and the crafts, not to mention the impact of the black struggle for human rights on the democratic traditions abroad. African Americans in the United States provide a good model for the study of these influences in other countries. And to what extent did descendants of Africans in Asia contribute to the economic and social development of the imperial countries?<sup>14</sup> We need to think beyond the obvious Western countries, to include, for example, Japan as well for its profits in nineteenth-century Persian Gulf pearls.

The returnees carried with them to Africa ideas and practices they had acquired abroad. Again, they brought with them music, song, dance, dress, language, and political traditions developed overseas. In fact, the idea of an internal diaspora in Africa, as developed by Akintola Wyse and a few other African scholars, has

demonstrated the rich possibilities in this regard. In addition, the international network developed during and after enslavement continues to reinforce reciprocal influences in blacks' global communities. This provides an exciting area for comparative research.

#### **Common Socioeconomic Condition**

The common socioeconomic condition of descendant African communities around the world reveals another characteristic of the global diaspora. Most descendants of Africans, whether in Asia, Europe, or the Americas, have a heritage of derogation and enslavement. As shown above, classical and biblical history is replete with derogatory characterizations of Africans and blacks generally in Asia, Europe, and the Americas. In addition, liberated blacks not only were denied separation pay or reparations (although many slaveholders received such payments) but they also carried the burden of confronting the entrenched racial stereotypes and discrimination that greatly limited their opportunities for social and economic advancement and which also lowered their self esteem. Thus many blacks in Africa and the diaspora still question their ability to succeed in today's Euro-American-dominated global system.

Given this situation, it comes as little surprise that the great majority of descendants of Africans worldwide have remained in the margins of their adopted homelands' mainstream economy—the former colonial territories in Africa and the Caribbean, but also the former slave-based societies of the Western and Eastern countries. The policies and practices that European colonial and slave-based countries pursued not only technologically advanced the colonial powers *themselves* but also entrenched privileged priorities for their own European/American communities. In effect, Europeans, their descendants, and their socioeconomic systems have benefited from the racial (white) preferences of their governments and corporations. Without an economic base, therefore, Africans and their descendants still lack the political power to gain appropriate representation in national and international decision-making circles of government, business, and education. Thus economic and political marginalization characterizes the great majority of the global black diaspora.

This historical condition provides the basis for the past and present movements for reparations for both Africans and their descendants abroad. Physical enslavement obviously depleted Africa of needed labor, divided families and ethnic groups, disoriented social institutions, and made labor available for Europeans/Euro-Americans without adequate compensation for centuries. Meanwhile, the European and Euro-American beneficiaries acquired an economic and social status that not only reinforced their political and military power but also fortified their belief in their superiority over African people. Indeed, that represents centuries of affirmative action for Europeans and white Americans.

Although research by Joseph Inikori and others is underway on this complex



subject for Europe and the Americas, the lack of reliable data for much of the East African slave trade and its legacy in Asia leaves a huge gap in the equation. In the final analysis, however, this issue affects the descendants of the enslaved, those of the enslavers, and all others who have benefited from the fruits of the industrial, technological, and accompanying cultural developments of modern society. Hence, the total impact of the slave trades from northern, eastern, central, southern, and western Africa over many centuries represents an enormous task to be resolved not only by the descendants of the enslaved but by humankind, and scholars, statespersons, politicians, teachers, and other leaders of the world community should lead the way to its solution.

### **Transnational Network**

While no evidence has surfaced that shows movements in Asia similar to those of the pan-African congresses, negritude, the Harlem Renaissance, Black Power conferences, congresses of All African Peoples, or other international organizations challenging the entrenched marginalization of Africans and their descendants by Europeans in the Western world, historical examples exist of sustained, unorganized physical and psychological linkages between Africans and their descendants in India and the Persian Gulf region. Indians who settled as merchants in East Africa developed familial and other relationships with local populations and frequently took African relatives and friends to Gujarat, Cutch, Surat, Bombay, and other areas of India; Arabs took Africans to various parts of Arabia, including Mecca, Jedda, Basra, Baghdad, Muscat, Mocha, and Aden. In addition, African sailors and merchants traveled to India and other areas from ancient times onward and started communities there. And of course enslaved Africans were settled in scattered areas throughout Asia. As some of those Africans and their descendants returned to Africa, they no doubt shared their experiences. Indeed, this provides a beckoning area for research.

Those Muslim descendants of Asians of African descent who make the periodic hajj to Mecca continue to make social and business connections with continental Africans, and increasingly with African Americans. No doubt oral and written evidence exists pertaining to discussions of these encounters, which may be of little interest to most Arab or Indian researchers whose own ethnic and national issues loom far larger than the minority black populations often residing in remote parts of their countries. This becomes all the more significant as we note that the small and often isolated Asians of African descent today still lack political and economic power in the larger society and do not have the strong, viable community required for the establishment of autonomous institutions (schools, churches, lodges, etc.) African Americans have. Non-Asian diaspora researchers, however, should not be deterred because of this; in fact, the opportunities for conducting cutting-edge research are great because of it. Thus the agenda for the researcher who would study the African diaspora in Asia proves both exciting and challenging.



Diaspora research initiatives from the United States may well inspire Asian researchers to concentrate more attention on the African communities in their countries. One may speculate about the reasons why Asian researchers have conducted so few studies. First, the dispersion of Africans across this huge continent occurred in small numbers, without much immediate impact over many centuries. Some of those immigrants also assimilated as a result of intermarriage, while others became isolated in poor, small communities whose members speak the local language and are subsumed in studies of the larger local communities. Second, without legal segregation, racial and ethnic discrimination against blacks in Asia has proven less pronounced than in Europe and the Americas. Third, most of the African Asians are Muslims who have had access to education in the Koranic schools with other Muslims and who thus identify with Islamic culture. Fourth, with very limited economic or educational resources, African Asians have not had the opportunity to travel or otherwise cultivate or sustain strong links with the Western diaspora. Fifth, because of all of the above, no major leadership class has emerged to conceptualize the issues and develop a mechanism for effectively articulating the concerns of the communities of African origin.

There are, however, three significant books written by Asians, two by Indians and the other by an African Pakistani, which provide substantive data and suggest research possibilities. I have not yet received Sadig Ali's *African Dispersal in the Deccan*. R. R. S. Chauhan's *Africans in India* is replete with details but unfortunately offers neither footnotes nor bibliography.<sup>15</sup> However, the author, an archivist, worked for several years in Goa's archives. He therefore not only had access to primary documents as reflected in his account but also witnessed firsthand many of the developments about which he writes. Especially helpful is his identification of coins minted by the Siddis of Janjira Island and his inclusion of Portuguese correspondence (with English summaries) between the Portuguese and a few Siddis. He cites these documents as located in the Goan archives, although he gives no specification of the files. However, this work can prove useful for a more fully documented and complete historical study.

The third book is that of an African Pakistani who produced a study of his African ancestors from a diasporic perspective even before the concept was applied to Africans and their descendants abroad. Mohammad Siddiq Mussafar's study, *An Eye-Opening Account of Freedom and Slavery*, reveals a transnational consciousness of Africa and the diaspora in the nineteenth century. The book, written in Sindhi, provides a recollection of Mussafar's father's capture in Zanzibar and tells of how he was sold in Muscat before being taken in bondage to Sindh, in today's Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> In addition to recounting the perils of the sea voyage, the cruelty of slave masters, and the destitute conditions of the enslaved and free blacks in his country, he also reveals an awareness of African Americans. He knew that people with "black skins and kinky

hair” shared a common identity. He referred to Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington, for example, as *shidis*, the term that applied to him and other African Pakistanis. Mussafar was especially attracted to Washington’s activities at Tuskegee Institute as a possible model for blacks in Pakistan. Also important is Mussafar’s account of the consciousness of the global presence of African people and their contributions to other societies. Although his account is based largely on his own recollections and oral testimonies by his father and others, he has listed a number of books and journals he consulted in English. Careful research may well determine how he gained access to those references and help locate other published and unpublished works on the subject available for Mussafar and others to read at the time.

It is unlikely that Mussafar’s account stands alone in its depiction of a bond with African Americans and others in the diaspora. Still, that depiction does not seem to have been widespread or used to organize a pan-African movement. There remains the fact, however, that in 1972 a delegation of Siddis from India visited Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania and revealed a consciousness of their African identity that may well have deeper roots than we now know.

### Conclusion

To varying degrees, an African identity has been sustained in the Middle East, India, and neighboring areas, and it expresses itself in contemporary history and culture. Indeed, the fact that Africans and their descendants encountered resistance to their presence and culture in host Asian communities reinforced and preserved their legacy and cohesiveness in a way similar to that in the Americas and Europe. These characteristics should provide the researcher and teacher of the twenty-first century and beyond with guidelines for the reconstruction and analysis of the continuing dispersion and sustained global influence of Africans and their descendants abroad.

One should be reminded that cultural continuity does not always manifest itself in readily obvious forms. Indeed, diaspora communities often reinterpret their culture and express it in a form more acceptable to the host community. This possibility can obscure African continuities even for members of the diaspora community. Rigorous methodology, including multiple oral interviews, should be considered for this kind of research. Some value may also inhere in comparing the African revolt led by Salih in Iraq to that led by Toussaint L’Ouverture in Haiti. Both used traditional African oaths and libations and emerged out of economic crisis. However, the extent of cultural continuity sustained in Iraq needs further investigation.

Finally, because so little has been published on the diaspora in the Middle East and South Asia, and as interest in the subject grows in the United States and elsewhere, today’s researchers and teachers have the opportunity to develop the field and thus increase the world’s understanding of the subject. In addition, this Asian diaspora of Africans represents a fertile field for the enhancement of comparative racial, ethnic, religious, and human rights studies in an area of great strategic impor-

tance to the United States, the West, and, indeed, the world. And while this article emphasizes the expansion of African diaspora studies to include the Middle East and India, there remains Southeastern and Far Eastern Asia, where Africans also settled. To be sure, some also settled in the Pacific Islands which beckon to become the next frontier for global African diaspora research.

### Notes

1. Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Y. Talip, "The African Diaspora in Asia," in *General History of Africa*, vol. 3 (Paris: UNESCO, 1988), 704–33; Joseph E. Harris, *The African Presence in Asia: Consequences of the East African Slave Trade* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971); John Hunwick, "Islamic Law and Polemics over Race and Slavery in North and West Africa," in *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East*, ed. Shaun E. Marmon (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1999), 43–68; William John Sersen, "Stereotypes and Attitudes towards Slaves in Arabic Proverbs: A Preliminary View," in *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa: Islam and the Ideology of Enslavement*, ed. John Ralph Willis (Totowa, NJ: Frank Cass, 1985), 92–105; two older but still valuable sources are Wyatt MacGaffey, "Concepts of Race in the Historiography of Northeast Africa," *Journal of African History* 7.1 (1966), 1–17; Edith Sampson, "The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origins and Function in Time Perspective," *Journal of African History* 10.4 (1969); and a different view by Ephraim Isaac, "Genesis, Judaism, and the 'Sons of Ham,'" in Willis, *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa* (London: F. Cass, 1985), 75–91.
2. Joseph E. Harris, "The African Diaspora Map—I," Rand McNally, 1990.
3. Ibid.
4. Ruth M. Stone, "Oman and the African Diaspora in Song, Dance, and Aesthetic Expression," in *Complete Documents of the International Symposium on the Traditional Music of Oman*, ed. Issam el-Mallah (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 1994), 3:58–60; Jayanti K. Patel, "African Settlements in Gujarat," in *Minorities on India's West Coast: History and Society*, ed. Anirudha Gupta (Delhi, India: Kalinga Publications, 1991), 17–24, appendixes A and B; D. K. Bhattacharya, "Indians of African Origin," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 10.40 (1970): 579–82; and Edward A. Alpers, "The African Diaspora in the Northwestern Indian Ocean: Reconsideration of an Old Problem, New Directions for Research," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 17.2 (1997): 62–80, which is an excellent piece based on some of the same and other sources.
5. Harris, *African Presence*, chap. 7; Sheikh Chand, *Malik Ambar* (Hyderabad, India: n.p., 1931), in Urdu; and D. R. Seth, "The Life and Times of Malik Ambar," *Islamic Culture: An English Quarterly* 31 (1957).
6. Alexandre Popovic, *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1999), 23, 225–26. Popovic based much of his research on primary sources of Arab writers, especially al-Tabari, whom he praises "for the quality and quantity" of information.
7. Ibid., chap. 1.
8. The major reason I chose to pursue the study of Africans in Asia was because some Arab scholars attending the First Congress of African Historians convened by UNESCO in Tanzania in 1965 challenged me. Those scholars argued that Africans had become integrated into Muslim society and no longer existed as black communities. My visit to Iran

- and India in 1967–68, however, revealed otherwise, as I indicated in my *African Presence in Asia*.
9. Popovic, *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq* (New York: Vintage, 1963); and C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Vintage, 1963).
  10. K. M. Panikkar, *India and the Indian Ocean* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1945), 8; Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib* (Calcutta, India: Orient Longman, 1919), 4:237–38; Ratnamaniroo B. Jhote, *Ahmadabad and Other Places of Interest in the Gujarat* (Ahmedabad, India: Gujarat Vidya Sabha, n.d.), 16; James Fergusson and Theodore Hope, *Architecture of Ahmadabad* (London, 1866), 86–87.
  11. See, e.g., R. R. S. Chauhan, *Africans in India: From Slavery to Royalty* (New Delhi, India: Asian Publication Services, 1995); Gupta ed., *Minorities on India's West Coast*; and Stone, "Oman and the African Diaspora."
  12. The following chapters in Joseph E. Harris, ed., *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, rev. and exp. ed. (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1993): Colin Palmer, "Afro-Mexican Culture and Consciousness during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries Ahmedabad, India: Gujarat Vidya Sabha," n.d., S. Y. Boadi-Siaw, "Brazilian Returnees of West Africa," 125–36, Akintola J. G. Wyse, "The Sierra Leone Krios: A Reappraisal from the Perspective of the African Diaspora," 421–39, and Harris, "Return Movements to West and East Africa: A Comparative Approach," 339–68, 325–36.
  13. A. J. Temu, *British Protestant Missions* (London: Longman, 1972); Joseph E. Harris, *Repatriates and Refugees in a Colonial Society: The Case of Kenya* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1987); and Joseph E. Harris, *James Juma Mbotela* (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishers, 1973).
  14. An excellent recent study for the United Kingdom is Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
  15. Chauhan, *Africans in India*.
  16. Mohammad Siddiq Mussafar, *An Eye-Opening Account of Slavery and Freedom* (1954), in Sindhi. It was translated by my late Howard University Pakistani colleague, Dr. Mohammed Feroz.



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