Notes

Introduction

1 Slocum, "Ten Years of 'Dhow Culture,'" 30.
2 By contrast, the Bandung collaboration between newly independent African and Asian nations in 1955 emphasized shared struggles for decolonization and self-determination as the basis of solidarity in the shadow of the Cold War. See Tan and Acharya, *Bandung Revisited.*
3 Prestholdt, "Locating the Indian Ocean," 445. For further discussion of postindependence politics in the Kenyan context, see Prestholdt, "Politics of Soil" and Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya*; for Tanzania, see Brennan, *Taifa*; for Zanzibar, see Glassman, *War of Words*; for Mozambique, see Gupta, "The Disquieting of History"; and for India see Sinha, "Totaram."
4 Prestholdt, "Locating the Indian Ocean," 455.
5 Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 5.
6 Here is a partial list of novels: Ghosh, *The Circle of Reason* (1986), *The Glass Palace* (2000), and *The Ibis Trilogy* (*Sea of Poppies,* 2008; *River of Smoke*, 2011; *Flood of* Fire, 2015); Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack* (1989), *The Book of Secrets* (1996), and *The In-Between World of Vikram Lall* (2003); Gurnah, *Paradise* (1995), *By the Sea* (2001), and *Desertion* (2005); Mustafa, *In the Shadow of Kirinyaga* (2002); Owuor, *The Dragonfly Sea* (2019); Kimani, *The Dance of the Jakaranda* (2017); Mia Couto, *O outro pé da sereia* (2006); Devi, *Le voile de Draupadi* (1993) and *Indian Tango* (2007); Pyamootoo, *Bénarès* (1999); Patel, *Le silence des Chagos* (2005).
7 Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 40.
8 Marshall and Tortorici, "(Re)Turning to the Queer Archives," 5.
9 Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire*, 24.
10 Hart, *Extraterritorial*, 7.
11 Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, 3.
12 Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, 13–26.
13 Sheriff, *Dhow Cultures*.
14 Pearson, *The Indian* Ocean, 27. While historians Michael Pearson and Abdul Sheriff take a Braudelian approach, others have suggested layers of unity based on patterns of migration or the spread of religions like Islam or Buddhism. See

De Vere Allen, "A Proposal for Indian Ocean Studies," 140. Sugata Bose characterizes the Indian Ocean of the nineteenth century as an "interregional arena" interconnected by "webs of economic and cultural relationships" and defined by "flexible internal and external boundaries." Bose, *A Hundred Horizons*, 6.

15 Zacharias, "Space and the Postcolonial Novel," 220.
16 See Dan Ojwang, *Reading Migration and Culture*, chapter 1.
17 Zacharias, "Space and the Postcolonial Novel," 220.
18 Young, "The Postcolonial Comparative," 688.
19 See Gayatri Spivak's critique of diasporic culturalism in her essay "Our Asias" in the collection *Other Asias*, where she cautions against the neglect of "the historicity of the source ... when the metropolitan appropriates the local" (216). Simon Gikandi likewise notes the tendency of postcolonial theory to privilege migrant experiences in the West over narratives of decolonization from Africa. See Gikandi, "Reading the Referent."
20 Smith, "Contours of a Spatialized Politics," 62.
21 Ahmed, "A Phenomenology of Whiteness," 153.
22 Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 3.
23 Sheriff, "The Spatial Dichotomy," 81.
24 See Brennan, *Taifa*; Glassman, *War of Words*; Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya*; Nair, "Shops and Stations"; Oonk, *Settled Strangers*.
25 See Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*; Sarkar, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation*; George, *The Politics of Home*; S. Ray, *En-Gendering India*; Gayatri Gopinath, *Impossible Desires.*
26 Brennan, *Taifa*; Glassman, *War of Words*; Aminzade, *Race, Nation, and Citizenship*; Bertz, *Diaspora and Nation in the Indian Ocean.*
27 Casanova, *World Republic of Letters,* xii.
28 Smith, "Contours of a Spatialized Politics," 64.
29 Smith, "Contours of a Spatialized Politics," 78.
30 Hsu, "Literature across Scales," 127.
31 Hsu, "Literature across Scales," 127.
32 Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean*, 38.
33 Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean*, 153.
34 Connery, "Sea Power," 686.
35 For an account of coastal separatist movements in the 1960s Kenya, see Brennan, "Lowering the Sultan's Flag" and Salim, "The Movement for Mwambao." On twenty-first century revival of coastal nationalism, see Mahajan, "The Coast Is Not Kenya."
36 Vink, "Indian Ocean Studies and the 'New Thalassology,'" 53; Prestholdt, "Locating the Indian Ocean," 442. Reading vernacular intellectual histories from the Indian Ocean region, Nile Green characterizes the Indian Ocean as a "heterotopic arena of difference." Green writes, "In place of the neat ideological themes that have dominated the study of transnational ideas around the Indian Ocean, we can therefore conceive the region as a space of disunited

written reactions to difference that were not conjoined by membership in the political movements that have cast so long a shadow on the scholarship." Green, "The Waves of Heterotopia," 851.

37 Spivak, *Other Asias,* 214. Thus, my use of the term "Indian Ocean" in this book does not encapsulate the totality of the geographical Indian Ocean that stretches from Southern Africa to Southeast Asia and Australia. Rather, I use it as an extraterritorial scale – bound up with other geographical scales – to pursue transnational imaginaries in Afro-Asian fiction that decenter and dislocate South Asia and Africa in relation to each other.

38 Prominent examples of counter-hegemonic scale-jumping in transatlantic studies include Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker's landmark study *The Many Headed Hydra*, which traces the interconnected revolutionary history of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Atlantic world that emerged out of a multiracial, multiethnic, and international community of workers. Similarly, Paul Gilroy pursues the Atlantic framework to map networks of Black cultural and intellectual exchanges across the ocean that refuse to be contained and constrained by the boundaries of the modern nation state. While Gilroy's theorization of the "Black Atlantic" as a mobile foundation of transnational Black cultures may provide a useful model for theorizing the Indian Ocean, it is important to pay attention to the unique history of Black internationalism and diasporic intellectual culture out of which this term emerges. The efforts to unite African descended peoples politically and culturally across continents can be traced back to various discourses and movements of Pan-Africanism of the early twentieth century. As Brent Edwards writes, "If black New World populations have their origin in the fragmentation, racialized oppression, and systematic dispossession of the slave trade, then the Pan-African impulse stems from the necessity to confront or heal that legacy through racial organization itself: through ideologies of a real or symbolic return to Africa." Edwards, "The Uses of Diaspora," 46. During the 1960s and '70s, diaspora allowed for "an account of black transnational formations that attends to their constitutive differences, the political stakes of the organization of the 'African abroad.'" Edwards, 53. Gilroy's "Black Atlantic" is yet another mode for articulating transnational circuits of Black intellectual and cultural exchange that emerges out of this intellectual history.

39 Lionnet and Jean-François, "Literary Routes"; Hofmeyr, "Universalizing."

40 Hofmeyr, "The Complicating Sea," 589.

41 Hofmeyr, "The Complicating Sea," 586.

42 Lavery, *Writing Ocean Worlds*, 8.

43 Desai, *Commerce with the Universe*, 18.

44 Hawkins, *The Other Hybrid Archipelago*, 2.

45 Lavery, *Writing Ocean Worlds,* 1–2.

46 Moorthy and Jamal, "Introduction," 19.

47 Hofmeyr, "The Complicating Sea," 585.

48 "Resolution on the Adoption of the Charter of the Indian Ocean Rim," 162.

49 Srivastava, "Amitav Ghosh's Ethnographic Fictions," 46.

50 Ghosh, *In an Antique Land*, 236. Further citations of this work in this chapter are given in the text.
51 Desai, *Commerce with the Universe*, 53.
52 Desai, *Commerce with the Universe*, 50.
53 Desai, *Commerce with the Universe*, 21.
54 A more pragmatic reason behind Ben Yiju's marriage with a local Indian woman would be that such alliance would have brought him valuable connections with local families for his business. See Gamleil, "Aśu the Convert."
55 Dixon, "Travelling in the West," 16.
56 Goyal, *Romance, Diaspora, and Black Atlantic Literature*, 13.
57 Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 104.
58 Desai, *Commerce with the Universe*, 21; Srivastava, "Amitav Ghosh's Ethnographic Fictions," 46.
59 Goyal, *Romance, Diaspora, and Black Atlantic Literature*, 10, 13.
60 Lionnet, *Le su et l'incertain*, 13.
61 Oruç, "Thalassological Worldmaking," 153.
62 Quayson, "Ethnography of African Literature," 158.
63 Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive," 19.
64 Dixon, "Travelling in the West," 22.
65 Arondekar, *For the Record*, 1.
66 Arondekar, *For the Record*, 5.
67 Derrida, "Archive Fever," 9.
68 Derrida, "Archive Fever," 57.
69 Ho, *The Graves of Tarim*, xxi.
70 Derrida, "Archive Fever," 10.
71 Brozgal, "In the Absence," 50.
72 Derrida, "Archive Fever," 51.
73 Ghosh, "Of Fanás and Forecastles," 19.
74 The term "lascar" – derived from Persian and Urdu word for an army – was itself racialized in its colonial usage. The first British laws regulating the employment of Indian Ocean sailors in 1814 distinguished "lascars" from (white) "seamen," legally inscribing their inferiority. Excluded from regulatory labor laws that only applied to European seamen, lascars were forced to work longer under harsh conditions for less pay. They were also bound by different contract laws and were often denied the right to leave shore in certain ports. Moreover, South Asian lascars were further distinguished from those from East Asia to ensure that they "did not freely wander about the Indian Ocean region and much less so beyond." Ahuja, "Networks of Subordination," 16. Also see Jaffer, *Lascars and Indian Ocean Seafaring*, and Land, "Customs of the Sea."
75 Museums of History New South Wales – State Archives Collection: Shipping Master's Office; NRS 13278, Inward passenger lists. NRS-13278 [X192] Carthage, 29/03/1888. Reel 484.
76 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 15.

77 Gurnah, "Imagining the Postcolonial Writer," 85.
78 Gikandi, "Reading the Referent," 93.
79 Derrida, "Archive Fever," 57.
80 Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," 14.
81 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 159.

Chapter 1

1 Ghosh, *Sea of Poppies*, 8. Further citations of this work in this chapter are given in the text.
2 Ghosh, "Of Fanás and Forecastles," 20.
3 Niranjana, *Siting Translation*, 3.
4 Ghosh, "Speaking of Babel," 292.
5 Mufti, *Forget English!*, 171.
6 Mufti, *Forget English!*, 172.
7 Mufti, *Forget English!*, 158.
8 Niranjana, *Siting Translation,* 172.
9 Samuelson, "Coastal Form," 18.
10 Ghosh, *Confessions*.
11 For the contrast between Ghosh and Gurnah, see Lavery, *Writing Ocean Worlds*; Mohan, "Maritime Transmodernities"; and Lionnet, "World Literature."
12 Pearson, "Connecting the Littorals," 32.
13 Apter, *Against World Literature*, 16.
14 Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs*, 227.
15 Orsini, "The Multilingual Local in World Literature," 352.
16 Samuelson, "Coastal Form," 17.
17 Apter, *Against World Literature*, 43.
18 Lionnet, "World Literature," 288.
19 Mufti, *Forget English!*, 39.
20 Modern political and moral philosophers theorize cosmopolitanism in its normative sense, as a matter of world governance or ethical conduct, often relying on the Enlightenment tradition represented by Emmanuel Kant. For critiques of Kantian and neo-Kantian theories of cosmopolitanisms, in political philosophy, see Valdez, *Transnational Cosmopolitanism*; in postcolonial and decolonial studies, see Cheah, *Inhuman Conditions*, and Mignolo, "The Many Faces of the Cosmo-polis." For a liberal account of cosmopolitanism, see Appiah, *Ethics of Identity*, "Rooted Cosmopolitanism." By contrast, accounts of cosmopolitanism in cultural studies since the late twentieth rely an anthropological tradition that emphasizes plurality of ways in which cosmopolitanism could be lived through multiple and overlapping affiliations. Critics of cosmopolitanism as a normative ideal note that such form of cosmopolitanism is less a reflection of individual ethics or agency than a result of certain material and social privileges. See Calhoun, "'Belonging' in the Cosmopolitan Imaginary," 544. They emphasize historically situated relationships and institutions as key to

engaging ethical and political questions in an interconnected world. This not only opens up the concept to include nonelite subjects but also recognizes the entanglement of cosmopolitan formations with empire and its attendant power structures. Anthropology, history, cultural studies and postcolonial studies have generated a host of terminologies to describe a variety of cosmopolitanisms. For "discrepant cosmopolitanism," see Clifford, "Travelling Cultures." For "cosmopolitanism from below," see Silviano Santiago, "The Cosmopolitanism of the Poor," and Robbins and Horta, "Introduction." For a critique of nonnormative, pluralizing theories of cosmopolitanism from a literary standpoint, see Cheah, *Inhuman Conditions*, chapter 3.

21 Cheah, *What Is a World?*, 3.

22 Cheah, *What Is a World?*, 19–20.

23 One of the influential voices in pluralization and particularization of cosmopolitanism is Anthony Kwame Appiah. Appiah's widely quoted book *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* emphasizes an orientation toward the world that is open to cultural difference without giving primacy to cultural identity. Appiah recognizes fluidity of cultural practices as well as the possibility of multiple loyalties in his concept of "partial" cosmopolitanism. However, as critics have pointed out Appiah's emphasis on respect for differences relies on individual ethics while disregarding systemic social, material, and political inequalities that often overlap with cultural differences. For critical discussions of Appiah see Robbins, "George Orwell, Cosmopolitanism, and Global Justice," and Michaels, "Cosmopolitanism Goes to Class."

24 Mignolo, "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis," 741.

25 B. Ghosh, "Once There Was Cosmopolitanism," 27.

26 Simpson and Kresse, *Struggling with History*, 3. Historical accounts of Indian Ocean cosmopolitanism emphasize intercultural mixing and coexistence enabled by trading networks across the ocean before the dominance of European empires. This allows for the possibility of multiple descriptive and normative accounts of cosmopolitanisms. Abdul Sheriff characterizes the Indian Ocean as an "Islamic lake" "not because all the people, or even the traders, around the rim were Muslims, which was not the case, but because Islam provided a common denominator over the vast regions." Sheriff, *Dhow Cultures*, 12. For a discussion of oceanic cosmopolitanism and competing universalisms in the Indian Ocean see Green, "Waves of Heterotopia."

27 Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style*, 8.

28 Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style*, 20.

29 Ghosh, "Of Fanas," 19.

30 Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, 29.

31 Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony*, 174.

32 Grewal, "Amitav Ghosh,"181.

33 Ives, "Global English," 136.

34 In *Vernacular English*, Akshya Saxena offers an approach to the lived experience of English in contemporary India that disrupts the colonial-vernacular binary.

35 Mufti, *Forget English!*, 16.
36 B. Ghosh, *When Borne across*, 57, 77.
37 Mufti, *Forget English!*, 179, emphasis in the original.
38 Like the English words, words in these other languages are also transformed when imported into the Laskari. In "Of Fanás and Forecastles," Ghosh gives various examples of how different Laskari words are related to different languages. For instance, the word "trikat" for "fore" (as in "foremast") is derived from the Portuguese word "traquete"; similarly, the word "kursi," meaning "chair" in Hindustani, which is itself derived from Arabic, homonymically corresponds to "crosstrees" in English, referring to ledges where sailors can spend their leisure time.
39 For a discussion of accents in *Sea of Poppies*, see Saxena, "Stereo Accent."
40 Lionnet, "Cosmopolitan or Creole Lives?," 29.
41 Dhar, "Unloosened Forms," 23. This passage is reminiscent of the descriptions of lascars by European travelers, such as Alexander Kyd Lindesay, a Scottish surgeon who served in the Bengal Medical Service. In his diary entry, Lindesay describes the lascar crew he encountered while traveling from Calcutta to Penang in the following way:

> The crew of a country ship is generally composed of the following ingredients – Captain and Mates (moosillim) European, helmsmen or quartermasters (sookkanee), stockfeeders (topaz), Portuguese or Kala Furingee, boatswain (surhung) boatswain's mates (tindel) khalasee or able seamen, ordinary seamen (dandee), cabin cooks (bawurchee) ship's cooks (bhundaree) jack of all trades (kasib) are generally Moosulmans, either Arabs, Malays, or Hindoostanees from Bombay or Chutgabu (Chittagong) carpenter (mistree) and mates Chinese, completed by a few low cast Hindoo sipahees who act as marines, in addition to those are often mixed, half-cast Spaniards and Frenchmen, Creoles, Negros, & non-descripts. A rare melange of men, dresses, customs, & languages; in the world wide its parallel is not probably to be found. (qtd. in Jaffer 10–11)

42 Ahuja, "Networks of Subordination," 15.
43 Dhar, "Unloosened Forms," 16.
44 Augustine, "Zachary Reid's Transoceanic Performance,"124. Nandini Dhar and Kesi Augustine have discussed at length the various ways that Zachary embraces the illusory mobility offered by what Dhar calls "white, bourgeois norms of capital" (28). For instance, Zachary hesitates to voice his opposition against his employer Ben Burnham's white supremacist stance justifying slavery and indenture. He instead "settles for the status of a 'good' employee." Dhar, "Unloosened Forms," 30.
45 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 126.
46 Ahmed, *Strange Encounters*, 123.
47 Ahmed, *Strange Encounters*, 125.
48 Ghosh himself refutes such reading in his critical writing. See Ghosh, "Speaking of Babel," 191.
49 Ahmed, *Strange Encounters*, 133.
50 Huggan, *The Postcolonial Exotic,* 10.
51 Ghosh, "Speaking of Babel," 291.

52 Ghosh, "Speaking of Babel," 292.
53 Ghosh, "Speaking of Babel," 292.
54 Ghosh, "Speaking of Babel," 292.
55 Campbell, "Islam in Indian Ocean Africa," 43.
56 Glassman, "Slower than a Massacre," 736.
57 Moorthy, "Abdulrazak Gurnah and Littoral Cosmopolitanism," 89.
58 Berman, "Yusuf's Choice," 56.
59 Nasta, "Abdulrazak Gurnah, *Paradise*," 314.
60 *Rehani* is a word of Arabic origin meaning a mortgage or a loan. In the novel, Yusuf's father gives Yusuf to the merchant Aziz as a *rehani* until debts are repaid.
61 Gurnah, *Paradise,* 6. Further citations of this work in this chapter are given in the text.
62 Moorthy and Jamal, "Introduction," 4.
63 Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, 62; G. Campbell, "Islam in Indian Ocean Africa," 51.
64 Hodapp, "Imagining Unmediated Early Swahili Narratives," 92.
65 Chande, "My Journey Up-Country in Africa," 233.
66 Decker, "The 'Autobiography' of Tippu Tip," 754.
67 Tippu Tip, *Maisha ya Hamed bin Muhammed el Murjebi*, 63.
68 Decker, "The 'Autobiography' of Tippu Tip," 751.
69 Tippu Tip, *Maisha ya Hamed bin Muhammed el Murjebi*, 65.
70 F. Mustafa. "Swahili Histories and Texts in Abdulrazak Gurnah's Paradise," 18.
71 Mohan, "Maritime Transmodernities and The Ibis Trilogy," 12.
72 Said, *Orientalism*, 72.
73 The "*Ibis* Chrestomathy" cites both of these dictionaries as sources for the Anglo-Indian words used in the novel. *The Hobson-Jobson* notably emanates a cosmopolitan energy, with a works-cited list that extends over eighteen pages and tracing lexical sources to various European and non-European languages. It presents itself as a monumental compendium of information on the Anglo-Indian lexicon entangled with the history of the European presence in various Indian societies. Analyzing the dictionary as an instance of colonial discursive practice, Ari Singh Anand has argues that the *Hobson-Jobson* works "to decontextualize and recontextualize local meanings in order to harness language to the imperatives of the colonial enterprise." Anand, "Cosmopolitanism in Hobson-Jobson, 522.
74 Kertzer, "Amitav Ghosh's Zubben," 191.
75 Said, *Orientalism*, 23.
76 Luo, "The Way of Words," 384.
77 *OED*, "achar."
78 Kertzer, "Amitav Ghosh's Zubben," 195.
79 *OED*, "pickle."
80 Guilhamon, "Global Languages in the Time of the Opium Wars," 71.
81 Apter, Emily. *Against World Literature*, 42.

Chapter 2

1 Gurnah, *By the Sea*, 21.
2 Kalliney, "East African Literature and the Politics of Global Reading," 8.
3 See Mwangi, *Africa Writes Back to Self*.
4 See Fanon's "On National Culture" in *Black Skin, White Masks*; Mbembe, "African Modes of Self Writing"; For a similar discussion of nationalism in the Indian context, see Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, and Chapter 3 of this book.
5 See Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya*; Bertz, *Diaspora and Nation in the Indian Ocean*; Brennan, *Taifa*. For South Africa–Asia connections, see Hofmeyr, *Gandhi's Printing Press* and Boer, *Briny South.*
6 In her study of the representation of Islam and the history of slavery in the Cape of South Africa, Gabeba Baderoon similarly uses the trope of the "sideways glance" a method of historical inquiry to "render visible previously overlooked experiences . . . in postcolonial writing." Baderoon, *Regarding Muslims*, 4–5.
7 Gurnah, "An Idea of the Past."
8 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past,* 15.
9 Mirmotahari, *Islam in the Eastern African Novel*, 49.
10 Steiner, "Writing 'Wider Worlds,'" 125.
11 Stoler, "Intimidations of Empire," 3.
12 Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents,* 8.
13 Jones, "Politics of Love," 177.
14 Steiner, "Writing 'Wider Worlds,'" 132.
15 Steiner, "Writing 'Wider Worlds,'" 127.
16 Kaigai, *Encountering Strange Lands*, 172.
17 Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy*, 30.
18 Povinelli, *The Empire of Love*, 190.
19 Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents,* 20.
20 Povinelli, *The Empire of Love*, 232; Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History," 2.
21 Povinelli, *The Empire of Love*, 190.
22 While following Achebe's appeal to African writers to use their imaginative powers to redeem Africa from the images imposed by colonialism, Gurnah also goes beyond it to address East Africa's unique history of multiple colonization and contact with the Indian Ocean world. In "An Idea of the Past," Gurnah recalls his experience of reading Achebe's and Ngugi wa Thiong'o's early novels in school and realizing later that these stories did not align with the urban reality of Zanzibar. He notes that by foregrounding "encounters with Europe" as the "legitimate African narrative of our times," these texts did not allow room for narratives of fragmentation and heterogeneity within African societies that would have been better aligned with Gurnah's own experience of growing up in Zanzibar.
23 For an account of African historical fiction, see Booker, "The African Historical Novel." Booker notes that "depictions of the struggle against colonialism . . . have been central to the development of the African historical novel" (148).

24 Waugh, *Metafiction*, 2. Gurnah's contemporary, Tanzanian writer M. G. Vassanji's *The Book of Secrets* (1994), also set in East Africa, uses a similar narrative structure, which frames the historical narrative through the perspective of someone in the present attempting to reconstruct it.
25 Waugh, *Metafiction*, 2.
26 Gikandi and Vambe, "The Reinvention of the Novel in Africa."
27 Achebe, "Role of the Writer in the New Nation," 8.
28 Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness*, 174.
29 Gurnah, *Desertion*, 35. Further citations of this work in this chapter are given in the text.
30 Mwangi, *Africa Writes Back to Self*, 6, 15.
31 Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*, 318.
32 Unlike mourning, which is a temporary process of working through loss, melancholia is a more persistent condition that results because of the inability to mourn, or the refusal to acknowledge loss. Freud posits that a melancholic assumes a critical attitude toward his ego, reproaching and rebuking oneself. He traces the source of this devaluing of the ego to an internal splitting of the ego, and argues that the self-reproaches of the melancholic are in fact "reproaches against a loved object which have been shifted away from it on to the patient's own ego." Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," 248.
33 Cooppan, *Worlds within*, 34.
34 Simpson and Kresse, "Cosmopolitanism Contested," 23.
35 G. Campbell, "Islam in Indian Ocean Africa," 43.
36 G. Campbell, "Islam in Indian Ocean Africa," 51.
37 Desai, *Commerce with the Universe*, 93.
38 G. Campbell, "Islam in Indian Ocean Africa," 80.
39 See Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya.*
40 Oonk, *Settled Strangers*, 80; Bertz, *Diaspora and Nation in the Indian Ocean*, 33.
41 Stiles and Thompson, "Introducing Gender,"13.
42 Oonk, *Settled Strangers*, 29.
43 Oonk, *Settled Strangers*, 81.
44 Soske, "Navigating Difference," 208.
45 Nagar, "Communal Discourses," 126.
46 Nagar, "Communal Discourses," 137.
47 Cynthia Salvadori's three-volume compilation of interviews, written accounts, and historical records documenting the lives of Indians in East Africa, *We Came in Dhows,* contains a few entries suggesting rare but not uncommon practices of intermarriage between Indians and Swahilis. Shebberali Esmail from a Bohra family based in Lamu for multiple generations recounts instances of intermarriage between Bohra men and Swahili women, but he adds, "Usually when the husband died the woman would return to her own people and take the children with her, so that the half-caste children did not become part of the Bohra community." Salvadori, *We Came in Dhows,* 18.
48 Tejani, *Day After Tomorrow*, 58.

49 Vassanji, *The Gunny Sack*, 13.
50 George, *The Politics of Home*, 180.
51 For a discussion of the marginalization of Black African characters in Vassanji's *The Gunny Sack* see Rajbhandari, "Gunny Sack Mementos and Shipboard Intimacies."
52 S. Mustafa, *In the Shadow of Kirinyaga*, viii.
53 As one British administrator in East Africa explains in an interview conducted in the early 1900s: "Although the [white] settlers abuse the Indian, they deal with him. If the Indian traders were not in Nairobi they would have to deal with the English shops, which are much more expensive." Sanderson, *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India*, 136.
54 Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya*, 31.
55 Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, 489–90.
56 Sanderson, *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India*, 238.
57 Sanderson, *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India*, 239.
58 Churchill, *My African Journey*, 32.
59 "Address of the Colonists' Association, August 23, 1905," 458, 463.
60 See Sanderson, *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India*, 207, 258.
61 Sanderson, *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India*, 154.
62 Sanderson, *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India*, 151.
63 Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable," 635.
64 "Extracts from the Crowns Land Ordinance 1915," 355.
65 Mamdani, *Define and Rule*, 44.
66 Sanderson, *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India*, 70.
67 Sanderson, *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India*, 239.
68 Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents*, 34.
69 Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents*, 35.
70 Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents*, 40.
71 Ghose, "Imperial Player," 75.
72 Ghose, "Imperial Player," 77.
73 Burton et al., *First Footsteps*, 197.
74 Burton et al., *First Footsteps*, 120.
75 Burton et al., *First Footsteps*, 35. As Simon Gikandi notes, in colonial travel accounts, Englishness "as oikos," the hearth of the imperial center, is not only the privileged origin of exploration but also its destination, which means that the function of travel in the nineteenth century was not discovery or conquest of new knowledge, but to expand the authority of reason and science through observation and ethnography. Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness*, 90.
76 Burton et al., *First Footsteps*, 35.
77 Mirmotahari, *Islam in the Eastern African Novel*, 56.
78 Campbell and Eastman, "Ngoma," 472.
79 Eastman, "An Ethnography of Swahili Expressive Culture," 337.
80 Carol Eastman maps an African/Arab dichotomy onto male/female, public/private divisions. This understanding of Swahili culture has been contested by other scholars. See Askew, "Female Circles and Male Lines."

81 Ngugi, *Weep Not, Child*, 36.
82 Jones, "The Politics of Love and History," 171.
83 Povinelli, *The Empire of Love*, 190.
84 Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling*, 127.
85 C. Ray, "Interracial Sex and the Making of the Empire," 199.
86 A brief comparison with Vassanji's *The Book of Secrets* (1994) is illuminating. Set in East Africa *The Book of Secrets* has striking similarities with *Desertion*. It also revolves around an illicit relation between an Englishman, Corbin, and a native (Indian-African) woman, Mariamu, and the trope of the colonialist's diary holding the secret about their relationship plays a central role in the novel. Mariamu's husband Pipa and later, the novel's narrator Pius Fernandes are both haunted by Corbin's diary, the titular "book of secrets," as they seek the truth about the nature of Corbin's relationship with Mariamu. However, amidst multiple competing male desires, Mariamu herself ultimately remains voiceless. In her feminist reading of the novel, Alison Toron notes that by withholding her secret, Mariamu "resists simple categorization in terms of her agency" and "refuses to become a two-dimensional figure easily interpreted in the colonial schema." Toron, "Refusing to Tell," 10. In *Desertion*, by contrast, Rehana fully articulates her desires in ways that also refuse the colonial schema. By strategically layering Rehana's desires against an accumulation of her familial pasts, the novel derives her agency from the well of Indian Ocean linkages.
87 Speaking of Swahili poetry, Mohamed Abdulaziz, for instance, provincializes the influence of Arab culture, emphasizing the evolution of Swahili culture in terms of "Swahilization of Arabs." Abdulaziz, *Muyaka: 19th Century Swahili Popular Poetry*, 313. Similarly, in Kenya at the time of its independence as claims of indigeneity gained political import, "to strengthen their claims of autochthony, many Swahili thinkers distanced themselves from Arabs . . . [in] a marked departure from earlier maneuvering." Prestholdt, "Politics of the Soil," 265.
88 Sheriff, "Race and Class in the Politics of Zanzibar," 313.
89 The other major "mode of self-writing" consists of a Marxist radicalism that uses the "rhetorics of autonomy, resistance, and emancipation" to determine the legitimacy of an authentic African discourse. Mbembe, "African Modes of Self-Writing," 241. According to Abdul Sheriff, "while ethnic considerations were not irrelevant, the primary contradiction in the Zanzibari society on the eve of independence was neither race nor class exclusively, but a complex combination of the two, influenced by a national feeling in a cosmopolitan society." Sheriff, "Race and Class," 313.
90 Mbembe, *African Modes of Self-Writing*, 256.
91 Glassman, *War of Words*, 87.
92 Prestholdt, "Locating the Indian Ocean," 445.
93 Mbembe, "African Modes of Self-Writing," 257.
94 Moorthy and Jamal, "Introduction," 98.
95 Gurnah, *By the Sea*, 225.

96 Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*, 30.
97 Bhabha, "A Question of Survival," 92.
98 Said, *Reflections on Exile*, 141.
99 Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands*, 15.
100 Cooppan, *Worlds within*, 34.
101 Cooppan, *Worlds within*, 34.

Chapter 3

1 Gandhi, "Indentured Labor," 249.
2 Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire*, 205.
3 Niranjana, "Indian Nationalism," 122.
4 Gandhi's portrayal of the condition in the ship is misleading as men and women were kept in separate compartments during their voyage. In fact, over the years, colonial officials and migrant agents made efforts to "accommodate migrants' [religious] beliefs, customs, and prejudices" by providing appropriate food, clothing, accessories, and even amusement according to their needs. Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire,* 113.
5 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 92.
6 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 67.
7 Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*, 15.
8 Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*, 134. Rahul Rao warns that locating queerness as entirely indigenous, what he calls "homoromanticism," also risks reifying the categories of indigenous and foreign, "obscuring landscapes of queer desire and phobia that have little to do with imported ontologies of sexuality." Rao, *Out of Time*, 43.
9 See Manalansan, *Global Divas* and Gopinath, *Impossible Desires.*
10 Cited in Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*, 170.
11 Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*, 171.
12 Coly, *Postcolonial Hauntologies*, 129.
13 Spurlin, "Contested Borders," 108.
14 Ray, *En-Gendering India*, 8.
15 Neimanis, *Bodies of Water*, 11.
16 Devi, *Indian Tango,* 2011, 46.
17 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 1.
18 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 102.
19 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 105.
20 These studies include Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*; Garlough, *Desi Divas*; Gairola, *Homelandings*; Kapadia, *Insurgent Aesthetics*; and Khubchandani (ed.), *Ishtyle*. For a discussion of queer sexuality in the context of the South Asian diaspora in the Caribbean, see Khan, "Voyages across Indenture."
21 Hanif Kureishi, *Buddha of Suburbia* (1990); Shyam Selvudarai, *Funny Boy* (1994); Deepa Mehta, *Fire* (1996); Monica Ali, *Brick Lane* (2003); Shani

Mootoo, *Cereus Blooms at Night* (1996) and *Valmiki's Daughter* (2008); and Ingrid Persaud, *Love after Love* (2020).
22 Tyagi, *Ananda Devi*, 15.
23 Bragard and Ravi, "Penser l'altérité," 13.
24 Devi, "Peut-être est-ce l'Inde mythique qui m'habite."
25 Walkowitz, *Born Translated*, 3.
26 French is still used in certain parts of India and is the official language of Puducherry, a region colonized by the French. Writers from this region such as K. Mahavan and Ari Gautier have published short stories and novels in French.
27 See Tyagi, *Ananda Devi*; Vallée Jest, "Ananda Devi, Indian Tango."
28 Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 523.
29 Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 120.
30 Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 126.
31 Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 132.
32 The "reformed tradition" or the "new patriarchy," as Chatterjee calls it, rejected "the patriarchy of indigenous tradition" that, for instance, opposed schools for women or sanctioned child marriage (127).
33 Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 130.
34 Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 131.
35 S. Ray, *En-Gendering India*, 10.
36 P. Ravi, "BJP And Feminism."
37 Chakravorty, *In Stereotype*, 165.
38 Devi, *Indian Tango*, 2007, 49–50; Devi, *Indian Tango*, 2011, 27. Further citations of this work in this chapter are given in the text. The French citations are from the 2007 Gallimard edition, while the English citations, unless otherwise noted, are from the 2011 Host Publications edition translated by Jean Anderson.
39 Neimanis, *Bodies of Water*, 24.
40 Repo, *The Biopolitics of Gender*, 20.
41 For a discussion of how nationalist women redefined women's role to counter the accusations of backwardness and barbarism from Western authors like Katherine Mayo's "Mother India," see Sinha, "Nationalism and Respectable Sexuality."
42 Repo, *The Biopolitics of Gender*, 13.
43 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 11.
44 Tyagi, *Ananda Devi,* 117.
45 Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 525.
46 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 21.
47 Lacan, "The Mirror Stage," 76.
48 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 131.
49 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 139.
50 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 83.
51 Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*, 132.
52 Shahani, "Resisting Mundane Violence."
53 Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 7.

54 Niranjana, "Indian Nationalism," 119.
55 Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire*, 222.
56 Sinha, "Premonitions of the Past," 830. See also the discussion of Gandhi's *Green Pamphlet*, in Neinke Boer's *Briny South*, chapter 3.
57 K. Ray, "Image and Reality," 143.
58 Niranjana, "Indian Nationalism," 120.
59 Sinha, "Totaram Sanathya's *Fiji Mein Ekkis Varsh*," 185.
60 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 9.
61 Nandy, *The Illegitimacy of Nationalism*, 14.
62 S. Ray, *En-Gendering India*, 120.
63 Muñoz, *Disidentifications*, 12.
64 Tagore, *The Home and the World*, 31.
65 S. Ray, *En-Gendering India* 115
66 Dirks, "The Home and the World," 24.
67 Kawlra, "Sari and the Narrative of Nation in 20th-Century India," 214.
68 Sharma, "The Orientalisation of the Sari," 225.
69 Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 130.
70 Sharma, "The Orientalisation of the Sari," 230.
71 Lionnet, *Écritures féminines*, 242
72 Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*, 171.
73 Lionnet, *Écritures féminines*, 270.
74 Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 130–31.
75 Lionnet, *Écritures féminines*, 254
76 Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 129.
77 Ghosh, *Sea of Poppies*, 348.
78 Ghosh, *Sea of Poppies*, 348.
79 Khan, "Voyages across Indenture," 252.
80 Lokaisingh-Meighoo, "Jahaji Bhai" and Khan, "Voyages across Indenture."
81 Khan, "Voyages across Indenture," 252.

Chapter 4

1 Jhaveri, *Dancing with Destiny*, xviii, emphasis added.
2 Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands*, 9.
3 Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands*, 10.
4 Devi, "Peut-être est-ce l'Inde mythique qui m'habite."
5 Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora,* 205.
6 See Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*; Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora"; and Edwards, "The Uses of Diaspora."
7 With further migration of the "old diasporas" from Africa and the Caribbean to the North, they have become part of the new diaspora. These two categories still do not account for the labor diaspora in the Gulf countries. For a study of South Asian diasporic literature from the "old" indentured diaspora, see Pirbhai, *Mythologies of Migration*.

8 Mishra, *The Literature of the Indian Diaspora*, 12.
9 Pirbhai, *Mythologies of Migration*, 22.
10 Burton, "Amitav Ghosh's World Histories from Below," 74–75; Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents,* 21
11 Torabully and Carter, *Coolitude,* 150.
12 See Nagar, "Communal Discourses"; Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya*; Nair; "Shops and Stations"; Oonk, *Settled Strangers*.
13 Ojwang, *Reading Migration and Culture*, 14. For Glissant, a "transferred" diaspora primarily refers to the diaspora created by the slave trade. He writes: "I feel that what makes this difference between a people that survives elsewhere, *that maintains its original nature*, and a population that is transformed elsewhere *into another people* (without, however, succumbing to the reductive pressures of the Other) and that thus enters the constantly shifting and variable process of creolization (of relationship, of relativity), is that the latter has not brought with it, not collectively continued, the methods of existence and survival, both material and spiritual, which it practiced before being uprooted." Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse*, 15 (italics in original). This distinguishes the African diaspora of the slave trade from the Jewish diaspora. The indenture diaspora on the other hand, might also be considered "transferred" to the extent that they have transformed through the process of creolization; but unlike the enslaved, to the extent that they have carried over their linguistic, cultural, and familial practices they would fall under transplanted diaspora.
14 Ojwang, *Reading Migration and Culture*, 14.
15 Mishra, *The Literature of the Indian Diaspora*, 13.
16 In the case of Indians in Kenya, Sana Aiyar locates the diasporic consciousness in a dialectical tension between "its civilizational homeland, India, and its territorial homeland, Kenya, [that] resulted in paradoxical claims to racial solidarity *and* difference." Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya*, 20. Ned Bertz, similarly suggests that after independence of India and later of Tanzania, the South Asian diaspora in East Africa became "nationalized" attenuating its transnational, transcultural location. Indian residents of Tanzania were "trapped between two new, seemingly incompatible, national identities." Bertz, *Diaspora and Nation in the Indian Ocean*, 59.
17 Ojwang, *Reading Migration and Culture*, 14.
18 Bertz, *Diaspora and Nation in the Indian Ocean*, 34; Rouphail. "A Land of Dreams and Nightmares," 55.
19 Burton, *Africa in the Indian Imagination*, 4. Also see Hofmeyr, "Universalizing the Indian Ocean," 725.
20 Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya*, 11.
21 Among theorists of Indian Ocean creolizations, Françoise Lionnet, coming from the Mauritian context, has argued for a "creole cosmopolitics" that brings divergent processes of creolization and cosmopolitanism together. Alternatively, a unique point of view from Réunion is represented by Françoise Vergès and Marimoutou who emphasize the vernacular roots of

creolization. See Lionnet, *Le su et l'incertain*; and Vergès and Marimoutou, *Amarres: créolisations india-océanes*.

22 In addition to the references in the previous note, for discussions of creolization in the Mauritian context see Prabhu, *Hybridity*; Kistnareddy, *Locating Hybridity*; and Jean-François, "Creolization, Hinduism, and Re-Worlding Trajectories in Contemporary Mauritian Fiction." Both Prabhu and Kistnareddy draw comparisons with the Caribbean, specifically with reference to Edouard Glissant's notion of creolization and relation. For a discussion of creolization in the context of mainland India in Kabir, "Creole Indias, Creolizing Pondicherry."

23 Carpanin Marimoutou, the French-Réunionese poet, rejects the concept of créolité for the Indian Ocean, arguing that it is limited to the French-Caribbean context. He writes, "C'est que, de toute évidence, le mot 'créole' est piégé dans la zone, du moins dans son acception anthropologique, où il est objet d'enjeux identitaires, et de ce fait, n'a guère une extension englobante. Pour s'en tenir à la Réunion, il entre en opposition avec 'malbar', 'cafre,' 'chinois,' 'zarab,' etc. Dès lors, toute dérivation étymologique est piégée et ne peut que susciter des débats sans fin." (Evidently, the word 'creole' is trapped in its anthropological meaning, the zone where it is an issue of identity and hence, can barely be extended to be an inclusive category. In the context of Réunion, it comes into conflict with 'malbar,' 'cafre,' 'chinese,' 'zarab,' etc. Therefore, all of its etymological derivations are deceptive and will only generate endless debate.). Marimoutou, "Créolie et créolité," 95.

24 Lionnet, "Créolité in the Indian Ocean," 104.

25 Torabully and Carter, *Coolitude*, 15.

26 Prabhu, *Hybridity*, 84.

27 Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*,112.

28 Torabully and Carter, *Coolitude*, 174.

29 Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, 120.

30 S. Ravi, "Between Words and Images," 405.

31 Pyamootoo, *Bénarès*, 1999, 67; Pyamootoo, *Bénarès and In Babylon*, 2004, 43. Further citations of this work in this chapter are given in the text. The French citations are from the 1999 Editions de l'Olivier, while the English citations, unless otherwise noted, are from the 2004 Canongate edition translated by Will Hobson.

32 Ravindranathan, "Politics and Poetics of the Namesake," 190.

33 Mehta, "Memories in/of Diaspora," 56.

34 Ravindranathan, "Politics and Poetics of the Namesake," 190.

35 Eisenlohr, *Little India*, 5.

36 Eriksen, "Multiculturalism, Individualism and Human Rights," 56.

37 The colonial system, through slavery and indenture, created categories that separated white creoles from the Afro-Malagasy descendants of slaves and the Indian communities formed through indenture. Beyond the racial system, arriving immigrants were generally categorized according to their place of origin. While the Indian immigrants were highly diverse, the linguistic,

cultural, and regional specificities of many of these groups disappeared as they were subsumed into larger groups along religious, ethnic, or caste lines. Carter and Govinden, "The Construction of Communities," 79.

38 Religious institutions with transnational networks, local activism, and institutionalization of ancestral languages are among the processes that contributed to strengthening diasporic ethnic identification for various religious and ethnic groups. For instance, the "Hindu" category of Indo-Mauritians is further sub-divided into "Hindi-speaking," "Tamil speaking," "Telugu speaking," and "Marathi speaking." Similarly, class division persists between the descendants of Indian immigrants who were indentured laborers and of those who immigrated freely as traders. See Eisenlohr, *Little India*, chapter 6.

39 Bunwaree, "Neoliberal Ideologies, Identity and Gender,"156.

40 Rouphail, "A Land of Dreams and Nightmares," 51.

41 Eisenlohr, *Little India*, 59.

42 Eisenlohr, *Little India*, 60.

43 Prabhu, *Hybridity*, 55.

44 Prabhu, *Hybridity*, 62.

45 Galibert, "Le non-dit de Barlen Pyamootoo," 109.

46 In an event marking the 183rd anniversary of the arrival of Indian indentured workers in Mauritius in November 2017, the Mauritian Prime Minister Pravind Kumar Jaugnath emphasized the role of the "ancestors," meaning the Indian laborers, in the making of the Mauritian nation. The official government news report reads, "According to [Jaugnath], the country stands where it is today due to the hard work and perseverance of our ancestors. He underscored that despite the huge sacrifices and moments of hardships, our ancestors persevered, and did not let go of their culture, which he said, should serve as example for the younger generation." Government Information Service, *Prime Minister Encourages Youth*. The "we" in this report excludes the Mauritians of non-Indian origin, such as the descendants of Afro-Malagasy slaves and creoles. The event was attended by the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh in India, the region of origin of a large number of indentured workers. It provided the occasion to emphasize the link between the Mauritian state and that of India.

47 Virahsawmy, "A Form of Liberation," 351.

48 Through the last decades of the nineteenth century, Hindu religion underwent a vigorous revival through the participation of the community and involvement of transnational Hindu organizations such as the Arya Samaj. Carter, Deerpalsingh, and Govinden, "The Making of a New Community," 107.

49 Bheekee, *A Critical Evaluation of the Religious Festival and Pilgrimage*, 29.

50 Eisenlohr, *Little India*, 245.

51 Bheekee, *A Critical Evaluation of the Religious Festival and Pilgrimage*, 31.

52 Eisenlohr, *Little India*, 246.

53 Torabully and Carter, *Coolitude*, 24.

54 Claveyrolas, "From the Indian Ganges to a Mauritian Lake," 34. As the lake has become a symbol for Hindu identity, the pilgrimage has attracted interests of Hindu nationalist religious leaders and politicians from India. Claveyrolas observes that "non-Hindu Mauritians are becoming more and more frustrated and concerned by an Indianized pilgrimage [with elements that insist] on the Indian roots of Mauritian Hindus" (36). There have also been criticisms from within the Hindu community directed at the caste-based Brahmin control of rituals and priesthood.
55 Rouillard, *Histoire des domaines sucriers de l'île Maurice*, 367.
56 Toussaint, "Le Domaine de Bénarès," 50, my translation.
57 Toussaint, "Le Domaine de Bénarès," 51.
58 Toussaint, "Le Domaine de Bénarès," 50, my translation.
59 Ngugi, *Something Torn and New*, 7.
60 Like M. Bourgault, who moved to Ile de France (Mauritius), many English men came to Benares in India in the hopes of making money: "India was not a career, but a place to make a fortune." Cohn, "The British in Benares," 171.
61 Toussaint, "Le Domaine de Bénarès," 54.
62 Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," 10.
63 Rouillard, *Histoire des Domaines Sucriers de l'île Maurice*, 178.
64 Marx, *Capital*, 425.
65 The nineteenth-century liberal discourse of "emancipation" and "free labor" was constituted through the continued practice of subjection and dispossession of colonized and enslaved people. Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 26.
66 Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, 11.
67 Ho, *The Graves of Tarim*, 4.
68 Pyamootoo also directed a film adaptation of the novel in 2005 with the same title. One crucial difference between the novel and the film is that while dialogues in the text are rendered in French, the film characters speak Kreol Morisien, the island's lingua franca. This choice not only contributes to the film's realism, it also "embeds the film within the very specific politico-linguistic configuration of Mauritian society," foregrounding the island nation's multilingual and multiethnic identity. S. Ravi, "Between Words and Images," 404.
69 See Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya* for the Kenyan context; Aminzade, *Race, Nation, and Citizenship* and Brennan, *Taifa*, for Tanzania. For a discussion of the history of racial thought across different East African nations, see Glassman, "Toward a Comparative History of Racial Thought in Africa."
70 Election to the Legislative Council was based on a tripartite racial structure that divided the seats equally among "European," "Asian" (a term used to categorize Indians), and "African" races even though Europeans and Asians formed a tiny minority of the total population. This racially based tripartite electoral system was the colonial government's way to prepare the electorate for self-government. Although Nyerere and his party were against the racial

structure, which was tipped against the majority of the population, he made a strategic choice to participate in the election by supporting non-African candidates. TANU-supported candidates won by an overwhelming majority in these elections, opening the way to advance TANU's agenda toward complete self-government.

71 The British policy of indirect rule created a bifurcated state that placed Africans under "native" chiefdoms while Asians and Europeans enjoyed a civic realm with racially based rights and privileges. See Mamdani, *Define and Rule*, 17. However, in the case of Tanzania, James Brennan has argued that it would be misleading to understand racial divisions between Indians and Africans as a direct result of colonial segregation. The British colonial administration pursued contradictory policies of protectionism and extraction, which its officials and various agencies often failed to implement. So instead of isolating various racial groups it saw as distinct, the different racial groups were brought into interdependence, but in a way that increased socioeconomic distance between them, securing Indian commercial dominance at the cost of African economic deprivation. See Brenan, *Taifa.*

72 Brennan, *Taifa*, 7.

73 Aminzade, *Race, Nation, and Citizenship*, 6. There were also internal hierarchical differences within the racial group homogenized under "African," as James Brennan has shown in the case of Dar es Salaam where divisions were based on descent and indigeneity. See Brennan, *Taifa*, 60–69.

74 Brennan, *Taifa*, 123.

75 Brennan, *Taifa*, 136.

76 *Assembly Debates*, 306.

77 *Assembly Debates*, 329.

78 *Assembly Debates*, 304.

79 *Assembly Debates*, 364.

80 *Assembly Debates*, 335.

81 S. Mustafa, *Tanganyika Way*, 80.

82 Desai, *Commerce with the Universe*, 153.

83 Steiner, "Translating between India and Tanzania," 141.

84 Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*, 225.

85 S. Mustafa, *In the Shadow of Kirinyaga*, 2. Further citations of this work in this chapter are given in the text.

86 Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*, 306.

87 Berman, "Ethnography as Politics," 336.

88 Desai, *Subject to Colonialism*, 108.

89 "Extracts from the Crowns Land Ordinance 1915," 346.

90 Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning*, 12.

91 Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning*, 16.

92 Wainana, "How to Write about Africa."

93 Nagar, "Communal Discourses," 136.

94 Oonk, *Settled Strangers*, 132.

95 Nagar, "Communal Discourses," 129.

96 Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya*, 11.
97 Nagar, "Communal Discourses," 124.
98 Bertz, *Diaspora and Nation in the Indian Ocean*, 29.
99 Burton, *Africa in the Indian Imagination*, 3.
100 See Steiner, "Dwelling-in-Travel" and "Translating between India and Tanzania"; and Myambo, "Indian Ocean Cosmopolitanism?"
101 See Prabhu, *Hybridity*; and Kistnareddy, *Locating Hybridity*.
102 Rumore, "Crossing Black Waters," 292; Kistnareddy, *Locating Hybridity*, 88.
103 Rumore, "Crossing Black Waters," 293.

Chapter 5

1 Torabully, *Cahier d'un retour impossible au pays natal*, 14.
2 DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots*, 17.
3 DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots*, 8.
4 Johannessen, "Dis/Entangled Hubs," 271.
5 DeLoughrey, "Satellite Planetarity," 264.
6 Feature documentaries about Chagossians include David Constantin, *Diego l'Interdite* (2002); John Pilger, *Stealing a Nation* (2004); Michel Daeron, *Unforgotten Islands* (Chagos ou la Memoire des Iles) (2011). They are available for streaming on various platforms. Constantin's *Diego l'Interdite* is entirely made up of Chagossians' testimonies, while Pilger's *Stealing a Nation* presents interviews with Chagossians as well as British, American, and Mauritian officials alongside journalistic commentary and archival footage.
7 Rangan, *Immediations*, 7. Chouliaraki argues that transnational news flows "construe a 'beyond the nation' community by establishing a sense of a broader 'we.' This 'we,' I assume, is the 'imagined' community of the West, which inhabits the transnational zone of safety and construes human life in the zone of suffering as the West's 'other.'" Chouliaraki, *The Spectatorship of Suffering*, 10.
8 Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 128.
9 Aiyar, *Indians in Kenya*, 20.
10 Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 282. Under the UN Charter and various resolutions passed by the UN General assembly, Chagossians' right to self-determination could be realized through three possibilities: "independent Statehood; integration with Mauritius or the UK; or becoming an associated State of Mauritius or the UK." Tong, "Self-Determination in the Post-Colonial Era," 164. Although states are not obligated to follow the international law, legal cases in British and international courts have built political pressure on the UK government in favor of the Chagossian demand for return. See Tong, "Self-Determination in the Post-Colonial Era" and Allen, "Responsibility and Redress" and "Looking Beyond the Bancoult Cases."

11 The Mauritian government accepted £3 million as compensation for the detachment of Chagos. For an account of the relationship between the detachment of Chagos from Mauritius and the decolonization of Mauritius, see Low, "The Making of the Chagos Affair," 77.
12 Hayden, "From Exclusion to Containment," 256.
13 Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 301.
14 Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," 14.
15 The Indo-China war, Zanzibari revolution, and Indonesian confrontation against the Malayan Federation were some of the major events that challenged British dominance in the region.
16 Bezboruah, *U.S. Strategy in the Indian Ocean*, 76.
17 Bezboruah, *U.S. Strategy in the Indian Ocean*, 43. Arms sales to the countries in the Persian Gulf accounted for nearly half of the total export of American arms in the years 1974 and 1975. Kennedy, "The Persian Gulf," 14.
18 They were created with a royal decree, an arcane power vested in the British monarch. The government of Mauritius has contested this detachment, arguing that it violated the UN charter on decolonization. See "Mauritius challenges Britain's claim to Chagos Islands." The dispute spanning several decades concluded in October 2024 when the United Kingdom officially agreed to cede the islands to Mauritius, while still retaining control of the military base in Diego Garcia. See "Chagos Islands: UK's Last African Colony Returned to Mauritius."
19 Bezboruah, *U.S. Strategy in the Indian Ocean*, 21. Or as the Under Secretary at the British Foreign Office wrote in 1966, "The object of the exercise is to get some rocks which will remain ours." Cited in Pilger, *Stealing a Nation*.
20 Bezboruah, *U.S. Strategy in the Indian Ocean*, 40. Bezboruah notes that the Soviet navy lacked the capability to control sea lanes in the Indian Ocean and interruption of sea lanes was not of economic or strategic interest to them. However, Western strategists were wary of adopting a passive defense policy that, as Admiral Robert L. Long put it in 1980, "may concede the Indian Ocean and Western Pacific to the Soviets." Quoted in Kaufman, "Indian Ocean: Filling the Power Vacuum."
21 *Congressional Record*, 17186.
22 Gandhi, *Indira Gandhi Selected Speeches and Writings*, 639.
23 Most notably, the 1973 Middle East conflict and the Arab oil embargo against nations sympathetic to Israel, including the United States, revealed threats to US interests in the region. Cottrell and Hahn, *Naval Race or Arms Control in the Indian Ocean?*, 35.
24 Cottrell and Hahn, *Naval Race or Arms Control in the Indian Ocean?*, 19.
25 Vine, *Island of Shame*, 187.
26 Bandjunis, *Diego Garcia*, 2.
27 Vine, *Island of Shame*, 244.
28 Bragard, "'Righting' the Expulsion," 57, 59.
29 Cited in Vine, *Island of Shame*, 92.
30 Edis, *Peak of Limuria*, 29.

31 Toussaint, L'océan indien, 64.
32 Vine, *Island of Shame*, 29.
33 Vine, *Island of Shame*, 92.
34 Vine, *Island of Shame*, 9.
35 Bezboruah, *U.S. Strategy in the Indian Ocean*, 84.
36 Vine, *Island of Shame*, 8.
37 DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots*, 8.
38 Bourne, "On the Island of Diego Garcia," 390.
39 DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots*, 12.
40 Bourne, "On the Island of Diego Garcia," 390.
41 Hall, "The West and the Rest," 219.
42 Bourne, "On the Island of Diego Garcia," 390.
43 Edis, *Peak of Limuria*, ix.
44 Edis, *Peak of Limuria*, 2.
45 Edis, *Peak of Limuria*, 5.
46 Edis, *Peak of Limuria*, 3.
47 Patel, *Le silence des Chagos*, 9, my translation. Further citations of this work in this chapter are given in the text. The French citations are from the 2005 Olivier edition, while the English citations, unless otherwise noted, are from the 2019 Restless Books edition translated by Jeffery Zuckerman.
48 Jean-François, "Géographies insulaires, frontières territoriales et écologies politiques," 128, my translation.
49 Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 40. Scholars have pointed out the possible links between the Divehi word for Chagos, Folovahi, and the Malay word for island, Pulay, suggesting that these islands "might have been once discovered and inhabited by Malays en route to Africa or the Persian Gulf." Maloney, *People of the Maldive Islands*, 113.
50 Romero-Frías, *Folk Tales of the Maldives*, 190–94.
51 DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots*, 13.
52 Even though the archipelago lies much closer to the Maldives than to Mauritius (300 miles as opposed to 1,200 miles), throughout its colonial history, it has been an administrative part of Mauritius.
53 Nunn, *Oceanic Islands*, 112.
54 Teaiwa, "Reading Paul Gauguin's Noa Noa," 251.
55 Patel, "Pourquoi ce livre," my translation.
56 Kerr, ""Gestures of Authorship," 282.
57 Webb, "Testimonio," 19.
58 Beverley, *Against Literature*, 70.
59 Beverley, *Against Literature*, 82.
60 Beverley, *Against Literature*, 84.
61 See Foley, *Telling the Truth*; Webb, "Testimonio"; Kerr, "Gestures of Authorship"; Brueck, "Narrating Dalit Womanhood."
62 Webb. "Testimonio," 8.
63 Pooja Rangan's concept of "immediation" speaks to the ways in which the form of the participatory documentary – which is not unlike first-person

testimonial narratives – uses the "rhetoric of immediacy" to position media exposure itself as "an urgent, humanizing remedy for subjects who have been deprived of various rights." Rangan, *Immediations*, 11.

64 Kerr, "Gestures of Authorship," 390.
65 Foley, *Telling the Truth*, 41.
66 Bannerjee and Patel, "Rompre *Le Silence des Chagos*," 203.
67 My translation.
68 Beverley, *Against Literature*, 78.
69 Beverley, *Against Literature*, 84.
70 Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, 7.
71 Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*, 292.
72 Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*, 288.
73 Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*, 305.
74 Pilger was a renowned international journalist, author, and a documentary filmmaker who wrote and reported on atrocities of oppressive regimes around the world including the imperial policies of the United States and Britain.
75 https://johnpilger.com/stealing-a-nation/
76 Chouliaraki, *The Spectatorship of Suffering*, 8; Minh-ha, *When the Moon Waxes Red*, 57.
77 Pilger, *Stealing a Nation*, 00:04:00.
78 Rangan, *Immediations*, 7.
79 Chouliaraki, *The Spectatorship of Suffering*, 10.
80 Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*, 313.
81 Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 370.
82 Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 283.
83 Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 291.
84 Hayden, "From Exclusion to Containment," 266. This is not to discount the legal battles Chagossians have been fighting for decades, with several lawsuits filed by Chagossians in British courts. These cases don't question British sovereignty over the islands but demand Chagossians' right to return to their island on the basis of rights under the British law. Olivier Bancoult, who filed the lawsuits, won in 2000, when the British High Court ruled that the removal of Chagossians from their islands was unlawful and they had the right to return. But the subsequent government used the sovereign power of the Queen to annul the court's decision preventing Chagossians from returning to any part of the islands. When Bancoult further challenged the Queen's orders, the UK House of Lords upheld the ban suggesting that "the Queen, acting 'in Council' could prefer the interests of the 'United Kingdom' (that is, the UK government) to the interests of Chagossians, and therefore could issue an order preventing their return." Human Rights Watch, *"That's When the Nightmare Started,"* 67. The legal battles have however unearthed "a mass of historical documents that confirm the cynicism and lies of the government's inner councils." Murphy, "They Bent to Their Knees."
85 Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 301.
86 Birmingham, *Hannah Arendt and Human Rights*, 91.

87 Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 301.
88 Birmingham, *Hannah Arendt and Human Rights*, 93.
89 Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*, 292.
90 Chouliaraki, *The Spectatorship of Suffering*, 61.
91 Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*, 287.
92 Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*, 300.
93 Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*, 318.
94 Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*, 321.
95 Johannessen, "Dis/Entangled Hubs," 274.
96 Cited in Jeffery, "How a Plantation Became Paradise," 960.
97 Jeffery, "How a Plantation Became Paradise," 957.
98 Jeffery, "How a Plantation Became Paradise," 953.
99 Jeffery, "How a Plantation Became Paradise," 951. Bruno Jean-François argues that in her novel, Patel reproduces "une vision idéalisée de l'île, récupérant à son compte certains motifs de la littérature dite exotique à propos de la vie insulaire" (an idealized vision of the island, recalling certain motifs of exotic literature about island life) Jean-François, "Géographies insulaires," 130. However, as this chapter shows, the novel also questions such idealization of life in Chagos by evoking earlier histories of displacements under slavery and colonial rule.
100 Jeffery, "How a Plantation Became Paradise," 953.
101 Charlesia's visits to the dock evoke "the memory of the seemingly never-ending, sordid sea-voyage, strongly echoing those other crossings associated with slave trade and indentured labour immigration." Poddar, "The Islands within," 43.
102 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 24.
103 Vine, *Island of Shame*, 120.
104 Vine, *Island of Shame*, 114. Also see Human Rights Watch, *"That's When the Nightmare Started,"* 33.
105 Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 46.
106 Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, 6.
107 Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, 6.
108 Chamoiseau. *Césaire, Perse, Glissant*, 50, my translation.
109 African diaspora exists throughout the Indian Ocean world, across the islands, the Persian Gulf, the Indian subcontinent, and Southeast Asia.
110 Vine, *Island of Shame*, 139.
111 Jeffery, *Chagos Islanders in Mauritius*, 32.
112 Vine, *Island of Shame*, 140.
113 Madeley, *Diego Garcia: A Contrast to Falklands*, 6.
114 Cited in Madeley, *Diego Garcia: A Contrast to Falklands*, 6.
115 Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 74. Sharpe is writing on contemporary Black life in the context of the diaspora, specifically in the United States, where anti-Blackness is a normative condition that produces Blackness as a negation of life.
116 Chamoiseau, *Césaire, Perse, Glissant*, 50, my translation.
117 Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*, 155.

118 Désiré seeks employment at the American base in Diego Garcia as a way to visit Chagos. But the employers reject the applications from any Chagossians in favor of Mauritians.
119 Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, 7.
120 Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 21.
121 Bragard, "Murmuring Vessels," 142.
122 Lionnet, "Cosmopolitan or Creole Lives?," 38.
123 DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots*, 3.

Coda

1 Owuor, *Dragonfly Sea*, 156.
2 Owuor, *Dragonfly Sea*, 288–89.
3 Isabel Hofmeyr observed similar attitudes toward Africa in contemporary Indian media. Hofmeyr notes that in everyday Indian discourses, "Africa functions as a shorthand for all that is backward. Africa becomes one of India's nightmare pasts that it is trying to escape. As the colony was to the metropolis, so Africa is to India: belated, backward, and haunting." Hofmyer, "The Idea of 'Africa,'" 61. Also see Burton, *Africa in the Indian Imagination.*
4 Cheah, "The Material World of Comparison," 168.
5 The reference to the Ming navy here recalls an era of "aggression and political domination." Mills, "Introduction," 1. For more on the naval imperialism of the Ming Dynasty, see Mills. For this reason, the conflict in this scene provides a more complex picture of the Indian Ocean past that attends to hierarchical relations, in contrast to the insistence on the precolonial past as an era of peaceful lateral mutual exchange in some Indian Ocean scholarship.
6 Pasricha, "India Sets Up New Indian Ocean Naval Base."
7 DeLoughrey, "Toward a Critical Ocean Studies for the Anthropocene," 31.
8 Comparatists have drawn attention to the asymmetries and contextual divides that separate different subjects of comparison. Comparative paradigms, such as R. Radhakrishnan's, begin with a premise of a Self/Other structure, which the work of comparison hopes to neutralize or problematize. See Radhakrishnan, "Why Compare," and Friedman, "Why Not Compare?"
9 Felski and Friedman, "Introduction," 1.
10 Mignolo, "On Comparison," 115.