PIRACY AND PIRATAL AGGRESSIONS

IN

WESTERN INDIAN OCEAN c. 1750 - c. 1850

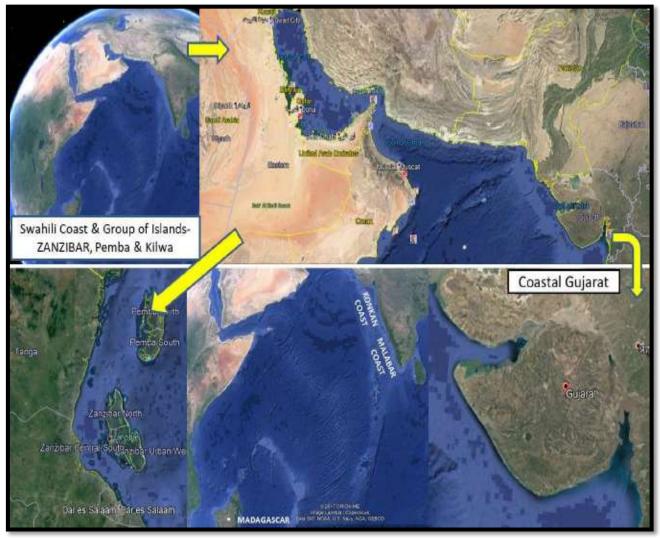
Synopsis of Ph. D. Thesis Submitted to THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA towards the fulfilment of the requirement for the DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

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Western Indian Ocean Map

Indian Ocean Studies have traversed 'splendid journey' in the ongoing decade since I conceived the theme "PIRACY AND PIRATAL AGGRESSIONS IN WESTERN INDIAN OCEAN, c.1750-c.1850" for doctoral programme. The reason for selecting this theme initially was: To explore the reasons why terrorists used Western Indian Ocean waters along Arabian Sea in 2008 and occurrence of maritime piracy by Somalian citizens during 2008-16 frequently; and thrust by the Indian government on revisiting maritime regulations, underpinning of naval forces and vigilance of western littoral of India in order to understand WIO networks in the age of global expansion and its demeanour in present times.

I therefore delved into the reading of historical literature on Indian Ocean trade networks, naval-military aggression and acts of maritime piracy. As a part of this process, I utilized the opportunity of understanding Indian Ocean through SEPHIS workshop on "Studying the Indian Ocean: New Methodological Approaches and Writing Connected Histories" in November-December, 2009 at Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi and also shared few research findings in national and international conferences till date. These papers based on use of primary sources explored about people, commodity exchange, and maritime violence along the Kathiawad and Malabar Coast. One must remember that the coastal strips and littorals of the Indian Ocean in time and space evidenced the emergence of ports and port-towns [either side of India and Africa]; these also demonstrated competition in trade which sometimes got reflected into violence either on part of the state or of the people. In the 17th century the arrival and contest for supremacy of Europeans further augmented these activities. 'Piracy' and 'Piratal¹ Aggressions' are significantly referred in the 18th and 19th century travellers' accounts, correspondences, diaries, reports, British Parliamentary papers, maritime regulations and oral narratives along the arms of Western Indian Ocean. The first glimpse of these accounts reveals that these are fragmentary and misleading in case one attempts to define or categorize the acts which the crossers of sea / seafarers were undertaking during the study period i.e. c.1750- c.1850.

My early impressions on Indian Ocean got cultivated through the works of W.H. Moreland mainly *From Akbar to Aurangzeb: Study in Indian Economic History* (1923), as it made me understand the economic and maritime scenario during the mid-eighteenth century; European intrusion into 'Asian waters', and its impact on Asian trade. Further

¹ Piratal and Piratical term is used interchangeably.

reading of Holden Furber's John Company at Work: A Study of European Expansion in India in the late Eighteenth Century (1948) and Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600-1800 (1976) further exhibited understanding on 'flow of commerce and profit from commerce' as the 'lubricants of empire'. Within the framework of old historiography I consider K. S. Mathew's Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century (New Delhi, 1967); Alan Villiers -The Story of Indian Ocean (London, 1952); Auguste Tousiant's Historie de l' Ocean Indien (French-1961, & translation in English by J. Guicharnaud-1966), Charles Boxer's Dutch Seaborne Empire (1965) and Portuguese Seaborne Empire (1969) as imminent mast for a novice like me in Indian Ocean Studies. Similarly, drawing appraisal of new historiography was possible due to Ashin DasGupta, M. N. Pearson, K. N. Chaudhari, Satish Chandra, K. M. Pannikar, George F. Hourani, Neil Steensgard's, Surendra Gopal, James Francis Warren, Kenneth Macpherson, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Lakshmi Subramanian, R. J. Barendse, Indrani Ray, Rudrangshu Mukherjee, Edward Simpson, Pius Malekandathil, Prasannan Parthasarathi, Anne Bulley, Denis Lombard, Jean Aubin, Halene Basu, Abdul Sheriff and Rila Mukherjee's scholarship. These treatises helped me understand 'conceptual unity' of Indian Ocean in terms of 'commercial exchanges', 'trade mechanisms', 'cultural linkages', and 'transmission of ideas'. These readings in fact ignited a few more questions pertaining to the nature of networks, relationship between European groups, their colonial subjects, and resistance against them on either hemisphere of Indian Ocean. Philip D. Curtin raised relevant issues pertaining to the Indian Ocean. He wrote Cross-Cultural Trade in World History (1984) which makes us think about the cultural dimension towards the Indian Ocean. In the contemporary Indian Ocean Studies the cultural aspect has become vital as it lays stress on the study of coastal communities. Therefore, the study of pirates' community is pertinent as it still remains a less explored area in the western Indian Ocean context [my emphasis]. Yogesh Sharma in Coastal Histories: Society and Ecology in pre-Modern India (2010) too reflected on pirate's world and pointed out the vacuum in the documentation of piratical aggression episodes. Piracy and piratal/piratical aggression are not new as we find their reference in Ptolemy, Pliny, Marco Polo and Periplus account. It is an old phenomenon which continues even today. Noted historians who work on the theme of piracy are Patricia Risso, J. L. Anderson, M. N. Pearson, Louren Benton and Lakshmi Subramanian. These scholars in their discourse on piracy expressed their difficulties in defining 'piracy' and "piratal/piratical aggressions" on the basis of their observation of the

archival documents they have used. According to these documents pirates sometimes were from isolated group or community or from a specific location; or they were also from adventurers, fishermen, sailors, merchants and privateers group, who took to maritime violence or piratal/piratical action under external and internal forces at work during the age of revolution and global expansion (see Simon Layton, 2011 and Lakshmi Subramanian, 2016).

The term pirate is derived from Latin word 'pirata' which means an attempt or experience on sea or oceanic waters through an act where pirates engaged in violence/aggression like robbery on 'sea' or 'shore'; or Greek term 'peirates' which literally means the one who attacks on (ship). The word is also similar to peril and first came to use in English at the beginning of the 14th century and was used copiously from eighteenth century onwards with spellings like '*pirrot*, *pyrate*, *pyrat* &c. Piracy and Piratal aggressions were therefore about indiscriminate seizure of seaborne or coastal properties through threat or 'use of force'. It involved holding of passengers and crews for 'money or goods'. Thus 'maritime piracy' or sea piracy included 'attack' and 'confiscation of vessels and merchandise', 'imprisonment' or 'torturing of merchants and rulers' in sea-space in exchange for 'ransom money', 'attack and raiding of coastal trading centers and villages', creation of 'fear and terror in chief channels of navigation' and even attacking of the 'navigational lines of their commercial competitors as a strategy to weaken the trading ability' and the 'wealth-mobilizing ability of their rivals'. It must be noted that piratal/piratical attacks were common and frequent in zones of seas and shores where 'maritime trade was carried out with intensity and high frequency', and 'remained relatively outside the control of a strong legitimate political authority'. The early terms on piracy and piratal aggressions seem to have represented a broad range of maritime violence in the multi-coastal environment of Greece and the wider Mediterranean waters (David Pickering, Pirates, London, 2006 & Nigel Cawthorne, Pirates An Illustrated History, London, 2006). According to some scholars, the activity of sea- pirates is regarded as 'antiimperial' on one hand and 'legitimate struggle' for a share in trade and revenue on the other. Their exploits and courage stories have been narrated variously. Pirates are classified depending upon their role and region. These are Buccaneer, Corsair, and Privateer etc. which were primarily related to western world; whereas in eastern world they are identified by vernacular names like: Chanchiya (Gujarati), Samudriyacauda (Sanskrit), Samudridaku (Hindi), Wokou (Chinese), Wako (Japanese) & Waegu (Korean) and local communities

(*Moplah* and *Kujali/Khunjali* from Malabar/Kerala), (*Angrias*, *Sidis* and *Sawantwaris from* Konkan), (*Kharvas*, *Sanganian*, *Kolis* and *Waghers* from Gujarat), and (*Qawasimi* and *Wahabees* from the Persian Gulf & the Red Sea). Similar local names do occur in case of Horn of Africa, Swahili Coast and Madagascar which were safe haven for pirates and piratal acts.

Thorough reading of the archival material suggests that maritime violence and piracy occurred due to political instability within the arms of the ocean or on the uneven coast or in the Gulfs. Geographically stating, harsh climate and arid zones are not suitable for agriculture; the regions located near the sea had evidenced flourishing ports. However, establishment of new ports marginalized existing ports and people were rendered unemployed and impoverished. Further, increase in the volume of trade at the new ports compelled people to do the acts of piracy. Therefore, piracy is possible in double cape, narrow strait and choke points. These geographical locations could be identified in 'Horn of Africa', the 'Gulf of Aden', the 'Red Sea', 'Gulf of Oman', the 'Persian Gulf', 'Sindh Coast', the 'Gulf of Kachchh', the 'Kathiawad Coast', the 'Gulf of Khambat' along the 'Arabian Sea' and Islands like Madagascar, Seychelles, Comoros, Reunion, Pemba etc. Islands proved to be the safe havens for a long period as these remained lesser/unknown destinations to state authorities and were used as hideouts by pirates and privateers. Cultural factors also encouraged sea raids. The act of piracy in some communities has been considered as acceptable and was carried as professional legacy. It has been noted that rival-merchants, state-chiefs and others supported pirates in their acts for their own reasons. Piracy was done on high seas, littorals, creeks, bays and islets by seizure of vessels of merchants, travellers and pilgrims; the targets were surrounded and looted forcibly or were forced to sail at difficult destinations. The pirates were skilled navigators and well conversant to the territory of their operations.

My reading of R. N. Saletore's *Indian Pirates: From the Earliest Time to the Present Day* helped me understand that research on piracy has attracted many scholars attention however it still remain less understood in Western Indian Ocean context. The published works so far on piracy explore the cross-cultural context minimally and more thrust had been on the political and economic dimension. To understand pirate and piratal aggressions, we need deep study of economic and political phenomenon i.e. nature of oceanic trade which in turn triggered piracy; transformation in maritime polities and maritime laws in the age of colonialism and imperialism.

Historical literature on piracy has been broadening by the tireless work of scholars from different disciplines. These reading are by Charles Ellms, The Pirates Own Book: Authentic Narratives of Lives, Exploits and Executions of the Most Celebrated Sea Robbers (1924); Pamela Nightingale, Trade and Empire in Western India: 1784-1806 (1970); Ranabir Chakravarti, Warfare for Wealth: Early Indian Perspective (1986); "Horse Trade and Piracy at Tana (Thana, Maharashtra, India): Gleanings from Marco Polo", JESHO, Vol. 34, 1989, pp. 7-11 and "Overseas Trade in Horses in Early Medieval India: Shipping & Piracy" in Praci-Prabha: Perspectives in Indology (1989); Anirudh Deshpande, "Limitation of Military Technology: Naval Warfare on the West, 1650-1800" EPW, Vol. 27, No. 17, Apr.25, 1992, pp. 900-904; J. L. Anderson, "Piracy and World History: An Economic Perspective on Maritime Predation," JWH, Vol.6, No.2(1995); Patricia Risso, Merchants, and Faith: Muslim Commerce and Culture in the Indian Ocean (1995) and "Cross-Cultural Perceptions of Piracy: Maritime Violence in the Western Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf Region during a Long Eighteenth Century" in JWH, Vol. 12, No. 2 (2001), pp. 293-319; David J. Starkey, "Piracy in the Eastern Seas, 1750-1850: Some Economic Implications", in Pirates and Privateers: New Perspectives on the War on Trade in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, (David J. Starkey et al.), 1997, pp. 87-105; Angus Konstam, The History of Pirates (1999); The World Atlas of Pirates (2010); Barbara Fuchs, "Faithless Empires: Pirates, Renegades, and the English Nation", ELH, Vol. 67, No.1, 2000, pp. 45-69; Lakshmi Subramanian, "Piracy in the Indian Ocean: Exploring Perspectives" in Lotika Vardharajan, Indo-Portuguese Encounters: Journeys in Science, Technology and Culture, 2 Volume, (2000); Erik Gilbert, "Coastal East Africa and the Western Indian Ocean: Long Distance Trade, Empire, Migration and Regional Unity, 1750-1970," HT, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2002; Josep N.F.M. A Campo, "Discourse without Discussion: Representation of Piracy in Colonial Indonesia 1816-1825", JSEAS, Vol.34, 2003; Arne Bialuschewski, "Pirates, Slaves, and the Indigenous Population in Madagascar c.1690-1715", IJAHS, Vol. 38, No. 3, 2005, pp.401-425; Stefan Eklöf, "The Return of Piracy: Decolonization and International Relations in a Maritime Border Region (the Sulu Sea), 1959-63", CESEAS, 15 Issue, 2005; Nigel Cawthorne, Pirates: An Illustrated History (2006); Ghulam A. Nadri, Eighteenth-Century Gujarat: The Dynamic of Its Political Economy, 1750-1800 (2009); Lakshmi Subramanian, "The Politics of Restitution: Shipwrecks, Insurance and Piracy in the Western Indian Ocean" (2009) and The Sovereign and the Pirate (2016); Samira Sheikh, Forging A Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims

in Gujarat, 1200-1500 (New Delhi, 2010); Edward Simpson, The Idea of Gujarat, Ethnography and Text (eds.), (2011); Roxani Eleni Margariti, Aden and the Indian Ocean Trade: 150 Years in the Life of Medieval Arabian Port, (2007); James Onley, The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers, and the British in the Nineteenth-Century Gulf (2007) and Edward Simpson and Kai Kresse (eds.), Struggling with History: Islam and Cosmopolitanism in the Western Indian Ocean (2008). This survey of published literature on Piracy and Piratal Aggressions in the 16th and 17th centuries suggests that this activity was sometimes periodical and sometimes reflected frequently and depended on political, economic and social circumstances. In the late eighteenth century with the weakening of Mughal rule, predation came under Kanhoji Angria along the Konkan and Malabar coast. The Portuguese were guided by Christian law and chartered out Indian Ocean as nobody was claiming over of it. Those who defied their law were claimed to be "the pirates". The European influence further increased this and led to the militarization of the coastal region. The English East India Company was the only one of the several powers trying to dominate the Arabian Sea between the 17th and 18th century. In this period piracy frequently occurred in the region and exposed the limits of naval technology possessed by the marine. The Malabar, Cambay and the Persian Gulf were natural base for preying on unarmed and armed merchants.

My visits to National Archives, Delhi and Maharashtra State Archives, Mumbai and Pune made me understand nineteenth century piracy through correspondences; despatch between officials of the East India Company in the Kathiawad region, Gulf of *Kachchh* and Gulf of Cambay. C. U. Aitchison's, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Vol. VI, (India, 1909): and J.H. Gense and D.R. Banaji (ed.) *The Gaikwads of Baroda: Anandrao Gaekwad 1805-1808* (English Documents) Vol.VII, (Bombay) are two significant documents that reveals various treaties signed with the local chiefs of Gujarat to give up piracy and to help the British government to curb piracy. From the available documents in my possessions and my understanding regarding historical literature on Western Indian Ocean and piracy suggests that the East India Company's interest in trade and commerce were actually a threat to the regional economies or created political and economic instability in the region. This would be taken as one reason for act of piratal aggressions in the Arabian Sea, as it disrupted the long distance oceanic trade. The presence of Europeans in the East made the Indian Ocean waters a conflict zone for European Companies-the *Estado da India, the Vereenigde Oost*-

Indische Compagnie, the East India Company and the French East India Company. They colonised the littorals of Western Indian Ocean and imposed maritime regulation against the local potentates. The conflicts and resistance started in the form of piracy and piratal aggressions by individual pirates or in group supported by local potentates against the East India Company. The British described it as 'Northward Piracy'. Similar instances are noted in Gulf of Red Sea, Persia and the eastern coast of Africa.

Aims and Objectives:

The aim and objectives of the present study is to understand the nature of piracy and piratal aggressions in the backdrop of European Companies rivalry in the Western Indian Ocean. Some of the pertinent issues discussed in my thesis are as follows:

- the rivalry among European Companies for establishment of supremacy in Asian trade and resultant increase of piracy in the Western Indian Ocean;
- the documentation and interpretation of Piratal Aggressions and Piracy in Western Indian Ocean from the west coast side of Gujarat (India) and also towards it;
- how piracy affected trade and commerce of the region
- the process of effective control that developed in order to prevent piracy by the ruler during the study period.
- study of the social circumstances of pirates.

Research Scheme and significance of study period:

The Western Indian Ocean and its arms: Swahili Coast; the Red Sea; the Persian Gulf; the Gulf of *Kachchh*; the Gulf of Cambay, South Gujarat, Konkan and Malabar Coast will remain the primary regions of my study. I emphasise that piracy as such remains a less researched area and therefore needs attention. I must state that we have found reading material on instances of sea piracy for the period c.1600-c.1750 copiously and for the time span c.1750-c.1850.

The study period c.1750 to c.1850 is understood as a period of transition in Indian Historiography. A new pattern of imperialism and economic development surfaced as a result of Industrial Revolution in Europe. The European trading companies expanded their political and economic activities in the Indian Ocean through improved arms, ammunitions and shipping technology which marginalized the traditional Asian shipping. Trade and commerce transit got increased and that created a sense of competition for trade supremacy between Europeans; and also between Europeans and Indian merchants. The Portuguese had a better technology for shipping of goods/materials and it was feasible to extend their

power in the Indian Ocean. They issued 'cartaz' system in the Indian Ocean which led to militarization of the coastal region, which increased the instances of piracy. Similar tactics and policies were attempted by the natives and the custom duties were imposed on the merchants, travellers and pilgrims. If they did not paid custom duties or failed to produce passes; their goods were confiscated. The Portuguese tried to suppress piracy by sending naval expeditions against pirates. References of the same can be found in the historical account of the years 1579 and 1581, when naval expeditions were sent to capture Sangameshwar pirates; and in 1586, when two laden ships with wares coming from Chaul to the Strait of Mecca were captured by two Turkish galleys. For safety and security, Portuguese employed convoys to the merchant ships. They tried to suppress piracy till c.1749 but their monopoly in the Indian Ocean was challenged by both- the Dutch East India Company and the English East India Company. After the decline of Portuguese monopoly, during the 18th and 19th century, the Indian Ocean became a theatre of naval warfare among trading enterprises such as Dutch East India Company (VOC), English East India Company (EEIC) and French East India Company. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) was not involved in too much of trading competition with French and British, and thus got marginalized later. The British East India Company and French were left as the two contending parties for trade supremacy in the Indian Ocean. This led to resistance from the rulers of India because they were interfering in the economic and political affairs of India. On 16th September, 1635 the Mughal ship '*Taufiqui*' was captured by pirates from Surat. In September of 1695, 'Ganj-i-Sawai', the Mughal Ship of Aurangzeb was looted by the English pirate Henry Every. The Mughal envoy held the English government responsible for the piracy, and the English in fear of revenge by the former started suppressing the pirates in the Indian Ocean. William Kidd, a privateer of English East India Company later got engaged in the acts of piracy. He was captured and executed by the British in London, in the year 1701. During the study period both British and French remained involved in the political affairs of the native rulers. When they got the opportunity, they tried to control political as well as economic condition of the rulers.

In this thesis, my focus is on the political policies of the British to control trade and their relations with native rulers, rather than the expansion of the case of the French East India Company. In second half of the eighteenth century, due to the deteriorating economic conditions, the native rulers supported pirates and resisted the British dominance. Captain Seton reported that the Raja of Navanagar had lent money to the pirates and reimbursed

himself by collecting the '*Beyt's* custom'. The *Banias* of *Kachchh* gave money to pirates to strengthen their defence. The former were afraid of the English East India Company, fearing that they could capture the sacred temple of *Beyt*. In 1812, James Macmurdo, a Political Agent of *Kachchh* went to punish the pirates of Makran, Sind and *Kachchh*. Later in 1816, he met the ruler of *Kachchh* and compelled him to stop giving shelter to the pirates who were infested in the territories of north-west Bombay. A letter was sent by H. Pottinger, Resident of *Kachchh* to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bombay on 24th May, 1836 informing about the acts of piracy committed in the Gulf of *Kachchh* by one of the officers Gaekwad at *Beyt*. Foreign Department files at National Archives, New Delhi have some information on the piracy that occurred in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the waters of Arabian Sea. 'Secret and Political Department Diary' and 'Political Department Diary' during the 19th century in Maharashtra State Archives, Mumbai, reveals pieces of information on piracy towards the Horn of Africa, Swahili Coast and along Madagascar Island.

Further in this area, sources like folklores, songs, stories of sailors, and families belonging to former pirates have been helpful in understanding acts of piratal aggressions.

I initiated the data collection for the research work by reading a few primary sources derived from the works of earlier reviewed works on Indian Ocean and piracy. These sources were accessed from Maharashtra State Archive (Mumbai), Pune Archives (Pune), National Archives (New Delhi), Gujarat State Archives (Gandhinagar and Baroda), internet archives and digital libraries of various universities in the UK and the USA and libraries of the Asiatic Society (Mumbai), Jawaharlal Nehru Library, Mumbai University, Fort William Library, Mumbai University; Deccan College Library (Pune); the Asiatic Society (Kolkata) and National Library (Kolkata); Central Library-Mandvi and Smt. Hansa Mehta Library, the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara. I experienced certain difficulties as the references to piracy and maritime violence were scattered in various categories; however, I have been successful in streamlining them in sections of unpublished and published primary sources.

Chapterisation scheme

Introduction:

It will provide a review of primary and secondary sources on Indian Ocean Studies and Maritime Piracy.

Chapter 1: Western Indian Ocean and its Setting

It will give an idea of the Western Indian Ocean in terms of geographical entity, evolution of various polities; continuities and discontinuities; social components and cultural linkages during the study period. My attempt here would be to understand the Western Indian Ocean in relation to trade connections and dynamics generated between different polities along the Western Indian Ocean littoral societies and maritime violence. It will also throw light on navigational knowledge of locals, vessels and ships in use and strategies of resistance against Europeans and local potentates. All this is derived from travellers' accounts, mainly from *Periplus*, Ptolemy, Pliny, Ibn Majid, Ibn Battuta, Duarte Barbosa, Mandelso, Jean Baptiste Tavernier and Francois Pyrard, Gazetteers, Correspondences and Despatch Letters. Portuguese, Dutch and English companies are the centre of my investigation, as these remain indulged in process of exercising control.

Chapter 2: Piracy and Piratal Aggressions in the pre-1750 in Western Indian Ocean The study will undertake the documentation of piratal aggressions by Arab pirates; European pirates and Private pirates during pre-1750 period. My emphasis in this chapter will be for the period- c.1600-c.1750. This sets a background to understand the circumstances in which 'Piracy and Piratal Aggressions' were carried out. It would broadly categorize piracy and record emergence of new patterns in piracy under changed political and economic circumstances. The trade reports of various port towns are brought in use to understand acts of piracy.

Chapter 3: Documentation of Piratal Aggressions during 1750-1850 in Western Indian Ocean

This chapter documents acts of piracy; piratal aggressions carried out in Western Indian Ocean from various directions like the Gujarat Coast (my emphasis would be on Kathiawad coast, *Kachchh* Coast and Southern Gujarat Coast where empirical evidence are notable), and also from the Persian Gulf, Red Sea, Horn of Africa and Madagascar.

The Second Section of this chapter will take care of various traditional norms pertaining to/in the Western Indian Ocean; new regulations carried out for maritime governance by the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English East India Company; and the changes that were brought in for political and economic purposes. Correspondences, Reports and Despatches for Political and Foreign Departments are extremely useful in the drafting of this chapter.

Chapter 4: Social Composition of Pirates in Western Indian Ocean

This will offer a biographical profile of Arab pirates like *Qawasimi/Joasmee* and *Omanis* operating from the Persian Gulf, Red Sea and how they extended their activities in the deep waters of Western Indian Ocean; Somalian pirates operating from the East African coast; Indian pirates operating from the Kathiawad and *Kachchh* Coast and Foreign pirates mainly Europeans in the Western Indian Ocean. This chapter will be based on information extracted from archives and also from oral testimonies.

Chapter 5: Politics of Piracy and British Paramountcy in Western Indian Ocean during 1750-1850

This will throw light on establishment of maritime governance and regulations derived from various treaties and agreements.

Chapter 6: Conclusion: This provides summary of observations of the five chapters (as listed above) and offers interpretation of the same in the light of recent discourse on piracy and politics.

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