> The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947 Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama

In his latest book, Claude Markovits tells the story of two groups of Hindu merchants from the towns of Shikarpur and Hyderabad in the province of Sind. Basing his account on previously neglected archival sources, the author charts the development of these communities, from the pre-colonial period through colonial conquest and up to independence, describing how they came to control trading networks throughout the world. While the book focuses on the trade of goods, money and information from Sind to such widely dispersed locations as Kobe, Panama, Bukhara and Cairo, it also throws light on the nature of trading diasporas in South Asia in their interaction with the global economy. In an epilogue, the author brings the story up to date in a discussion of the origins of the present-day diaspora of Sindhi Hindus, the most wide-ranging of all the diasporas from the Indian subcontinent.

This is a sophisticated and accessible book written by one of the most distinguished economic historians in the field. It will appeal to scholars of South Asia and of the history of diasporas, as well as to colonial historians, economic historians and to students of religion.

**Claude Markovits** is Director of Research at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.

Cambridge University Press	
978-0-521-62285-1 - The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947	: Traders of Sind
from Bukhara to Panama	
Claude Markovits	
Frontmatter	
More information	

Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society 6

Editorial Board C. A. BAYLY Vere Harmsworth Professor of Imperial and Naval History, University of Cambridge, and Fellow of St Catharine's College

RAJNARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR Fellow of Trinity College and Lecturer in History, University of Cambridge

GORDON JOHNSON

President of Wolfson College, and Director, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge

**Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society** publishes monographs on the history and anthropology of modern India. In addition to its primary scholarly focus, the series also includes work of an interdisciplinary nature which contributes to contemporary social and cultural debates about Indian history and society. The series is thus designed to further the general development of historical and anthropological knowledge and to attract a wider readership than that concerned with India alone.

1	C. A. Bayly
	Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social
	Communication in India, 1780–1880
	0 521 57085 9 (hardback) 0 521 663601 (paperback)
2	Ian Copland
	The Princes of India in the Endgame of Empire, 1917–1947
	0 521 57179 0
3	Samita Sen
	Women and Labour in Late Colonial India: The Bengal Jute Industry,
	0 521 45363 1
4	Sumit Guha
	Environment and Ethnicity in India, 1200–1991
	0 521 64078 4
5	Tirthankar Roy
	Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India

 $0\;521\;65012\;7$ 

# The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947

Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama

Claude Markovits

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris



Cambridge University Press
78-0-521-62285-1 - The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947: Traders of Sind
rom Bukhara to Panama
Claude Markovits
Frontmatter
Aore information

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521622851

© Claude Markovits 2000

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2000

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

#### Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Markovits, Claude. The global world of Indian merchants, 1750-1947: traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama / Claude Markovits. p. cm. - (Cambridge studies in Indian History and Society; 6) Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 0 521 62285 9 1. Shikarpur (Pakistan) - Commerce - History. 2. Hyderabad (India) - Commerce - History. 3. Sindhi (South Asian people) - Commerce - History. 4. India - Commerce - History. 5. Pakistan - Commerce - History. I. Title. II. Series. HF3790.5.Z9 S555 2000 382'.095491'8 - dc21 99-047925 ISBN 978-0-521-62285-1 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-08940-1 Paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2009

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Information regarding prices, travel timetables and other factual information given in this work are correct at the time of first printing but Cambridge University Press does not guarantee the accuracy of such information thereafter.

To the memory of my father Paul Markovits (1912–1993)

### Contents

Lis	t of maps page	e viii
Lis	List of tables	
Acknowledgements		x
Glo	ossary	xii
	Introduction	1
1	South Asian merchant networks	10
2	The regional context: Sind economy and society, c. 1750–1950	32
3	The Gate of Khorrassan: the Shikarpuri network, c. 1750-1947	57
4	From Kobe to Panama: the Sindworkies of Hyderabad	110
5	Patterns of circulation and business organization in two merchant networks	156
6	The business of the Sind merchants	185
7	The politics of merchant networks	212
8	Community and gender in two merchant networks	249
9	Epilogue: the Sindhi diaspora after 1947	277
	Conclusion	286
Аp	pendices	298
Bil	bliography	307
Inc	lex	320

#### Maps

1 Sind in the colonial period	page 33
2 The Shikarpuri network, c. 1900	58
3 The Sindworkie network, c. 1890–1940	112

## Tables

3.1	Trade of the Punjab with Kabul and Bukhara,	page 70
	<i>c</i> .1860–1890	
3.2	Population of Shikarpur and Sukkur 1891–1931	107
4.1	Destinations of applicants for certificates of identity in	127
	Hyderabad district 1915–1916	
4.2	Annual emigration of skilled labour registered in Karachi	129
	1928–1946	
4.3	Destinations of employees of six major firms in Hyderabad	131
4.4	The population of Hyderabad 1872–1941	136
4.5	Major Sindwork firms in the 1930s according to date of	140
	foundation	
5.1	Characteristics of partnerships in Hyderabad	162
6.1	The debt portfolio of Totomal wd Jeumal, Shikarpuri banke	r 189
	of Namangan	
6.2	Reexport of silk manufactures from India to selected	196
	destinations in 1893–1894 and 1913–1914	
6.3	The sales account of a Sindhi merchant in Port Said in	207
	1930–1931	
8.1	List of associations representing Sindhi merchants	258
9.1	The Sindhi worldwide diaspora	281

#### Acknowledgements

Many people contributed in many ways to this work. I owe particular thanks to the staff of the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library who dealt gracefully with my insatiable demand for documents. The Trustees of St Anthony's College, Oxford, helped considerably in awarding me a Deakin Fellowship in 1995–6 which allowed me to complete the research for this book. In Oxford, David Washbrook, Judith Brown and Nandini Gooptu, among others, contributed to the creation of an atmosphere propitious to intellectual inquiry. My colleagues of the Centre d'Etudes de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud in Paris did not bear me any grudge for deserting them for a while, and I thank them for it.

I am grateful to Chris Bayly and to Sanjay Subrahmanyam for the interest they showed in this project and for many pleasant moments.

Preliminary versions of some chapters of this book were presented at seminars and conferences at the University of Washington, Seattle, the Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta, the Centre for Indian Studies, St Antony's College, Oxford, the Commonwealth History Graduate Seminar at Oxford University, the Centre of South Asian Studies of the University of Cambridge, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, Edinburgh University, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris, London School of Economics. I wish to thank all conveners and participants for their patience and their useful comments.

Special thanks are due to those members of the Sindhi commercial community who were kind enough to share their knowledge and their time with a stranger, and more particularly to Mr L. Khiani of Gibraltar who received me with great kindness and generous hospitality. They will probably disagree with much of what is said in this book, but I want to assure them that the spirit of scientific enquiry alone inspired my research

I wish to thank Maurice Legrand and Françoise Pirot, of the Système d'Informations Spatiales, attached to the Centre d'Etudes de l'Inde et

х

#### Acknowledgements

xi

de l'Asie du Sud, for drawing two of the maps, in spite of a very busy schedule.

Piyali, Rahul and Eva bore the brunt of the disruption caused by this project to family life. For several years I did not give them all the attention they deserved. May the final result, to which Piyali contributed enormously by her careful editing of an earlier draft, be some compensation for the many hardships endured. I shall always regret that my father did not live long enough to see the completion of this work, which is dedicated to his memory.

#### Glossary

*ajrak* kind of quilt cover produced in Sind Aksakal elder (in Central Asia), head of Indian community in Russian Central Asia and Sinkiang *amban* petty Chinese official (in Sinkiang) Amils Hindus belonging to the superior segment of the Lohana caste in Sind, mostly employed in government service anna fraction of the rupee (1/16th)*badmash* bad character bajra indigenous millet, staple food of the lower classes in Sind bania generic term for Hindu traders belonging to the merchant castes bavangami group of fifty-four villages in Kathiawar, region of origin of Jain migrants to East Africa bawa Nanakpanthi priest *bhai* brother, fellow trader Bhaiband literally brotherhood, term used to designate the lower segment of the Lohana caste, by extension applies to Sindhi business firms Bhatia Hindu caste of Kutch, Kathiawar and Sind *bima* insurance *biradari* patrilineal kinship group Bohras community of Shia Ismaili Muslims, originating from Gujarat *chela* disciple of a Hindu holy man Chettiars Nattukottai Chettiars or Natukottai Nagarathars, caste of Tamilian Hindu bankers originating from Chettinad, strongly represented in Burma and Ceylon prior to 1948 Chulia community of Tamilian Muslims, active in trade in Southeast Asia *commenda* partnership contract of medieval Italy crore 10 million dalal broker devanagari Sanskrit script used in Sind by banias

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-62285-1 - The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947: Traders of Sind
from Bukhara to Panama
Claude Markovits
Frontmatter
More information

xiii Glossary dharamsala hostel for Hindu pilgrims, also used by travelling Hindu merchants *dhow* native craft in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean firman decree, proclamation Ghadr Party Revolutionary party fighting to overthrow British rule, mostly recruiting among Sikhs guberniia of Turkestan governorate-general of Turkestan, part of Central Asia under direct Russian administration gumastha a Persian term for an agent, factor or working partner gurdwara Sikh place of worship hari small cultivator, landless labourer in Sind hatvania small trader in Sind Hoofd der Indiers head of the Indians, local head of Indian community in Surabaya, in the Dutch East Indies hundi indigenous bill of exchange *izzat* honour, prestige *jagirdar* holder of a jagir, an assignment of state revenue derived from a specified area Jains followers of a religion founded by Mahavir kafila caravan kala pani 'black waters', the sea, which orthodox Hindus cross only at the peril of losing caste kangani supervisor or headman, organizer of migration of labourers to Ceylon, Burma and Malaya kansa metal work of Sind Kapol Banias Hindu trading caste of Gujarat kashani rupee monetary unit of pre-colonial Sind kashi painting work on flower vessels, a speciality of Sind Kayastha North Indian Hindu caste, whose members were employed as scribes in the Mughal administration kazi Muslim judge or magistrate Khalsa Sikh order, brotherhood founded by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699 Khatri Hindu caste of the Punjab, mostly engaged in trading Khojas community of Shia Muslims, divided into Ismaili and Itnaashari kopeck Russian copper coin kora rupee monetary unit of pre-colonial Sind kothi business firm kran Persian monetary unit lakh 100,000 Lohana principal Hindu caste of Sind, divided into Amils and Bhaibands

ambridge University Press	
78-0-521-62285-1 - The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947: Traders of	Sind
rom Bukhara to Panama	
laude Markovits	
'rontmatter	
Iore information	

xiv Glossary

*lungi* piece of clothing worn by men

- *Luwattiya* Arabic name given to Hyderabadi Khoja traders in Masqat *mamlo, mamlat* estate
- Marakkayar Muslim group from Tamilnadu, active in trade in Southeast Asia
- Marwari generic name for a cluster of Hindu and Jain castes originating from a part of Rajasthan. Marwaris constitute an important business community in India
- maund Indian measure of weight. The Surat maund was the most widespread
- *mazhar* Persian term for a public declaration, a kind of newsletter exchanged between merchants of different localities
- Mitaksara Code of Hindu law, applied in most of India (except Bengal)
- *mofussil* Anglo-Indian term for the areas outside the provincial capitals in British India
- mudaraba Arabic term for partnership contract
- muhajir Muslim refugee from India in Pakistan
- *mukthiyarkar* local government official in charge of revenue collection *munshi* Persian writer
- murid disiciple of a pir
- musharaka Arabic term for partnership contract
- Nanakpanthi follower of the Guru Nanak, non-Khalsa Sikh
- nukh fraction of caste or lineage
- oblast Russian administrative division
- panchayat Council of Five, corporate body of Hindu merchants or caste council
- Parsi Zoroastrian
- picul Chinese measure of weight (equivalent to  $133.\frac{1}{3}$ lb or 60.453 kg)
- pie fraction of an anna (1/12th)
- *pir* Muslim spiritual guide and religious preceptor, a sufi or descendant of a sufi saint
- pirzadeh descendant of pir
- pongee silk cloth woven from tussah silk
- purdah seclusion of women
- Pushkarna caste of Brahmins in Sind
- *riba* Arabic term for lending money with interest, a practice forbidden by the Koran and *sharia*
- *ryotwari* system of revenue collection prevalent in the Bombay Presidency under British rule, in which the cultivator pays rent directly to the state
- Sahajdari a Sikh who neither accepts baptism into the Khalsa nor observes its code of discipline

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-62285-1 - The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947: Traders of Sind
from Bukhara to Panama
Claude Markovits
Frontmatter
More information

Glossary

xv

sahukar big merchant, generally Hindu samadhi memorial, in particular of a Hindu holy man sarai (karavansarai) halting place for travellers, where merchants often resided Saraswat caste of Brahmins in Sind sarraf, shroff banker and money changer, generally Hindu Sayed Muslim holy man *shah* principal, capitalist partner in a business firm sharia Islamic law shuddi reconversion to Hinduism of those who have embraced other faiths, a practice encouraged by the Arya Samaj sumb monetary unit of Russian Central Asia tabut (taziah) symbolic bier of Imams Hasan and Husain, carried during the procession of Muharram tael Chinese silver currency unit, abolished in 1933 taluka British Indian administrative division, sub-district taotai Chinese official tenga monetary unit of the Emirate of Bukhara tikhana Nanakpanthi place of worship in Sind tilla Bukharan gold coin tussah silk, wild silk, produced from worms fed on oak leaves Udasi Fakir caste of non-Khalsa Sikhs wadero big landowner in Sind, always a Muslim, often of Baluchi ancestry wahdat-al-wujud Doctrine of the Unity of Being, a central tenet of sufism zamindar fiscal intermediary, landowner in Colonial Sind