

International Journal of Maritime Policy
Vol. 3, Issue 12, Summer 2023, pp.51-84
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22034/irlsmp.2023.316627.1091>
ISSN: 2717-4255

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean: An Analysis with a View to the Theories of Cultural Criminology

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Received: 24 March 2023

Accepted: 08 April 2023

Published: 26 June 2023

Abstract

Piracy or the use of violence by various types of ships or vessels to take the property of the passengers of other ships or vessels has been one of the important maritime threats from the past until today. During the Middle Ages until the 19th century, due to the flourishing sea trade, in the Indian Ocean, this phenomenon was widespread, but few scattered reports of it have remained. This research aims to explain the geographical and cultural relationship between the history and modern forms of piracy in the Indian Ocean, to provide a constructive analysis of the roots of piracy nowadays. Based on this, in this research, with a library method and a descriptive-analytical method, and by referring to the most important historical sources and research, scattered reports of piracy during the first to thirteenth centuries AH were analyzed. At the same time, by using analytical studies in the field of cultural criminology, an attempt has been made to analyze this phenomenon from the perspective of deterministic theories and subcultures. Thus, it has been shown that the geography and aspects of the piracy culture in the Indian Ocean are consistent with this phenomenon today. It has also been shown that the inclusive Iranian governments have played the most effective role in fighting this phenomenon; it has been suggested that in today's approach to the phenomenon of piracy, the cultural view of the social and political roots of this phenomenon should be taken into account, and in dealing with it, the fundamental methods of the cultural solution should be used too in confrontation with the phenomenon, together with legal and military actions. It has also been suggested that the Iranian government should play a trans-regional cultural effort to revive its historical role in controlling this phenomenon.

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The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

Keywords: Piracy, Maritime History, Cultural Criminology, Indian Ocean, Iran

1. Introduction

Violence and crime have long been a part of human cultural and social history; the economy also has a similar nature. For a long time, seaways have been considered attractive ways to transfer commercial goods. However, these ways have faced a threat called piracy. Even today, piracy, a threat to maritime trade, is conducted using modern methods and up-to-date tools and it is facilitated in some parts of international and coastal waters. Therefore, laws, conventions, and national and international forces are devised against it.

The current importance of piracy has led to numerous data-based regional, military, political, and legal studies. It seems that despite the mentioned efforts, the efforts made by governments and international legal authorities, and parallel political and media supports, the necessary theoretical and conceptual support has not been offered in the context of cultural approaches to identify the history and culture of piracy. This seems more necessary when it is noted that piracy has been mostly conducted in the international and coastal waters of the Indian Ocean and its neighboring bays and seas. Since these regions were the beds of important ancient civilizations and later on, they are considered cultural contexts in history. Scattered, diverse, and numerous historical reports that have remained from past centuries indicate sea and coastal violence and crime in these regions. Since an important part of current piracy takes place in the same geographical regions, it is revealed that this issue is of great importance. On the other hand, this issue is important because a significant part of this historically reported violence can be unveiled in a cultural context with the help of modern criminological theories. These theories take into consideration the nature of crime and its relationship with cultures and subcultures. Therefore, this study is important because it can be used to achieve a scientific understanding to analyze this type of violence or crime as a crisis and provide a solution for it. Based on this, the current research is trying to find a scientific answer to the following questions:



A. What relationship can be identified between historical reports and the current phenomenon of piracy in the Indian Ocean and the adjacent and connected waters?

B. How much can the phenomenon of piracy in the Indian Ocean be analyzed in the desired geography from the perspective of the theories of cultural criminology?

The main hypotheses of the present study are as follows:

1. A great deal of current piracy occurs in the historical geography of this phenomenon in regions such as the Gulf of Aden, Somalia, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the South China Sea, indicating the same cultural values. However, the scope of current piracy is more limited compared to the Middle Ages, which is apparently due to the political, economic, and social developments of different historical periods.

2. The phenomenon of piracy in the Middle Ages can be partly compared and explained using cultural criminological theories, especially in the field of deterministic theories and theories of subcultures, but the existing theories do not express all historical realities.

2. Conceptual framework

The current research has been formed in the framework of special concepts that need to be addressed briefly to advance the research, although these concepts, definitions, and examples will be analyzed subsequently in other parts of the research. The most basic concepts of this research are the following:

1.2. Geographical scope: The phenomenon of piracy has been studied in this research in the Indian Ocean including all coasts, seas, and gulfs which starting from the southern coasts of East Africa in the west and going into the east when containing the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, Persian Gulf, Gulf of Oman and in parallel include the eastern coasts beyond India, until the South China Sea (Le Strange, 1998).

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

2.2. Piracy: According to contemporary international conventions and laws, this phenomenon includes those "actions" or "measures" that are "violent" and "illegal" in nature (not subject to the laws of any country or international laws) and are carried out by the crew of a "private ship or vessel" (i.e. this ship or vessel does not belong to any government) who pursue some "personal goals" (i.e. their goals are not political, ideological or governmental and they mainly pursue personal economic interests) against the "property or people" of another "ship" or vessel" and it occurs in "international waters" (Beheshtizadeh, Y., Hemati, M. E., Azadbakht, F., 2022, 287-290); as it will be analyzed later, it seems that the definitions presented for piracy in different historical periods were different with the aforementioned definition.

3.2. Cultural criminology: Cultural criminology means the study of human daily life experiences to explain why and how some behaviors are considered criminal acts (Froutan, M. 2019, 405). Cultural criminology examines the role of cultural, political, and economic structures as well as the current influence of the media on the occurrence of crime and tries to understand and explain the relationship between culture and crime through a structuralist approach (RahimiNejad, I 2019, 77). According to legal definitions, "crime" is a human behavior for which there is a legal punishment; provided that the desired behavior is well defined in the law (Baudon, R. 1998, 32). Some types of crimes have never been officially defined, because they could not be defined in the historical period and social culture they emerged, or even they were a part of their own culture. However, they were regarded as crimes when the people of their society communicated with people from another society. For example, the tribes who engaged in piracy on the Indian coasts in the early centuries of the Middle Ages considered it a part of their culture. On the other hand, in the same historical period, there was no standard law or defined punishment for punishing these tribes. Therefore, there have always been behaviors that are comparable to current crimes but cannot easily be considered crimes. Even today, there are sometimes no specific internal or extraterritorial laws to define piracy and address it or the laws are weak and unclear; for instance, international confusion about how to deal with Somali pirates, some political-military approaches of powers like America that equate piracy with terrorism, or even the impossibility of dealing with these



crimes in Iran because piracy is not regarded a crime in Iranian domestic criminal law and Iran is forced to deliver the criminals to a third country (Hassanpour, M., Mirarab Razi, R., 2016, 37; Rahmanian, A. M., Taleb-Pour, M. Raijian-Asli, M. 2022, 1808).

On the other hand, cultural criminology is trying to adopt a scientific, descriptive, and theoretical approach to address the origins of a crime. Cultural criminology is adopting some macro approaches such as theories of predestination or subcultures, to facilitate the way of understanding a crime and addressing it through genealogy and the phenomenal understanding of crime. This scientific view, which is used in the present paper, is also applicable to the historical and cultural study of crime over different periods.

3. Literature review

Regarding the importance of piracy in the second half of the 20th century and also in recent years, many studies have been carried out on piracy in the present world; most of these investigations have been performed in the field of law and some have been done in the field of political science. These articles focused on the current piracy and mostly emphasized international conventions, political geography analysis, and maritime criminology. These studies mainly focused on high-risk areas of piracy, especially Indonesia, the Horn of Africa, Somalia, and the Gulf of Aden. Some examples are as follows:

1. "Review of international conventions and jurisdictions on piracy control in Indonesia" by Rahmanian et al. (2022);
2. "The geopolitical analysis of piracy in the Horn of Africa" by Yazdanpanah et al. (2016);
3. "Analyzing the legal doctrine on the necessity of equating modern piracy with terrorism (with emphasis on piracy off the coast of Somalia)" by Poorbafrani et al. (2017);
4. "Piracy as a threat to international peace; a case study of Somalia" by Beheshtizadeh et al. (2022);

5. "Piracy and terrorism in the South China Sea region: the threat of international security or regional opportunities" by Hashemi et al. (2020).

The articles that are carried out in the field of law and political science do not focus on the historical and cultural roots of piracy; at the same time, those studies that have investigated the history of piracy focused on piracy in the contemporary era and the contemporary political geography. Few historical investigations have not addressed this issue in a specific way. A book entitled "Muslim Seafaring in the Indian Ocean" by Mahmoud Taheri, which is based on seafaring investigation did not emphasize piracy and only made brief references to it. "Encyclopedia Islamica" volume 5 published by Leiden, Netherlands in English, addresses piracy under "kursan", but again puts too much emphasis on piracy in the Turkish and Mediterranean waters and only briefly refers to piracy in the Persian Gulf in the contemporary era. Moreover, the history of piracy has not been investigated in terms of criminology.

4. Thematic context of the discussion

1.4. Historical

Sailing and seafaring have been a common civilizational phenomenon used for transportation with various military, economic, and social purposes since ancient times. Big rivers and then waterways and oceans have been the place for this activity. Piracy during the Middle Ages the Indian Ocean and various waterways connected to it (Taheri, M., 2001, 393-394), the subject of this research are as follows:

1.1.4. Historical geography of the phenomenon

According to historical geographers, the Indian Ocean had almost the same geographical position as today. Historical geographers consider the branches connected to this ocean as the Persian Sea or the Persian Gulf (Ibn Faqih, A., 1995, 66-68; Yaqut, No Date, 1: 343; Ibn Hawqal, A., 1938, 1: 49; Masudi, A.A., 1988, 1: 125-126), Bahr al-Qulzum (current Red Sea) (Yaqut, No Date, 1: 344; Istakhari, I., 2004, 31-32) and Berber Gulf (current Gulf of Aden) (Masudi, A.A., 1988, 1: 122; Yaqut, No Date, 1: 21; Istakhari, I., 2004, 30). Muslims were sailing across the Indian Ocean and its waterways and bays, and these trade waterways were counted among the most prosperous trade routes in the world. The ships would load in Bandar



Siraf located in the Persian Gulf, store a sufficient amount of drinking water, and move towards the port of Muscat. Then again, they would take drinking water from a well in Muscat (Sirafi, S. 2013, 56-60) and continue their way to Indian ports; the first port, which was one month away from Muscat, was Kollam Mali in southwest India. Kollam Mali was considered one of the prosperous cities of Malaybar province¹ (Yaqut, No Date, 1: 236). It had large, rich, and prosperous markets populated by many Muslims (Ibn Battuta, S. M., 1997, 2: 214); Yemeni ships also used to come to Kollam Mali (Ibn Battuta, S. M., 1997, 2: 265). After loading more water in Kollam Mali port, the ships would go to Zabaj² (Yaqut, No Date, 4: 463); the waterway distance from Zabaj to China was one month (Sirafi, S. 2013, 107).

Along this waterway, the ships would go to the port of Tayyumah and then to a place called Kodarnaj. After that, the ships crossed the Sanji Sea or the current South China Sea (Sirafi, S. 2013, 161) until they reached China and entered the Chinese port, Kwangchow (Canton) (Sirafi, S. 2013, 56-60). Kwangchow was a large city in eastern China where trade goods were bought and sold (Hamadani, R. F., 2005, 438).

On the western waterway of the Indian Ocean, seafarers who wanted to go to the Red Sea would dock at the Port of Aden. In the Gulf of Aden, Socotra was an island crowded by many ships (Yaqut, No Date, 5: 51; Masudi, A.A., 1988, 1: 440). After this, the ships would go north through Bab al-Mandab Strait³ and after passing through anchorages such as Jeddah, Bandar Al-Nakhli (Jar),⁴ Yanbu, Zeila, and Aydhah, and after passing the Gulf of Aqaba and Iileh they would arrive at Qulzum where they unloaded commercial goods. On their way back from Qulzum to the

¹ A region in the center of India consisted of some cities such as Faknur and Manjrur; it is called Krala today.

² An island at the end of India on Chinese borders which was equivalent to current Indonesia.

³ A strait with a width of about 30 km located where the southeastern part of Saudi Arabia approaches northeastern Africa in the Southern Red Sea. This strait connects this sea to the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean.

⁴ A city on the right coast of the Red Sea near Medina (Yaqut, No Date, 3: 22).

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

south of the Red Sea, Muslim seafarers would stop in some African ports. The most important African stops were Mogadishu, Sofala, Zanzibar, and Madagascar or Qanbalu. These were the most important waterways for Muslim trading ships. The relationship between these routes and piracy was that parallel to these routes, there were pirates threatening ships; the reports presented in the next sections of this article show these threats.

2.1.4. Inhibiting factors

Apart from the punitive approaches adopted by the governments against pirates, which will be discussed in the next sections of this article, the constant threat of piracy made traders and seafarers adopt the simplest, but at the same time the most efficient solutions against these threats; the most basic solution was to recognize the pirates' offensive methods and to have defense forces in the ship to hold the pirates back or repel them.

The commonest piracy method was to use a light, long, rowing, and fast boat, called Sonbok in Farsi. Sonbok sailors would watch and observe the ships, then would ambush and attack in the dark. They would also spread over a wide area of the sea in large numbers and when they found a ship to attack, they would inform each other by lighting a fire. They would throw poisonous arrows at the passengers of the ships they had attacked (Masudi, A.A., 1988, 1: 174, 440; Marcopolo, 1984, 210-211, 218; Ibn Majid Al-Saadi, S. A., 1993, 396; Hamadani, R. F., 2005, 31; Yaqut, No Date, 7: 151; Biruni, A. A., 1982, 148).

A primary strategy that ships adopted to be safe from pirates was to identify their ambushes and avoid them (Hassan, H. 1992, 172). Another defense method was to board several guards and warriors (Maqdisi, A. M., 1990, 86; Ramhurmuzi, B. S., 2009, 114). Ibn Battuta describes a large type of ship called Jang in Farsi, which had a crew of one thousand and among them, four hundred men were warriors equipped with various weapons (Ibn Battuta, S. M., 1997, 2: 210-211). The minimum number of guards employed to keep a typical ship safe is reported to be fifty. Abyssinian warriors were the best to protect a ship (Ibn Battuta, S. M., 1997, 2: 196). In addition to the men of war, the ships were equipped with equipment called Naftandaz [oil thrower], and the person in charge of them was called Nafat, who threw fiery oil balls towards the pirates' boats



(Ramhurmuzi, B. S., 2009, 129-130; Maqdisi, A. M., 1990, 86). The pirates employed traditional methods before the beginning of the modernism era, while the new modern European-style ships were developing and becoming superior in terms of military equipment and navigation equipment. Therefore, it was not easy for pirates to beat them. For example, in 1030 AH/1620 AD, when the Spanish ambassador's ship was attacked by pirates on the west coast of India, it could outrun the pirates' rowing boats due to its wind navigation equipment. Moreover, its military equipment fired a suitable fire on the pirates (Figueroa, D. G. S., 1984, 425-427).

2.4. Today

Today, piracy is one of the most important threats to international security, along with terrorism. This phenomenon occurs in both international waters and coastal waters of countries. Considering the importance of maritime trade, the variety and volume of goods being traded, and their economic value, piracy is a serious and wide-scale threat, and pirates find piracy “lucrative” (YazdanPanah Daro, K., Hashemi, S. M., Karimi Pashaki, S. 2016, 584; Beheshtizadeh, Y., Hemati, M. E., and Azadbakht, F., 2022, 282). For example, in 2009, there were between 80 and 120 attacks on the Somali coast alone (Yazdan-Panah Daro, K., Hashemi, S. M., Karimi Pashaki, S. 2016, 584). On the other hand, international security agencies do not spare any effort to eradicate piracy. The most important point is that pirates make use of up-to-date and modern methods and tools of surveillance, pursuit, and attack, and sometimes it makes them more efficient and aggressive in their operations compared to governments and deterrent agents. In addition to modern tools, the nature of piracy has also changed compared to before. The Somali pirates take hostages of the ship's crew and ask for money to set them free in addition to stealing the belongings in the ships. Reports indicate that in 2009, they received about 65 million dollars to set the hostages free (YazdanPanah Daro, K., Hashemi, S. M., Karimi Pashaki, S. 2016, 584).

1.2.4. The geography of piracy

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

Today, various regions in the world suffer from this phenomenon, but it occurs seriously in some waterways and leads to major challenges. The Northern Hemisphere, Asian waters, the Indian Ocean, and the neighboring seas and bays connected to it are among the critical areas facing piracy. In general, the eastern coast of Africa, especially central Africa and Somalia, is the starting point of the western domain of piracy. Then this domain extends to the Arabian Sea, the Sea of Aden, and the Red Sea, reaches the Sea of Oman and the Persian Gulf, and practically bypasses the Arabian Peninsula. On the other hand, a hypothetical line is assumed parallel to the equator from the coast of Somalia to West Africa, passing through the center of Africa, reaching Nigeria at the most western point, whose coasts are also not safe from piracy. The extent of piracy is intense in the supposed central point of the coast of Somalia and the Gulf of Aden, while it decreases in both the eastern and western sides, i.e., the Persian Gulf and Nigeria. From the Oman Sea to the east, other places in the Indian Ocean and the western coast of India are victims of this phenomenon, but apparently with less intensity. Then the eastern coast of India, that is, Southeast Asia and the China Sea, the regions of Malaysia, Indonesia, the Strait of Malacca in western Indonesia and Singapore suffer from piracy more intensely (Hashemi, S. M., Naderi Chenar, Z. 2019, 87; YazdanPanah Daro, K., Hashemi, S. M., Karimi Pashaki, S. 2016, 580; Rahmanian, A. M., Taleb-Pour, M. Raijian-Asli, M. 2022, 1808).

2.2.4. Deterrent factors

From the second half of the 20th century and then in the 21st century, international laws against piracy have increased. The Geneva Quadrilateral Convention in 1958 and subsequently the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) were set in 1982. The UNCLOS is considered the most important document regarding piracy, and the Rome Annex Protocol (1988), also emphasizes deterrent pirate activities around the world, including in the above Asian-African regions. As piracy has increased in recent years and as Western superpowers that are significant maritime traders (especially the United States, the United Kingdom, Denmark, the European Union, Canada, and recently China) request, more than 20 international binding resolutions were issued by the United Nations Security Council in the seventh chapter of that organization's charter,



namely Resolution 1851 and Resolution 2125 issued in 2013 for controlling piracy (Beheshtizadeh, Y., Hemati, M. E., and Azadbakht, F., 2022, 289; Pourbafarani, H., Omid, A., Qolizadeh, B., 2016, 32). One of the discussions that has recently increased the sensitivity of piracy is the growing number of studies and world laws regarding this issue, in such a way that some views or policies tend to place piracy in the category of global threat known as "terrorism" due to the existence of some characteristics such as transnationality, psychological and mental threatening, material aspect, organization and growth in geographical areas where no law exists for piracy or the existing laws are not sufficient (Pourbafarani, H., Omid, A., Qolizadeh, B., 2016, 38-42). However, some researchers believe that this solution can be regarded as an excuse by extra-regional powers to develop their influence (Hashemi, S. M., Naderi Chenar, and Z. 2019, 87).

In international resolutions and conventions, this issue has been addressed attentively. In these documents, piracy is described as a transnational phenomenon with various aspects and examples, which shows the ambiguity in the origin of this concept. On the other hand, extra rights are rewarded to the states as well as national and transnational military forces to control it, while the nationality of the deterrent forces or victims or even the territory of the crime is not taken into consideration. The pirates can be considered guilty in any land and it is allowed to hear their crime in any country, even a third country (Rahmanian, A. M., Taleb-Pour, M. Rajjani-Asli, M. 2022, 1808). This indifference to the origin and identity of pirates or their political and economic motives has provoked some states as some researchers have criticized the military policies of the United States government regarding forcible intervention in piracy to the extent that they have considered it more as a dramatic act in line with imposing more dependency on the USA on vulnerable states (Yazdan-Panah Daro, K., Hashemi, S. M., Karimi Pashaki, S. 2016, 577). Some states, such as Kenya and Tanzania, have also expressed the desire to hold trials of the criminals of piracy in their territory as a third country. Also, despite the high-level existing documents against piracy, some researchers do not believe that the

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

punishments are deterrent enough considering the extent of the violence of some pirates (Rahmanian, A. M., Taleb-Pour, M. Raijian-Asli, M. 2022, 1808).

5. History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Some references, both historical and geographical, and some related studies, have sporadically and casually referred to the occurrence of piracy or similar actions in Indian Ocean during different historical periods which are listed in the following table:

Row	Geography of occurrence	Time of occurrence (AH)	Quality	Reference	Current location/country/sea
1	Ardashir-Khwarrah	326 (AD)	Coastal attacks by Arab pirate tribes were subsequently punished by Shapur II, a Sassanid King	Tabari, M. 1967, 2: 55.	The northern coast of the Persian Gulf
2	Deval	Under Caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (c. 65-86 AH) and the punishment of thieves in 92 AH	The female slaves and goods purchased by Caliph Abd al-Malik from India were looted in the port of Deval, and subsequently, the caliph's successor Walid ibn Abd al-Malik sent an army to Sindh in retaliation to punish the thieves.	Bakri, M. M. 2013, 6-8.	This port was located in Mokran County at the mouth of the Indus/Pakistan
3	Kaskar and Al-Butayha	Under Umayyad Dynasty	Jat immigrants were pirating on rivers in the southern Kaskar and Al-Butayha	Balazuri, Y. 1988, 364.	A furnace in Iraq near the city of Wasit was built between Kufa and Basra/Iraq
4(a)	Port of Canton (Guangzhou)	141 AH	Destruction due to the naval attack of the Arabs and the Persians	Hassan, H. 1992, 160; Hourani, G. Fa. 1959, 84.	Port of Canton, China



Row	Geography of occurrence	Time of occurrence (AH)	Quality	Reference	Current location/country/sea
4(b)		Third century	It had a military garrison to defend merchants and ships against pirates	Sirafi, S. 2013, 56-60; Ibn Faqih, A., 1995, 66-68.	
5(a)	Basra	From the reign of Mamun Abbasi to 220 AH	Zat attacks repeatedly cut off the water-river trade way between Baghdad and Basra.	Balazuri, Y. 1988, 364-365; Ibn Athir, A. 1965, 6: 443-444; Mujmal al-Tawarikh wa al-Qisas, No Date, 356-357; Tabari, M. 1967, 8: 580-581, 9: 8-9.	A city located in the northernmost parts of the mouth of the Persian Gulf, in the southeast of Iraq, close to the Iran/Iraq border
5(b)		Early third century	The piracy of Mead and Kerk tribes	Hourani, G. Fa. 1959, 95.	
5(c)		Late 12 th century	The escape of Mir Mohanna, the leader of the Persian Gulf pirates, to Basra and his arrest and execution by the Ottoman governor.	Rasaei, F. 1971, 302-303.	
6	Al-Yamama	Early third century	Zat's piracy spot	Tabari, M. 1967, 8: 580-581.	The ancient region of Al-Yamama in the east of Najd and the southern coast of the Persian Gulf/Saudi Arabia
7	Bahrain	Early third century	Zat's piracy spot. Zats were frequently followed by the Abbasid navy	Tabari, M. 1967, 8: 580-581; Ibn Athir, A. 1965, 2: 243-244.	Bahrain/the Persian Gulf
8	Somanath	Third century	The valuable territory of Mead	Balazuri, Y. 1988, 423; Biruni, A. A.,	A region near the sea in the east of

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

Row	Geography of occurrence	Time of occurrence (AH)	Quality	Reference	Current location/country/sea
			Tribe	1982, 193.	Somanath/India
9	The Strait of Malacca	Third century	It had defense equipment of iron chains in the sea to resist pirate attacks	Hassan, H. 1992, 171.	A strait in the Andaman Sea near Malaysia/Indian Ocean
10	Kollam Mali	Third century	It had a military garrison to defend merchants and ships against pirates	Sirafi, S. 2013, 57.	in the southwest of India and one of the prosperous cities of Malaybar Province/Indian Ocean
11	Dwarka and Somnath	Third century	It was attacked by Zat and Georgian pirates.	Maqdisi, A. M., 1990, 86; Sirafi, S. 2013, 31-32; Hassan, H. 1992, 170-172.	Dwarka or Gujarat/Indian Ocean/India
12	Nodha	Third century onwards	Zat Tribe's region of settlement and piracy	Alemzadeh, H., Yazidi, H., 2014, 102-103; Ibn Hawqal, A., 1938, 2: 252.	The vast area which separates Mokran, Multan, Lohaneh, the western banks of the Indus River, the coasts of the Indian Ocean, and the Oman Sea/probably India-Pakistan-Iran
13		Third century onwards	Zat Tribe's region of settlement and piracy	Habibi, A., 2018, 222.	Hyderabad/Indian Ocean/India
14	Bahr al-Qulzum	Third century onwards	It had a lookout to protect ships from pirates.	Masudi, A.A., 1988, 1: 440; Yaqut, No Date, 7: 151; Rawandi, M., 2013, 5: 96.	The red Sea
15	Zanzibar	Third century onwards	It was the spot where the immigrant or invading Zats were pirating India and Baluchistan	Alemzadeh, H., Yazidi, H., 2014, 102-103; Taheri, M., 2001, 393-394.	Zanzibar/a semi-autonomous region and city in Tanzania/Indian Ocean
16	Abbadan	Fourth century	A garrison where jihadi fighters	Istakhri, I.,	Almost equal to the current Abadan/Persian



Row	Geography of occurrence	Time of occurrence (AH)	Quality	Reference	Current location/country/sea
	Garrison		who fought against pirates would stay.	2004, 31.	Gulf/Iran
17	Kalah (Kalabar)	317	The report presented by Captain Esmaeilouyeh regarding the large number of pirate ships on the waterway from Kalabar to Oman	Yaqut, No Date, 7: 151.	A small port half seaway from Oman to China, which was considered a part of India. This port is different from the port of Calabar, Nigeria/Indian Ocean/India. Apparently, its name is derived from the two Persian words 'kala' and 'bar', which mean 'commercial goods' and 'transported cargo', respectively.
18	Kutch	Fourth century	The piracy territory of Mead and Kerk tribes	Hourani, G. Fa. 1959, 95.	The Gulf of Kutch is a gulf in western India near the Gulf of Khambhat/Indian Ocean/India
19	Kathiawar	Fourth century	The piracy territory of Mead and Kerk tribes	Hourani, G. Fa. 1959, 95.	Kathiawar is a peninsula located on the western coast of India in the Gulf of Khambhat/Indian Ocean/India
20	Aghbab Sea in Sarandib	Fourth century	Locals reported piracy.	Ramhurmuzi, B. S., 2009, 114-115.	Indian Ocean/Seri Lanka
21(a)	Gujarat	Fourth century	The King of Gujarat supported piracy.	Sirafi, S. 2013, 65.	A state in western India/Indian Ocean
21(b)		Seventh century	The pirates who suspected that the captivated merchants had swallowed the pearls and gem stones forced them to eat tamarind and salt	Marcopolo, 1984, 212.	

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

Row	Geography of occurrence	Time of occurrence (AH)	Quality	Reference	Current location/country/sea
			water to vomit them.		
22	Indian coasts	418 AH	4000 pirate boats were crushed by Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi's fleet of 1400 ships	Gardizi, A. S., 1984, 414-415.	
23	Socotra Island	Seventh century	It had a lookout to protect ships from pirates.	Marcopolo, 1984, 218.	Socotra archipelago is located in the mouth of the Gulf of Aden between Asia and Africa/Indian Ocean/Yemen
24	The waterway from Gujarat to Malaybar	Seventh century	The pirates would extensively patrol a wide area of the sea; and would signal each other using fire; these tribes used to live on boats with their wives and children	Marcopolo, 1984, 210-211.	Indian Ocean
25	The waterway from Kollam Mali to Yemen	Eighth century	Pirates were remarkably active in this area.	Ibn Battuta, S. M., 1997, 2: 214.	The Indian Ocean
26	Ceylon	Eighth century	Iri Shokruti, the king of the port of Ceylon, took part in piracy using numerous ships	Ibn Battuta, S. M., 1997, 2: 247-248 'Yaqt, No Date, 5: 105.	The Indian Ocean/Seri Lanka
27	Bandar Feten	Eighth century	It had defense equipment in the form of a large wooden dome to shelter ships during anchoring and the guards would shoot the pirates from above in case of piracy attacks.	Ibn Battuta, S. M., 1997, 2: 261-262.	(An unknown) port in the Indian Ocean or the South China Sea



Row	Geography of occurrence	Time of occurrence (AH)	Quality	Reference	Current location/country/sea
28	Faknur	Eighth century	The king of Faknur Port had a reputation for taking ransom from ships or, in case of disobedience, looting them.	Ibn Battuta, S. M., 1997, 2: 205, 265; Yaqut, No Date, 8: 318.	A region in the center of India is a part of the current Krala (old Malaybar)/Indian Ocean.
29	Thane	Ninth century	The king of Thane would cooperate with pirates by buying stolen goods.	Ibn Majid Al-Saadi, S. A., 1993, 231; Marcopolo, 1984, 210-211.	Thane is a city located in the northeast of Mumbai in Maharashtra State/Indian Ocean/India.
30	Goa Port	1030 AH/1620 AD	The Spanish ambassador was attacked by eleven ships belonging to the pirates from Malabar/Malaybar .	Figueroa, D. G. S., 1984, 425-427.	The western coasts of India were also called Gowa/Indian Ocean.
31	Kushen or Kujin	Eleventh century	Shafi'i Muslim pirates would specially interpret religion and consider piracy legal accordingly.	Ibrahim, M. R. M., 1977, 166.	A port in Malaybar located in the north of the Indian Krala State/Indian Ocean.
32	The Persian Gulf	Reign of Shah Abbas I (early 11th century)	The Iranian government thoroughly captured the northern and southern coasts of the Strait of Hormuz to control this waterway and ensure its security.	Iskander Beg Turkman, 2003, 2: 615-616.	The Persian Gulf

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

Row	Geography of occurrence	Time of occurrence (AH)	Quality	Reference	Current location/country/sea
		Reign of Shah Suleiman Safavid (1105-1077 AH/1666-1694 AD)	The Iranian government made attempts to force England to patrol the sea and to get the help of the French against the piracy of the Muscatites led by Sultan Bin Saif and also half-blooded native-Portuguese pirates of the Persian Gulf.	Chardin, J., 1993, 2: 668-670; Bell Grave, S. C., 2013, 39-40.	
		The reign of Shah Sultan Hossein Safavid (1105-1135 AH/1694-1722 AD)	The Iranian government made efforts to get the support of the governments of Holland, Portugal, England, and France, as well as the Beylerbey of Fars against the piracy of Muscatites under the leadership of Saif bin Sultan.	Lockhart, L., 2013, 43, 381-382, 390, 394, 395; Kelly, J.B., 1995, 5: 507. Rawandi, M., 2013, 5: 766, 7: 590.	
33	Oman	Twelfth century	Some military campaigns were performed by Nader Shah's forces to ensure the security of the sea and eradicate the pirates.	Rasaei, F. 1971, 265.	Sea of Oman/Oman
34	Basaidu	Twelfth century	It was attacked by foreign pirates.	Rasaei, F. 1971, 267; Kasrawi, A., 2014, 413-416.	Qeshm Island/Iran/Persian Gulf
35	Bandar-e Rig	Late twelfth	It was the territory of a local ruler	Niebor, K. 1975, 39-40; Malcolm,	A region in Ganaveh in Bushehr



Row	Geography of occurrence	Time of occurrence (AH)	Quality	Reference	Current location/country/sea
		century	called Mir Mohanna.	S. J., 2013, 2: 528-529 'Rasaei, F. 1971, 301.	Province/Iran/Persian Gulf
36	Hafar Castle	Late twelfth century	The headquarters of Soleiman, the head of the Kaab tribe, was jointly destroyed by the Zand and Ottoman forces.	Mousavi Esfahani, M. S., 1984, 126-128; Etimad al-Doulah, M. H. K., 1988, 2: 1166-1167; Hosseini Fasaei, M. H., 2003, 1: 607-608; Malcolm, S. J., 2013, 2: 529-530.	In the southern areas of Karun and Shatt Al Arab/Iran/Iraq
37	Sharjah	Late twelfth century	It was the headquarters of Al Qasimi and Al Jasimi tribes.	Toloui, M. 1987, 95-97.	Sharjah/United Arab Emirates/Persian Gulf
38(a)	Julfar	Twelfth century	Some military campaigns were performed by Nader Shah's forces to ensure the security of the sea and eradicate the pirates.	Rasaei, F. 1971, 267; Kasrawi, A., 2014, 413-416.	Ras Al Khaimah/Persian Gulf/United Arab Emirates
38(b)		Late twelfth century and early thirteenth century	It was the headquarters of the pirates of the Al Qasimi and Al Jasimi tribes.	Toloui, M., 1987, 95-97	
38(c)		1224 AH/1809 AD	The artillery of the British Navy attacked the headquarters of the pirates of Al Jasimi.	Kelly, J.B., 1995, 5: 508; C.F.Beckingham, "Bahr Faris", (Encyclopaedia of Islam), I: 928.	
39	Bandar-e	1224 AH/1809	The artillery of the British Navy	Kelly, J.B., 1995, 5: 508;	On the northern coasts of the Persian Gulf in

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean
Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

Row	Geography of occurrence	Time of occurrence (AH)	Quality	Reference	Current location/country/sea
	Lengeh	AD	attacked the headquarters of the pirates of Al Jasimi.	C.F.Beckingham , “Bahr Faris”, (Encyclopaedia of Islam), I: 928.	Hormozgan Province/Iran
40	Dammam	The second half of the thirteenth century	The base of the last important figure of piracy in the Persian Gulf, Rahmat-Ben-Jaber, the headquarters of Rahmat Bin Jaber, the last significant pirate in the Persian Gulf, who was the head of Al Jalahameh Clan from the Atub Tribe. He was disempowered by Britain based on a political initiative that recognized the local authority of the sheiks and prevented them from naval attacks.	Alibassam, A. 1998, 9: 1-7-108; Kelly, J.B., 1995, 5: 508	A port in the east of Saudi Arabia/Saudi Arabia/Persian Gulf
41	Sohar	1154 AH/1742	A military campaign was started by Nader Shah's forces to suppress the pirates.	Rasaei, F. 1971, 265.	A city in the north of Muscat/Oman/Persian Gulf

6. Report analysis

1.6. Predestination theories

An important part of the theories of cultural criminology is understood under the topics related to predestination. One of the important pillars of the predestination theory in criminology is the element of geography. Based on this, geographically influential components can be the incentives



of a crime, and people are influenced by these different components and inevitably follow geography while committing a crime. Although relying on geography as the origin of a crime and trying to understand the ecological map of a crime is a very simple form, it is the basis of the theory of predestination (FROUTAN, M. 2019, 406). This theory was later developed by Gabriel Tard and David Emile Durkheim as the theory of relative compulsion or repetition compulsion. They followed the relative compulsion or the repetition compulsion not only in geography but in the society settled in a geographical region. Thus, Tard believed in the concept of imitation (consciously learning the goals and methods of crime) or the socialization of crime from one generation to the next. In his theories, Durkheim believed that the repetition of crimes is caused by the reduction of the social stigma of the crime and the lack of punishments. He divided societies into two organic (modern) and mechanical (traditional) models based on the nature of occupation in them (FROUTAN, M. 2019, 410). Overall, a look at the above table from the perspective of predestination theories brings this analysis into mind:

1. 1.6. The abovementioned reports can be categorized as follows based on seven geographical regions and the frequency of occurrence: The Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, rivers in the southern Mediterranean and Khuzestan, South China Sea, Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, and Sea of Oman.

2. 1.6. The continuation of piracy in some special geographical regions for many centuries shows that these regions were related to the ecology of this type of crime; at least some regions such as the Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean, China Sea, and river zones in the south of Mesopotamia and Khuzestan have been the territory of pirates for many centuries, during Middle Ages until the modern era, so the relationship between geography and crime can be proved by these cases.

3.1.6. Almost all seven geographical regions that are historically reported as the most dangerous places in terms of piracy are still dangerous in this regard. However, some differences can be mentioned: no piracy has been reported in the river zones of southern Mesopotamia and Khuzestan (current Iraq and Iran) since the 13th century AH, the extent of piracy has

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

decreased in the Persian Gulf, Sea of Oman, and eastern parts of the Indian Ocean. However, piracy has become more frequent today in the two eastern points of the Indian Ocean and the China Sea, i.e., around Indonesia and Singapore, as well as the western point of the Indian Ocean on the coasts of Somalia, Bab al-Mandeb, and the Gulf of Aden. This is even though in the past, fewer cases of piracy in these areas were reported (e.g., Socotra Island in the Gulf of Aden, row 22, Table 1).

4.1.6. Undoubtedly, the societies existing in one geographical region taken into consideration in the views of Tard and Durkheim, have played a role in the socialization of crime during many pre-modern centuries resulting in the long continuation of this crime over the past centuries. Row 23 in the table points out that the pirates used to live on their boats with their families; this refers to the socialization of crime, because the family is the most important pillar of socialization. Rows 11, 21(a), and 23 also show the continuity of crime during the 3rd to 7th centuries in Gujarat indicating a similar issue. At the same time, the reduction of this crime in some current regions can have various factors. For example, it can indicate the discontinuation of socialization models in traditional crime-ridden societies during the transition from tradition to modernism and the change of the styles and patterns of life and its socialization.

5.1.6. According to Durkheim's model which divides societies into traditional and modern, it is clear that during Middle Ages, piracy has occurred in completely traditional societies; in these societies, piracy has been considered an occupation to meet the needs. That is, basically, in these societies, piracy was not considered a shame, and different classes of these societies depended on this type of occupation to live on. Rows 21(a), 25, 27, and 28, which refer to the cooperation of local rulers with the pirates indicate that these societies, which were probably non-Muslim communities of Indians in regions such as Gujarat, Ceylon, Faknur, and Thane, the life of a part of the society that engaged in piracy used to affect the economic life of the whole society; this can show a model of traditional societies with a specific lifestyle and economy.



2.6. Subculture theories

In cultural criminology, a significant part of crime bases is found in subcultures. Subcultures are in turn a part of a larger culture, but due to various reasons, the society and the main cultural context are in conflict and different in terms of some values (Ferrell, J., Hayward, K., Young, J., 2008; Ferrell, J., 1999, 395-397). In the above discussions, a community is considered a traditional society with a primitive method of division of labor based on Durkheim's definition of a traditional society and piracy is regarded as a productive trait in this community because of the economic model of the sub-community of some regions such as Gujarat, Ceylon, Faknur, or Thane. But what is challenging here is the functional contradiction of tradition concerning crime, which means that apparently, tradition is a factor leading to the continuation and socialization of crime in a society like Gujarati or Ceylon. On the contrary, according to some criminologists such as Robert K. Merton, tradition means following religion and rituals, and it prevents or reduces the amount of crime. This contradiction can be resolved when we accept that the Gujarati or Ceylon pirates also had their religion and rituals, but this tradition (their religion and rituals) contributed to their piracy and its socialization and continuation. Therefore, it seems that the tradition of each society must be defined based on its culture to explain the exact relationship between tradition and crime. This means that an action can be regarded as a crime in one culture and a value in another culture. That is why culture and subculture should be fully perceived to understand crime. Cultural criminologists believe that culture embraces both a goal and a means. This means that in a society, goals are considered values based on the needs and level of the needs of the society, and the means to reach them are also defined. Now, in a society whose people are unable to meet their basic needs, including food, clothing, and shelter based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Atafar, A., Namdar Joyimi, E., 2014, 198), piracy can be defined as a tool to satisfy these needs. Here, the concepts of "culture as crime" or "crime as culture" can be distinguished (Rahimi-Nejad, I. 2019, 77). These concepts play an important role in realizing the relationship between

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

culture and crime and should be examined in the context of any society or, in better words, any sub-society (Ferrell, J., 1999, 403). Based on this general context, some more detailed analyses can be presented:

1.2.6. The theory of subcultures in criminology can be generalized to recognize some societies engaged in piracy. Subculture is a set of insights, values, and behavioral methods of a small group that manifests a crime (Rahimi-Nejad, I. 2019, 78-80). Based on this, not only non-Muslim Gujarati or Ceylon pirates were interested in piracy, but also despite the main Islamic teachings of avoiding crime and respecting the rights of others, some Muslim subcultures were engaged in piracy. For example, a clan in Malaybar were the Shafi'i Muslims believed in certain Islamic and Quranic interpretations, and regarded piracy as lawful based on the verse "Lawful to you is water game and its use for food(Surah Al-Ma'idah, Verse 96.)" or they believed that the properties of non-Muslim ships belong to them based on the verse, "The believers are but brothers(Surah Al-Hujurat, Verse 10)" and after they forced the Muslim owner to confess his satisfaction, they left him with a little food to survive (Ibrahim, M. R. M., 1977, 221). Wahhabism also had a similar view about piracy, so some tribes like Al Jasimi had converted to this religion. Wahhabism considers it lawful to take ownership of the properties, capture, and even sell non-Wahhabi Muslims (Bell Grave, S. C., 2013, 53-56; Curzon, G. N., 2001, 2: 537). This behavior which can be defined under the theory of subcultures is comparable to Morten's "strain theory". Morten believed that some subcultures accept the goal and means, but they are forced to create new goals and means that will be an example of crime because they do not possess the real goals and means (Froutan, M. 2019, 414).

On the other hand, this behavior can be interpreted in the framework of David Matza's neutralization theory. This theory states that "to understand the crime, one must understand the reality of the criminal's life and experience, and the criminal's behavior should not be subject to a value judgment, but the crime must be explained in the context of the culture of the criminal's life" (Froutan, M. 2019, 433). This behavior can also be compared with the modern concept of "organizational criminal culture", that is a normative or behavioral system based on a specific ideology in which committing a crime is justified (Rahimi-Nejad, I. 2019, 81). This is



also true for Gujarati and Ceylon communities as well as other native pirate communities. In other words, just as the norms of the material culture, it harms nature and is one of the factors of destruction in the green cultural criminology system, but the media system is destigmatizing it (Rahimi-Nejad, I. 2019, 83); these native communities were also engaged in destigmatizing piracy using some traditional elements.

2.2.6. In the theory of subcultures, immigration is one of the reasons for the occurrence of crime in people (Froutan, M. 2019, 417), because it separates them from the traditional context of their society and makes them prone to abnormal behavior. This viewpoint towards immigration is modern and on the other hand, it is consistent with Durkheim's view of the relationship between tradition and crime. That is, it considers tradition to be a crime deterrent. As mentioned, this approach to piracy cannot be adopted in traditional Asian societies like Gujaratis. However, it should be noted that immigration has always had a deep relationship with piracy because most of these pirates were engaged in stealing far away from their homelands. The most obvious example was the Zats immigrants from the Indus Valley and the Indian Peninsula, who regularly engaged in piracy in regions such as southern Iraq, the Persian Gulf, and Zanzibar (rows 3, 5(a), 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, and 15 of Table 1).

3.2.6. Part of the theory of subcultures is based on the occurrence of crime in marginal regions. Marginalization equals enjoying the civilization, welfare, and wealth of the city to a lesser extent. The main problems of marginalization are social disorganization and lack of well-being. Generally, the immigrants and the underprivileged are habitants of margins (Froutan, M. 2019, 420). This can be the case with important parts of historical reports, including the case of Zats of southern Mesopotamia and Khuzestan and the Persian Gulf. Also, this theory suits racial and quasi-marginal groups, such as the half-blooded Iranian-Portuguese pirates of the Persian Gulf, who were a true example of people who were born as a result of the sexual abuse of vulnerable natives by the Portuguese during the Safavids era when the Portuguese dominated the Persian Gulf. These half-blooded people suffered from a kind of social abandonment or oblivion on

the part of their fathers (who were Portuguese soldiers) and their mothers (who were damaged women who were no longer accepted by their community). These half-blooded people were marginalized and turned to piracy to meet their basic needs (Bell Grave, S. C., 2013, 39-40).

3.6. Relationship with the power institution

To accurately identify a crime in the context of its society, it is necessary to pay attention to the relationship between the crime and the institution of power in that society, because in many cases, the social identification of the crime is a product of its political identification. In other words, it is the institution of power that can play an effective role in directing the social identification of crime (Ferrell, J., 1999, 409-410). Naturally, an important part of the effective role of the institution of power in the identification structure of crime is based on the nature and patterns of the relationships between this institution and crime. The institution of power or politics has always been present in piracy reports; this presence can be divided into several categories:

1.3.6. Local governments of the regions of the west coast of India such as Gujarat, Ceylon, and Thane (rows 21 (a), 25, 27, and 28 in Table I) supported piracy. When the power of the central government of Iran was deteriorating, some local rulers such as Mir Mohanna in Bandar-e Rig and Soleyman Kaabi in Hafar Castle (rows 33 and 34 in Table 1) were directly engaging in piracy.

2.3.6. Transregional governments have played the most important role in punishing the pirates, and the most important ones have been Iranian governments or Islamic governments who were ruling Iran, such as the Abbasid Caliphate. Rows 1, 2, 5(c), 7, 30, 31, 34, 36(a), 36(c), 37, 38, and 39 in Table 1 present some examples: the punitive attacks of the Sassanid Empire against the invading Arabs, the contribution of the Abbasid Caliphate, the regional measures of the Safavids, Afshars and Zands against pirates although it was difficult to get help from the European navy; all these examples show that the Iranian governments or the governments who were ruling Iran have paid the most attention to maintaining the security of the western waterways of Indian Ocean.



3.3.6. The disappearance of piracy or, in better words, river piracy in the river zones of southern Iraq and Khuzestan in the contemporary era is most likely due to the emergence of modern governments and borders in Iran and Iraq. Naturally, these governments hire the police to suppress cases of river piracy.

4.3.6. Some very rare reports from the Islamic era indicate the different approaches of the Islamic governments towards piracy. Before the Islamic rulers were able to conquer the Sassanid Empire and form a trans-regional caliphate, some of their attacks were similar to piracy. The same rulers appeared as the deterrents to piracy after they became a trans-regional Islamic caliphate instead of the Islamic caliphate (row 2 in Table 1). Some examples of their attacks that resembled piracy are: the attacks of Uthman Thaqafi, the governor of Bahrain, from Oman to the coasts of the Sea of Oman and the attack of Hakam, his brother, to Deval in the same region, in the fifteenth year of Hijri. Also, the attack of Alaa bin Hazrami, the successor of Uthman in Bahrain, in the 17th year of Hijrah, as well as the attack of Al-Ala al-Hadhrami, the deputy of Othman in Bahrain, to the shores of Istakhr in the north of the Persian Gulf in the seventh year of Hijrah (Balazuri, Y. 1988, 416).

5.3.6. Reports of fortifications or defensive or offensive equipment used against pirates, which could only be provided by governments (rows 4(b), 9, 10, 14, 16, 22, 26, and 29).

6.3.6. Modern deterrent and punitive factors in the form of government laws, international resolutions of the Security Council and other international institutions, and modern military-naval operations against pirates by countries, governments, and various international organizations and institutions that are taking place today.

7.3.6. The critical conditions that exist because government and power are absent in some countries like Somalia or because the legal systems of some states are unable to prevent piracy in today's world (Rahmanian, A. M., Taleb-Pour, M. Raijian-Asli, M. 2022, 1808; Foroghina, H., 2019, 37; Mohammadi, M., 2016, 451-453).

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

The following can be presented by analyzing different models of the relationship between piracy and the institution of power:

A. Just as piracy gets a high level of support from certain subcultures, it also has more room for growth in small institutions of power or disintegrated institutions of power;

B. Contrary to small institutions of power, huge and extra-regional institutions of power have always been the most important threat to piracy, or at least pretended that they are not willing to accept it due to various motives, mainly economic, that is maintaining the economic cycle in the macro-geographical scale. They have practiced the most important elements of punishment against piracy throughout history.

7. Conclusion

This research was conducted to provide a valid scientific answer to questions about the nature of the relationship between historical reports and modern piracy in Indian Ocean and how to analyze these historical reports from the perspective of cultural criminology. Knowing that there are various aspects in the analysis of multifaceted social and cultural phenomena, the questions were answered based on the following assumptions: 1. a significant part of current piracy is compatible with the historical geography of this phenomenon in Indian Ocean, which can indicate the continuation and contribution of common cultural patterns; 2. the historical aspect of this phenomenon in Indian Ocean can be compared and explained using a part of criminological theories, especially predestination theories and theories of subcultures. To reach the final answer to the questions and scientifically assess the assumptions, this research was divided into six sections, and the following achievements were obtained from each section:

1. Presenting a general picture of the research problem by emphasizing the importance of piracy;
2. Presenting a conceptual framework for this research, including cultural criminology;



3. Reviewing the related literature, including studies on contemporary piracy, reviewing the historical studies on this issue, and emphasizing the richness of the first and the insignificance of the second field;

4. Presenting a detailed picture of this topic (i.e., piracy) in both historical and modern fields by geographical regions and the deterrent factors, looking at the amount and type of concern that this phenomenon has caused in the historical period and modern world for human societies;

5. Examining the most important reports on piracy during Middle Ages and modern centuries after Middle Ages, mentioning in detail the years and geography and referring briefly to the subject of the report;

6. Analyzing the reports in the table of section 5 from the three perspectives of predestination theories, theories of subcultures, and the relationship between piracy and the institution of power. In total, the historical period of this phenomenon was analyzed based on the theories of cultural criminology. Now, the following points can be summarized and extracted as a conclusion:

a. The present study showed that the current geography of piracy in Asian waters is consistent with important parts of the historical geography of this phenomenon in Indian Ocean. This further strengthened the ties of this fact with predestination theories in terms of environmental geography. At the same time, it showed that local subcultures and the political situation of historical periods affected this phenomenon, and this is an issue that can be observed even today in other ways;

b. During different historical periods, the cultural world of Iran has played an important role in the quality of seafaring in Indian Ocean due to the contribution of Iranian seafarers who departed from the Persian Gulf towards both the eastern and western destinations of the Indian Ocean and also due to the political reign of the Iranian governments whose level of authority has always been directly related to the level of seaway security of these regions.

The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

c. During different historical periods, piracy has been regarded as a type of crime, threat, violence, and use of force to gain economic benefits, but at the same time, it has had a direct relationship with the culture and societies of the pirates and the type of the political power of their society. This is also true today. Therefore, today, along with taking political, legal, military, and security measures to deal with this phenomenon, it is necessary to investigate the origins of the pirates in terms of culture and sociology. If the cultural-social aspects of this phenomenon are identified, policymakers in governments and international institutions can culturally eradicate this crime by presenting some solutions to reform culture and society (i.e., by creating collective awareness), reforming cognitive foundations, promoting comprehensive moral and/or religious principles, and presenting new definitions and patterns of beneficial and positive collective works that can replace crime in the communities of the perpetrators. It seems that part of the budget should be allocated to cultural investments to eradicate this crime and present solutions to deal with it.

d. Regarding the previous paragraph, it is suggested that independent studies address the quantitative and qualitative identification of current pirate-ridden cultural sub-communities based on the statistics provided by reliable institutions. Then, it is recommended to present some operational models based on concepts such as reform and social innovations by recognizing international organizations and institutions that have sufficient authority to reform societies involved in piracy. This process can be performed efficiently when the history of this phenomenon is perceived through different references including this study.

e. Another research recommendation can be made considering the cultural contribution of the Iranian world and its political institution, i.e. the Iranian governments during different periods to the safety of waterways and the cultural effectiveness of Iran in Indian Ocean, is that the Iranian government can play deterrent role in the field of maritime policies, as well as the legal and cultural fields of fighting piracy, as an intact field that can increase the international authority. As an initial proposal, it can be considered that the Iranian government should send a



manual or plan in the field of understanding the background of culture and dealing with the problem of piracy from this point of view to one of the international cultural organizations that defend peace, sustainable development, poverty alleviation and provide intercultural dialogues like the UNESCO organization. Recognizing the related strategies and policies requires other independent studies.

f. The findings of the present research not only present an analysis of the fundamental space of knowledge but can be used by policymakers in various cultural and governance fields and influence the cognitive bases of strategic decisions to adopt policies based on cultural knowledge. Therefore, this research is considered a practical text in the field of maritime governance literature.

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The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

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The History of Piracy in Indian Ocean

Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Batool Abbasi

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