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The University of Osaka

## Global History Studies at Osaka University

Shigeru Akita\*

### Abstract

Osaka University is one of the key research universities in Japan, and the Graduate School of Letters (Humanities) has received research funds under '21st Century Center for Excellence' and 'Global Center for Excellence' programs of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). The Department of World History is the hub of global history studies in Japan as well as in Asia, and it hosted the First International Congress of the Asian Association of World Historians (AAWH) in May 2009. The Department is conducting four global history research projects: (1) Silk Road and Central Eurasian world history, (2) Maritime Asian history, (3) History of the Chinese Empire, and (4) World-System from Asian perspectives.

The Asian History Section of the Department of World History at Osaka University has a longstanding tradition of archival research in a number of languages: Turkish, Mongol, Tibetan, Manchurian, and of course, Chinese, regarding 'Inner' Asia (now often called 'Central Eurasia'). In the last two decades, the study of Asian Maritime history focusing on the East and South China Seas, and partly involving researchers from the Japanese History Major, has also gained importance. Under the influence of these two leading research groups, studies in Chinese and Japanese histories, which are dominant in the historical discipline in Japan besides 'Western History', have shifted their regional investigative focus away from the conventional 'East Asia' perspective (essentially China, Korea and Japan) and towards a broader and more flexible area of '*Eastern Eurasia*' including maritime regions. As a result, polygonal collaborations among scholars working on Central Eurasia, China, Japan, and Maritime Asia (including Southeast Asia) are developing. Valuable methodological and analytical connections could be established between archival research and field surveys, and between perspectives on global relationships and the micro-analysis of local societies.

**Keywords: Osaka University, Global History, World History, Asian Perspectives, Global Citizens**

### 1. Osaka University, Department of World History

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\*\* In this essay, the author uses the terms 'global history' and 'world history' interchangeably.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). The Department of World History is the hub of global history studies in Japan as well as in Asia<sup>1</sup>, and it hosted the First International Congress of the Asian Association of World Historians (AAWH) in May 2009. The Department is conducting four global history research projects: (1) Silk Road and Central Eurasian world history, (2) Maritime Asian history, (3) History of the Chinese Empire, and (4) World-System from Asian perspectives.

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The first project group is led by Masaharu Arakawa, Dai Matsui, and Emeritus Prof. Takao Moriyasu<sup>2</sup>. Arakawa is the leader of the research group on Central Eurasian history in the ancient and middle ages<sup>3</sup>. His group founded the Society of Central Eurasian Studies (SCES) and holds three forums on Central Eurasian Studies every year<sup>4</sup>. In addition, they publish an annual journal called *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*, which covers a wide range of topics on Central Eurasian history, such as the Silk Road and nomads, Manicheism and Sogdian, Asian merchants and the ancient Chinese Empire, and the Mongolian Empire and globalisation. They may consider 'proto-type' globalisation in ancient Central Eurasia through the formation and demise of the Mongolian Empire and the role of Sogdian merchants and nomads as part of 'global nodes' in the formation of transnational history.

The second group is led by Shiro Momoki. He is the founder of a new field of study called 'Asian Maritime

<sup>1</sup> The Department of World History consists of two sections: Touyo-Shigaku (Oriental History) <http://www.let.osaka-u.ac.jp/toyosi/main/> and Seiyō-Shigaku (Western History) <http://www.let.osaka-u.ac.jp/seiyousi/>. [All websites mentioned in this essay were accessed on 20<sup>th</sup> July 2019]. As for earlier activities of the Department of World History, see Shigeru Akita, 'Creating Global History from Asian Perspectives', in Patrick Manning (ed.), *Global Practice in World History: Advances Worldwide* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2008), chap. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Takao Moriyasu, *Touzai-Uiguru to Chuo-Eurasia [East-West Uighurs and Central Eurasia]* (Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2015); Takao Moriyasu, *Silk-Road to Tou-Teikoku [The Silk-Road and the Tang Empire]* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2007).

<sup>3</sup> Masaharu Arakawa, *Eurasia no Koutu-Koueki to Tou-Teikoku [Transit and Commerce in Eurasia and the Tang Empire]* (Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2010); Masaharu Arakawa, *Oasis Kokka to Caravan Koueki [Oasis States and Caravan Commerce]* (Tokyo: Yamakawa-shuppan, 2003); Masaharu Arakawa, 'The Transit Permit System of the Tang Empire and the Passage of Merchants', *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, the Oriental Library*, 59 (2002) (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko).

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.let.osaka-u.ac.jp/toyosi/caf/caf-j.html>

History’, and his group has founded the Society of Asian Maritime Studies, which regularly organises series of seminars and workshops. He has edited *Kaiiki Ajiashi Kenkyu Nyumon [Introduction to Asian Maritime History]*<sup>6</sup>, which is the first comprehensive introductory book on the subject and has been translated into Korean and Chinese. His group pays a great deal of attention to the early-modern maritime history in East Asia and Southeast Asia, and uses original vernacular Asian documents as well as VOC and EEIC (English East India Company) documents. Asian maritime history is closely related to the third topic, the history of the Chinese Empire and the development of tributary-trade system in the early-modern period. Kojiro Taguchi and Emeritus Prof. Tsuyoshi Katayama<sup>7</sup> lead this group which covers the time period from the early-modern period to the contemporary times, and mainly focuses on institutions and economic development from comparative perspectives. By combining the work of these two research groups, we can offer an alternative interpretation of ‘The Age of Great Exploration of the Europeans’ from Asian perspectives and present the historical importance of regional trading networks and their implication for economic development in East Asia.

The fourth project is related to the reconsideration of the historical origins of contemporary economic resurgence of East Asia, or ‘the East Asian Miracle’ (from a World Bank report), led by myself. My main research topic is the ‘International Order of Asia in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries’ and the reconsideration of ‘the East Asian Miracle’ from Asian perspectives. We may reveal close links and inter-connectedness between (a) the development and transformation of ‘intra-Asian trade’, (b) the emergence of ‘open-regionalism’ in Asia-Pacific, and (c) the formation of ‘developmental state’ and the progress of ‘developmentalism’ as the driving forces of economic resurgence of East Asia. Kotaro Nakano, who is majoring in the modern and contemporary history of the US with special reference to migration and the formation of multicultural societies from comparative perspectives, will cooperate on the analysis of the role of the US in the development of modern and contemporary globalisation. This group aims at investigating the modern and contemporary international economic order of Asia, through collaboration with scholars from Britain and the United States and with Asian scholars from Korea, China, and India. Relevant research areas include the role of hegemonic states in the transformation of the international order, the comparative study of empires from the ‘early-modern’ period to the twentieth century, and the study of the historical origins of ‘the East Asian miracle’.

By drawing on the expertise of these three groups of researchers, Osaka University offers perspectives on a long historical period, from ancient to contemporary times. In doing so, it hopes to provide new and original insights into

<sup>5</sup> <https://plaza.rakuten.co.jp/kaiikiofficial/>; Shiro Momoki, *Rekishi-Sekai to shitenou Tounan-Ajia [Southeast Asia as Historical World]* (Tokyo: Yamakawa-Shuppan, 1996).

<sup>6</sup> Shiro Momoki (ed.), *Kaiiki Ajiashi Kenkyu Nyumon [Introduction to Asian Maritime History]* (Tokyo: Iwanami-publisher, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> Tsuyoshi Katayama, *Shin-dai Shukou-Delta Zukousei no Kenkyu [Studies of Tujia System in the Pearl River Delta during the Qing Period]* (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 2018).

<sup>8</sup> Shigeru Akita, *Teikoku kara Kaihatsu-Enjyo he [From Empire to Development Aid---Post WWII International Order of Asia and Industrialization]* (Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2017); Shigeru Akita, Gerold Krozewski, and Shoichi Watanabe (eds.), *The Transformation of the International Order of Asia: Decolonization, the Cold War, and the Colombo Plan* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015); Shigeru Akita and Nicholas J. White (eds.), *The International Order of Asia in the 1930s and 1950s* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010).

world/global history from Asian perspectives.

## 2. Division of Global History, Institute for Open and Transdisciplinary Research Initiatives (OTRI), Osaka University

In October 2014, Osaka University, at the initiative of former President Prof. Toshio Hirano, established the Institute for Academic Initiatives (IAI). As the ninth division of the IAI, ‘global history’ became one of the four main research areas within this new organisational framework. Our division proposed to explore, among other topics, ‘global history’ from Asian perspectives through interdisciplinary research embracing a wide range of academic fields: history, international relations, economics, the arts and social sciences, and cultural studies. In addition, Osaka University could draw on a rich legacy in area studies and Asian studies which it had inherited from the Osaka University of Foreign Studies (integrated with Osaka University in October 2007).

The IAI changed its name to the Institute for Open and Transdisciplinary Research Initiatives (OTRI)<sup>9</sup> in October 2015, and the ninth division was renamed as ‘the Division of Global History’<sup>10</sup>. The division consists of 16 Japanese members from 5 Graduate Schools (Graduate School of Letters, Graduate School of Law, Graduate School of Economics, Osaka School of International Public Policies and Graduate School of Language & Cultures) and 1 permanent foreign professor. In addition, we have a specially appointed Visiting Professor every year: Sun Laichen (California State University, Fullerton: May-July 2016 and 2018); Liu Hong (Nanyang Technological University, Singapore: November 2017-January 2018); and George Souza (University of Texas, San Antonio: May-July 2019). By appointing these prominent Visiting Professors to collaborate with us, we are able to integrate global perspective into our research.

The division has already established close collaborative relationships not only with several key Asian universities such as Ewha Womans University and Sogang University (Korea), University of Beijing and Beijing Foreign studies University (China), Nanyang Technological University (Singapore), and Jawaharlal Nehru University (India), but also with University of Pittsburgh (US), University of London—London School of Economics and Kings College (UK) **【See attached figure】**. In addition to these bilateral collaborations, in April 2015, we also established a three-year international joint research program on global history with five prominent universities (Oxford, Leiden, Konstanz, Princeton, and Kolkata), in order to form a wider research network (consortium) for global history studies.

Furthermore, we intimately cooperate with **the Asian Association of World Historians (AAWH)**<sup>11</sup>, an international organisation for the promotion of global/world history studies in the Asia-Pacific region. The headquarters of

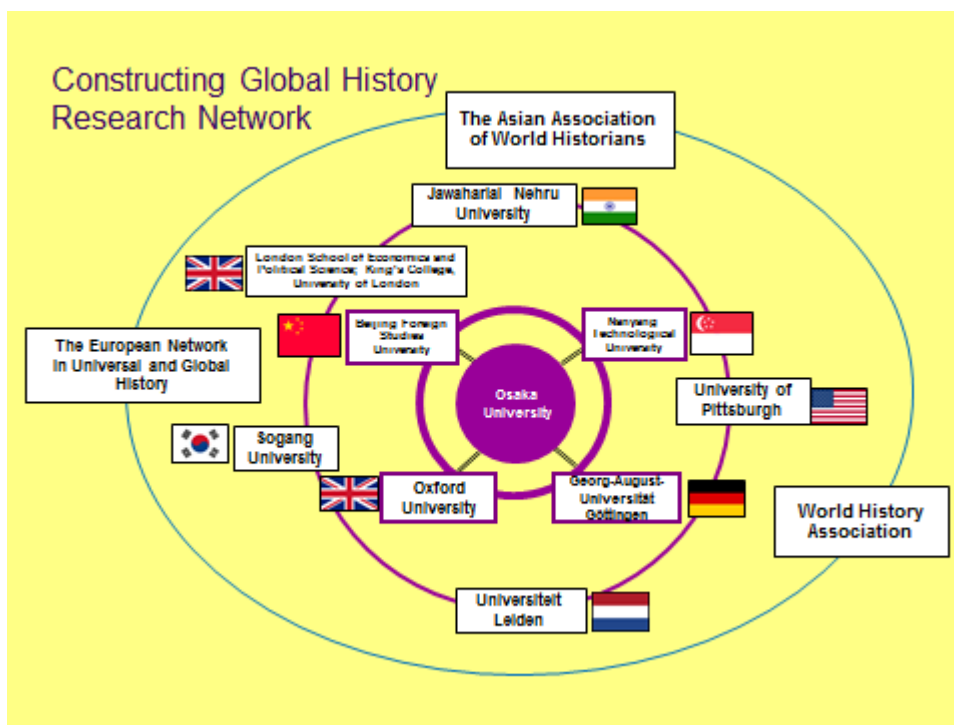
<sup>9</sup> <http://otri.osaka-u.ac.jp/en/index.html>

<sup>10</sup> See the record of our activities (seminars, workshops and international conferences), including Discussion Papers, at <https://www.globalhistoryonline.org/?lang=en>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.theaawh.com/>

the AAWH are located at Osaka University, and I'm the President of the AAWH (2015-2021). Nowadays, as mentioned later in the paper, the collaboration with the AAWH has become the key, crucial, and indispensable activity of the global history division, and the AAWH occupies the central position in our attempts to build a platform for global history studies in Asia-Pacific. Osaka University aims to offer a 'gateway' to global history studies in Asia and to connect and introduce Japanese and other Asian scholars to global/world history academic research networks.

In addition to these academic research activities, we are making a strong contribution to society by collaborating with senior high-school teachers and journalists to reform world history education in Japan and Asia. To this end, we regularly hold monthly meetings (Osaka University History Education Project<sup>12</sup>) and occasional international workshops. In the next two sections, let me briefly introduce our international collaborations and partly the contents & results of our researches, based on our two big events: Global History Consortium Workshop in 2016 and the Fourth AAWH Osaka Congress in 2019.



### 3. Global History Workshop: 'Globalisation from East Asian Perspectives' (15th–17th March 2016)

Osaka University intensively collaborated with Oxford Centre for Global History as part of a three-year joint research

<sup>12</sup> <https://sites.google.com/site/ourekikyo/>; See Osaka University History Project and Historical Society of Japan (co-ed.), *Kyouiku ga Hiraku Atarashii Rekishigaku [New Historical Studies through Education]* (Tokyo: Yamakawa-shuppan, 2015).

project on ‘Global Nodes, Global Orders’, financially supported by the Leverhulme Foundation with other three key universities. The Oxford collaboration formed a ‘Global History Consortium’ and held six international workshops within three years<sup>13</sup>. Osaka hosted the third workshop in mid-March 2016. In the Osaka workshop, we explored the unique features of globalisation in our region through discussing ‘*Globalisation from East Asian Perspectives*’ for three days.

On the first day, ‘Early Globalisation in Eastern Eurasia and Maritime Asia: Networks, States, Commerce, and Religions’ dealt with *Eastern Eurasia* and its adjacent maritime regions in the first and early second millennium. The first panel ‘*The First Millennium CE*’ covered the period prior to the tenth century. Various transnational interactions, networks, and migrations were examined within their ecological settings and against the background of often multipolar international relationships. The contributions of the participants revealed the existence of pluralistic systems of authority and legitimacy which differ from the Sino-centric view based on Confucianism. Moreover, this panel provided evidence for the multi-ethnic composition of the Chinese Empire and the Sinic World from the Southern and Northern Dynasties to the Sui-Tang Period, rather than taking the view of the Chinese Empire as a monolithic empire of the Han people. Ethnic diversity was common among many peoples, including Central Eurasian nomadic and oasis peoples<sup>14</sup>. The revisionist view of the Sinic World, in turn, requires a fundamental revision of the histories of the ‘smaller empires’ in contemporary Northeast Asia (present-day Northeast China, Korea, and Japan).

Regarding human networks and migration, a close analysis of the eastward expansion of the Sogdian people was offered. The analysis not only emphasised their widely discussed commercial expansion but also advanced an argument about their military activities in alliance with Turkish nomadic powers. In relation to religious networks, not only Buddhist but Manichaeist networks were also examined by focusing on the role of both diplomacy and politics<sup>15</sup>. As for questions regarding the state and its authority, a revision of the Tang-model of state formation in Japan was suggested<sup>16</sup>. In order to shed light on the influences of global interactions, a comparison between Central Eurasian oasis and maritime Asian port cities was also made based on ecological and social settings. Fascinating evidence on written sources and their formats, such as Dunhuang and Turfan documents, Tang epitaphs, diplomatic correspondence between East Eurasian monarchs, and Japanese and Korean wooden strips, was included in the papers on Central Eurasia, China, and Japan. The contributions on Maritime Asia, meanwhile, carefully incorporated knowledge from archaeology and area studies.

<sup>13</sup> <http://globalnodesorders.history.ox.ac.uk/>: 1<sup>st</sup> Inaugural WS: 25-27 June 2015 in Oxford: Inaugural Conference at Oxford; 2<sup>nd</sup> WS: 15-17 October 2015 in Princeton: ‘The Global 1860s’; 3<sup>rd</sup> WS: 15-17 March 2016 in Osaka: ‘Globalization from East Asian Perspectives’; 4<sup>th</sup> WS: 20-22 April 2016 in Leiden ‘Global Nodes, Networks, Orders : Looking for Transformative Connectivity’; 5<sup>th</sup> WS: 13-15 October 2016 in Konstanz: ‘Flows and Orders: A Tension in Global History’; 6<sup>th</sup> Final WS: 29-30 September 2017 in Oxford: ‘The Practice of Global History’.

<sup>14</sup> Shigeo Saito, ‘Turkic Nomadic Peoples and the Agro-pastoral Transition Zone in Northern China during the Seventh and Ninth Centuries’. Thereafter, please see the abstracts of related submitted papers at <https://www.globalhistoryonline.org/workshop-march-2016> (as shown, march-2016).

<sup>15</sup> Masaharu Arakawa, ‘Revisiting Silk Road Trade Activities in East Eurasia: Considering Tang China’s View of the World’ (march-2016).

<sup>16</sup> Shinji Yamauchi, ‘Rethinking the 9<sup>th</sup> Century as a Notable Epoch of East Eurasian History’ (March 2016).

The second panel ‘*Early Second Millennium and the Mongol Empire*’ covered the period from the tenth to the fourteenth century, and was based on sources in a range of languages, including Mongol, Turkish, Arabic, Sino-Vietnamese, Japanese, and Korean, in addition to evidence from archaeology and field surveys. First, the political and diplomatic history of Eastern Eurasia prior to the thirteenth century was examined against the background of multipolar international relationships between large empires like those of the Khitans and the Song, and other smaller ones<sup>17</sup>. The analysis of diplomatic letters and ceremonies offered fresh insight. Second, commercial and human networks were examined using the case of the Muslim diaspora in the China Seas. These networks often left traces in hybrid cultural identities and international trade in which the Islands of Japan were involved<sup>18</sup>. Third, the epoch-making characteristics of the Mongol Empire were discussed. Here, topics included the analysis of polycentric military, political and social systems, and multilingual, though highly standardised, systems of communication. The discussions also paid due attention to the unique position and evolution of mid-sized agrarian states in the region, such as Japan, Goryeo (Korea), and Dai Viet (Vietnam)<sup>19</sup>. In conclusion, a general discussion on the ‘Fourteenth Century Crisis’ was held, and this discussion covered political and socio-economic changes but also incorporated hitherto neglected perspectives on gender, family, and climatic change, among others.

Recent scholarship has made an effort to incorporate Asian experiences into a ‘global’ history of economic, political, military, cultural, and social dynamics by taking a long-term perspective. Nonetheless, the exchange of views between the experts of ‘global history’ and ‘local’ histories is still limited. Historians specialising in ‘the local’ hardly have the ambition to present their empirical studies in the context of ‘global’ issues. In turn, many historians of ‘the global’ rarely venture into archives and instead base their analyses on the in-depth research of regional specialists. This is notably the case with the historiography of the continental and maritime world of *Eastern Eurasia*. Even after the ‘California School’ presented revisionist views challenging the Eurocentrism of studies on globalism, these studies continued to adhere to an analysis along the lines of an East-West binary.

The second day of the Osaka workshop shed light on ‘Early-Modern Globalisation and East Asia’ and revealed how daily lives in this region were sustained, manipulated, and institutionalised under the rule of, or through mutual negotiation among polities of various sizes. Under the topic ‘**empire-ness**’, the contributors proposed a range of issues for discussion. Here, the term empire does not necessarily connote a despotic polity which is large in size, oppressive to its subjects, and prone to military expansionism. Rather, the concept was used heuristically, not typologically. This enabled us to better understand how polities tackled the thorny task of establishing or strengthening their regime surrounded by

<sup>17</sup> Dai Matsui, ‘Network under the Mongol Empire as Seen in the Turco-Mongolian Documents Discovered from Central Asia’ (March 2016).

<sup>18</sup> Masaki Mukai, ‘West-Asian Network in Yuan China as Seen in the Local Gazetteers and Islamic Epitaphs from the Southeast Coast of China’ (March 2016).

<sup>19</sup> Shiro Momoki, ‘Revisiting the Fourteenth Century Crisis of Đại Việt against the Background of the Yuan-Ming Transition in the Eastern Eurasia’ (March 2016).

linguistically and religiously diversified social groups.

After the fourteenth century, when the gigantic Mongol Empire abandoned its territory in China proper, the Ming Empire set out to preside over the social order, physical distribution, and military control in a geographically vast territory. Importantly, there is evidence of such political behaviour in many polities, including Japan, Choson Korea, and Vietnam, especially during the seventeenth century when, as a consequence, the Manchu rulers prevailed in the fierce competition with their rivals. In short, it was suggested that empire was an elastic notion to describe social cohesions, somewhat different in form from those within present nation-states<sup>20</sup>. At the same time, one could also address issues, such as the relationship between global hegemony and nation-building. Only in this way can one make useful comparisons between polities, from a different perspective than that of self-contained nation-states. Empires were without exception confronted with the arcane task of ‘incorporating’ diversified social groups and to cope with an increasingly fluidizing global environment, notably sustained by expanding trade and the in-flow of silver bullion. Thus, the historical world in the eastern part of Eurasia is understood as an arena where daily negotiations between, and the institutionalisation of diverse actors, including village headmen, tribal chiefs, officials, and even imperial households, were (and are) taking place intermingled.

From this perspective, panel III ‘*Big Games and Small Games in Early-Modern East Asia*’ focused on the ‘macro-sphere’ of empires, namely politics, diplomacy, foreign trade, governmental finance, and war-making. Panel IV ‘*Daily Lives and the Making of Early-Modern Empires*’ turned to ‘micro-level’ subjects, including the village community, agriculture<sup>21</sup>, population behaviour, and famine relief.

The third day of the workshop focused on ‘Modern and Contemporary Globalisation from East Asian Perspectives’. At the turn of the second millennium in 2000, new trends in global history research attracted attention, mainly focusing on the revaluation of Asia’s position in the world. Two studies gave a strong impetus to the debate<sup>22</sup>: Angus Maddison’s *The World Economy: a millennial perspective*, and Kenneth Pomeranz’s provocative *The Great Divergence—China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. The publication of these two books led to the reconsideration of the ‘Early-Modern period’ or the ‘Long Eighteenth Century’ based on comparisons between Europe and Asia. On the third day, the panels discussed the focal shift in the world economy from the Transatlantic world to Asia-Pacific, which also requires the reconsideration of the nineteenth century from Asian perspectives. These problems were addressed in panel V ‘*Reconsidering the Nineteenth Century: The Reassessment of ‘Agricultural Development’ in South and Southeast Asia in the Nineteenth Century from the Perspective of Global History*’.

At the first workshop of Global History Consortium at Princeton, the theme was the reconsideration of ‘the 1860s’

<sup>20</sup> Kiyohiko Sugiyama, ‘The Qing Empire as a Central Eurasian State: From the Manchu Khanate to the Early-modern Eurasian Empire’ (March 2016). See also, Kiyohiko Sugiyama, *Daishin-Teikoku no Keisei to Hakki-sei [The formation of the Qing Empire and the Eight Banners]* (Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2015).

<sup>21</sup> Tsuyoshi Katayama, ‘Land System and Rural Society in late Imperial South China: A comparison with Japan and so on’ (March 2016).

<sup>22</sup> Angus Maddison, *The World Economy: a millennial perspective* (Paris: OECD, 2001); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence—China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

within global history<sup>23</sup>. Traditionally, the nineteenth century has been characterised as the ‘European century’, or the century of European-centred globalisation. It is no coincidence that E. J. Hobsbawm wrote three influential volumes on ‘the Long Nineteenth Century’. The Princeton workshop was heavily influenced by two important books on the nineteenth century<sup>24</sup>: C. Bayly’s *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914*, and Jürgen Osterhammel’s *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*. Both books offer stimulating European interpretations of the nineteenth century, and it is a truism that Western Europe occupied a dominant position at the core of the Modern World System. Nonetheless, Asian initiatives in economic development during the second half of the nineteenth century still need to be fully explored.

Panel V reconsidered the historical significance of ‘agricultural development’ in Asia. In the second half of the nineteenth century, evidence suggests connections between increasing agricultural production in Asia, population growth, and migrations within and beyond Asia. These phenomena have usually been interpreted within the framework of European-led economic globalisation or the incorporation of Asia into the world economy (Modern World System). These interpretations take the perspective of Western colonial empires and an imperialistic world order.

By contrast, recent studies in global history in Japan have emphasised the evidence for Asian initiatives for economic development and the impact of indigenous agency. These studies stress the influence of the activities of Asian merchants (Indian & Chinese) and local peasants on the production of agricultural commodities, such as rice, sugar, and natural rubber, among others<sup>25</sup>. The panel explored the dynamic role played by these Asian agencies in economic ‘development’, especially in ‘agricultural development’, and their significance in transforming agrarian societies and patterns of land-holding not only in former colonies such as British India<sup>26</sup>, the Dutch East-Indies (Indonesia)<sup>27</sup>, and Northern Vietnam (French Indochina) but also in Siam (Thailand)<sup>28</sup>. In order to facilitate comparisons, and to shed light on the peculiarities of tropical regions, a case study of the Russian Far East (Northeast Asia)<sup>29</sup> was also included.

Finally, panel VI ‘*Historical Origins of the ‘East Asian Economic Resurgence’*’ explored the historical origins of the current ‘East Asian economic resurgence’, or ‘the East Asian miracle’, as it was dubbed by the World Bank in 1993<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> [http://globalnodesorders.history.ox.ac.uk/?page\\_id=260](http://globalnodesorders.history.ox.ac.uk/?page_id=260)

<sup>24</sup> C. Bayly, *The Birth of Modern World 1780-1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Juergen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (originally published in German in 2009; English version from Princeton: Princeton University Press 2014).

<sup>25</sup> See, Shigeru Akita (ed.), ‘*Daibunki*’ wo Koete [*Beyond the Great Divergence—Reconsideration of the Nineteenth Century from Asian Perspectives*] (Kyoto: Mineruva-shobo, 2018).

<sup>26</sup> Tsukasa Mizushima, ‘Agricultural Development and Social Transformation in the Long Nineteenth Century—An Analysis of Settlement Registers from South India’ (March 2016).

<sup>27</sup> Atsushi Ota, ‘The Development and Cash-crop Production in Colonial Minahasa: Non-Plantation Cultivation of Coffee and Copra’ (march-2016).

<sup>28</sup> Toshiyuki Miyata, ‘Delta Development and Rice Export in Siam in the Late nineteenth and the Early Twentieth Centuries: The Case of Chaophraya River’ (March 2016).

<sup>29</sup> Yukimura Sakon, ‘The economic development of Russian Far East villages in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries’ (March 2016).

<sup>30</sup> The World Bank, *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy---A World Bank Policy Research Report* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

The driving force behind behind the economic resurgence of East Asia since the early 1980s was: (a) the revival and growth of ‘intra-Asian trade’ or inter-regional trade within Asia in the 1970s; and (b) the emergence of state-led ‘developmentalism’ in East and Southeast Asia in the 1960s<sup>31</sup>. ‘Developmentalism’ meant that industrialisation in Asia was fostered through national policies, namely the state-sponsored mobilisation and control of natural and human resources. These initiatives were closely connected to economic aid policies influenced by Cold War politics. Japan played a leading role in this process of economic resurgence and promoted ‘intra-Asian competition’ for export-oriented industrialisation. The role of hegemonic states, first the UK (the British Empire) and then the US, in providing ‘international public goods’ to the world economy should be considered in this context<sup>32</sup>. Arguably, many developing countries in East and Southeast Asia could utilise ‘Pax Britannica’ and ‘Pax Americana’ for their own economic development<sup>33</sup>.

This is a broad overview of the Osaka workshop of the Global History Consortium. After three days of intensive discussions, the Osaka research group was able to suggest the new historical concept of ‘*Eastern Eurasia*’ as a mega-regional historical entity. This region encompasses not only the central and eastern parts of the Eurasian continent from the ancient ‘Silk Road’ to the Mongolian World Empire of the middle ages and its early modern successors, such as the Ming & Ching Dynasties of China (the Chinese Empire) and the Mughal Empire of the Indian subcontinent, but also the maritime world of Southeast Asia. Juxtaposed to this analysis were contributions by scholars from Oxford University, who offered interpretations of Europe as part of ‘*Western Eurasia*’<sup>34</sup>. The mega-regional twin concepts of *Eastern* and *Western Eurasia* emphasise the need for further comparative and relational investigations of the Eurasian continent in the study of global history. Important aspects of these collaborations were introduced during the first day of the workshop, focusing on historical periods before the collapse of the Mongol Empire. In order to stimulate a wide-ranging discussion, the workshop did not confine itself to covering a single academic specialisation, such as Central Eurasia or the Sinic World. Rather, global analytical frameworks were introduced, including Victor Lieberman’s global comparisons with ‘charter states’ in Eurasia<sup>35</sup>.

With regard to vertical historical perspectives, the workshop addressed the ‘reconsideration of the nineteenth

<sup>31</sup> See Part III: ‘Higashi-Ajia no Keizaiteki Saikou’ no Rekishiteki-Kigen [Historical Origins of ‘East Asian Economic Resurgence’], Shigeru Akita (ed.), *Ajia kara mita Global History [Creating Global History from Asian Perspectives---From ‘The Long-Eighteenth Century’ to ‘Economic Resurgence of East Asia’]* (Kyoto: Mineruva-shobo, 2013).

<sup>32</sup> Patrick K. O’Brien, ‘Pax-Britannica to Kokusai-chitsujo 1688-1914 [The Pax Britannica and the International Order 1688-1914]’. In Takeshi Matsuda and Shigeru Akita (eds.), *Hegemony Kokka to Sekai-System [The Role of Hegemonic State and the Transformation of the Modern World-System]* (Tokyo: Yamakawa-shuppan, 2002).

<sup>33</sup> Shigeru Akita, ‘Teikoku-teki na Kouzouteki Kenkyoku [Imperial Structural Power---The British Empire and International Order] In Yuzo Yamamoto (ed.), *Teikoku no Kenkyu [A Study of Empire---Principles, Patterns and Relations]* (Nogoya: Nagoya University Press, 2003).

<sup>34</sup> James Belich, ‘Opening Plenary Lecture: Globalisation and Divergence’ (March 2016).

<sup>35</sup> Victor Lieberman, *Strange parallels: Southeast Asia in global context, c. 800- 1830*, Vol. 1: *Integration on the mainland*, Vol. 2: *Mainland mirrors: Europe, Japan, China, South Asia, and the islands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003/2009). On 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> December 2015, IAI Global History Division held ‘International Workshop: Writing Global History from Southeast Asian Perspectives: In Honor of Professor Victor Lieberman’s 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday’ in Osaka, by the leadership of Sun Laichen and Shiro Momoki. We are now editing a one-volume book based on this workshop.

century from Asian perspectives'. This discussion was based on new evidence on Asian economic development in the second half of the nineteenth century, notably the role of indigenous Asian merchants and small peasants. This reconsideration suggests a new periodisation of the modern and contemporary period which arguably has implications for debates about the rapid transformation of East Asian economies in the second half of the twentieth century, the so-called 'East Asian Miracle'. The argument will help account for the shift of global economy's centre of gravity from the Transatlantic economy to the emerging Asia-Pacific economy.

This workshop enabled us to reflect on latest global history studies, more specifically the history of globalisation, from hitherto unexplored perspectives, by drawing on an international academic network. To relativize this Western-centred Consortium network centred on the Oxford Centre for Global History, we could fully utilise the Asian Association of World Historians (AAWH), our own academic network in the Asia-Pacific region. We would like to continue to play a leading role in the advancement of global history studies from Asian perspectives, and to promote the study in cooperation with colleagues from Asia.

#### **4. The Fourth AAWH Osaka Conference on 'Creating World Histories from Asian Perspectives' (5<sup>th</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> January 2019)**

As I have already mentioned, in October 2015, the ninth division of IAI was renamed as 'Division of Global History', the Institute for Open and Transdisciplinary Research Initiatives (OTRI). Since then, we have been pursuing one of the eight main research subjects within this new organisational framework. In order to explore and create new historical perspectives, we can draw on rich academic achievements of Osaka University of Foreign Studies (integrated with Osaka University in October 2007) in area studies and Asian studies.

On 4 May 2008, a new international organisation for world history called the 'Asian Association of World Historians' (AAWH) was founded in China at Nankai University, Tianjin. The purpose of the association is to advance research, teaching, and public discussion on large-scale historical studies in and for the Asia-Pacific region. The AAWH usually holds its international congress every three years. The first congress was held in May 2009 in Osaka, and the theme was '*World History Studies and World History Education*'. The congress was expected to contribute to the following three goals: (1) to promote dialogue among world/global historians in Asia-Pacific; (2) to develop concepts and programmes of world/global history studies from Asian perspectives; and (3) to build a better relationship between world history studies and world history education in senior high schools. It is worth mentioning that since its foundation, the AAWH has emphasised an intimate cooperation between academic historians and history teachers in secondary schools as a vital link with and important social contribution to our society.

The second AAWH congress was held in late April 2012 at Ewha Womans University in Seoul, Korea, and the theme was ‘*Global Exchange Networks of Asia & Alternative Modernities in Asia*’. Further, the third congress was held in May 2015 at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, and its theme was ‘*Migration in Global History: Peoples, Plants, Plagues, and Ports*’<sup>36</sup>. The fourth congress was originally planned to be held in China in July 2018. However, due to political reasons, the fourth congress was forced to cancel just one-month before, and Osaka University finally agreed to have an emergency congress in early January 2019 by fully utilising its established academic networks as the gateway to global history studies in Asia-Pacific.

Since its establishment in Tianjin/Osaka ten years ago, the AAWH has continued to explore new interpretations of world/global histories from Asian perspectives. At present, ‘the concepts and methods of world/global history differ considerably from country to country in this region’ (from *AAWH Charter*). The AAWH still needs more time to present a grand alternative vision or interpretation of world/global history from Asian perspectives. However, we have now decided to explore and present new interpretations based on *transregional* or *transnational frameworks*. We hope to accomplish this by combining a vertical historical perspective of the *longue-durée* from the ancient to the contemporary period with a horizontal analysis encompassing a range of specific regional studies, such as ‘*Creating World Histories from Asian Perspectives*’, which are beyond the purview of national histories.

At the 2019 conference, we set three plenary lectures by distinguished Asian historians to present our distinctive interpretations of world/global history from Asian perspectives.

The first keynote speaker was Prof. Li Bozhong, a well-known global & Chinese economic historian. He presented to us his analysis of Central and Eastern Eurasian history, ‘*1524: The End of the Silk Road? --- A Critical Reaction to the Hot Discussion of the Concept throughout China*’, based on global economic history studies. It was as follows:

In 1524, the imperial court of the Ming made a decision: to relocate seven frontier garrisons in the country’s northwest border areas from their original stations outside Jiayu Pass at the western end of the Great Wall to their new stations within the pass. Though this decision and its implementation hasn’t received much attention from historians, it is an event of far reaching significance in world history: It marked the closing of the Silk Road which stretched across Eurasia and was seen as a ‘great channel for international trade’ by many scholars.

In terms of trade volume and size, the Silk Road was not as important as is usually believed. One of the main obstacles to the expansion of the trade was the unendurably high cost of trade, which resulted from not just extremely poor transportation, but also from extremely dangerous circumstances caused by political instability in this area. Second, the trade was highly unbalanced: China’s exports dwarfed its imports and made the trade unbalanced. Third, the trade was mainly conducted for and political purposes and the Chinese state was in charge

<sup>36</sup> <https://www.theaawh.com/aawh-congress>

of it. As a result, the size and frequency depended on the policies of the Chinese state. Moreover, during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, two great changes happened: climate change and the rise of the maritime trade. Both of them, in particular the latter, had a significant effect on the Silk Road trade and accelerated its decline<sup>37</sup>.

His lecture clearly pointed out the turning point for ‘Silk Road’ as a trade and communication route between the East and the West, and its multifaceted reasons: economic, military (strategic), and environmental. Especially, the factor of climate change, revealed with the development of environmental history, is worth mentioning in the context of global/world history studies. Further, his lecture is closely related to Central Eurasian History and the Chinese Empire, a research area in which Osaka University has a strong base/foundation.

The second plenary was delivered by Prof. Aditya Mukherjee, a key economic historian at Jawaharlal Nehru University in India. His topic was ‘*The Transformation of the Indian Economy in the Contemporary Period: From the Colonial to the Post-Colonial*’, and he examined modern/contemporary development of world economy and globalisation from the perspectives of the ‘Global South’.

Mukherjee criticised both *the neo-colonial interpretation* that colonialism led to economic development and prepared the ground for the rapid post-colonial development, seen in India in recent years, and *the orthodox Left view*, which denies the possibility of any transition to independent development in a colony even after independence unless the colonial economy ‘shoots out’ of the capitalist world system into socialism. He provided contrasting data for colonial and post-colonial development in India, suggesting that it is the break rather than the continuity with colonialism which made the economic development possible. In addition, the post-colonial development in India also belied the orthodox Left view that the country was heading towards further neo-colonial or dependent development rather than independent development, because India remained within the world capitalist system. While the post-colonial situation in the country definitely marked a significant break with colonialism in the economic sphere, the continuities with colonialism remain in the area of social divisions promoted during the colonial period, and in the persistence of the colonial mindset, particularly in the intellectual domain<sup>38</sup>. Mukherjee’s lecture offered us the opportunity to rethink the academic premises of Asian historians, who normally take for granted the validity of European ideas and concepts on ‘development’ and ‘capitalism’. His stimulating presentation reminds us of his interesting essay ‘India and the World Economy in the Nineteenth Century’, a reconsideration of the nineteenth century from the ‘Global South’<sup>39</sup>.

The third plenary-lecture, ‘*Japan’s Meiji Revolution in Global History: Searching for some generalisations out of*

<sup>37</sup> From the abstract of Li Bozhong’s key-note lecture:

[https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/0b4e0c\\_4135d90230254f90881ae0a1095ec1fc.pdf](https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/0b4e0c_4135d90230254f90881ae0a1095ec1fc.pdf)

<sup>38</sup> [https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/0b4e0c\\_df61c72031da4a0d8913507861d7fccc.pdf](https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/0b4e0c_df61c72031da4a0d8913507861d7fccc.pdf)

<sup>39</sup> Aditya Mukherjee, ‘Indo to Jyukyuseiki no Sekaikeizai’ [India and the World Economy in the Nineteenth Century] In Shigeru Akita (ed.), *‘Daibunki’ wo Koete [Beyond the Great Divergence —Reconsideration of the Nineteenth Century from Asian Perspectives]* (Kyoto: Mineruva-shobo, 2018), chap. 2.

*history*', was made by Emeritus Prof. Hiroshi Mitani, the University of Tokyo, one of the leading scholars in Japanese modern history. He reconsidered the historical significance of the Meiji Revolution after the 150th anniversary as follows:

The Meiji Revolution was one of the major revolutions in the nineteenth century, and occurred in the state with the fifth-largest population in the world at that time. It dissolved the samurai aristocracy of the early modern Japan and sparked incessant efforts for social reforms. Yet, the Meiji Revolution has been almost invisible in the historiography of modern revolutions. This is because the revolution was different from the model of revolution prevalent during the twentieth century: under that model, revolutions must overthrow the monarchy and feature the intentional use of violence and propaganda. In the Meiji Revolution, Japan's monarchy was actually strengthened by the consolidation of double kingship under a single imperial throne, while the death toll was small, around 30,000, much lower than that of other major world revolutions such as the French Revolution.

These differences make the Meiji Revolution useful in widening the concept of revolution. In order to fight social injustice, people are not necessarily obliged to overthrow a monarchy, nor must they resort to large-scale violence. Reframing the Meiji Revolution in global context will give us an opportunity to search for and perhaps identify the methods for achieving radical reforms without resorting to widespread sacrifice<sup>40</sup>.

He presented to us several issues for a global comparative analysis of revolutions utilising the Meiji Revolution as a touchstone. The first concerned initial conditions for a revolution. In the nineteenth century, Japan saw the rise of a new emperor-centred view which considered the Kyoto emperor above the Edo-based Shogunate. Once the Shogunate failed to resist Western pressure to open Japan for trade, people promptly shifted their loyalties to the Kyoto Emperor, and expected him to be more effective in dealing with Western demands.

The second issue was the role of kingship in revolutions. The Kyoto emperor and his court nobles had little power except for their symbolic status. The third issue was the self-image of the country in the world. Most Japanese continued to place Japan on the periphery of Chinese and Indian civilisations. It was consequently easier for the Japanese to pay attention to the power shift caused by the West during the first half of the nineteenth century. This offered intellectuals a strong motivation to start reforms for national defence. The fourth issue was the death toll during the revolution. The fifth and final issue was how the public sphere separated itself from violence. For the success of a revolution, politicians must abandon violence at some stage. He argued how new regimes could separate themselves from the use of violence.

Mitani's lecture was based on his accumulated empirical research on the Meiji Revolution and his strong efforts to locate modern Japanese history in the context of world history in the nineteenth century<sup>41</sup>. Further, his analyses involve a

<sup>40</sup> [https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/0b4e0c\\_6921de115ed545628a1c4950864dd952.pdf](https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/0b4e0c_6921de115ed545628a1c4950864dd952.pdf)

<sup>41</sup> See Mitani Hiroshi, *Aikoku, Kakumei, Minshu---Nihonshi kara Sekai wo Kangaeru [Love of One's Country, Revolutions and Democracy---Considering the World from Japanese History]* (Tokyo: Chikuma-shobo, 2013); Hiroshi Mitani, 'Meiji-Ishin ---Tsusetu no Shusei kara Kakumei no Sekai hikaku e [The Meiji Revolution---From Revision of the Orthodoxy to World Comparisons of Revolutions]'. In Nobutaka Miura and Norihiko Fukui (eds.), *Furansu Kakumei to Meiji-Ishin [The French Revolution and the Meiji Revolution]* (Tokyo: Hakusui-sha, 2019), chap. 2.

typical ‘bilateral comparison’ of global history studies, partly proposed by leading ‘California School’ historians such as Roy Bing Wong and Kenneth Pomeranz<sup>42</sup>. Through these studies involving bilateral comparison, we can relativize the core concept of ‘revolutions’ in global context and clearly reconsider historical significance of the French Revolution and its impacts & legacies in world history.

Following these key-note lectures, seventeen big panels on a wide range of topics and thirty private papers were presented at the congress<sup>43</sup>. By drawing on the expertise of our participants and based on *transregional frameworks*, the AAWH Osaka congress explored perspectives on a long historical period, from ancient to contemporary times. They provided new and original insights into world and global histories from Asian perspectives. In addition, we tried to make a strong contribution to Japanese society by collaborating with senior high-school teachers and journalists. This collaboration aimed at reforming world history education in Japan through the publication of school textbooks. Such collaboration with prominent senior-high school teachers might be the best example of outreach activities by historians to emphasise the social usefulness of their studies.

## 5. ‘Introductory Lecture on Global History’

Finally, as an example of our practices in reforming University-level general history education, I introduce the contents and composition of my history class, ‘*Introductory lecture on Global History*’, for the second and third year undergraduate students at Faculty of Letters (Humanities). This class briefly introduces the latest developments and current situation in global history studies by emphasising two key concepts ---‘*comparison*’ and ‘*relationship*’ or ‘*connectedness*’. It aims to reconsider the Western-centred historiography of world history, and to clearly understand and locate new world/global history studies in the twenty-first century. More specifically, this course covers the history of globalisation from the thirteenth century to the present---from the Mongolian World Empire to the current ‘East Asian Miracle’. The composition of thirteen lectures is as follows:

- (1) What is Global History?: a hypothesis on the history of globalisation
- (2) The Age of Mongolian World Empire and the Afro-Eurasian world
- (3) ‘The Long Sixteenth Century’ and silver circulation: World history of silver
- (4) A Europe-centered world economy and the Netherlands in the early modern era
- (5) ‘The Great Divergence’ debates: Inter-regional comparison between Asia and Europe in the early modern era

<sup>42</sup> See for example, Roy Bing Wong, *China Transformed: Historical change and the limits of European experience* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*, 2000.

<sup>43</sup> See the following abstracts of all panels and private papers at the Osaka Congress: [https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/0b4e0c\\_97f26b435e614f558d45051c713dd53f.pdf](https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/0b4e0c_97f26b435e614f558d45051c713dd53f.pdf)

- (6) Historical origins of the Industrial Revolution: the Commercial Revolution and the catching-up with Asia
- (7) 'Imperialism of Free Trade' and the formation of intra-Asian trade
- (8) Gentlemanly capitalism, finance, and the First World War
- (9) International economic order of Asia in the 1930s
- (10) The Cold War and Decolonisation after the Second World War
- (11) Developmentalism and the Cold War System before the Oil Crises
- (12) 'The East Asian Miracle' and the emergence of the Asia-Pacific Economy
- (13) The twenty-first century and global history

As you quickly recognise, the contents of this class were mostly dependent on and derived from world/global studies at Osaka University, especially based on research in Central Eurasian history, Maritime Asian history, and global economic history or the World-System analysis from Asian perspectives, as introduced in two earlier sections. We may point out the following uniqueness and special characteristics of this class<sup>44</sup>: (1) crucial importance of the Mongolian World Empire as the driving force for globalisation in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries; (2) a reconsideration of the 'Long Sixteenth Century' (so called the Age of Great Exploration) from Asian perspectives and the impact of the 'Colombian Exchange'<sup>45</sup>; (3) a reconsideration of the 'Long Eighteenth Century' or the early modern era and another turning point called the 'Great Divergence'; (4) the usefulness of the concept of 'informal empire' in the modern world, and (5) a 'relatively autonomous position of Asian regions' within the Modern World System since the late nineteenth century through the development of intra-Asian trade<sup>46</sup>. In addition to these aspects of the interpretation of global/world history, we embrace some aspects of environmental history, such as climate change and its impact in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries (the collapse of the Mongolian Empire and its connection with 'the Crisis of the Fourteenth Century', and 'the Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century'<sup>47</sup>).

However, the most important point is that the lectures provide a balanced picture of globalisation, avoiding strongly Western-centred or Europe-centred interpretations. We paid more attention to mutual interactions between Asia, Europe, and the America, and active roles played by indigenous agencies in the Afro-Eurasian world<sup>48</sup>. In addition, I also mentioned the grand shift of the world economy's centre of gravity from the Transatlantic world to the Asia-Pacific or 'the

<sup>44</sup> Shigeru Akita (ed.), *Global-ka no Sekaishi [History of Globalization]*, Vol. 2 of *Mineruva World History Series* (Kyoto: Mineruva-shobo, 2019).

<sup>45</sup> Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972).

<sup>46</sup> See Kaoru Sugihara, *Ajiakan Boueki no Keisei to Kouzo [The Formation and Structure of Intra-Asian Trade]* (Kyoto: Mineruva-Shobo, 1996).

<sup>47</sup> Geoffrey Parker, *Global crisis: war, climate change and catastrophe in the seventeenth century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

<sup>48</sup> See also, Shiro Momoki (et al. eds.), *Shimin no tamenno Sekaishi [A World History for Citizens]* (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 2014).

Indo-Pacific' world in the late twentieth and the early twenty-first century. This kind of future-projection might help our future generations in exploring the meaning of world/global history as 'global citizens'.