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A Subculture Going Mainstream?
A Historical Study on Diasporic Peoples in Global History

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to show how individual research can provide case studies for university-level global history courses (e.g., World History from Global Perspectives) based on the example of a recent field of historical study, Maritime Asian history. Inevitably, it discusses why research groups at Osaka University can assume the role of case study providers for university-level global history. Accordingly, this paper firstly describes the activities of unique research groups in recent years, with particular focus on Osaka University.

The Research Group on Maritime Asian History (*Kaiiki ajia shi kenkyukai, Kaiikiken*) constitutes one of the most active branches of *Handai shigaku* (Historical Studies at Osaka University). They are well known for their early work in global history research and education in Japan (Minamizuka, 2009; Mukai, 2009). As I was a member of this research group and several projects related to *Handai shigaku*, this paper refers primarily to content-based contributions for the Global History program at Osaka University with additional references to contributions to projects at the University of Tokyo and Doshisha University that were of particular interest to me.

A common theme in this paper relates to the current circumstances surrounding Japanese universities that have been encouraged to "globalize" their educational content. Essentially, most of them have been offering inflexible nation-state-oriented curricula that were too rigid to efficiently incorporate contemporary global issues. This concern goes beyond the pedagogy specialists in the education departments of national universities because the modernization of educational programs to include globalization is also crucial for the survival of the humanities and social science departments in research universities.

The sharp decline of 18-year-olds in the population of Japan is likely to cause an existential crisis in universities as the *raison d'être* of humanities and social sciences departments has been seriously questioned by society. These programs are criticized for being ineffective for analyzing contemporaneous globalization themes and trends.

How is this adaptation possible for researchers of historical studies who are also responsible for education in their universities? To answer this question, I chose the topic of the "historical diaspora in Maritime Asia." As my principal research field, it concerns the history of the Muslim diaspora in pre-modern Maritime Asia.

Keywords: University-Level Global History, Maritime Asian History, Muslim Diaspora

Introduction

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history. Inevitably, it discusses why research groups at Osaka University can assume the role of case study providers for university-level global history. Accordingly, this paper firstly describes the activities of unique research groups in recent years, with particular focus on Osaka University.

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As mentioned previously, in order to study the background of individual efforts to globalize historical research, this paper first introduces the academic background of myself, my generation of scholars, and my recent research on the history of "diasporic peoples" in China that stretched our network to Central Eurasia and Maritime Asia as part of the history of mobility and its relevance to contemporary global issues. It then describes the contributions of historical research pertaining to premodern Maritime Asia and Central Eurasia at the university-level of global history as a form of "applied science" in the field of historical science (Ogawara and Mukai, 2015) based on my experiences and research. These demonstrate how individual researchers can connect their topics of specific historical context to universal themes in the broader global historical context as needed in a more contemporary and globalized society.

1. A Subculture Going Mainstream?

This section discusses the academic environment in Japan, including my generation, as this is important to develop a better understanding of what spawned the changes in historical studies and how individual researchers like myself became

[1] The 18-year-old population is important in the Japanese context because most students enter university immediately after or within one year of high school graduation; this number is declining (especially for 2018 and 2021), while the university entrance rate is gradually rising because of the increasing entrance rate of female students. For related statistics, visit the website "Daigaku eno singakusha sū no shōrai suikei ni tsuite" (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan; MEXT).

involved in the construction of university-level global history.

Some Japanese researchers including those who major in Asian history and the history of Japanese foreign relations recognize recent worldwide trends in global history as an opportunity to leverage the importance of these fields of study by connecting their own research topics to global contexts that contribute to new understanding of the past. Riding this wave, researchers of this "subculture within a subculture" might constitute a fundamental tangent as a promising future of global studies materializes. Throughout this paper, I borrow the terminology of cultural studies, such as "subculture" and "mainstream," to describe the emergence and development of new approaches in historical research like Maritime Asian history from which my method of diaspora-based history (to be discussed later) was formed. To date, Maritime Asian history has been considered peripheral in the larger context of Asian history, while Asian history in general has already become a minor field in the humanities.

As Haneda Masashi states, the trends of world history in Japan need to be reconstructed in order to dovetail with the current situation of globalization. The gap between the historical knowledge that Japanese people want to acquire and what Japanese researchers in historical fields actually provide continues to broaden, and this has resulted in a general indifference toward history among Japanese people (Haneda, 2011, p. 2–11). In my opinion, under these circumstances, a transition of historical studies toward a more contemporaneous interpretation of the world is imperative. Apparently, this is not only the case for historical studies because many new approaches used by the humanities and social sciences are experiencing similar evolution. In the field of sociology, according to John Urry (2007), the "sociology of mobility" tried to reform mainstream theoretical schemas. This is comparable to what is occurring in historical studies in response to globalization today.[2] The history of mobility represented by Central Eurasian history and Maritime Asian history that addresses mobile populations, such as nomads and merchants, is influential in the reconstruction of global history in Japan. I provide an overview of recent developments using these two historical fields in the next section.

Two typical subcultures in historical studies that are often presented as being dodgy, lewd, and shameless but also gorgeous, attractive, and local (based in the Kansai area and not the Capital Area) are Maritime Asian history and Central Eurasian history.[3] Both branches of history continue to resist Eurocentric, Sinocentric, and nation-state-centric historical narratives in ways that often pose a significant threat to mainstream conceptions. In the past, prior to the Second World War (WWII), these areas of historical study were called *manmō-shi* (Manchurian and Mongolian history), *mansen-shi* (Manchurian and Korean history), *saiiki-shi* (history of the Western Region), and *nanyō-shi* (history of the Southern Ocean). They were positioned within the mainstream because these regions were recognized as being very important for the national strategies deployed by the former Japanese empire. However, after WWII and parallel to the dissolution of the Japanese empire, the scope of Japanese historians seems to have been *hikikomori* (introverted) or confined to nation-state perspectives. For example, in the field of Japanese history, not a few scholars once considered the study of Japanese foreign relations to be of secondary importance. On the other hand, in the field of Oriental history, while revisioning Marxist theory to explain the communization of China, Chinese history became mainstream, whereas the history of "barbarians" outside of Chinese civilization was sometimes teased as trivial or was marginalized as an area of lesser importance.

2 This certainly does not suggest that the concept of "mobility" in a contemporary world as discussed by Urry and the historical past are the same. However, mobility has been an important aspect of pre-modern history, especially as it relates to long-distance global trade. More attention has been paid to this aspect of the world in the past in response to today's globalization.

3 Sociologist Ina Masato defines subculture as inauthentic, something motley, stubborn, tough, attractive, or underground, something dubious that elicits dangerous charms. Localness is also a characteristic of subculture (1999, p. 2).

However, the number of people who were interested in interregional communication involving China and Japan resurfaced and began to expand in the 1980s with the Silk Road history boom. Several influential TV programs about the "Silk Road" and the "Maritime Silk Road" were successively presented by NHK, Japan's public broadcasting system. This exposure eventually increased the number of people interested in the fields.[4] This 1980s boom may have influenced some scholars of the first generation of Central Eurasian history and Maritime Asian history. Nevertheless, the emergence of area studies throughout the Islamic world, Southeast Asia, and other parts of the world also attracted many young researchers into the social sciences and anthropology. Some of these historians were no longer content with the traditional framework of Silk Road studies, *tōzai kōshō shi* (the history of East-West contact) that had been popular among scholars before WWII. They developed a new interpretation to consider Silk Road not merely as a linear path between the East and the West but as a comprehensive system or interregional network.

Since the 1990s, research groups in Japan that were very critical of Eurocentric, Sino-centric, and nation-state-centric positions began to conceptualize a new region they referred to as *kaiiki Ajia* (Maritime Asia) or *higashi Ajia kaiiki* (Maritime East Asia). A research group at Osaka University continues to develop the concept of Maritime Asia, and Maritime East Asia has been the central concept of a research project based in the University of Tokyo. Shiro Momoki, former chair of the research group at Osaka University, defines Maritime Asia as a geographical concept in which both Asians and Europeans play roles in maritime and inland regions that are connected to each other. Masashi Haneda proposes the deconstruction of the center/periphery scheme and to view globalization as a phenomenon enabled by the collective activities of various people. As I explain later in this paper, this explains the special attention devoted to diasporic peoples. In the 2000s and 2010s, scholars of the first (now in their sixties) and second (now in their forties and fifties) generations of these fields produced a number of innovative studies. The scholars of these two generations collaborately organized research groups at Osaka, Tokyo, and other cities. They often communicated with each other and collaborated to produce comprehensive cross-institutional works. For example, Shiro Momoki, together with more than thirty colleagues, published a monumental work, *An Introductory Guide to Maritime Asian History* (Momoki et al., 2008). The work comprises many articles about the structures of maritime trade over several time periods, and it reviews other articles on specific themes related to the field. The achievements of the aforementioned research project at the University of Tokyo have been published in a book titled *A Maritime History of East Asia* as part of the culmination of the Ningpo Project (Maritime Cross-Cultural Exchange in East Asia and the Formation of Japanese Traditional Culture), which started in 2005 and ended in 2009.[5] Both were seminal works attempting to frame mega-region-based history in Japan outside of the conventional regional concept, thereby developing an indispensable base from which to reconstruct world history of global perspectives in the Japanese academic context, and they were especially influential in efforts to formulate a global history program at Osaka University.

Scholars of the second and third generations, while actively accumulating historical research from the Maritime Asian perspective, presented their results internationally in numerous conferences organized by the first generation as well as

4 According to "Fan keikō" (watcher's tendency) from the online archives of NHK, "Silk Road" movies were mainly accessed by males and females in their 50s and 60s, while those of the "Maritime Silk Road" were mainly accessed by males in their 40s and 70s. For more information, see the websites, NHK, "NHK tokushū, Shiruku-rōdo: Shichū no michi NHK," *NHK Ākaibusu* and "NHK tokushū, umi no shiruku-rōdo," *NHK Ākaibusu.*

5 The project was supervised by Kojima Tsuyoshi at University of Tokyo and supported by a grant-in-aid from the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Sciences (Scientific Research on Priority Areas).

panels organized by themselves at events sponsored by the Asian Association of World Historians and the World History Association to promote discussions on various unsolved topics in Maritime Asian history. Many currently teach at universities in Kyoto and are working on new projects related to the education of a global citizenry.

Alongside the global activities of the Maritime Asian History school at Osaka University, the research group that focuses on Central Eurasian history has also made strides in global academia. They have incorporated a variety of historical sources from both nomadic and agricultural societies and have collectively accumulated studies on the activities of Sogdians and their migration to Eastern Eurasia. These are based on textual sources, mainly written in Chinese or Sogdian, as well as other archaeological sources that include newly introduced reliefs and tombstones found in the western region of mainland China. Recent discoveries have resulted in numerous publications (Arakawa, 2010; Moriyasu, 2012, 2015; Moribe, 2010, 2014; Sofukawa and Yoshida, 2011). Although these publications were written in Japanese, the research results were also presented many times in English and Chinese journals and at international conferences. Their contributions are indispensable for approaching Central Eurasian history from a global history perspective; in fact, I consulted their research to construct Eurasian history from the perspective of diaspora studies that I consider to be an integral part of global history.

The body of research in the aforementioned fields has been interconnected on several occasions as part of collaborative projects, for example, the Global History Workshop in 2016 held at the Nakanoshima Center at Osaka University. This contributed to the reconstruction of a new world history from global perspectives by focusing on specific ethnic groups, such as the Sogdians, Bactorians, Turks, Arabs, and Iranians, all of whom constituted diasporic communities that once covered a vast area of pre-modern Eurasia.

My recent work on which the next section was based describes a series of relationships between empires and diasporic communities. It also explains how these diasporic people were allowed to build central political powers while supporting rulers to organize regional orders that stabilized systems of long-distance trade (Akita ed., 2018; See Section 3-1)).

A primary research interest of mine has been to investigate how Eurasian globalization was made possible not only by the ruling classes but also by multiple forces from various peoples. This research was developed through activities at the Research Group of Maritime Asian History at Osaka University[6] and the Ningpo Project, as mentioned above. Further, my diaspora-based history as told in forthcoming sections can serve as a significant component of university-level global history (See Sections 2 and 3-2)).

2. A Diasporic History Interconnecting Central Eurasia and Maritime Asia

My own research interests in recent years have focused on the history of the Muslim diaspora in the Southeast Coast of China, especially the evolution of foreign Muslim identities in China's coastal regions. While this topic appears to relate to a subculture of subcultures, the history of the Muslim diaspora has the potential to become one of the major topics in global history education for global citizens in large part because understanding the factors underlying the roles of diasporic peoples in political, economic, social, and cultural spheres is drawing more interest in our contemporary globalized world.

The historical uniqueness of the Muslim diaspora in East Asia is based on the fact that their communities have ties to

6 One example is the project titled "Empires, Systems, and Maritime Networks: Reconsidering Supra-Regional History in Pre-19th Century Asia," Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B), 2009–2011, directed by Fujita Kayoko.

the historical contexts of both Central Eurasia and Maritime Asia. In this section, I would like to briefly introduce my own research based on recent work (Mukai 2015, 2018) on the history of the Muslim diaspora in the Southeast Coast of China and discuss how this research topic is related to Central Eurasia, Maritime Asia, as well as global history in general. It is also related to the problem of Hui Muslim Identity in the region today. Questions that consider the long-term results of migration in a region (over a span of several hundred years) should be one of the primary global issues introduced in classes at universities engaging in global educational perspectives (See Section 3-2)).

1)　The Archaeology of a Diasporic Identity

In the course of my research about the Muslim diaspora in the Southeast Coast of China, I have tried to use Islamic tombstones and epitaphs as research sources, including those with Arabic, Persian, and Chinese inscriptions. Islamic tombstones are valuable indicators of interregional ties between diasporic Muslim communities from the 13th–15th centuries. On the other hand, these tombstones are not only important for reconstructing the historical past but also function as the core of their ethnic identities today. Therefore, what are the early foundations of this diasporic identity? To answer this question, I propose a new methodology referred to as the "Archaeology of Diasporic Identity."[7]

As Robin Cohen introduced, the word "diaspora" is derived from the Greek verb *speiro* (to sow) and the preposition *dia* (over). When applied to humans, the ancient Greeks interpreted diaspora in terms of migration and colonization. By contrast, for Jews, Africans, Palestinians, and Armenians, the expression represented a more sinister and brutal meaning (Cohen, 1997, ix).

According to Cohen, "normally, diasporas exhibit several of the following features: (1) dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically; (2) expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade, or to further colonial ambitions; (3) a collective memory and myth about the homeland; (4) an idealization of the supposed ancestral home; (5) a return movement; (6) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time; (7) a troubled relationship with host societies; (8) a sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries; and (9) the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries."

As for the case of Muslims in this paper, (2) and (9) above are very common, (3) is possibly shared but unknown (7) is often observed.

Scholars have applied this term to identify scattered communities of a specific ethnic group of people in the world rather than confining the narrative to the tragic experiences of Jews. Research related to "trading diaspora" as the positive motivation for pursuing profits through trade is actively argued by historians like Philip Curtin. Recently, further studies have been developed based on a broad range of topics by scholars in various fields in the humanities and social sciences, including cultural studies, the science of religion, archaeology, and economic anthropology. According to recent arguments, diaspora does not represent a rigid and distinctive group of people like a "nation." Instead, as Kim Knott states, "Some scholars have suggested that 'diaspora' may have become an exhausted concept emptied of meaning by overuse and lack of precise and agreed definition" (Knott, 2010, p. 2), although many other theories have been posited (Braziel, 2008, Braziel and Mannur, 2003).

Brubaker argues that "we should think of diaspora not in substantialist terms as a bounded entity, rather as an idiom,

7 I borrow some basic ideas from Michel Foucault's *Archéologie du savoir* (Foucault, 1969).

a stance, a claim. We should think of diaspora in the first instance as a category of practice and only then ask whether, and how, it can fruitfully be used as a category of analysis" (Brubaker, 2005, p. 12–13).[8]

Kevin Kenny suggests that diaspora should be both a category of analysis and a category of practice. People who write about migration use diaspora as one of their central categories. However, actual migrants and their offspring—those who move in certain ways and from particular kinds of connections—also use the idea of diaspora to interpret their experience, to build communities, to express themselves culturally, and to mobilize politically (Kenny, 2013, p.14).

Accordingly, my research is related to both substantial and non-substantial aspects of the Muslim diaspora in the east. One substantial aspect of the trading diaspora is that the texts on Arabic tombstones reveal the hometowns of buried persons to be regions such as Xinjiang, Transoxiana, Northern Iran, Khorasan, Khwarazm, Armenia, Syria, and Arabia. A large number of buried persons were local Muslim elites from the former Khwarazm Empire.

This study also addresses non-substantial aspects of the trading diaspora and reflects an attempt to discover traces of a diasporic identity among Muslim immigrants during the Yuan period in China. In fourteenth-century China under the Yuan dynasty, Muslims in different cities shared a common tradition with respect to their ancestral origins. According to the tradition of recording Chinese stone inscriptions to commemorate the restoration of ancient mosques in Guangzhou (dated 1350) and Quanzhou (1350) in the Southeast Coast and Dingzhou (1348) in North China, the earliest evidence of Islam's introduction to China dates from the *Kaihuang* years (581–600 BCE) of the Sui period. Furthermore, the person who first introduced Islam to Guangzhou was Sahaba Sahade Wogesi or Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqās, an *aṣ-ṣaḥābah* (companion) of Prophet Muhammad. Although this seems unreliable because the Prophet is believed to have first received the revelation of God as late as 610, it is still notable that this tradition—an indication that the diasporic identity had spread throughout Yuan China—was shared among Muslims in different regions.

Interestingly, the aforementioned story and its commemorative inscriptions are oriented toward Maritime Asian history. Nevertheless, it is certain that a considerable number of Islamic officials from Central Asia and Iran immigrated to China's coastal region under Mongol rule. They constituted the majority of entombed persons whose tombstones display Arabic inscriptions. This finding can be demonstrated through an examination of the geographical and period distribution of various forms of Islamic tradition.

2)　Formation of the Diasporic Muslim Identity in the Coastal Region of China

Tombstones with Arabic inscriptions excavated near China's coastal region provide detailed data regarding the influx of foreigners to the region. The place of "origin" (*nisba*)[9] and date of death obtained from Arabic tombstones mainly date to the Yuan period. The data indicate that the locations of *nisba* on Arabic tombstones are widely dispersed from Xinjiang, Transoxiana, Iran, Khorasan, Khwarazm, Armenia, Syria, and Palestine to Arabia.

Arabic tombstones excavated from the Southeast Coast of China reveal the formula "the death of an exile," quoted as the tradition of the Prophet that spread from Iran to China and is shared by Muslim immigrants in the coastal region,

8 The debate between Rogers Brubaker and other scholars is still continued (Brubaker, 2017; Alexander, 2017).

9 Precisely, *nisba* is "noun of relation," which expresses the relation of an individual to a group (e.g., a tribe, tribal subdivision, dynasty, family, eponymous ancestor, etc.; to a place (e.g., a country, region, city, village, quarter, street, etc.); or a nickname or professional designation handed down by ancestors. Here, the *nisba* mentions not only a dead person's origin but also that of the ancestor, or simply indicates his/her identity belonging to the place, although, there remains the possibility that these *nisbas* were simply nicknames. See Mukai 2016, p. 41, note 41 and Lewis 1971, VIII, 54, "NISBA."

thereby formulating a diasporic identity. Although this tradition can be seen only in the coastal region of China, it originated in Iran. It can be concluded that these revelations are evidence of the formation of a new diasporic identity in a region far from their homeland.

During the Yuan period, people from Transoxiana and Iran under the realm of the former Khwarazm Empire as well as Muslims from various regions in Central Asia and the Middle East shared the tradition of associating the death of an exile with martyrdom. This view was widely accepted among Muslims of the period. The choice to use exactly the same formulas among Muslims in different port cities of China's coastal region indicates that, eventually, an interregional or diasporic identity of Muslim foreigners who had immigrated to the region was established.

During the Ming-Qing transition period, three Muslim generals of Guangzhou who died during a fight against troops of the Qing dynasty can be identified: Yu Fengqi, Ma Chengzu, and Sa Zhifu. Their graves are preserved in the Muslim cemetery beside the Mausoleum of Ibn Waqqās in Guangzhou where a stone commemoration stele was installed to praise their loyalty to the Southern Ming court (1644–1661).

This local tradition commemorates three Muslims who refused to surrender to the Jurchen Qing dynasty and showed strong loyalty to the *Han* Chinese Ming dynasty. It demonstrates the complexity of the *Hui* (Muslim Chinese) identity.

In the present era of globalization, Muslims in China are connecting once again with the outside world while emphasizing their ethnic identity and their ancestors' origins as foreign Muslims. In such instances, their revived identity as "descendants of foreign Muslims" can be attributed to the tombstones of their ancestors and the words of the Prophet on the tombstones.

3. University-Level Global History from the Viewpoint of the Diaspora

In this section, I provide examples of university-level global history from the perspectives of diaspora study which were introduced as the content of two lectures for the Faculty of Global and Regional Studies, Doshisha University, during the 2019 spring semester. In these lectures, I arranged the stories of these diasporic people as a part of the following: 1) History of Eurasian globalization from the perspective of diaspora study, and 2) Historical global studies. The first lecture was based on my activities in Central Eurasian history, and the second was based on Maritime Asian history as introduced above.

1) History of Eurasian Globalization from the Perspective of Diaspora Study

One of the two lectures I provide is on Eurasian history. The lecture focuses on the relation between empires and diasporic peoples whose networks extended over spatial, cultural, and social boundaries and often played decisive roles in the formation of empires in Eurasian globalization's early stages. Early globalization was sustained by both horizontal (spatial) extension through long-distance trade and vertical (hierarchical) penetration into the host society. Networks of diasporas constituted integral ties that empires could employ to assert control over vast territories. As diasporic people were minorities in many cases, they often sought ways to connect with powerful imperial rulers. As a result, they became officials who used their widespread networks to connect each region from the realm of the empire to the imperial court.

Based on the aforementioned theory relating diasporas to the formation of empires, I divided Eurasian global history to include both Central Eurasia (from Manchuria to Poland) and Maritime Asia (from the South China Sea to the Arabian

Sea) prior to the Mongols in the following three stages according to the patterns of connections made between the empire, the diaspora, and the stages of globalization.[10]

(1) Period of Coexistence between Pastoral and Agricultural Empires: 1,000 BCE to 200 CE

The ancient nomadic diaspora spread pastoral culture over vast areas from the grasslands of Ukraine to the Mongolian Plateau. In the Ukraine grasslands, the Scythians once formed a huge confederation of nomads. Later, on the Mongolian Plateau, Xiongnu built a nomadic state whose political-military organization based on the decimal system was succeeded by other nomadic states in later periods.

At the same time, the classical empires emerged in the agricultural zones, and the oldest civilizations unified the region, including China, India, Iran, and areas around the Mediterranean where long-distance transregional trade developed.

In Maritime Asia, the Khmer Fu-nan kingdom in Mainland Southeast Asia is renowned for the excavation of archaeological sites that attest to the existence of maritime trade. During this period, long-distance traders used an inland route to cross the Malay Peninsula because the Strait of Malacca was still inactive during the period.

The early Eurasian globalization period witnessed the spread of Buddhism along trade routes in Central Asia and China. However, this period ended because of successive declines of both pastoral and agricultural empires as the consequences of climatic change and political disorder.

(2) World Empires Characterized by Migration and Fusion of Culture: 200 to 800 CE

During this period, Western and Eastern Eurasia shared similar crises and became intertwined. First, the nomadic confederation in Mongolia gradually collapsed, and the classical empires in China and Europe were attacked by diasporic nomads and entered a period of decline. A new order was then constructed by emerging world empires built upon the fusion of pastoral and agricultural cultures. The cultures of these new empires, created as a result of acculturation, were universal and eventually formed the basic cultures found in the regions today. However, classical cultures were preserved in peripheral regions such as Khorasan, Byzantium, and Jiangnan that remained neighbors of these world empires.

In Maritime Asia, the trade activity of the merchant guilds of Tamil expanded to Southeast Asia. The Strait of Malacca, under the control of Sri Vijaya and the Sailenra kings, became a major sea lane for ships traveling between India and China.

Under the protection of the Turkish *khagans* and chieftains, Sogdians traveled between Central Asia and China to expand their trade networks. The Eurasian globalization of this period was characterized by two events: the spread of various world religions, including Zoroastrianism, Manicheanism, Christianity, and Tantric Buddhism, from the West to the East, and the proliferation of papermaking technology in the opposite direction.

(3) A "Long Transition" toward the Integration of Eurasia: 9th–12th Centuries

Eurasia during this "long period" prior to total unification by the Mongols is characterized by multi-polarization and diversity. In the eastern part of Eurasia during this period, the *Han* Chinese dynasties of classical cultural orientation and the "conquest dynasties" of multicultural orientations coexisted. It is worth noting that a relatively peaceful situation was

10 The periodization here was originally discussed and reported by Takao Moriyasu, Masaaki Yabe, Kazuma Ito, and myself. The descriptions for each period are largely based on Mukai 2019, pp. 26–32, with some modifications to expand the usage of the term "diaspora." See also Yabe, 2011.

sustained for nearly 100 years following the *Chanyuan* Treaty that was ratified by the Liao and Song dynasties in 1005. Specifically, in Eastern Eurasia, the states surrounding Song China tended to remain independent from the political and cultural influences of China, as indicated by the successive inventions by elites in these states based on their own scripts.

During this period, the migration and settlements of the Turkish diaspora in Central and Southwest Asia were particularly remarkable. These people had served as *mamluk* (slave soldiers) during the dynasties of Central and West Asia. As skilled cavalry soldiers, they eventually became prominent within the courts, and some even built their own dynasties. Many of these conquest dynasties and Turco-Islamic dynasties developed and adopted dual ruling systems to control both the pastoral and agricultural societies.

In Maritime Asia, there were struggles among kingdoms for better access to maritime trade routes. The *Chōla* kingdom in South India attacked the island of Sumatra and Malay Peninsula in 1025 or 1026. They tentatively controlled the entire Sea of Bengal, while Kediri in East Java gained control of the Strait of Malacca.

(4) Integration of Eurasia under the Mongols: 13th–14th Centuries

The Mongol Empire emerged in the early thirteenth century after the defeat of the conquest dynasties and Turco-Islamic dynasties in order to unify Central Eurasia. Throughout the areas they controlled, the Mongols adopted a ruling system developed under these dynasties. The designated provincial officials called *basqaq* (in Turkish)—who were in charge of collecting taxes—were adopted by the Mongols and called *darughachi*. Many elites of former dynasties continued to constitute the ruling class in their homelands of Mongolia and China. Some were appointed officials in the Mongol court, while others were sent to provinces to staff local administrations.

In the latter half of the 13th century, Khubilai Khan conducted several maritime expeditions to countries in the South Eurasian Sea, thereby facilitating migration and contact between China and overseas countries. As a result, a relatively stable and peaceful period called Pax Mongolica began in the early 14th century. In trans-Eurasian trade during the Pax Mongolica, Muslim diaspora activities were the most prominent. For example, Iranian Muslims migrated to Yuan China after the collapse of the Khwarazm dynasty. Because they had originally been merchants, many became financial officials and continued with private trade as well.

The trans-Eurasian exchange of technology, commodities, cultures, and knowledge of this period could be described as early Eurasian globalization. The use of firearms and the counter-weight trebuchet by the Mongols were reported to the Roman Church, while the Europeans soon learned methods of creating gunpowder in the fourteenth century, thereby enabling European overseas campaigns in the following period. The trade of ceramics and gold-brocaded satin damask (*kamhā*) also spread throughout the Eurasian mainland.

2) The Study of Diasporic Identity within Historical Global Studies

Another lecture I give at my university is part of a joint lecture series titled “Theories of Global and Regional Studies” that deals with contemporary global issues related to the research topics of global studies and area studies.

(1) Common Experiences of the Historical Diaspora

To help students easily understand the characteristics of historical diaspora, I introduced the common patterns of experiences of diasporic people as “diaspora *aru aru*,” meaning “common things that the historical diaspora experienced.”

This includes the following five topics.

1. Occupation: This often relates to a trade or entrepreneurial venture such as employment as a cook, restaurant owner, retailer, grocery shopkeeper, or person with specific professional skills, such as an athlete or entertainer. Members of the diaspora sometimes earn large incomes, but many others earn unsustainable low salaries.

2. Cultural persistence: The cultural traditions of diasporas are confronted with constant pressure to assimilate into host societies and have therefore developed a variety of cultural strategies simply to adhere to their own traditions or to resist assimilation by avoiding traditions deeply rooted in the host society. Instead, they convert and contribute to countercultures that are new or unfamiliar to society, although their reactions to pressure may differ case by case. Such cultural traditions can be strongly revived when one's identity is stimulated through contact with others in the external world, whereas some people of foreign origin show even stronger loyalty to the host country than its natives, as seen in the cases of Muslim Chinese and Turk Tatars introduced later.[11]

3. Political status: Minorities often utilized colonial power and enjoyed privileged status; however, when the situation changed, their position tended to worsen. They became scapegoats and targets, isolated and attacked by the people who had been suppressed under previous colonial rule.

4. Economic life: In many cases, the livelihood of the diaspora was often threatened for the benefit of the society's majority, and they suffered from various environmental problems. Many had to fight for their environmental rights that were vulnerable in a democratic nation-state where the rights of the majority were primarily protected.

5. Members of the diaspora often took on active roles as mediators between the host society and newcomers. They also had the potential for innovation, as is often the case of actors of higher betweenness centrality in social network analysis.[12]

(2) Historical Diasporas with Relationships to Modern Japan

As a specific topic of my own lecture on the theme of migrants and refugees, I introduce my research on the diasporic identity of Chinese Muslims from the previous section and the prolonged history of Muslims in China to modern times. Then, to relate this to modern versions of diasporic identities, I discuss the diasporic history of the Turk Tatars and Parsis who are not well known to Japanese today despite once having a close relation to Japanese modernization. The other important aim of this lecture is to counter the incorrect perceptions of students that "Japan has never accepted a number of immigrants" by revealing that Japan does have a history of accepting many immigrants as recently as the last hundred

11 The actual situation seems highly complicated, as Jerry H. Bentley's Social Conversion Theory (1993) pointed out, "Mass appeal of foreign cultural traditions is difficult or even impossible to explain in the absence of syncretism. … Social conversion ... does not refer to an individual's spiritual or psychological experience, rather to the broader process that resulted in the transformation of whole societies." He also differentiated three patterns of social conversion: the first is through voluntary association; the second is induced by political, social, or economic pressure; and the third is by assimilation. We should carefully observe what lies behind social conversion.

12 Introductions to Social Network Analysis (SNA) have been published by various authors in Japan; I consulted the one by Tsutomu Nakano concerning the three types of centrality (Nakano, 2011, pp. 73–85). According to Nakano, three different centralities—degree centrality, closeness, and betweenness centrality—were discussed by scholars of network theory. John Scott summarized the characteristics of the three (Scott 2000). Degree centrality refers to players in a network who are outstanding from others, who sit at the center, direct the flow of major information, and are always at the center of any major flow process. Closeness centrality refers to players who can transfer and receive information using the shortest paths while remaining in relatively independent positions from other players. Betweenness centrality refers to players situated in the information flow who control the flow of information (Nakano, 2011, p. 75). The theory of betweenness centrality was first studied by Linton C. Freeman (1977).

years.

Muslim Chinese

As an example of a Chinese Muslim identity in modern times, I pick up the case of scholar Na Zhong (1909–2008), a professor at Yunnan University and Beijing Foreign Studies University who was also a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) and standing committee member of the Islamic Association of China. He was said to be a lineal descendant of the renowned Muslim official Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Dīn 'Umar, who was believed to be a lineal descendant of Prophet Muhammad. Na Zhong graduated from Mingde Middle School in Yunnan in 1929 and went to Cairo to study at al-Azhar University as one of the first Chinese students sent to that university who was financially supported by ethnic entrepreneurs in Shanghai.[13] He obtained the highest academic achievement and was the only student to obtain a certificate of proficiency. According to his biography written by Gao Fayuan, Na Zhong maintained a dual identity of being both Chinese and Muslim, which is surprising given the frequency of insults against Islam at the time in China. His nationalism was expressed during his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1939 when he and his accompanying Muslim students in Cairo were dispatched to Mecca, under the direction of Islamic Savior Association of China, where they critically accused Tang Yichen and other Chinese Muslims from North China under Japanese occupation for being traitors (Gao, 2007, pp. 107–116; Yamazaki, 2011). His identity as a Muslim Chinese was strengthened by his opposition to the Japanese attempts to cooperate with Muslims in China and Inner Asia.[14]

Turk Tatars

The Turk Tatars are descendants of Turkish-speaking peoples whose ancestors lived under Jochi Ulus (Golden Horde). Following earlier immigrant workers to build railroads, many Turk Tatars migrated to Manchuria (especially Ha'erbin) after the Russian Revolution in 1917 and subsequent starvation in 1920–21. Rising attention to Japan following the Russo-Japanese War can be attributed to the increasing number of migrants to Japan, whereas Japanese ethnic nationalists were seeking supporters in the international Muslim world. An elite Pan-Islamism activist named Abdürreşid Ibrahim came to Japan during the Meiji period and assumed leadership of the earliest Turk Tatar group in Japan.[15] Their community appeared in Tokyo by 1921, and the school for Muslim students and the second oldest mosque in Japan were opened in 1931 and 1938, respectively. Turk Tatars living in Japan could not obtain Turkish citizenship because of the Asia-Pacific War that lasted until 1953. According to Merthan Dundar, "they, unlike other foreigners from the Western countries, made efforts to assimilate into Japanese society, live their life like Japanese, and merged into Japanese culture to the extent that they recognized themselves as Japanese." However, they experienced hardship during the war period because they looked like Europeans. An older blue-eyed Turk Tatar who had been in Japanese high school during the war, relayed his

13 For example, Ha Decheng (Hilāl al-Dīn, 1888–1943) from Shaanxi province ran an international trade company called Xiexing gongsi in Shanghai during the early 20th century. Ha and Dapucheng established the Islamic Normal School in Shanghai and financially supported Muslim Chinese students studying at Al-Azhar. Commercial activities of ethnic capitals of Muslim Chinese in Modern Shanghai were studied in detail by Yang Rongbin (Yang, 2014).

14 Sensitive issues regarding the identity of Muslim Chinese under Japanese control are discussed by Japanese scholars. In the 1930s, the Communist Party of China officially recognized Muslims in the western part of mainland China as an *Hui* ethnic group even though there were arguments among Muslims themselves about the diversity of their identities. They preferred to call themselves *Han* Chinese Muslims (*Hanren Huijiaotu*) (Yamazaki, 2014; See also Shimbo, 2018).

15 He wrote a large and detailed itinerary in which Japan was addressed. The part about Japan was translated into Japanese by Kaori Komatsu and Hisao Komatsu, and his activity was introduced by them (Abdürreşid Ibrahim, 1991).

experiences to Dundar. The Japanese teacher cautioned students in his class by pointing to his desk and saying, “Be careful of foreigners (because they might be spies).” The old man continued, “although even I once dreamed in the Japanese language in those days” (Dundar, 2012).

Parsis

Parsis are Iranian Zoroastrians who are the descendants of Iranians who migrated from Iran to western India around the 9th century. The Parsi family emerged in Surat as brokers between the Mughal court and the British East India Company in the 17th century. Parsis in Mumbai (Bombay) dealt in cotton and opium for export to China in the 19th century. By the late 19th century, the Tata Company had grown to dominate modern industry. At that time, the Parsis migrated to the United States, England, Canada, Australia, Singapore, and Hong Kong. The first record of their visit to Japan was related to the cotton trade between India and Japan after the 1893 opening of the N.Y.K. Bombay Line (“Tata Line”) that connected Mumbai and Osaka. Several years later in Kobe, they built a community in Japan. Old graves of early Parsi immigrants have been preserved in Kobe and Yokohama. Scripts in their language carved on these gravestones justify the burials (interment) by quoting sentences from the *Avester* (and not obeying their tradition of a bird funeral; Akita, 2012; Aoki, 2008, 2010, 2019).

(3) National versus Diasporic Identity

The story of historical diaspora in global studies also relates to the problem of diasporic identity. The modern Japanese national identity was constructed during the Meiji era. It is very common in many countries to use a traumatic historical memory—such as an invasion by a foreign country—to serve as the core of their nationalism. This is no less true in the case of Meiji Japan wherein the tragic Mongolian invasions of 1274 and 1281 were called upon to form a Japanese national identity in various ways, and they were further bolstered by contributions in the form of national banners and songs.

Subsequently, in the early Meiji era (1868–), the Japanese people arguably did not definitively recognize Japan as one nation until around 1914 when the Russo-Japanese War broke out and the national Japanese identity was strengthened. Reportedly, the military song titled “Genkō” (Mongol invasion), written in 1892, was sung by soldiers to encourage them during the war. A symbolic moment of this change occurred when Togo Heihachiro visited Hakata following the naval battle against the Russian Baltic Fleet and made a pilgrimage to the megalithic monument commemorating the Mongolian invasion to celebrate the victory.

With respect to a diasporic identity in present-day Japan, the Ainu people should also be mentioned. In Japan last year, a book titled *The history of the Ainu people* was published. This year, a new law was enacted that recognized the Ainu people as indigenous for the first time. In Japan, some people have a distorted impression that the country is monoethnic. Some people even deny the existence of the Ainu people. In this case, the new law is not so much a reflection of Ainu nationalism but a confirmation of what has always been naturally obvious. Are their differences between the treatment of the Ainu and immigrants in Japan’s historical education compared to Mexicans and Native Americans in the historical education of the United States?

Conclusion

This paper illustrates how the research groups at Osaka University can take a role in the provision of case studies for university-level global history. Likewise, it demonstrates how individual researchers of historical studies can contribute.

To discuss these points, this paper first discussed examples of the research activities related to maritime history at Osaka University and the University of Tokyo in Japan that provided the platform that allows work like my diaspora-based historical research to contribute to university-level world history.

This paper's essential finding is based on my own experiences in the field of historical diaspora in Maritime Asia. Researchers of pre-modern Maritime Asia—by combining individual research topics with related topics that include contemporary examples of diasporas—can make significant contents-based contributions to the education of future global citizens who must learn to understand other cultures.

The example of the Muslim diaspora in the Southeast Coast of China introduced in this paper could be considered a "subculture" of the humanities; however, the reality of this historical coexistence over 700 years is meaningful for interpreting life in a globalized society. As seen in the cases of Syrians in Europe and Rohingyas in Asia, the problems associated with refugees and mass transportation of people who were forced to flee their homelands is becoming the most sensitive and desperate social issue of contemporary globalized society.

Under these circumstances, educators must cultivate the abilities of younger generations to live harmoniously with people with diverse national backgrounds, including those who are not from their own nation-state. The aforementioned research of maritime history throughout Asia, including trade diasporas and interregional networks, is a significant contribution to this effort.

Another viewpoint explored by my lectures is the struggle among identities. How should we look at the current state of nationalism in Japan based on our historical observations of various identities? Could there be serious confrontations between emerging immigrant identities and Japanese nationalists in the future?

These content-based efforts to globalize university education by researchers of historical studies at their respective universities is relatively undeveloped and actually quite rare in Japan even though there are many related studies on the technical aspects of pedagogy, including active learning methods and practices. Further accumulation of such experiences is needed to address the transitional situation in Japan surrounding departments of humanities and social sciences where declining numbers of students threaten to make changes to their management strategies inevitable. To cultivate future global citizens, we must stop reproducing only researchers who are tethered too closely to nation-state-oriented studies and instead foster globally oriented approaches to research and education.

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