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Christian Büschges/Stephan Scheuzger (Eds.)

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Global History and the History of World Regions: An Inventory of German-Language Research

Christian Büschges

ABSTRACTS

Die Beiträge dieses Sonderheftes fokussieren auf das komplexe Verhältnis zwischen regionaler Expertise und globalen Perspektiven in der Geschichtswissenschaft. Während frühen Beiträgen zur Globalgeschichte oftmals der Vorwurf einer regional unausgewogenen und allzu harmonischen Erzählung einer immer stärker verschränkten Welt gemacht wurde, hat die traditionelle akademische und historiographische Unterscheidung zwischen verschiedenen Weltregionen vielfach über vorgestellte räumliche Grenzen hinausgehende vergleichende Ansätze und Perspektiven der Verflechtung erschwert. In vier aus einer 2015 vom Center for Global Studies an der Universität Bern organisierten Vorlesungsreihe hervorgegangenen Beiträgen diskutieren Spezialisten für verschiedene Weltregionen (Lateinamerika, Afrika, Asien und Osteuropa) die Chancen und Herausforderungen globalhistorischer Ansätze für die regionalhistorische Forschung. Weitere zwei Beiträge von Kollegen aus dem Feld der Globalgeschichte diskutieren die Frage, wie regionale Unterschiede innerhalb globalgeschichtlicher Ansätze reflektiert werden können oder sollten.

The essays in this special issue focus on the complex relationship between regional expertise and global perspectives in historical writing. While early approaches to global history have been criticized often for presenting a regionally unbalanced and all too harmonious narrative of an ever more interconnected world, the traditional academic and historiographical distinction between different world regions has impeded more often than not comparative approaches and perspectives of entanglements that cross imagined spatial boundaries. Originating in several lectures organized by the Center of Global Studies of the University of Bern in 2015, the revised papers of four specialists on specific world regions (Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe) address the chances and challenges that global history approaches have brought to

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regional historical research. Further two contributions by colleagues working in the field of global history offer their reflections on how regional diversity can or should be reflected within global history approaches.

Since the turn of the millennium, global history has developed into an established field of historical research both in the German-speaking academic landscape and internationally. Various professorships and scientific associations, as well as numerous conferences, research projects, and publications, focus on global history.[1] The academic rise of global historical research (as well as interdisciplinary global studies) can be attributed to a critique of the traditional focus of "general history" on the German, at most (Western) European or North Atlantic regions and the resulting voids and distortions of universal or world historical narratives. In this respect, global history follows on from the establishment of history chairs and interdisciplinary area studies which have specialized in certain regions of the world in the USA after the Second World War, and in Europe since the 1960s.

The focus on regional historical research originated in the nineteenth century's concept of the "cultural areas" in linguistic, literature, and religious studies. Since the Second World War, the growing academic anchoring of historical and interdisciplinary research in various world regions, chiefly those of Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa, and Asia, has been fostered by various socio-political factors, from the Cold War to decolonization and the Third World Movement, to the economic and political rise of Asia. Since the end of the twentieth century, the increasing number of research positions and other establishments (including study programmes) dealing with Europe has reflected political integration efforts on the (Western) European continent. From a postcolonial perspective, however, it can also be understood as a possible space for deconstructing Eurocentric perspectives on the world by "provincializing Europe".[2]

The shift in the allocation of institutional resources towards certain regions of the world has, since the 1960s, undoubtedly contributed to a substantial expansion of historical-empirical research into the non-European world and thus created the preconditions for overcoming the mental barrier between "Europe and the people without history" (Eric R. Wolff), which predominates in the traditional historiography of the "West".[3] However, the expansion of the "general", i.e. largely German, European or North Atlantic, history to include the history of other regions of the world has partly led to a division of labour that is not only spatial, but also thematic. For example, historical research into the categories of "race" and "ethnicity", alongside European anti-Semitism research, had remained for a long time a largely exclusive field of research for professorships and

1 For a general orientation see, for example, S. Conrad, Globalgeschichte. Eine Einführung, München 2013; R. M. Berg (ed.), Writing the History of the Global: Challenges for the 21st Century, Oxford 2013; R. Wenzlhuemer, Globalgeschichte schreiben: Eine Einführung in 6 Episoden, Konstanz 2017; S. Beckert and D. Sachsenmaier (eds.), Global History Globally: Research and Practice around the World, London 2018.

2 D. Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference, Princeton 2008 (2000).

3 E.R. Wolf, Europe and the People without History, Berkeley 1982.

departments that focused on non-European world regions and in particular (former) European colonies. In the meantime, the postcolonial debate on the past and present of ethnocentrism and racism has reached even European countries without a colonial history.[4] The concept of world regions has in the meantime come under criticism from different disciplines of the social and cultural sciences, especially since the "spatial turn" of the late 1980s led to a critical view of the demarcations made by historical actors and historians alike based on different political, economic or cultural notions of space.[5] In 1961, the establishment of the first German-language Chair for Iberian and Latin American History at the University of Cologne still echoed the paradigm of "European expansion" and "European overseas history". Since the 1970s and as a result of the establishment of area studies and the expansion of local archive research the history of Latin America has established itself as an independent subject of research, which has been accompanied recently by a shift in the focus of research to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[6] However, the term "Latin America" owes much of its origin and use to the cultural imperial ambitions of Napoleon III in the region, and was subsequently adopted during the second half of the nineteenth century by representatives of the intellectual diaspora of the subcontinent in Europe.[7]

Apart from its European cultural-imperialist roots, the concept of a world region of "Latin America" remains problematic, not only regarding its internal political, economic, and cultural diversity, but also with regard to its difficult demarcation from the historically even more complex Caribbean region. The usual demarcation between an Anglo-American and a Latin-American sphere in the research tradition of historical comparison is also problematic in view of the steadily increasing migration movements within the American continent since the middle of the twentieth century.[8] The original European-transatlantic dimension of the concept of Iberian and Latin American history has there-

4 For the case of Switzerland see, for example, P. Purtschert et al. (eds.), Postkoloniale Schweiz. Formen und Folgen eines Kolonialismus ohne Kolonien, Bielefeld 2013 (2012).

5 M. Middell, Der Spatial Turn und das Interesse an der Globalisierung in der Geschichtswissenschaft, in: J. Döring and T. Thielmann (eds.), Spatial Turn. Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften, 2nd edn, Bielefeld 2009 (2008), pp. 103–124.

6 H. Pietschmann, Lateinamerikanische Geschichte als historische Teildisziplin. Versuch einer Standortbestimmung, in: Historische Zeitschrift 248 (1989) 1, pp. 305–364. For a general overview regarding the development of an "Extra-European" historiography from the 1960s onwards see J. Osterhammel, Außereuropäische Geschichte: Eine historische Problemskizze, in: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht 46 (1995) 5/6, pp. 253–276.

7 On the origin and development of the concept Latin America see W.D. Mignolo, The Idea of Latin America, Malden, MA 2005.

8 Regarding traditional comparative approaches to North and South America see, for example, W. Reinhard and P. Waldmann (eds.), Nord und Süd in Amerika. Gemeinsamkeiten, Gegensätze, Europäischer Hintergrund, Freiburg im Breisgau 1992; K. Krakau (ed.), Lateinamerika und Nordamerika: Gesellschaft, Politik und Wirtschaft im historischen Vergleich, Frankfurt a. M. 1992. For a general discussion on the relationship between comparative and transnational/-regional research see H. Kaelble and J. Schriewer (eds.), Vergleich und Transfer: Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften, Frankfurt a. M. 2003; H.-G. Haupt and J. Kocka (eds.), Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives, New York 2009.

fore recently been supplemented by a transregional inter-American perspective covering "the Americas".[9]

The second half of the twentieth century has also seen the establishment of African and (East) Asian studies or history in western universities.[10] However, European colonialism and diasporic practices and transcultural interdependencies have also undermined the notions of a historical unity of Africa or Asia.[11] The concept of a world region of Eastern Europe is in turn not only a product of the Cold War, which divided Europe into two political-ideological blocs, but also hides diverse historical connections on the Eurasian continent.[12] Finally, the distinction between different world regions is guided originally by a paradigm of modernization usually attributed to traditional world or universal history, which elevates (Western) Europe and North America to the ideal type of development that has been incomplete or completely missed elsewhere.[13] In recent years, historians working on specific regions of the world have therefore increasingly become involved in research into transregional and global processes and interdependencies.

The question of what global history can achieve for the development of historical science, and the extent to which global historical research can be defined by specific objects, theoretical assumptions, and methodological approaches, remains the subject of discussion. In the multitude of circulating ideas about what global history is or should be, two fundamental concerns can be identified.[14] On the one hand, global history attempts to overcome approaches that seek to interpret and explain historical structures and processes within the framework of given territorial entities – above all the nation states, but also certain regions of the world, but on the other hand – and here lies the actual conceptual and practical research challenge for historians – it aims to decenter perspectives on a past that has usually been analysed and interpreted as a referential historical space around Europe or the "West". Against this background, historical research on world

9 See, for example, O. Kaltmeier et al. (eds.), The Routledge Handbook to the History and Society of the Americas, London York 2019.

10 Osterhammel, Außereuropäische Geschichte, p. 263; A.H.M. Kirk-Greene (ed.), The Emergence of African History at British Universities, Oxford 1995; for the United States, see R. Ferreira, The Institutionalization of African Studies in the United States: Origin, Consolidation and Transformation, in: Revista Brasileira de História 30 (2010), pp. 71–88; Pietschmann, Lateinamerikanische Geschichte; P. van der Velde, Re-orienting Asian Studies, in: J. Stremmelaar and P. van der Velde (eds.), What about Asia? Revisiting Asian Studies, Amsterdam 2006, pp. 87–103.

11 On the (de-) construction of Western concepts of Asian history see H. Sutherland, Southeast Asian History and the Mediterranean Analogy, in: Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 34 (2003) 1, pp. 1–20; I. Chatterjee, Connected Histories and the Dream of Decolonial History, in: South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies 41 (2018) 1, pp. 69–86; V.Y. Mudimbe, The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge, Bloomington 1988; R. Law and P. Lovejoy, The Changing Dimensions of African History: Reappropriating the Diaspora, in: S. McGrath et al. (eds.), Rethinking African History, Edinburgh 1997, pp. 181–200; J. Chatterji and D. Washbrook (eds.), Routledge Handbook of the South Asian Diaspora, Abingdon 2013; N. Glick-Schiller, Long-distance Nationalism, in: N. Glick-Schiller et al. (eds.), Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures around the World, New York 2005, pp. 70–80.

12 Cf. the conception of the Russian and Soviet "polyethnic Empire" by A. Kappeler, Russland als Vielvölkerreich. Entstehung – Geschichte – Zerfall, München 1993, p. 9.

13 For a critical analysis of western modernization approaches in history see W. Knöbl, Die Kontingenz der Moderne: Wege in Europa, Asien und Amerika, Frankfurt a. M. 2007.

14 S. Conrad, What is Global History? Princeton 2016, p. 3.

regions located outside the "West" and based on geographical conurbations and "civilizations" is confronted with the task of rethinking their role in the production of historical knowledge. It faces concrete challenges that can be described as contradictory. On the one hand, by criticizing the conventional meta-geographic categories of historical science, global history approaches question also the basic assumptions and framings of the history of the world's regions. On the other hand, the decentring of historiographical perspectives requires a strengthening of expertise and empirical research in non-Western European and non-North American history, which are still largely organized in spatially defined historical sub-disciplines or area studies.

The challenges for a stronger link between global historical questions and empirical research on (not only) non-European history are manifold. They initially refer to the knowledge of different languages and "scientific cultures" (epistemologies, research questions and paradigms, analytical categories, etc.) and the way this knowledge affects the research results achieved by "western" historians. It should be emphasized that the differences between different scientific cultures cannot be limited to a differentiation between Europe or the "West" and the non-European or non-Western world. For example, the high impact of subaltern studies in Asian social and cultural sciences contrasts with its rather low reception in Latin America,[15] and the analytical concept of decoloniality (*decolonialidad)*, coined recently in Latin America social and cultural studies in the light of the early decolonization of the subcontinent, consciously stands out from the postcolonial studies approach, developed previously in the Asian research context.[16]

There are also different ideas regarding the temporal location of structures and processes of global historical significance in research on the various regions of the world. On the one hand, historiography concerning the Americas, as well as Immanuel Wallerstein's world system theory, see the European colonization of the (chiefly central and southern) continent and the associated exchange of goods in the early modern period, which also included Asia and Africa, as the starting point of the first phase of globalization.[17] The image of the modern *supertanker*, on the other hand, which by 1500 could have easily carried half of the annual transatlantic trade, and by 1800 still 20 per cent of it, condenses the majority position among global historians, according to which global connections only assume a significant extent in the nineteenth century, which can be considered, from this perspective, as the real starting point of globalization and global history.[18]

The integration of global and regional historical research is hampered further by national historical paradigms which continue to be strongly pronounced in the non-European world. Moreover, historical research in many non-European regions is barely supported

15 I. Rodríguez (ed.), The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader, Durham, NC 2001.

16 W. D. Mignolo and A. Escobar (eds.), Globalization and the Decolonial Option, London 2013.

17 I. Wallerstein, The Modern World-System, 4 vols., Berkeley 2011 (1974); F. Edelmayer et al. (eds.), Globalgeschichte 1450–1620. Anfänge und Perspektiven, Wien 2002.

18 P.C. Emmer, Die europäische Expansion und ihre Folgen im atlantischen Raum, 1500–1800, in: Jahrbuch für europäische Überseegeschichte 2 (2002), p. 10; cf. J. de Vries, The Limits of Globalization in the Early Modern World, in: Economic History Review 63 (2010), pp. 710–733. However, P.C. Emmer stresses also the fact that inner continental trade exceeds intercontinental trade from early modern times until the present, ibid.

in view of the scarcity of economic resources and limited career prospects, and the internationally renowned specialist journals and handbooks on individual world regions or global history are published to this day primarily by (mainly English-speaking) publishers based in the North Atlantic region. In contrast, the contributions in the current issue emphasize that historical research on the various regions of the world can look back on a longer tradition of transregional perspectives and can, in this respect, be regarded as a forerunner and pioneer of a new, non-Eurocentric global history. What's more, non-Western historians and social or cultural scientists as well as the scientific diaspora in North America and Europe originating from Latin America, Asia, and Africa have played an important role in the development and critical appraisal of both area studies and global history.[19]

Against such a background, it is not surprising that the potential of global history to lead regional history out of its artificial separation from general – usually Western – history is emphasized. However, critics have pointed out that large scale histories of globalization run the risk of covering asymmetries and hierarchies or even tend to (re-) colonize the history of the non-Western world.[20] Therefore, from the context of postcolonial studies new concepts and research agendas like the "Black Atlantic" or the "Global South" have emerged since the 1990s, which specifically distinguish themselves from Eurocentric approaches and look at transregional interdependencies outside or beyond the West or western actors.[21]

Other critical voices on the current state of global history point to the fact that the various regions of the world have been considered to varying degrees even in current publications. While Asia, for example, always plays a prominent role in the classics of global historical research, such as those by Christopher Bayly or Jürgen Osterhammel, Latin America and Africa often remain underexposed. In recent years, Eastern Europe has only gradually come to the fore in global historical perspectives.[22] This is also true in the case of an increased consideration of the Early Modern period, which is rather underrepresented within the current study of global history, including the slave trade which involved the most diverse local actors, and the development of an Atlantic economic

19 See, for example, S. Amin, Global history: A View from the South, Oxford 2011; A. Appadurai, Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization, Minneapolis 2010; W.D. Mignolo, Local Histories – Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking, Princeton, NJ 2000; cf. B. Mazlish and A. Iriye (eds), The Global History Reader, New York 2005.

20 M. Pernau, Global History – Wegbereiter für einen neuen Kolonialismus?, in: Connections. A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists, 17 December 2004, https://www.connections.clio-online.net/article/id/artikel-572 (accessed 15 June 2019); cf. V. Lal, Provincializing the West: World History from the Perspective of Indian History, in: B. Stuchtey and E. Fuchs (eds.), Writing World History, 1800–2000, Oxford 2003, pp. 270–289.

21 P. Gilroy, The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness, London 1993; H. Dorsch, Afrikanische Diaspora und Black Atlantic. Einführung in Geschichte und aktuelle Diskussion, Münster 2000; S. Costa, Vom Nordatlantik zum Black Atlantic. Postkoloniale Konfigurationen und Paradoxien transnationaler Politik, Bielefeld 2007; K. Bystrom and J.R. Slaughter (eds.), The Global South Atlantic, New York 2018; S. Wieringa and H. Sívori (eds.), The Sexual History of the Global South: Sexual Politics in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, London 2013.

22 M. Aust (ed.), Globalisierung imperial und sozialistisch. Russland und die Sowjetunion in der Globalgeschichte 1851–1991, Frankfurt a. M. 2013.

area, which in turn entailed manifold interdependencies extending beyond the Atlantic area.[23] Global historical research on Eastern Europe, or Russia, and Asia is also connected with a trans-regional historiography that overcomes national research contexts and, in the case of Asia, also includes the period before European expansion.[24]

Against the background of the preceding considerations, the aim of the current issue is to discuss the overlaps, tensions, and contradictions between the approaches of global history and the history of world regions. Even though the ongoing discussion of global historical concepts generally focuses on the connections between the "global" and the "local" and between global and national histories, the question of the relationship between global history and the history of world regions has not been investigated thoroughly, and in many cases the contributions in this regard have not gone further than observing the difficulties of integrating the latter into global approaches. Some studies have, for example, (re-)considered the significance and outline of world and global history within the research agendas and teaching curricula in specific countries or selected universities.[25] Or, with a view to historiography of a particular region of the world, they have looked into the question of how far it is integrated into global history or global studies debates.[26] Other works have continued the older debate, which started in the 1970s, on the deficits, challenges, and perspectives of area studies under the new auspices of the discussion on global history.[27] More recently, individual contributions deal with the place of particular world regions within world or global history.[28] However, this has not resulted in a coherent picture that would make the similarities and differences between the historiographies on the various regions of the world more visible in their relations to global history. Finally, there is now almost a decade of research practice in global history which is essential

23 M. Zeuske, Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei. Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, Berlin 2013; J. Cañizares-Esguerra and E.R. Seeman (eds.), The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000, London 2018; C. Strobel, The Global Atlantic 1400 to 1900, New York 2015.

24 K. Goff and L.H. Siegelbaum (eds.), Empire and Belonging in the Eurasian Borderlands, Ithaca 2019; S. Subrahmanyam, Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia, in: Modern Asian Studies 31 (1997) 3, pp. 735–762; K.N. Chaudhuri, Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750, Cambridge 1990.

25 For the US see, for example, J.L. Hare and J. Wells, Promising the World: Surveys, Curricula, and the Challenge of Global History, in: The History Teacher 48 (2015) 2, pp. 371–388; M. Gräser, Weltgeschichte im Nationalstaat. Die transnationale Disposition der amerikanischen Geschichtswissenschaft, in: Historische Zeitschrift 283 (2006) 2, pp. 355–382. From a Marxist perspective in East Germany, see M. Middell, Manfred Kossok: Writing World History in East Germany, in: Review (Fernand Braudel Center) 38 (2015) 1–2, pp. 41–69.

26 For a critical perspective on older modernization orientated approaches to the place of specific world regions in global processes, see W. Knöbl, Die Kontingenz der Moderne; P. Manning, African and World Historiography, in: Journal of African History 54 (2013), pp. 319–330; M. Brown, The Global History of Latin America, in: Journal of Global History 10 (2015) 3, pp. 365–386.

27 V.L. Rafael, The Cultures of Area Studies in the United States, in: Social Text 41 (1994), pp. 91–111; M. Braig and F. Hentschke, Die Zukunft der Area Studies in Deutschland, in: Africa Spectrum 40 (2005) 3, pp. 547–558; P.A. Jackson, Space, Theory, and Hegemony: The Dual Crises of Asian Area Studies and Cultural Studies, in: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia 18 (2003) 1, pp. 1–41; K. Slocum and D.A. Thomas, Rethinking Global and Area Studies: Insights from Caribbeanist Anthropologists, in: American Anthropologist 105 (2003) 3, pp. 553–565.

28 See, for example, M.J. Gilbert, South Asia in World History, Oxford 2017; P. Manning, Locating Africans on the World Stage: A Problem in World History, in: Journal of World History 26 (2015) 3, pp. 605–637.

for the assessment of the questions to be discussed, not least in view of the early demands of allowing empirical work to follow the theoretical discussions raised in the field.
Questions over the relationship between global history and the history of world regions, however, does not purely aim at the role of the latter, but also at sharpening the understanding of the former. The most influential, most discussed contributions to global history in both English and German-speaking countries in recent years have come mainly from historians whose research has a focus on a non-European region of the world, although not on several regions. At the same time, specialists in non-European history have expressed reservations against global history. The most important criticism was the undeniable danger of a flattening of historical analysis, due to a lack of regional expertise – including the associated language skills – which could lead to a reproduction of Eurocentric views or a "history light".[29] Accordingly, the idea of a substantial global history has been associated with a solid anchoring in research on the world regions outside of Europe and the USA.[30]
Apart from the emphasis on the importance of regionally specific competences – and the associated differentiation from macro-perspectives and claims to totality as ascribed to older world history – conceptual and empirical contributions in the field of global history hold different views on what "global" actually designates and what this subsequently means for specific objects, questions, theories, and methods of global historical research. Even though the frames of national history, as a dominant research paradigm, have come under pressure, they still dominate historiographical production. However, even where global historical perspectives are offered, it is sometimes a question of interests in national history, for example with a view to the narratives of a special national path (*Sonderweg*). In a spatially broader perspective, it can be stated that most historians continue to research the history of precisely those regions of the world in which they live and have been academically socialized. In addition, the selection of questions and themes of existing global history studies do not differ always fundamentally from those of transnational history, or entangled history. In the broadest sense, the main benefits of global history would therefore be the focus on structures and processes that affect the globe as a whole. Global history thus seeks to intertwine the local, the regional, and the national with the global. In this respect, global history, from a theoretical and methodological point of view, usually appears to be openly conceived as a "perspective" or "approach", whose primary research goal are the global – or even only transregional – connections or entanglements of people, goods, and knowledge.[31]
One can however ask whether the perspectives and the potential for innovation of global history and its significance as a discipline in its own right could not benefit from a more specific definition of the concept. While the detachment of historical perspectives from

29 Cf. Pernau, Global History; B. Barth et al., Einleitung: Globalisierung und Globalgeschichte, in: B. Barth et al. (eds.), Globalgeschichten. Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven, Frankfurt a. M. 2014, pp. 7–18.
30 For a recent survey on global history approaches regarding different world regions and regional historiographies see Beckert and Sachsenmaier, Global History, pp. 19–142.
31 Cf. D.A. Washbrook, Problems of Global History, in: Berg (ed.), Writing the History of the Global, pp. 21–31.

their fixation on national history is also the concern of transnational history, research on non-European regions of the world is aimed also at overcoming Eurocentric historical narratives and provides the basis – and the challenge – for an empirically saturated global history. According to Sebastian Conrad, the concern of global history therefore goes beyond the investigation of transregional and global interdependencies by focusing on "large-scale structured integration" and pursuing the "problem of causation up to the global level".[32] But then again, global history currently operates scientifically and politically between two fronts: Within Europe and the North Atlantic world, on the one hand, the current renaissance of nationalism seems to confirm the historical significance of nation states. Outside the West, on the other hand, global historical perspectives are sometimes exposed to the suspicion of a (re-)colonization of historiography and thus to a – not so New – Imperial History.

The question posed for discussion in the current issue regarding the relationship between global history and the history of world regions thus initially points to the existing tension between the – explicit or implicit – postulate of a globalization emanating from Europe and the demand for a provincialization of Europe in a global perspective. In addition, it opens a critical reflection on spaces and places, structures and processes of entanglements and synchronicities, as well as disentanglements and divergence, which allow us to scrutinize the concepts of the global and the world regions themselves. Finally, it takes up the significance of comparative approaches in the context of global history research.

The current issue focuses on how the relationship between global history and the history of world regions is reflected in German-language historiography. It approaches the relationship from the varied academic conditions under which global history is discussed in different contexts – in Germany as well as in the USA, Great Britain, France, China, or Mexico – and which are also relevant in research practice. In addition, the focus on German-language historiography serves the goal of conducting a more nuanced debate on the topic, in view of the necessity of multilingualism within discussions on global history.

The following contributions are divided into two parts. The first part consists of articles by Stefan Rinke and Frederik Schulze, Andreas Eckert, Harald Fischer-Tiné, and Martin Aust, who, based on their expertise in the history of Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe, deal with the relationship between the historiography on the respective world region and global historical research. Subsequently, Roland Wenzlhuemer and Stephan Scheuzger will present their considerations on the status and tasks of global history and the role of regional expertise.

The concept of the current issue goes back to a series of events organized by the two editors under the title "Global History and History of World Regions" in the autumn semester of 2015 at the University of Bern's Center for Global Studies. The following six central questions underlying the events also form the starting point for the contributions

32 Conrad, What Is Global History?, p. 67.

to the current issue: (1) What understanding of global history – and related concepts, such as transnational, international or entangled history – underlie the considerations? (2) How can the claims arising from the twofold constitutive orientation of global historical approaches – the spatial decentration of research perspectives and the breaking up of fixed spatial concepts – be judged in relation to and weighed against one another? (3) How is the position of historiography on the respective world region assessed in the current global history – also regarding older transregional approaches to research and postcolonial studies, which may have already anticipated the concerns of global history? (4) What significance is ascribed to the history of the respective world region regarding global historical research – especially considering the questions from which historical period onwards global history can be meaningfully pursued, and which forms and aspects of cross-border interdependencies, as well as which objects of investigation, are to be classified as particularly relevant? (5) How can these considerations be illustrated with examples from the contributors own empirical research? (6) How can we conclude the potential and risks of global historical approaches between theoretical claim and empirical realization?

The first part of the current issue is opened by the contribution of Stefan Rinke and Frederik Schulze, who, from the perspective of Latin American historians, emphasize the importance of historical Latin American studies for a global history that not only looks at its objects from the nineteenth century onwards, but also integrates early modern times into its perspectives. With the establishment of colonial rule in early modern Latin America, many of the worldwide interdependencies began that are regarded today as shaping a globalized world. In addition, the authors elaborate on the fact that these far-reaching interdependencies have been known for some time in the historiography of Latin America, but have also been examined by it for decades as a global history *avant la lettre.* This clearly contrasts with the finding that the subcontinent has so far played only a marginal role in the trend of global history. The reasons for this marginalization is therefore of particular interest. At the same time, the authors refer to the recent upswing of global historical perspectives on Latin America, which can be seen in the areas of migration, social movements or the two world wars and the Cold War.

In his contribution, Andreas Eckert also notes a role on the fringes of the rise of global history for African history. However, he also considers the ongoing debate of whether there is further evidence of Africa's continuing marginalization in historiography, or whether it can be traced back to the continent's rather marginal position in world history. He instead focuses primarily on the question of how historians of Africa position themselves in relation to global history and how they use global historical perspectives in their research. This approach leads onto the question of global academic hierarchies and the material basis of historical research. The pressure generally felt among African historians to prove their ability to connect to global historical approaches is often countered – as in Latin America – by the view that global history is another manifestation of Western knowledge imperialism and represents an attack on the specific knowledge of local constellations. Eckert also proves – like Rinke and Schulze for Latin America –

that there is a long tradition, dating back to W. E. B. Du Bois, of tracing Africa's place in world history. However, one of the problematic aspects that is still characteristic of both African and global historiography is the notion of Africa as "special" and of other regions of the world as "normal". The contribution therefore argues for a perspective that does not overly focus on the particularities of Africa, as on the peculiarities of global history, of which Africa is a part.

In the following contribution, Harald Fischer-Tiné discusses, among other things, to what extent it is true that (South) Asia represents, as historians often see it, a privileged object of global historical research. It was indeed the South Asian specialist Christopher Bayly, who more than ten years ago helped global history achieve an international academic breakthrough (and commercial success) with his highly acclaimed book *The Birth of the Modern World*. It should also be noted that some of the theoretical thinkers frequently quoted by global historians such as Dipesh Chakrabarty or Partha Chatterjee began their careers as regional specialists for the Indian subcontinent. The article shows why global historical and even transnational perspectives had anything but an easy time asserting themselves among historians of the region, at least if they transcended the imperial axis of South Asia-Britain. In addition to an inventory of the older research approaches that embedded the history of the subcontinent in larger trans-local contexts (outside the British Empire), the article also provides an overview of some of the most important fields of research that South Asian historians have been working on since the "global turn" at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Fischer-Tiné illustrates his own methodological ideas of a "global micro-history" of the region using the example of his research on the history of the US Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in South Asia.

Martin Aust's review of the relationship between global historical historiography and historiography of Eastern Europe, focusing on the subject of Russian history in the nineteenth century, concludes the first part of the current issue. Aust begins by referring to the historiographical tradition of studies on the Russian empire. Since the research carried out on the Tsarist Empire over the past 25 years has focused primarily on its internal conditions, and has only recently begun to address the links between the empire and various external worlds, Aust considers two interesting starting points for global historical research in Russian historiography. First, the volume on the nineteenth century of the history of the world recently published by the Russian Academy of Sciences reveals a convergence between the otherwise traditionally separate fields of so-called general history and the history of Russia. Secondly, the contributions of former Soviet area studies are moving in a direction that also focuses on Russia's connections to the respective regions. Aust argues that these approaches should be pursued for future research on the place of Russia in global history. He analyses the potential of such connections using the example of the question in which fields globalization processes in the nineteenth century opened up spaces of possibility for actors from the tsarist empire, and in which fields they had a structurally restrictive effect. Aust focused on aspects of economy, mobility, and law. In addition to examining interdependencies, he also emphasizes the importance

of comparative perspectives on a global scale. In this way, historical specifics and interrelationships would be discernible, through which historiography of Russia could enrich global historical debates.

All four contributions of the first part of the current issue emphasize the central importance of regionally specific competences when it comes to addressing the question of the tension between the two central strands of global history – the overcoming of internalist perspectives and the decentering of historiographical perspectives – in their relationship to historiographies about specific world regions. Accordingly, global history not only requires the expertise of historiography on these world regions, but it is also best researched from the perspective of these regions. The authors cannot recognize a fundamental questioning of the geographically and epistemologically defined formats of historical research on Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe, a loss of significance in favour of global history, or even an over-shaping by the latter, neither as threat scenarios nor as desiderata. Since all authors reflect from their position as specialists in the history of a region of the world, from where they have also included global history approaches in their research, this finding is not very surprising. However, it does seem significant in terms of the representativeness it can claim: In the German-speaking world, global history was established by historians who, in the first generation, were closely linked to the regionally defined sub-disciplines of historical studies.

In the second part of the current issue, two historians whose works have inscribed themselves in the further developments of the field of global history, and who have increasingly detached themselves from a specialization in the history of a single region of the world or have never been part of such a regional research tradition, present their ideas of the central concerns of global history.

Roland Wenzlhuemer understands global history primarily as the history of transregional or global connections. Thus, his central theme is how and why global connections have arisen through the thoughts and actions of people and, at the same time, have influenced them. This fundamental question would give rise to countless systematic problems that need to be examined in a wide variety of regional settings. The regional contexts are highly relevant, but do not form the explanandum. The aim of global history approaches, through a focus on global networking and exchange processes, to contribute to overcoming Eurocentric perspectives, does not imply any particular relationship between the history of certain, especially non-European, world regions and global history. Rather, every object can be viewed – in principle – from a perspective of global connections. Wenzlhuemer exemplifies his research approach with a case study on the interweaving of British colonial politics and communication technologies in Burma (Upper Burma) in the late nineteenth century.

Stephan Scheuzger argues in favour of giving more analytical weight to the hitherto less prominent aspect of the decentration of historical perspectives, in contrast to the dominant focus in research on transfers and interactions that global history shares with transnational or renewed international history. Using the example of the global history of punishment in the "long" nineteenth century, the contribution shows the fundamental

limitations of the investigation of transmission processes and the analysis of their significance for local processes. At the same time, Scheuzger critically notes that historians in the context of global history, apart from a regular distinction from the macro-perspectives of world-historical approaches, rarely investigate what the "global" exactly describes in their research. To do this on an empirically founded basis implies, on the one hand, a precise analysis of the scope of cross-border interdependencies as well as their significance for historical developments in certain regions – for which regional historical expertise is required. On the other hand, it is necessary for global historical studies to integrate different spaces into their consideration in as wide and meaningful manner as possible, based on different regional historical expertise. The core global historical concern of decentration should therefore be implemented – first and foremost – in a multicentric perspective. This corresponds with an understanding of global history that is situated somewhere between a global history essentially conducted as an extension of regional history and master stories of world history and that ascribes a central role to comparison.

Global History *avant la lettre*. The Historiography on Latin America between Regional Studies and Global Challenges

Stefan Rinke / Frederik Schulze

ABSTRACTS

Der Artikel geht dem Verhältnis zwischen Lateinamerikageschichtsschreibung und Globalgeschichte nach und argumentiert, dass beide Felder wichtige Brückenfunktionen füreinander haben. Während die Geschichtsschreibung zu Lateinamerika den Gegensatz zwischen Globalgeschichte und Area Studies zu überwinden helfen kann, verfügt Globalgeschichte über das Potenzial, die Lateinamerikageschichte mit ihrer Mutterdisziplin zu versöhnen, indem sie den Subkontinent als integralen Bestandteil einer globalen Geschichtsschreibung verankert. Aufgrund von Verflechtungen und kultureller Hybridität bereits seit der Frühen Neuzeit ist Lateinamerika ein besonders spannender Untersuchungsraum für globale Fragestellungen.

The article traces the relationship between Latin American history and global history and argues that both fields serve an important bridging function for each other. While Latin American history can help to overcome the opposition between global history and historical area studies, global history can contribute to reconciling Latin American history with the parent discipline by integrating Latin America as an integral part of a global historiography. Due to its interdependencies and hybrid history, already established in the early modern era, Latin America is especially fruitful for global historical questions.

At the beginning of the new millennium, global historical approaches established a foothold in Anglo-Saxon and German historical studies.[1] Undoubtedly, global history is not a clearly defined field and can lack precision. Nonetheless, a number of important

1 See the significant amount of conceptual contributions to global history in B. Mazlish and R. Buulthens (eds.), Conceptualizing Global History, Boulder 1993; P. Manning, Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global

Comparativ | Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung 29 (2019) Heft 2, S. 20–35.

basic elements are characteristic for that approach. In view of the current experiences of globalization, the focus is on using an integrated approach that overcomes spatial containers such as nations or world regions as units of analysis. The exchange of people and knowledge is characterized by the high mobility and intellectual flexibility of the involved actors, by regional spaces of interaction, and by global and asymmetrical structures which transcend the bilateralism of sender and receiver. Such an approach criticizes Eurocentrism, tries to locate agency beyond Western actors and shows the retroactive effects from around the world in the West. This critique has also called into question the basic assumptions of historical studies based on Western theory.[2] German global history, which has been institutionalized above all in Berlin, Constance, and Leipzig, has largely adopted this definition and understands the global as a perspective for investigating local, regional, or national stories in their relatedness to the world.[3]

At first, Latin American historians reacted cautiously to this development. One group noted that Latin America was a special case that should not be investigated using instruments developed elsewhere.[4] Another group remarked that Latin American historians had already been working on global history for some time. In fact, the very subject of investigation – Latin America – is quite global in nature. It was also criticized that Latin America was ignored by global and world history.[5] What is more, a silent majority simply dismissed the new trend. Over ten years have passed since these initial reactions. What has happened in the meantime? What is the relationship between Latin American history and global history, and what opportunities and problems arise from this relationship?

We argue that global history and Latin American history serve an important bridging function for each other. First of all, Latin American history can help to overcome the opposition between global history and historical area studies. Of course, global history rejects clearly defined regional research units in favour of spaces of interaction and interdependencies and thus also questions Latin American historiography. At the same time, global history remains dependent on the expertise of Latin American historiography and other historiographies concentrated on certain regions. Without their in-depth knowl-

Past, New York 2003; D. Sachsenmaier, Global Perspectives on Global History: Theories and Approaches in a Connected World, Cambridge, UK 2011; S. Conrad, What is Global History?, Princeton 2016.

2 See D. Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference, Princeton 2000.

3 See Conrad, Global History; J. Osterhammel, Alte und neue Zugänge zur Weltgeschichte, in: Idem (ed.), World History, Stuttgart 2008, pp. 9–32.

4 In the 1990s, the role of Latin America was reflected in postcolonial studies, which is considered the inspiration for global history. Some scholars criticized that concepts were transferred to Latin America that were not developed in the region and thus could not adequately explain its history. This was considered especially problematic because there were already postcolonial theoretical approaches from Latin America. See J.J. Klor de Alva, The Postcolonization of the (Latin) American Experience: A Reconsideration of "Colonialism", "Postcolonialism", and "Mestizaje", in: G. Prakash (ed.), After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements, Princeton 1995, pp. 241–275; W.D. Mignolo, Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking, Princeton 2000.

5 Central to this argument was a special issue of the 2004 Hispanic American Historical Review on the relationship between world history and Latin American history, which involved the participation of Jeremy Adelman and Laura Benton, among others. See HAHR Forum, Placing Latin America in World History, in: Hispanic American Historical Review 84 (2004) 3, pp. 391–446.

edge, global history would remain a hollow project. The example of Latin America shows that area studies and global history often analyse related problems and develop similar lines of inquiry. Both fields could therefore benefit from a dialogue.

Secondly, global history can contribute to reconciling Latin American history with the parent discipline. The outsourcing of Latin American history to area studies institutes has led to its general disappearance from discussions on hegemonic Western historiography and the fact that it tends to follow the debates in area studies. The rather sluggish interchange between Latin American history and global history only underscores this development. Global history in particular could make it possible to integrate Latin America into an overall historiography, since it directs the focus to actors and agency outside the West. Indeed, its practice necessitates an in-depth knowledge of the cultural space.

It should therefore be the goal to understand Latin America as an integral part of a global historiography, which does not require any special justification. It is nevertheless worth pointing out again that, due to interdependencies that were already established in the early modern era and its hybrid history, Latin America is especially fruitful for global historical questions – not least because it anticipated developments and questions which are currently being discussed for other decolonized continents. Bernd Hausberger has spoken in this context of a "laboratory of later developments."[6] To achieve a convergence between Latin American history and the historical discipline, on the one hand, and regional history and global history, on the other, historiography anchored in the West must overcome its Eurocentrism (and more recently Asiacentrism) and engage with Latin America. Latin American history, in turn, must interact more strongly with the current historiographical debates of the West and intervene in a corrective manner.

To begin with, we will briefly outline previous historiography on Latin America and global historical approaches in order to describe the relationship between the two fields of study. We will then look at the debate on this relationship over the last ten years. Empirical contributions, especially from the relatively small German-speaking community, illustrate what a convergence between Latin American history and the parent discipline could look like through global historical approaches. This is followed by a few thematic proposals which distinctly demonstrate the significance of Latin American history as an integral part of a global history. In this section, we also give a brief summary of two of our own contributions to the field of global history, namely the First World War in Latin America and German immigration to Brazil. We conclude with suggestions for how to shape the future debate.

6 B. Hausberger, Lateinamerika in globaler Vernetzung, in: B. Schäbler (ed.), Area Studies und die Welt: Weltregionen und neue Globalgeschichte, Wien 2007, pp. 150–177, at 172–173.

1. Historiography on Latin America. Global History *avant la lettre*

So far, the historiography of Latin America has primarily taken place in two research contexts. In the nineteenth century, national historiographies were established and initially took on identity-forming tasks for the young nations in constructing a national past. In the twentieth century, these national historiographies underwent the same kinds of developments in evidence elsewhere: While in the Cold War historiography was increasingly socio-scientific or Marxist-inspired, cultural history made its appearance in the 1980s. At the same time, reference was made to local units of analysis, for example, in the context of subaltern studies.[7]

The same applies to the Anglo-Saxon research context, where from the 1920s and increasingly in the 1960s a strong branch of interdisciplinary area studies began to deal with Latin America historically. Smaller focal points of Latin American research also emerged in Western Europe and in Germany. Area studies arose out of the goal to scientifically process information from all over the world and to gain regional expertise. This, in turn, was to facilitate political influence on the investigated regions. The entanglement of regional studies with colonial projects through the middle of the twentieth century have been widely discussed since Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978).[8] As Mark T. Berger has shown, during the Cold War political goals and a generally negative view of the investigated region and its history were also constitutive for US-American Latin American Studies.[9]

In the late 1960s, a left-wing branch emerged, which saw area expertise as the basis for understanding other parts of the world and as a megaphone for non-Western positions. In this context, interest in Latin America also grew in Germany: The Institute for Latin American Studies – the first university regional institute on Latin America in the German-speaking world – was founded at Freie Universität Berlin in 1970.[10] While such institutions are more numerous in the US, they have long been the exception in Latin America (see, for instance, the Universidad Autónoma de México).

At such institutes, Latin American historians have become accustomed to the spatial separation from the parent discipline in favour of an interdisciplinary localization. There is an inherent tension, however, between the claim to speak for the region and an external viewpoint which tends to remain Eurocentric. For this reason, Western concerns have mostly been extended to Latin America, or the region has been observed vis-à-vis the United States or Europe.

7 For an introduction, see J. Malerba, A história na América Latina: ensaio de crítica historiográfica, Rio de Janeiro 2009.

8 E. Said, Orientalism, New York 1978.

9 M.T. Berger, Under Northern Eyes: Latin American Studies and US Hegemony in the Americas 1898–1990, Bloomington 1995. See also R.D. Salvatore, Disciplinary Conquest: U.S. Scholars in South America, 1900–1945, Durham 2016; T. Loschke, Area Studies Revisited: die Geschichte der Lateinamerikastudien in den USA, 1940 bis 1970, Göttingen 2018.

10 Other professorships in Latin American history are in Bern, Bielefeld, Bremen, Eichstätt, Hamburg, Hannover, Cologne, Leipzig, and Münster.

Area studies also emphasize space, and defining it typically serves as a point of departure. As a geographical and above all cultural area, Latin America is an invention of the nineteenth century.[11] Even if common historical experiences in politics, economy, and social structure as well as the Iberian languages could be arguments for such a classification, it has become clear – since the spatial turn at the latest – that there are no rigid spatial containers and that the demarcation of such spaces raises questions. Latin American studies have hardly dealt with these problems, due in no small measure to the fact that most empirical contributions on Latin America do not focus on the entire region, but rather nations and localities.

For historiography in Latin America as well as for the historical Latin American studies, explicit global-historical perspectives have not played a major role and one can hardly speak of a global turn. Nonetheless, it has rightly been argued that historical research on Latin America can be described as global history *avant la lettre*. However diverse the individual histories of the Latin American countries may be, it makes a lot of sense to narrate them as an entangled story – one that began with the conquest by the Europeans and was shaped by African slavery, world trade, European and Asian immigration, and the circulation of knowledge. For this reason, as Jeremy Adelman has stressed, reflection on the particular and the global is and has been constitutive for Latin American historiography since the nineteenth century.[12]

Stefan Rinke (in reference to Chile) and Georg Fischer, Christina Peters, and Frederik Schulze (in reference to Brazil) have shown that perspectives that went beyond the nation were self-evident for most national historians, even if there was no stringent programme for such historiography and the nation remained the central subject of inquiry.[13] As part of the reorientation of the social sciences in the 1960s and 1970s, Latin American historians analysed the global economic interdependency of the subcontinent.[14] This endeavour was influenced by the dependency theory developed in Latin America and Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems theory.[15] Playing an important role here was the analysis of Latin American foreign trade and dependencies on Western centers. Entanglement was likewise the essential paradigm for the history of the Atlantic, with contributions from and about Latin America involving the study of the South Atlantic as a contact zone

11 See W.D. Mignolo, The Idea of Latin America, Malden, MA 2005; U. Lehmkuhl and S. Rinke (eds.), Amerika – Amerikas: Zur Geschichte eines Namens von 1507 bis zur Gegenwart, Stuttgart 2008.

12 J. Adelman, Latin American and World Histories: Old and New Approaches to Pluribus and the Unum, in: Hispanic American Historical Review 84 (2004) 3, pp. 399–409, at 401– 403. See also O. Acha, From "World History" to "Global History": Latin American Perspectives, in: D. Brauer et al. (eds.), New Perspectives on Global History, Hanover 2013, pp. 31–42, at 31–32.

13 S. Rinke, Begegnungen mit dem Yankee: Nordamerikanisierung und soziokultureller Wandel in Chile, 1898–1990, Köln 2004, pp. 7–15; G. Fischer, Ch. Peters and F. Schulze, Brasilien in der Globalgeschichte, in: G. Fischer et al. (eds.), Brasilien in der Welt: Region, Nation und Globalisierung 1870–1945, Frankfurt a. M. 2013, pp. 9–50.

14 On this and the following paragraph, see Fischer et al., Brasilien in der Globalgeschichte, pp. 18–27.

15 See F.H. Cardoso and E. Faletto, Dependency and Development in Latin America, Berkeley 1979 (1967); I. Wallerstein, The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century, New York 1974.

or the transatlantic African diaspora.[16] Critique on Eurocentrism also came from Latin America, as shown by the broad discussion on postcolonial studies or studies on cultural contact and cultural hybridity.[17]

In historical area studies, however, bi-national studies predominate, which, for example, address the relationship of Latin American countries to the US or to Europe. Bernd Hausberger has criticized that this external perspective deprives Latin America of its own relevance and thus remains Eurocentric.[18] Current research contributions on bilateral issues show that this assessment does not always have to apply, as, for example, when Latin America's agency or the limitations of Western dominance are elucidated in such relationships and interactions are examined in both directions.[19]

This very brief outline clearly demonstrates that topics and approaches of global history were already discussed in one form or another in historiography on Latin America, albeit mostly in fragments and not as a well-formulated turning-point. At the same time, the long-standing institutionalization of national histories in Latin America and Latin American studies in the Western academic system has not given rise to the feeling that the region is being scientifically marginalized (whereas this feeling may have contributed to the emergence of postcolonial studies in Asia and Africa). The global turn, which was primarily aimed at Western historiography, has thus found little resonance among Latin American historians. Instead, it fuels the skepticism in Latin America about a new US scientific colonialism and harbours the danger that global history will distance itself from the work of Latin American colleagues. Indeed, some of them do not have access to the necessary resources for participating in the global historical debate, such as research literature, source material, means of travel, and language skills.

2. Latin America in Global Historical Research

Global history, as Matthew Brown has recently pointed out, has to this point largely circumvented Latin America or at best perceived it as a victim on the periphery.[20] The reason for this is generally attributed to the origin of global history in Anglocentric

16 On the South Atlantic, see L.F. de Alencastro, O trato dos viventes: formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, séculos XVI e XVII, São Paulo 2000; D. Richardson and F. Ribeiro da Silva (eds.), Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange: Slave Trading in the South Atlantic, 1590–1867, Leiden 2015; on the African diaspora, see D.Y. Curry et al. (eds.), Extending the Diaspora: New Histories of Black People, Urbana 2009; I. Kummels et al. (eds.), Transatlantic Caribbean: Dialogues of People, Practices, and Ideas, Bielefeld 2014.

17 See T. Todorov, Conquest of America: The Question of the Other, Norman 1984 (1982); N. García Canclini, Culturas híbridas: estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad, Mexico City 1990; M. Moraña, E. Dussel and C.A. Jáuregui (eds.), Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate, Durham 2008.

18 Hausberger, Lateinamerika in globaler Vernetzung, p. 151. See also S. Hensel, Außereuropäische Geschichte – Globalgeschichte – Geschichte der Weltregionen aus der Perspektive einer Lateinamerikahistorikerin, in: hsoz kult, 2 December 2017, https://www.hsozkult.de/debate/id/diskussionen-4357 (accessed 2 January 2018).

19 See M. Wasserman, Pesos and Politics: Business, Elites, Foreigners, and Government in Mexico, 1854–1940, Stanford 2015; F. Schulze, Auswanderung als nationalistisches Projekt: "Deutschtum" und Kolonialdiskurse im südlichen Brasilien (1824–1941), Cologne 2016.

20 M. Brown, The Global History of Latin America, in: Journal of Global History 10 (2015) 3, pp. 365–386.

debates and imperial history, where the binarity between Orient and Occident and the rise of the East are discussed. This has led to the marginalization of Latin American history, especially the nineteenth century, which did not fit to this debate and was therefore seen only as a story of marginal import.[21] Canonized works like Erez Manela's *The Wilsonian Moment* or Kenneth Pomeranz' *The Great Divergence* are such examples that are interested in decolonization or the relationship of the West to Asia and not primarily Latin America.[22] Patrick Manning has noted that not only did the decolonization of Latin America take place earlier, but so did the institutionalization of regional studies as an object of investigation. Latin America consequently developed a different discussion context far from global history.[23]

Even global history *qua* world history tends to neglect Latin America as a kind of unwanted stepchild, as evidenced by Christopher Bayly's history of the nineteenth century. Although the cover of the original edition shows a painting by Anne-Louis Girodet from 1797, depicting Jean-Baptiste Belley – born in Africa, abducted as a slave to Saint-Domingue, and elected a member of the French National Convention during the French Revolution – Bayly only briefly mentions the global significance of the Haitian revolution in reaction to Napoleon.[24] Even in Jürgen Osterhammel's *The Transformation of the World*, where Latin America is discussed throughout, the continent remains on the edge of global change processes.[25] Another problem of world history comes to the fore here, as in Sven Beckert's global history of cotton, which likewise seeks to consider all regions of the world. Specifically, the sheer abundance of material typically results in only a superficial consideration of primary sources or research literature from Latin America.[26] This is all the more regrettable because Latin American historiography has already dealt with questions resembling those in global history. In this regard, then, global history falls short of area studies and does not live up to its own demand of overcoming Eurocentrism.

3. Global History and Latin America – A New Trend

Since the turn of the millennium, however, the relationship between global history and Latin America has started to change. It is not global, but Latin American historians who

21 L. Benton, No Longer Odd Region Out: Repositioning Latin America in World History, in: Hispanic American Historical Review 84 (2004) 3, pp. 423–430, at pp. 424–425; Brown, Global History, pp. 365 and 369; Hensel, Außereuropäische Geschichte.

22 E. Manela, The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism, Oxford 2007; K. Pomeranz, The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of Modern World Economy, Princeton 2000.

23 P. Manning, Nordamerikanische Ansätze zur Globalgeschichte, in: Schäbler (ed.), Area Studies, Vienna 2007, p. 65.

24 Ch. Bayly, The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914, Malden, MA 2004.

25 J. Osterhammel, The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century, Princeton 2014 (2009).

26 S. Beckert, Empire of Cotton: A Global History, New York 2014.

are driving the debate, with the result that the sharp division is no longer tenable. On the one hand, they have discussed the relationship between the two research areas. On the other, they have presented empirical studies with the aim in each case of making global historical perspectives useful for Latin America and of integrating Latin America more strongly into global history. Jeremy Adelman, for example, has taken the view that Latin American historiography's focus on local histories could help to deconstruct master narratives such as the rise of Western modernity in favour of heterogeneous histories.[27]
In 2007, the debate reached the German-speaking world with an anthology by Birgit Schäbler.[28] For the first time, the volume posed the question presented in this journal about the relationship between area studies and global history. Bernd Hausberger's essay on Latin America highlighted the "complex interaction of indigenous and European, but also African and Asian historical strands" in Latin America and called for the integration of the region into global historical work.[29] In the 2010s, such voices multiplied and sharpened the debate with respect to individual countries such as Brazil or subfields such as science and technology studies.[30] Historians' associations, conferences, and doctoral programmes on Latin America are now also increasingly discussing approaches to global history.[31] At the same time, the debate in Latin America was established with the founding of a working group on Latin America in global history by the Asociación de Historiadores Latinoamericanistas Europeos. The highpoint of this development so far is the programmatic volume "Historia global," which combines systematic considerations and empirical research on this topic from a Latin American perspective.[32]
Offering an interim conclusion, in the *Journal of Global History* from 2015, Matthew Brown called for Latin America to be freed from its role as victim. Instead, it should be treated as part of global history and thus universalized. Future researchers should more-

27 Adelman, Latin American and World Histories, pp. 400 and 409.
28 Schäbler (ed.), Area Studies. In 2017, Clio online revived the debate, see S. Dorsch et al., Editorial: "Außereuropäische Geschichte", "Globalgeschichte", "Geschichte der Weltregionen"? Neue Herausforderungen und Perspektiven, in: hsozkult, 2 November 2017, https://www.hsozkult.de/debate/id/diskussionen-4319 (accessed 2 January 2018).
29 Hausberger, Lateinamerika in globaler Vernetzung, p. 155.
30 See Fischer et al., Brasilien in der Globalgeschichte; S. McCook, Introduction, in: Isis 104 (2013) 4, pp. 773–776.
31 Several research platforms in the German-speaking world have recently addressed the topic, including the International Research Training Group Entre Espacios/Zwischen Räumen (Berlin/Mexico City), founded in 2009, the Center for InterAmerican Studies, founded in 2011 in Bielefeld, and the Global South Studies Center in Cologne, which was established in 2014. Since 2009, there has been a working group of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutsche Lateinamerikaforschung (ADLAF) on "Latin American History in Global Perspective". In 2014, the congress of the Asociación de Historiadores Latinoamericanistas Europeos (AHILA) in Berlin was held under the motto "Between Spaces: Latin American History in Global Context".
32 See S. Rinke and C. Riojas (eds.), Historia global: perspectivas y tensiones, Stuttgart 2017. In 2014 and 2016, Alexandre Moreli and Stella Krepp organized two conferences on "Latin America in a Global Context" and thereby also stimulated the debate in Brazil. See the special issues on global history in Revista Brasileira de História, 34 (2014) 68 and Revista Estudos Históricos 30 (2017) 60. See also S. Krepp and A. Moreli, Quebrar el bloqueo hemisférico: América Latina y lo global, in: Iberoamericana 17 (2017) 65, pp. 245–250; F. Purcell and A. Riquelme (eds.), Ampliando miradas: Chile y su historia en un tiempo global, Santiago de Chile 2009; C. Riojas, América Latina entre narrativas influyentes y tiempos de historia global, in: América Latina en la historia economica, forthcoming.

over see themselves simultaneously as Latin American and global historians.[33] Agendas are still being developed, however, that specifically formulate how to tackle this.[34]
Although such suggestions have not yet been fully reflected in empirical research, Latin American historians have increasingly been presenting empirical contributions over the past five years, which develop research subjects and questions from a decidedly global historical perspective. Interestingly, this development has been particularly evident in German-speaking countries. To be sure, career planning has played a role in the decision of academics to jump on the bandwagon of the global turn. But the fact that German-speaking historians strive to link Latin America and global history cannot be explained purely from a science-policy perspective. Another reason is the manageable German-speaking research community, which – in contrast to the US or Latin America – depends on dialogue with colleagues who do not work on the topic of Latin America. Here, global history serves as a bridge to other area histories and German historiography. In this respect, the contributions of German-speaking scholars point to the increasing integration of regional historiography with the parent discipline and show that area experts with their knowledge of languages are particularly well placed for writing contributions on global history. It is therefore not surprising that Latin American historians such as Debora Gerstenberger and Stefanie Gänger have helped shape the global historical theory debate in Germany.[35]
One of the first major research priorities involves taking up Latin America in global knowledge and actor networks. Christiane Berth has worked with global and local networks of German coffee traders in Central America,[36] while Georg Fischer has analysed global expert networks in connection with Brazilian iron ore.[37] As in Frederik Schulze's study on discourses on German emigration to Brazil, it becomes evident here that many debates can only be understood in the context of global knowledge circulation, in which Latin American actors and experiences have had an influence.[38] The global context also played a role in genuinely national Latin American histories, which was often reflected by the historical actors on the ground. Debora Gerstenberger shows this on the example of the transatlantic Portuguese empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century, where

33 Brown, The Global History of Latin America, pp. 382–386. That said, Brown does not take note of the German-speaking debate, again illustrating the challenges of a global scientific landscape – indeed, all the more so given that Brown himself makes an appeal for the reception of non-English-language contributions. See also Acha, From "World History" to "Global History".

34 For Brazil, see G. Fischer and F. Schulze, Brazilian History as Global History, in: Bulletin of Latin American Research (2018), early view.

35 See D. Gerstenberger and J. Glasman (eds.), Techniken der Globalisierung: Globalgeschichte meets Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie, Bielefeld 2016; S. Gänger et al. (eds.), Globalgeschichten: Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven, Frankfurt a. M. 2014; S. Gänger, Circulation: Reflections on Circularity, Entity, and Liquidity in the Language of Global History, in: Journal of Global History 12 (2017) 3, pp. 303–318.

36 Ch. Berth, Biografien und Netzwerke im Kaffeehandel zwischen Deutschland und Zentralamerika 1920–1959, Hamburg 2014.

37 G. Fischer, Globalisierte Geologie: Eine Wissensgeschichte des Eisenerzes in Brasilien, 1876–1914, Frankfurt a. M. 2017.

38 Schulze, Auswanderung als nationalistisches Projekt.

authorities were anxious about globally circulating political ideas.[39] In fact, as Armando García de la Torre has argued, ostensible national heroes like Cuban José Martí tapped into a "global market of ideas" for their political schemes.[40]

Even so, Latin America was itself a global pioneer of certain political ideas, as James E. Sanders has tried to show for democratic republicanism in the nineteenth century.[41] Consequently, a second area of research is the analysis of the retroactive effects from Latin America on the metropolises. Nina Elsemann, for example, has demonstrated how the Latin American experience coming to terms with military dictatorships formed the Spanish debate on the reappraisal of the Franco regime.[42] Other studies have dealt with Latin American migration to Europe, such as Nancy E. Van Deusen's contribution, which links the deportation of indigenous people to Spain during the colonial era with the emergence of the global category "indio,"[43] and Jens Streckert's monograph, which discusses the role of Paris as a port of call for Latin American intellectuals at the turn of the century.[44] Michael Goebel has further developed this topic globally by discussing Latin American migrants in the context of worldwide migration in Paris, in whose midst anti-imperialist ideas coalesced.[45] Stefan Rinke has examined the foundations of these developments during the First World War in his global historical analysis of the Latin American subcontinent during the First World War.[46]

Thirdly, Latin America also plays an increasingly important role in world-historical depictions. In *El otro Occidente* (2004), Marcello Carmagnani has described Latin America's path into the globalized world since colonial times and argues that Latin American actors played an active role in influencing the global process of occidentalization.[47] A series of overviews and anthologies, including the contributions of Austrian global history, strengthens the perspective of interdependency and describes individual nations or the continent in their global relations and as a part of world history.[48] The work of Helge Wendt – who reads missionary texts from Latin America as part of a global mis-

39 D. Gerstenberger, Gouvernementalität im Zeichen der globalen Krise: Der Transfer des portugiesischen Königshofes nach Brasilien, Köln 2013.

40 A. García de la Torre, José Martí and the Global Origins of Cuban Independence, Kingston 2015, p. 15.

41 J.E. Sanders, The Vanguard of the Atlantic World: Creating Modernity, Nation, and Democracy at Nineteenth-Century Latin America, Durham 2014.

42 N. Elsemann, Umkämpfte Erinnerungen: Die Bedeutung lateinamerikanischer Erfahrungen für die spanische Geschichtspolitik nach Franco, Frankfurt a.M. 2010.

43 N.E. Van Deusen, Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain, Durham 2015.

44 J. Streckert, Die Hauptstadt Lateinamerikas: Eine Geschichte der Lateinamerikaner im Paris der Dritten Republik (1870–1940), Köln 2013.

45 M. Goebel, Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism, Cambridge, UK 2015.

46 S. Rinke, Latin America and the First World War, Cambridge, UK 2017.

47 M. Carmagnani, El otro Occidente: América Latina desde la invasión europea hasta la globalización, Mexico City 2004.

48 For Latin America as a whole, see the global history series: Die Welt 1000–2000, ed. by P. Feldbauer et al., Wien 2008–2011; B. Hausberger, Die Verknüpfung der Welt: Geschichte der frühen Globalisierung vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert, Wien 2015; J. Adelman, Latin America: A Global History, Princeton, forthcoming. For Mexico, see W.H. Beezley, Mexico in World History, Oxford 2011; for Brazil, see G. Fischer et al. (eds.), Brasilien in der Welt: Region, Nation und Globalisierung 1870–1945, Frankfurt a.M. 2013; P.E. Amar (ed.), The Middle East and Brazil:

sionary discourse together with texts from other parts of the world – stands out among the few research contributions that incorporate Latin America into world history.[49] Latin America has also found its place in anthologies dealing with global topics such as global biographies, colonial knowledge production, expert culture, borderlands, and coffee.[50]
To conclude, there is ample evidence that Latin America is currently being inscribed in global historical debates. Important stimuli are coming from the German-speaking world, which however faces the predicament that German-language production is not widely received globally. Translation is therefore essential. The empirical work nevertheless shows that the main thrust of global historical research on Latin America is to understand Latin America in its global interdependency in order to expand both global history and the history of Latin America.

4. Latin America as Part of Globalization since the Sixteenth Century

Understanding Latin America as part of a global history of interdependency is all the more important because of the continent's pioneering role.[51] Experiences that are problematized today in the context of global history were already formative for Latin America from colonial times. They include colonial rule, cultural transfers and hybridizations, migration and diaspora, slavery and racism, decolonization and postcolonial criticism, nation-state formation and the development of political ideas, integration into the world market, and the exploitation of natural resources.
Latin America is itself, as a spatial concept, a product of globalization – both in terms of common historical experiences such as Iberian colonialism, slavery and independence, but also in the sense of a cultural construction. Since its discovery, this construction has connoted a reflection on the role and peculiarities of what later became Latin America and has led to a relatively homogeneous perception of the region. While Latin America thus is distinct from other regions of the world, the spatial levels in which global interdependencies occurred do not appreciably differ. They range from contact zones such as port cities across the Atlantic and the Pacific to subregions – such as the Caribbean and nation states, habitats such as the Andes or the Amazon region, localities, NGOs and international organisations.

Perspectives on the New Global South, Bloomington 2014; for Chile, see K. Christiaens et al. (eds.), European Solidarity with Chile, 1970s–1980s, Frankfurt a. M. 2014.

49 H. Wendt, Die missionarische Gesellschaft: Mikrostrukturen einer kolonialen Globalisierung, Stuttgart 2011. See also F. Bethencourt, The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478–1834, Cambridge 2009 (1995).

50 See B. Hausberger, Globale Lebensläufe: Menschen als Akteure im weltgeschichtlichen Geschehen, Wien 2006; R. Habermas and A. Przyrembel (eds.), Von Käfern, Märkten und Menschen: Kolonialismus und Wissen in der Moderne, Göttingen 2013; S. Rinke and D. González de Reufels (eds.), Expert Knowledge in Latin American History: Local, Transnational, and Global Perspectives, Stuttgart 2014; P. Readman et al. (eds.), Borderlands in World History, 1700–1914, Basingstoke 2014; Ch. Berth et al. (eds.), Kaffeewelten: Historische Perspektiven auf eine globale Ware im 20. Jahrhundert, Göttingen 2015.

51 See Hausberger, Lateinamerika in globaler Vernetzung.

Temporally, however, Latin America differs from other regions of the Global South, since it is possible to speak of globalization there already from the early modern era. Other developments also took place earlier in Latin America than elsewhere, such as independence and nation-state formation. Researchers are circulating various proposals for the periodization of global peak phases in Latin America, which are distinct from developments in other regions. Matthew Brown, for instance, notes five phases: the "Columbian exchange around 1500; the "slave plantation complexes" of the colonial era; the period of independence around 1820; the integration of the continent into scientific and cultural contexts around 1850; and the period of globalization around 1900 with migration, world-market integration, and modernism.[52] Omar Acha, for his part, begins his five phases with the settlement of the continent from Asia, continuing with the colonial world system, independence, the period of economic dependence marked by nationalism from 1850–1990, and the new globalization around 2000.[53] Further periodizations are certainly conceivable. But while higher degrees of global interdependency have no doubt existed, pre-established periodizations run the risk of privileging or neglecting certain periods of time. More attention should be paid instead to supposed globalization low points such as the First World War and the 1930s, or periods that have been little studied such as the Cold War.

In what follows, we discuss five exemplary moments that illustrate the region's global pioneering role. First, the conquest of South and Central America by European colonial powers represented an unprecedented moment of cultural contact, which led to diverse cultural hybridizations during the colonial period. This cultural contact was a dynamic process of encounters in spatially indeterminate contact zones, where all the participants were transformed. Encounters and contacts were not free of conflict and, indeed, frequently violent. The idea of border crossing is central here – both as an actual process and as an abandonment of fixed ideas of the self. It resulted in diverse cultural encounters in contact zones that were not only marked by racist discourses, but also by negotiation processes, the creation of new identities, and local agency. The impact of the conquest of America on global flows of goods, people, and ideas is well known. Serge Gruzinski, Charles Mann, and Stefan Rinke, however, have recently shown just how much it had a lasting impact on the global power structure and is moreover reflected in Asia and Africa.[54] Equally significant, the foundations were laid during this period for Eurocentric perceptions of the world, which still reverberate to this day.

Second, the decolonization of Latin America and thus the formation of nation-states took place much earlier than in other regions of the Global South. In fact, republican nation-states have existed in Latin America for 200 years, much longer than in large parts

52 Brown, The Global History of Latin America, pp. 377–379.

53 Acha, From "World History" to "Global History", pp. 35–37.

54 S. Gruzinski, Les quatre parties du monde: histoire d'une mondialisation, Paris 2004; Ch. Mann, 1493: Uncovering the New World Columbus Created, New York 2011; S. Rinke, Kolumbus und der Tag von Guanahani 1492: Ein Wendepunkt der Geschichte, Stuttgart 2013; S. Rinke, Conquistadoren und Azteken: Cortés und die Eroberung Mexikos, Munich 2019.

of Europe. As Benedict Anderson has underlined, Latin American experiences are highly relevant for the history of nation-states and nationalism.[55] In the nineteenth century, many Latin American countries struggled with a new republican state-building process and engaged in inventing new national narratives. Latin American intellectuals and politicians already reflected on the global conditions and the nexus of power relations in which their nations were constituted. This perspective not only gave rise to political ideas like pan-Americanism or anti-imperialism, but also consistently exerted an influence on the national self-image.

Third, while the elites may have compared themselves unfavourably with the West in the nineteenth century, a growing sense of self-confidence emerged during the First World War at the latest. Stefan Rinke's monograph on the First World War in Latin America elaborates these groundbreaking und unprecedented changes in a hitherto peripheral world region of the Global South and describes a crucial moment in history when the Eurocentric world order started to totter.[56] Rinke does so by adopting a global historical perspective that looks at the war's impact on the world economy, the political sphere, the intellectual imaginary, as well as the perception of the world itself. The war not only reveals how firmly a global consciousness had already manifested in Latin America by that time, but how it changed in the course of the four years of unprecedented slaughtering. In this context, global consciousness implies less cosmopolitan thinking than an idea of the importance of global interdependency and integration processes.

Despite being at a far remove from the battlefields, Latin Americans took an active interest in the horrors, hopes, and fears that the war aroused. They participated in the contemporary debates taking place worldwide about the end of Western domination and the decline of Europe. As novel forms of propaganda and new communication technologies made Latin America more directly involved in the events than ever before, the perception of the conflict assumed global dimensions. For consumers of media, the war was a pressing matter for the entire world that transcended the usual regional contexts. The First World War made it possible for Latin Americans to experience the world's interdependency and their own place in it.

The war also referred back to political and cultural nationalisms, while simultaneously casting a critical light on global power relations. This not only concerned the role of Europe, but also that of the United States. Nationalistic rhetoric replaced the Europe-friendly approach of the nineteenth century because belligerent Europe no longer served as a positive reference point for Latin American elites who discovered "Indoamerica" as new identity mark, instead. Skepticism towards the formerly undisputed world powers radicalized as anti-imperialism, which again emerged in a global context, since communist and anticolonial ideas also found their ways to Latin America where activists and intellectuals contributed decisively to the debate. The Atlantic became a hotbed for social and political movements that fought for workers', students' and women's rights. The First

55 B. Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London 2006 (1983).
56 See in detail Rinke, Latin America and the First World War.

World War, thus, was a catalyzer for political and social change, and this change did not just affect Latin America, it originated there, too.

Fourth, changing world orders also concerned migration. Frederik Schulze has analysed in his book on German immigration in southern Brazil how migration shaped global perceptions both in the country of origin and in the country of destination.[57] In nineteenth century Germany, political and ecclesiastical activists with a nationalistic agenda looked at German emigration as a global phenomenon. They imagined globally dispersed migrant communities over space and time as a single German community abroad. By constructing a global Germanness, they tried to strengthen Germany's position in the world. Therefore, globally circulating discourses on Germans, the German role in the world, and German colonialism found their way also to the migrants in southern Brazil. The activists travelled all over the world, including Brazil, to boost Germanness by building churches and schools.

Schulze's study not just shows how interconnected nationalism and a global consciousness were; it also combines global and local perspectives. When the activists started to spread their discourses in Brazil, they had to face problems and resistance by the migrant communities. In contrast to the homogenizing discourses, the local situation turned out to be much more diverse and heterogeneous. Migrants sometimes participated in Germany's nationalistic project, sometimes they adopted and changed it, and sometimes they rejected or ignored it. This sheds light on the productive and ambivalent relation between the global and the local that therefore should play a relevant role in historical analyses.

Finally, also Brazilian discourses on migrants were changing at the turn of the century. While Brazilian elites argued in favour of European migration in the second half of the nineteenth century in order to "civilize" their country, they now adopted standpoints towards migrants that were much more nationalistic. On the one hand, they reacted to German discourses and set the idea of a homogeneous Brazilian nation against them. On the other hand, they looked at scientific debates on migration in the United States and adopted concepts from the Chicago School of Sociology such as assimilation. This provided them important tools to challenge the world order of the imperial age, and they had little problems in imposing their view on migration in Brazil. The German nationalist project in Brazil eventually failed.

Fifth and last, for the Cold War, this prehistory meant that certain Latin American states such as Brazil, Venezuela, or Mexico could repeatedly go their own way in the stand off between the blocs, even though the US sought a dominant role in the Western hemisphere. In this context, the participation of such countries in global knowledge production is illustrative.[58] Since colleges and universities were founded in the nineteenth

57 Schulze, Auswanderung als nationalistisches Projekt.

58 See F. Schulze, Global History of Knowledge from a Latin American Perspective: Overcoming the West-Rest Dichotomy, in: Trafo: Blog for Transregional Research, 17 May 2018, https://trafo.hypotheses.org/9977 (accessed 17 May 2018).

century against the backdrop of nation-state formation, a large cohort of locally trained engineers, experts, and scientists was already in place after 1945. They worked on developing political and economic ideas as well as technological innovations. The history of dam construction is a good case in point. Some Latin American countries were able to establish their own knowledge centers, which were not wholly dependent on the transfer of knowledge from the Western or Eastern bloc. Instead, they could generally independently manage their own infrastructure projects and later introduce this knowledge into the international discussion context or even export technology to Africa, for example. Such knowledge production also involved civil society, as important ideas for the global critique on dam construction emanated from Latin America.

These five exemplary moments show that Latin America's history is apposite for questioning master narratives of globalization and the often still-assumed dominance of the West. What is more, a less well-defined mosaic of individual stories that does without rigid dichotomies such as Western and non-Western or center and periphery, serves as an illuminating source of contrast, without, of course, ignoring existing power mechanisms.

5. Outlook

By productively exploiting the tensions between them, Latin American history and global history will be able to open up new discussion contexts for each other. For global history, Latin American history can serve as a bridge to area studies. Not only does the previous marginalization of Latin America in global history illustrate that global history is impossible without area expertise or is at best capable of sketching generalizing and Eurocentric grand narratives, but the case of Latin America further shows that global history is interested in issues that have long been discussed in continent's various regions. If global history is to take its own demand to renounce Eurocentrism seriously, it must willing to deal with regions that contradict its own master narratives such as globalization or the East-West dichotomy. With its extensive experience of globalization and its position between the West and the rest (both often stand in close proximity on the ground), Latin America, in particular, offers theories and empirical contributions that contrast Eurocentric and homogenizing narratives with local perspectives, ambiguity, and diversity. In taking this step, however, global history will have to relativize some of its supposed new discoveries and do away with one or the other of its cherished narratives. On the other hand, it will collect new insights, gain influence, and receive stronger encouragement in Latin America.

For Latin American history, global history also presents a tremendous opportunity. It can re-enter the discussion contexts of the parent discipline it had distanced itself from in favour of area studies with greater intensity. Global history, after all, increasingly draws attention to non-Western regions, making Western science aware of its Eurocentrism. Here, Latin American history has the opportunity to make itself felt through active participation in the global historical debate with theoretical contributions, empiricism,

and opposition. At the same time, global historical perspectives offer the chance for self-reflection: They critically examine one's own position as well as the limits, significance, and construction of the own area. They focus on new spaces, contact zones, South-South relationships, networks, agency or repercussions that makes it possible to avoid Eurocentric ways of accessing Latin America and bring the region together conceptually with other areas of the Global South. As has been stressed here several times, local stories under the rather loose umbrella term "Latin America" will continue to play an essential role. Overall, there is an opportunity to conceive of Latin America as an integral part of a global historiography that dispenses with simplifying macrostories. Problems exist in the implementation, because both Latin American history and global history require special language skills and access to research literature. The fact that German-speaking Latin American historians are particularly active in the current debate is not only due to their liaison role between the individual research areas, but also the financial possibilities. Certainly, if a research programme were to be externally imposed on the region without taking into account languages and voices from the region, the closer connection between Latin America and global history would evince the perils of scientific colonialism. To a certain extent, however, this criticism also concerns English-language research on Latin America, which is not always received in Latin America. At the same time, the disciplinary division of labour between "systematic" and "regional" subjects at German and European universities is unable to do justice to the interdependency of societies and cultures in today's world. Global and local changes increasingly call into question the disciplinary and national scientific regime, necessitating transregional and interdisciplinary research. The integration of Latin America history, global history, area studies, and specialist disciplines is a step in this direction.

Scenes from a Marriage. African History and Global History[1]

Andreas Eckert

ABSTRACTS

Der Artikel fragt vor dem Hintergrund der Entwicklung der Geschichtsschreibung zu Afrika, ob Globalgeschichte als der jüngste „Turn" in der Geschichte historiographischer Moden angesehen werden kann: Wie stark prägen globalhistorische Perspektiven das Schreiben der afrikanischen Geschichte, und wie stark ist Afrika in diesen Perspektiven sichtbar? Der Beitrag verweist in diesem Zusammenhang auf eine lange Tradition, Afrika als Teil globalhistorischer Entwicklungen zu verorten, wie das etwa bereits W.E.B. Du Bois in seinem 1946 publizierten Essay *The World and Africa* getan hat. Er hebt aber auch hervor, dass Historiker *in* Afrika globalgeschichtlichen Ansätzen vor allem skeptisch gegenüberstehen. Sie erscheinen als ein weiterer Ausdruck westlicher Hegemonie in der Geschichtsschreibung. Afrika werde vor allem als Ort des Schreckens und Leidens präsentiert, weil der Kontinent in der Globalhistoriographie vor allem über den Sklavenhandel präsent sei. Überdies würden in der Globalgeschichte lokale Quellen und Sprachen marginalisiert.

Against the backdrop of the development of Africanist historiography over the last fifty years, this article asks whether global history could be seen as the latest turn in African history: To what extent does the emergent field of global history shape African history, and is shaped

1 This piece builds upon a number of articles on Africanist historiography that I have published over the last years. See, e.g., A. Eckert, Ethnizität und Nation in der Geschichtsschreibung zu Afrika seit 1960, in: Comparativ 11 (2001) 4, pp. 17–30; Idem, Fitting Africa into World History: A Historiographical Exploration, in: E. Fuchs and B. Stuchtey (eds.), Writing World History, 1800–2000, Oxford 2003, pp. 255–270; Idem, The Burden of Peculiarity: History and Historical Thought in Africa, in: P. Duara, V. Murphy, and A. Sartori (eds.), A Companion to Global Historical Thought, Oxford 2014, pp. 321–333; Idem, Afrika in der Welt. Afrikanische Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert, in: M. Wildt (ed.), Geschichte denken. Perspektiven auf die Geschichtsschreibung heute, Göttingen 2014, pp. 131–148; Idem, Area Studies and the Development of Global Labor History, in: U. Bosma and K. Hofmeester (eds.), Marcel van der Linden: The Life Work of a Labour Historian, Leiden 2018, pp. 156–173. For the quote: W.E.B. Du Bois, The Negro, New York 2002 (1915), pp. 23 f.

Comparativ | Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung 29 (2019) Heft 2, S. 36–51.

by it? This contribution refers to a long tradition of placing Africa in the long sweep of global history, as exemplified by W.E.B. Du Bois 1946 essay *The World and Africa*. On the other hand, it emphasizes, that to historians *in* Africa, global history appears to be yet another western imposition on the writing of history, that stresses Africa as a site of damage – because Africa is mainly prominent in global history writings through references to the slave trade – and it devalues local knowledge and sources.

1.

"Africa is at once one of the romantic and the most tragic of continents… There are those, nevertheless, who would write universal history and leave out Africa." When W.E.B. Du Bois, one of the fathers of Pan-Africanism, lodged this complaint, Africa was widely regarded as a continent without history. Things have considerably changed since then. However, much historiography still privileges states over all other forms of human connection and, furthermore, puts forward a specific idea of "progress" that inevitably leaves Africans aside, who seem to lack some important characteristic necessary to attain what is otherwise "universal."[2] The ongoing pretensions of "western" intellectuals to set forth a "universal" truth, wherein Africa finds little space, has provoked a number of African intellectuals to go so far as to dismiss "history" as something inseparable from its imperialist origins.[3] The academic discipline of history that was shaped in the nineteenth century is clearly a European product. Still, rejecting "history" as a hopeless imperialist endeavour would not only reinforce the old prejudice that Africans have no history, but doing so would add to this the idea that Africans don't even want to have one.[4] "Africa" is in fact at least partly a category that derived from the slave trade and colonization, and partly a counter-category that has its origins in the diaspora. Africa, as Mudimbe forcefully emphasizes, is an invention and caught within its colonial archive.[5] "One never quite gets away from the colonial construction of African history," Cooper argues, "but one can engage, challenge, and refashion it. And this is done in any uneasy, ill-defined space, between professionalized research and public debate."[6]

It would thus be wrong to overemphasize the division between academic history and other varieties of narrating of the past. The debate about history within Africa is often not an academic one, but something in which journalists, artists, and writers participate; wall writing and music make it part of everyday life.[7] Equally one should not make the

2 F. Cooper, Africa's Pasts and Africa's Historians, in: Canadian Journal of African Studies 34 (1999) 2, p. 298.

3 M. Diouf, Des Historiens et des histoires, pourquoi faire? L'histoire africaine entre l'état et les communautés, in: Canadian Journal of African Studies 34 (2000) 2, pp. 337–374. A sharp and powerful critique of academic history as an imperialist enterprise was also voiced by numerous South Asian historians. See, e.g., V. Lal, The History of History: Politics and Scholarship in Modern India, Delhi 2003.

4 Cooper, Africa's Past, p. 299.

5 V. Y. Mudimbe, The Invention of Africa. Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge, Bloomington 1988.

6 Cooper, Africa's Past, p. 308.

7 See K. Barber (ed.), Readings in African Popular Culture, Bloomington 1997; Idem, A History of African Popular

division too sharp between African forms of representing an authentically African past and European ways of representing a subordinated African past. Different representational strategies affect each other. Europe features quite prominently in many African "traditions," while European history does not belong to Europeans alone.[8] Moreover it is very problematic to fix a clear boundary between "foreign" and "indigenous" historical thought and historiography in Africa based upon criteria such as descent, skin colour or place of activity. The production of African history has always been a multicultural enterprise, albeit one characterized by hierarchies. In any case, the emergence of African history, as Steven Feierman puts it, "has changed our understanding of general history, and of Europe's place in the world… It is no longer possible to defend the position that historical processes among non-European peoples can be seen as the consequence of all-encompassing influences emerging from a dominant European center."[9]

One of the most striking features of the academic production on African history today is that it is largely produced and published outside the continent. During the 1960s, when African history as an academic field was gaining momentum, there seemed little question that the centre of intellectual action in this field was Africa itself. The enthusiasm of the beginning rapidly declined. Political and economic problems soon seriously plagued most independent African governments. This started to have massive effects on the knowledge production in African countries. Historical publishing suffered grievously from closed frontiers, restricted currencies, paper shortages, and impecunious students. The economic decline in Africa went along with a growing mood of self-criticism among Africanist historians (in and outside Africa), fuelled by the disillusionment about the political situation and the limits of methodological innovation, for instance in the realm of "oral traditions."[10] On the other hand, in the mid-1970s, African history, as the history of other non-European areas, had established itself at least in some European countries as well as in the US as a part of historiography that could not easily be neglected any more. Two major multi-volume projects – the Cambridge History of Africa and the UNESCO General History of Africa were well under way, the *Journal of African History* ranked high among academic history journals, and – especially in the UK and the United States – numerous historians of Africa occupied lifetime positions at universities.[11]

Culture, New York 2018; M. Moorman, Intonation: A Social History of Music and Nation in Luanda, Angola, from 1945 to Recent Times, Athens, OH 2008; K. M. Askew, Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania, Chicago 2002; H. Charton and M.-A. Fouéré (eds.), Dossier: Héro nationaux et pères de la nation en Afrique, in: Vingtième Siècle 118 (2013), pp. 3–100.

8 Cooper, Africa's Past.

9 S. Feierman, African Histories and the Dissolution of World History, in: R. Bates et al. (eds.), Africa and the Disciplines: The Contribution of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities, Chicago 1993, p. 182.

10 A widely discussed critique at the time was T.O. Ranger, Towards a Usable Past, in: C. Fyfe (ed.), African Studies since 1945, Harlow 1976, pp. 17–30.

11 For the British case see, among others, A.H.M. Kirk-Greene (ed.), The Emergence of African History at British Universities, Oxford 1995; for the United States, see R. Ferreira, The Institutionalization of African Studies in the United States: Origin, Consolidation and Transformation, in: Revista Brasileira de História 30 (2010), pp. 71–88. For a very critical assessment of African studies in the US as characterized by white privilege, see now J.M. Allman, #HerskovitsMustFall? A Mediation on Whiteness, African Studies, and the Unfinished Business of 1968, in: African

Much has been written about the institutional breakdown of historical research in Africa that started in the 1970s and was shaped by the oil shocks, structural adjustment, and increasingly repressive political regimes. A brain drain, often more a brain push began, and those academics who stayed had to perform two or more jobs to survive. History writing has material foundations, too, and these rapidly faded away. Academic history journals once published in Ibadan, Dakar or Nairobi disappeared. Lack of access to foreign books and journals (that require hard currency to import) further hindered academic history writing, something that could not be redressed by the World Wide Web. The decline of academic historiography made other forms of producing history and historical memory more visible.[12] Local histories, written and published by non-academic historians, constitute a rapidly expanding genre in contemporary Africa. These local histories pursue a variety of agendas. They construct or reconstruct local and communal identities, often affected by rapid social change. Often they write history as part of cultural and political struggles. And all of them, sometimes openly, sometimes more implicitly, attempt to place local communities on the map of the world at large. Still, the most important audience of local histories is local, at least in terms of intensity of reception and response. These written accounts of history and culture interact in many ways with performances, fictional literature, objects of visual art, and contemporary studio photography.[13] There is probably the danger of overgeneralizing the crisis of academic historiography. Some history departments in post-Apartheid South Africa, in Ghana, Senegal, or Kenya have produced excellent scholars but many of them especially outside South Africa suffer from low salaries, heavy teaching loads, and few research incentives. As a whole, history as an academic discipline has lost much of its standing within the universities, but also among politicians and a wider public. As a school subject, it is increasingly marginalized.[14]

Over the last 50 years, academic Africanist historiography outside Africa and especially in the United States has been subject to fads, as any other field of history. African history as an academic field came into being at a time when nationalist movements appeared to have triumphed in most of Africa, and historians of Africa all over the world acted like a "Committee of Concerned Scholars for a Free Africa"[15] and wanted to write histories

Studies Review 62 (2019) 3, pp. 6–39. Instructive and – sometimes, not always – entertaining accounts of the establishment of African history in the UK and the US are provided by autobiographies of its main protagonists. See J. Vansina, Living with Africa, Madison, WI 1994; R. Oliver, In the Realms of Gold. Pioneering in African History, Madison, WI 1997; J.D. Fage, To Africa and Back, Birmingham 2002; P.D. Curtin, On the Fringes of History. A Memoir, Athens, OH 2005. There are much fewer autobiographical accounts of the first generation of African historians of Africa, but see J.F. Ade Ajayi, African History at Ibadan, in: Kirk-Greene, Emergence, pp. 91–106; B.A. Ogot, Three Decades of Historical Studies in East Africa, 1949–1977, in: Kenya Historical Review 6 (1978)1/2, pp. 22–33.

12 See M. Diawara, B.C Lategan, and J. Rüsen (eds.), Historical Memory in Africa. Dealing with the Past, Reaching for the Future in an Intercultural Context, New York 2010.

13 A. Harneit-Sievers (ed.), A Place in the World. New Local Historiographies from Africa and South-Asia, Leiden 2002.

14 D. Bentrovato, Learning to Live Together in Africa through History Education, Göttingen 2017, pp. 13–14, laments "history's apparent general loss of importance as a stand-alone subject in the context of its increasingly widespread integration into broader disciplines, notably social sciences."

15 J. Lonsdale, States and Social Processes in Africa. A Historiographical Survey, in: African Studies Review 24 (1981), p. 143.

useful for nation-building. African historians began to divide the continent's history into "pre-colonial", "colonial", and "post-colonial" eras. According to this division, the first and the last were marked by the autonomy of African societies. The first was a period of kingdoms, empires, chiefdoms, village councils, systems of kinship; the last was a period of nation-states, each with its own flag, passport, currency, its seat in the United Nations and many more international organizations, and its claims to regulate and to tax production and commerce within its national borders. The Nigerian historian Jacob F. Ade Ajayi famously called the colonial period "one episode in the continuous flow of African history". His argument came directly from a nationalist conception of political life: he wanted to stress the direct connection of "modern" African states to an "authentic past", allowing the new rulers of Nigeria, Tanzania or Senegal to assume the legitimacy of the kings and elders of the past.[16]

At the time, anticolonial resistance and pre-colonial history were regarded as "genuine African history." On the other hand, studies of the colonial period were considered to be a return to old-fashioned imperial history.[17] In terms of method, oral history seemed to provide a real "African" alternative to written sources.[18] It was a widely shared conviction that in order to analyse and use oral sources adequately in their writing, historians of Africa needed to be at home with the local languages and cultures in which those sources were encoded. Otherwise, the historians' use of them would be not only incomplete but also often even misleading. African history appeared to be an exciting field for pioneers, with a wide-open future and much work to be done: "At the moment … historians have really only just begun to piece together the most basic narratives… only when we have many more detailed historical investigations – and many more historians at home – can we begin to understand the African past to the extent that we understand the past of other parts of the world."[19]

Two decades later, the preferences had completely changed: no resistance studies, hardly any pre-colonial history except for the slave trade. Colonialism was in, and the colonizers came back into the picture to an extent that would have been unthinkable in the earlier years of African history. Once it became clear that nation-building projects were not

16 J.F. Ade Ajayi, The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism, in: T. O. Ranger (ed.), Emerging Themes in African History, Nairobi 1968, p. 149; F. Cooper, Africa since 1940. The Past of the Present, 2nd edn, New York 2019, p. 19; B. Jewsiewicki and V.Y. Mudimbe, Africans' Memories and Contemporary History of Africa, in: Idem (eds.), History Making in Africa, Middletown 1993, p. 9, called this model of periodization a "perspective of three eras… From almost immobile glorious traditions, one completely overlooks the colonial blemish and passes directly to the time of independence."

17 F. Cooper, Conflict and Connections. Rethinking African Colonial History, in: American Historical Review 99 (1994) 4, pp. 1516–1545.

18 The path-breaking work on oral tradition in Africa was J. Vansina, Oral Tradition. A Study in Historical Methodology, London 1965. A good introduction to this field and its methods is offered by B. Cooper, Oral Sources and the Challenge of African History, in: J.E. Philips (ed.), Writing African History, Rochester NY 2005, pp. 191–215. The classic, highly romanticized praise of "oral traditions" as "African archives" or "libraries" comes from Ahmadou Hampâté Bâ in a speech at UNESCO in 1960: "When an old man dies, a library burns down". Quoted in: R.A. Austen, Ahmadou Hampâté Bâ: From a Colonial to a Postcolonial African Voice: Amkoullel, l'enfant peul, in: Research in African Literatures 31 (2000) 3, p. 2.

19 J. D. Fage, History, in: R. A. Lystad (ed.), The African World. A Survey of Social Research, London 1965, pp. 53, 56.

providing the ideological basis for a new Africa, scholars became more interested in the constraints: on the institutional and ideological constructs that colonial rule imposed on Africans and on the particular ways in which Africa's incorporation into the world economy subordinated it to outside forces, before, during, and after colonial rule.[20] Labour history boomed in the 1970s and '80s. Africanist historians re-interpreted the colonial period as a period when capitalist modes of production were introduced to Africa. A number of comprehensive collective volumes were published, each representing a specific pattern of African labour history.[21] The most vibrant historiography on labour could be found, not surprisingly, in South Africa, where wage labour played a comparatively important role.[22]

Yet, by the turn of the twentieth century African labour history was in a deep decline and is now only slowly reviving.[23] Cultural history in many variations dominated the field in the 1990s and 2000s, but currently there does not seem to be a clear turn that everyone is following. Younger Africanists are delving into a wide array of topics. The specter ranges from studies on early African societies based on linguistic reconstruction to studies of politics and culture in Africa in the 1960s and '70s.[24] There is a new wave of research on the slave trade, especially on the earlier phases and based on Portuguese sources, focusing on the interaction of trading networks on sea and on the African continent.[25] Economic history is experiencing a comeback, with a rather strong focus on quantification, but sometimes in strong opposition to mainstream economists doing African history.[26] The

20 Some of this work was in (partly very) critical dialogue with Immanuel Wallerstein's influential World System Approach. See esp. F. Cooper, Africa and the Word Economy, in: F. Cooper et al., Confronting Historical Paradigms. Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America, Madison, WI 1993, pp. 84–201.

21 See, e.g., R. Sandbrook and R. Cohen (eds.), The Development of an African Working Class. Studies in Class Formation and Action, London 1975; P. C.W. Gutkind, R. Cohen, and J. Copans (eds.), African Labor History, Beverly Hills 1978; M. Agier, J. Copans, and A Morice (eds.), Classes d'ouvrières d'Afrique Noire, Paris 1987. An excellent synthesis of the dynamic labour historiography of the 1970s and early 80s is B. Freund, The African Worker, Cambridge 1988.

22 The arguably most impressive example of this historiography was C. van Onselen, Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886–1924, vol. 1: New Babylon, vol. 2: New Nineveh, Johannesburg 1982.

23 See J. Copans, Pourquoi travail et travailleurs africains ne sont plus à la mode en 2014 dans les sciences sociales: Retour sur l'actualité d'une problématique du XXe siècle, in: Politique Africaine 133 (2014), pp. 25–44. For recent trends see F. Cooper, From Enslavement to Precarity? The Labour Question in African History, in: W. Adebanwi (ed.), The Political Economy of Everyday Life. Beyond the Margins, Woodbridge 2017, pp. 135–156. For South Africa see B. Freund, Labour Studies and Labour History in South Africa: Perspectives from the Apartheid Era and After, in: International Review of Social History 58 (2013) 3, pp. 493–519. An example for excellent new work in African labour history is Z. K. Guthrie, Bond for Work: Labor, Mobility, and Colonial Rule in Central Mozambique, 1940–1965, Charlottesville, VA. 2018. A comprehensive volume emphasizing current debates and themes in African labour history is S. Bellucci and A. Eckert (eds.), General Labour History of Africa: Workers, Employers and Governments, 20th–21st Centuries, Rochester 2019.

24 R. Stephens, A History of African Motherhood: The Case of Uganda, 700–1900, New York 2013; A. Ivaska, Cultured States: Youth, Gender, and Modern Style in 1960s Dar es Salaam, Durham, NC. 2011.

25 T. Green, The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589, New York 2012.

26 For a harsh critique on economists doing Africa see M. Jerven, Why Economists Get it Wrong, London 2013. For earlier critiques A.G. Hopkins, The New Economic History of Africa, in: Journal of African History 50 (2009) 2, pp. 155–177; G. Austin, The "Reversal of Fortune" Thesis and the Compression of History: Perspectives from African and Comparative Economic History, in: Journal of International Development 20 (2008), pp. 996–1027. For the quantitative approach, see E.J. Frankema, J.G. Williamson, and P.J. Woltjer, An Economic Rationale for the West

new history of missionaries and especially mission converts who used literacy to make claims on authorities and to develop cultural syntheses, is part of an ongoing broader interest in the history of religion, including the history of Islam.[27] Urban history is rapidly gaining more historiographical ground.[28]

2.

Is global history the latest turn in African history? To what extent does the emergent field of global history shape African history, and is shaped by it? Area Studies in general have been an important factor in the rise of global history in many parts of the world. As Gareth Austin argues, it is even safe to say that an important "impulse behind the (re-) emergence of global history in the European academy was a reaction against what may be called Eurocentrism of agency (the assumption that is has been mostly Europeans – or at least Westerners – who have changed the world) and Eurocentrism of concept (the dominance in history and social science of models derived from perceptions of European/Western experience, even when the object of analysis is experience elsewhere)."[29] African historians played a crucial role in promoting global history in Northwestern Europe. It is not a coincidence that among these, it has been mainly economic historians – Gareth Austin, William Gervase Clarence-Smith, and A.G. Hopkins in the UK – and historians of the slave trade and slavery – Philip Curtin, Patrick Manning, and Joseph Miller in the US – who paved the way: representatives of two historiographical fields that for a long time already, at least partly, employed perspectives beyond the nation and were interested in world regions beyond the North-Atlantic realm.[30]

The core concerns of global history are, according to Sebastian Conrad, "with mobility and exchange, with processes that transcend borders and boundaries. It takes the interconnected world as its point of departure, and the circulation and exchange of things, people, ideas, and institutions are among its key subjects. A preliminary and rather broad definition of global history might describe it as a form of historical analysis in which phenomena, events, and processes are placed in global contexts."[31] A meteoric rise of global history has been noted for the Americas, Europe, and Asia, not for Africa.[32] The global

African Scramble? The Commercial Transition and the Commodity Price Boom of 1835–1885, in: Journal of Economic History 78 (2018) 1, pp. 231–267.

27 D. Peterson, Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival: A History of Dissent, New York 2012. For a good introduction to the history of Islam in Africa, see D. Robinson, Muslim Societies in African History, New York 2004.

28 B. Freund, The African City: A History, New York 2007; L. Fourchard, Between World History and State Formation: New Perspectives on Africa's Cities, in: Journal of African History 52 (2011) 2, pp. 223–248.

29 G. Austin, Global History in (Northwestern) Europe: Explorations and Debates, in: S. Beckert and D. Sachsenmaier (eds.), Global History, Globally. Research and Practice around the World, London 2018, p. 24.

30 A recent call for a stronger cooperation between Africanists and Global historians is P. Manning, African and World Historiography, in: Journal of African History 54 (2013) 3, pp. 319–330.

31 S. Conrad, What is Global History? Princeton 2016, p. 5.

32 D. Sachsenmaier, Global Perspectives on Global History. Theories and Approaches in a Connected World, New York 2011.

history bibles on the nineteenth century, Bayly and Osterhammel, have comparatively little to say about Africa.[33] Some commentators interpreted this as another example of the marginalization of the continent in global history approaches, others saw it as a confirmation of Africa's rather marginal role in global history. Debates of this kind do not take us much further. Two other sets of questions arise: First, do historians of Africa employ global perspectives in their work? Or to what extent did they always do so but never called it "global"? And, secondly, what do historians *in* Africa think of global history? This question is addressing the place of African institutions in the global professional field of historiography and refers to issues of global academic hierarchies and the material foundations of the historical profession.

Although some protagonists of global history come along as missionaries, most representatives of this field would agree that global history is not the only game in town but one perspective among others. To consider Africa in relation to global history suggests valuable lines of connection to other fields of history and new perspectives on a number of topics, but also hopping on bandwagons. There is no need for historians of Africa to prove that they are also capable of employing a global perspective and thus being entitled to historiographical citizenship; although, some seem to feel a kind of pressure and even react defensively. Toby Green concludes his recent, ambitious study on the *longue durée* of West African history and its global entanglements with other parts of the world from 1250 to the mid-nineteenth century with the lament that "Africa has been so global for so long that its continued exclusion from 'world history' speaks volumes about misconceptions that have arisen outside the continent over so many centuries."[34] In fact, there is a long tradition of placing Africa in the long sweep of global history. In *The World and Africa*, published in 1946, W.E.B. Du Bois described how Africans had mastered their environment and the creativity of political processes, going back to Egypt from 5000 BC onward, passing through Ethiopia to the great African empires from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries and the powerful states in many parts of the continent on the eve of colonial conquest. The book told the history of Africa's peoples not as one of communities developing their own ideas in isolation but of engagement with people, commodities, and ideas from across and beyond the continent. The subtitle of the book was telling: *An Inquiry into the Part which Africa has played in World History*. Some of the themes covered by Du Bois had been articulated long before by African and African-American intellectuals, religious leaders, and political activists, going back to the days of North American slavery.[35]

33 C.A. Bayly, The Birth of the Modern World 1870–1914. Global Connections and Comparisons, Oxford 2004; J. Osterhammel, Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts, Munich 2009. Bayly's posthumously published global history of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (Remaking the Modern World 1900–2015. Global Connections and Comparisons, Oxford 2018), features Africa more prominently.

34 T. Green, A Fistful of Shells. West Africa from the Rise of the Slave Trade to the Age of Revolution, Chicago 2019, p. 476.

35 F. Cooper, Africa in World History, in: J.R. McNeill and K. Pomeranz (eds.), The Cambridge World History, Vol. VII, Part 1, Cambridge, UK 2015, p. 556. For some of these nineteenth-century intellectuals, see A. Eckert, Bringing the "Black Atlantic" into Global History: The Project of Pan-Africanism, in: S. Conrad and D. Sachsenmaier (eds.),

The claim that Ancient Egypt was a genuine African culture was part of some of these pre-Civil War articulations, and later became part of pan-African thinking. Since the 1950s the Senegalese scholar Cheikh Anta Diop took up and developed this thesis with vigor in numerous articles and books.[36] According to him, not only do both the biological origin of humanity and the emergence of civilization take place in Africa; he further insisted that Egypt was specifically a black civilization, and was the fullest flowering of a cultural system, unifying the whole African continent. The most important aspects of human social and intellectual development originated here. Moreover, it was distinct from Eurasian societies in its matriarchal, spiritual, peaceable, and humanistic character. Ancient Greece – and hence all European civilization – took almost everything of value usually claimed to be theirs from this antecedent African-Egyptian culture. Diop draws the conclusion that Africa must recover the glories of its ancient past, rejecting the racist, eurocentric mystifications which had obscured those glories, and progress to the future by drawing on the lessons of the old Nile valley philosophies. This recovery of the glorious past should, according to Diop, lead to the construction of a single, federal African state, which, taking confidence from the unique greatness of past African achievements, will stand equal with Europe and the rest of the world. Thus, for Diop "history is nothing but a means to serve the realization of a political plan."[37] By replacing the classical theme "all that is European is civilized; all that is African is barbarous" with "all that is African is civilized and beautiful," Diop's publications represented in many ways an early and radical manifestation of African nationalist historical writing. His claim that Africa had a place in the world's past was part of the demand for political liberation in the present.

Over the last decades, numerous studies have emphasized Africans' agency in their relationships with others in a broader, albeit not necessarily global context. Africa's communities have long been open to the world and, as John Lonsdale emphasizes, "Africans are like the rest of us, shaped by both external and internal relations. They are not unusually disturbed by the threat of cultural cosmopolitanisms, however much they suffer the

Competing Visions of World Order. Global Moments and Movements, 1880s–1930s, Basingstoke 2007, pp. 242f. A case study on West African intellectuals discussing these ideas during the late nineteenth century is P. S. Zachernuk, Colonial Subjects: An African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas, Charlottesville 2000. P. Gilroy, The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness, Cambridge, MA 1993, served as a powerful incubator for studies about connections between Africans, African-Americans and generally people of African descent on both sides of the Atlantic. However, Gilroy's Black Atlantic is ultimately a rather narrow concept with its strong focus on cultural creativity and the intellectual links between the African diasporas in the United States and the United Kingdom, overlooking the southern part of the Atlantic, and especially the relations between Africa and Brazil. Moreover, it concedes to intellectuals in Africa only a marginal position.

36 S. Howe, Afrocentrism. Mythical Pasts and Imagined Homes, London 1998; A. Eckert, Wem gehört das Alte Ägypten? Die Geschichtsschreibung zu Afrika und das Werk Cheikh Anta Diops, in: W. Reinhard (ed.), Die fundamentalistische Revolution. Partikularistische Bewegungen der Gegenwart und ihr Umgang mit der Geschichte, Freiburg i. Br. 1995, pp. 189–214.

37 M. Diouf and M. Mbodj, The Shadow of Cheikh Anta Diop, in: V. Mudimbe (ed.), The Surreptitious Speech. Présence Africaine and the Politics of Otherness 1947–1987, Chicago 1992, p. 120.

inequalities of international trade."[38] Labour has always played a central role in the long history of relations between Europe, Africa, and the Americas. The creation of a world economy by European capitalists and the reordering of economic relations in nearly every part of the world was followed by a huge need for human labour, which could only be satisfied by various forms of force and coercion. The slave trade completely transformed labour regimes in most parts of the "New World," but also in Africa where slaves became a crucial commodity in many regions as well as the main resource for labour. Starting with Eric Williams seminal work on *Capitalism and Slavery*, published in 1944, there has been an ongoing and highly controversial debate about the importance of slavery and slave labour for the rise of capitalism in the North Atlantic regions, especially for Britain. It was a Nigerian historian teaching in the United States, Joseph Inikori, who provided the most careful study based on William's thesis thus far. On the basis of broad and substantial empirical evidence, he firmly insisted on the crucial role of trade with plantation crops – and therefore the products of the labour of African slaves – for capitalist development in England. Moreover, he showed in much detail indirect, but important effects of the Atlantic slave economy on sectors such as shipbuilding and finance.[39]

For two decades or so, historians of Africa have increasingly stressed the role played by Africans in the construction of the Atlantic economy and the new colonial societies in the Americas. At the same time, they emphasized that African leaders took an important part in the operations of the Atlantic slave trade.[40] Others have demonstrated the continuous involvement of West African coastal communities in trans-oceanic networks. Parts of the area that Europeans called the Slave Coast (the coast of what is today Togo, Benin, and south-western Nigeria) were integrated into the Atlantic world, not only by business links but also by resultant cultural and social ties, on such a scale and intensity that the commercial and ruling elites might be considered to be participating in what has been coined an "Atlantic community."[41] Trade during the transition from the slave trade to so-called "legitimate" commerce over the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century has been a prominent topic among Africanist historians since the late 1950s, but more and more the high degree of autonomy of action on the part of African traders was emphasized.[42] Studies on Africans in the Atlantic world during the first decades of the twentieth century emphasize less the economic than the political (and partly the social) dimensions. Much recent work focuses on the creation of a "radical black Atlantic" and

38 J. Lonsdale, Globalization, Ethnicity and Democracy: A View from "the Hopeless Continent", in: A.G. Hopkins (ed.), Globalization in World History, London 2002, p. 195.

39 J.E. Inikori, Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England. A Study in International Trade and Economic Development, New York 2002. See also S. Beckert, Empire of Cotton. A Global History, New York 2014.

40 J. Thornton, Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800, 2nd edn, Cambridge, UK 1998.

41 A key text was R. Law and K. Mann, West Africa in the Atlantic Community: The Case of the Slave Coast, in: William and Mary Quarterly 46 (1999), pp. 307–344.

42 This perspective was especially prominent in the 1980s and 90s. An instructive case study is M. Lynn, Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa. The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century, Cambridge 1997. For a historiographical overview, see R. Law, Introduction, in: Idem (ed.), From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce. The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa, Cambridge, UK 1995, pp. 1–31.

the role of African activists, especially in the years between the two world wars, or looks at political, cultural, and social activities of Africans in large European cities such as London, Paris, but also Berlin and Hamburg.[43] The strong focus on the Atlantic World is progressively challenged by scholarship on the Indian Ocean that also emphasizes the *long durée* of commercial and cultural networks and the crucial role of Africans therein.[44] More recently, African labour historians have begun to take up global perspectives but at same time take seriously the warning about the dangers of "doing history backward" – limiting research to identify only the flows and nodal points of globalization.[45] It is no accident that recent research focuses very much on seamen and other mobile sectors of the African (and Asian) labour force, which contributed to the emergence of global commodity and labour markets.[46] However, there is a growing consciousness of the risk of neglecting large parts of the workforce – non-plantation rural labour, for instance – and the related tendency to miss out on the contradictions and unevenness of global incorporation processes. The "globalization" of labour not only meant unbounded mobility but spatial immobility as well. Thus, the search for entanglements entails risks, for instance the tendency to assume an ever-increasing connection and compression of labour regimes and practices – thereby reproducing the teleological perspective of the concept of globalization.[47] Some authors, for instance, cast doubt on the perception of "the global" manifesting itself in Africa in the form of connections, seeing rather disconnection, segmentation, and segregation. Franco Barchiesi specifically criticizes the idea of workers' "teleconnections" in global commodity chains put forward by Marcel van der Linden. He argues instead that "colonial and postcolonial Africa shows indeed that the globalization of capital did not only provide a minority of unionized workers with new opportunities to converse with the global working class. It has also, and more importantly, excluded and marginalized multitudes of producers, households, and communities."[48]

43 H. Weiss, Framing a Radical African Atlantic. African American Agency, West African Intellectuals and the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, Leiden 2014; H. Adi, Pan-Africanism and Communism: The Communist International, Africa and the Diaspora, 1919–1939, Trenton, NJ 2013; J. Derrick, Africa's Agitators. Militant Anti-Colonialism in Africa and the West, 1918–1939, London 2008; M. Goebel, Anti-Imperial Metropolis. Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism, New York 2015; M. Matera, Black London. The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century, Berkeley 2015; R. Aitken and E. Rosenhaft, Black Germany. The Making and Unmaking of a Diaspora Community, 1884–1960, Cambridge, UK 2013.

44 E.A. Alpers, The Indian Ocean in World History, Oxford 2013. A new effort to promote Oceanic histories in order to "decolonize history" once more, is D. Armitage, A. Bashford, and S. Sivasundaram (eds.), Oceanic Histories, Cambridge, UK 2018.

45 A. Eckert, Capitalism and Wage Labour in Sub-Saharan Africa, in: J. Kocka and M. van der Linden (eds.), Capitalism. The Reemergence of a Historical Concept, London 2016, pp. 165–185.

46 J. Hyslop, Oceanic Mobility and Settler-Colonial Power: Policing the Global Maritime Labour Force in Durban Harbour, c. 1890–1910, in: Journal of Transport History 36 (2015) 2, pp. 248–267.

47 For a powerful critique, see F. Cooper, What is the Concept of Globalization Good For? An African Historian's Perspective, in: African Affairs 100 (2001), pp. 189–213.

48 F. Barchiesi, How Far from Africa's Shore. A Response to Marcel van der Linden's Map for Global Labor History, in: International Labor and Working-Class History 82 (2012), pp. 77–84. His argument was directed against M. van der Linden, The Promise and Challenges of Global Labor History, in: ibid., pp. 57–76. For an extremely sinister view of Africa's marginal position in the world, see J. Ferguson, Global Shadows. Africa in a Neoliberal World Order, Durham, NC 2006, who argues that unlike in earlier centuries, the rest of the world does not need the la-

Finally, large data-driven projects in labour history, such as the very laudable Amsterdam based "Global Collaborative on the History of Labour Relations," run the risk of marginalizing African history because of the paucity of data for many periods and aspects of labour history.[49]

Moreover, one of the virtues of labour history in recent decades – in Africa as everywhere – has been its micro-historical focus on workers and work in relation to the range of social processes in a particular milieu – race, gender and ethnicity, for instance. What is the advantage if we look beyond both locality and region toward wider spatial relationships in addition to the insight that we are confronted with fuzzy categories and fuzzy constellations? If we look at the African case, the history of labour there does not fit a linear model of "proletarianization" and "making of the working class." Power, on the shop floor, in the mines, and on plantations, was rooted in particular cultural structures – from the racially based system of colonial authority to Africans' efforts to use personal relations to shape work patterns to their own needs. Labour movements were more than automatic responses to becoming a proletarian; they were rooted in specific patterns of affiliation and strategies of mobilization and alliance-building. The challenge, then, "is to look at different modes of thinking, speaking and acting as a worker, patterns shaped not by statically conceived "cultures", but by history, by layers of experience and memory."[50] Labour historians face the difficulty of focusing on the necessarily specific historical trajectories in certain localities in Africa and across specific patterns of regional migration. They must do so without losing sight of the wider context in order to evaluate how much African labour has been shaped by its connections to the rest of the world and how much the world has been shaped by the labour of Africans. Through these reflections, there is an important contribution to be made to the field of global history.

3.

When African history was constituted as an academic discipline in the 1950s, a silent, but presumably conscious, decision appears to have been made to exclude the history of Africans in the diaspora from the definition of African history.[51] No explicit rationalization of this restriction was offered by the pioneers of academic historical studies, but their rationale is not hard to guess. The pioneers of the 1950s and '60s were clearly concerned with establishing the history of Africa as an interest in its own right, rather than merely as part of the background to the history of the Americas – which was the

bour power of Africans anymore. Other scholars think that multinational capital is finding new uses of workers in Africa, as long as they are cheap, particularly to reach customers of modest means. See K. Meagher, The Scramble for Africans: Demography, Globalisation and Africa's Informal Labour Markets, in: Journal of Development Studies 52 (2016), p. 487.

49 For the project's many features and activities, see its webpage: https://collab.iisg.nl/labourrelations.

50 F. Cooper, African Labor History, in: J. Lucassen (ed.), Global Labor History. A State of the Art, Berne 2006, p. 116.

51 R. Law and P. Lovejoy, The Changing Dimensions of African History: Reappropriating the Diaspora, in: S. McGrath et al. (eds.), Rethinking African History, Edinburgh 1997, pp. 183–184.

dominant, earlier perspective in their view, exemplified by the writings of African-Americans such as Du Bois. In this context, African history had to be detached from its wider Atlantic context to constitute itself as an autonomously viable subject. In the field of studies about the slave trade, this led to the – rather bizarre – implicit assumption that African slaves, once embarked from the coast or joined a Saharan caravan, ceased to be part of African history.

This container model of African history has been replaced by numerous efforts to bring the diaspora back into African history.[52] However, in Africa itself, making Africa an autonomously viable subject of historical research and teaching and contributing to nation-building still constitute the central pillars of academic history. One impressive account of the history of an African nation in the form of a manifesto for a national identity came from the Congolese historian Isidore Ndaywel È Nziem. His voluminous *Histoire Générale du Congo*, published in 1998, is all the more interesting, as the Republic of Congo, formerly Zaire, usually serves as an example for a weak of even "failed" state in which a national identity never developed. Ndaywel È Nzien, on the other hand, conceptualizes the Congo as a space with "national destiny" and constructs a kind of geographical and human inevitability through which a pre-colonial constellation characterized by ethnic identities was transformed into the identity of a modern nation-state. In his approach, Ndaywel È Nziem strongly refers to European, most notably Belgian historiographical traditions and regularly quotes Henri Pirenne. In a period when "the invention of ethnicity" was at the core of Africanist debates in Europe and the United States, the doyen of Congolese historiography opted for a highly schematic model in which ethnic groups corresponded to a linguistic group and lived in a clearly demarcated territory.[53]

According to the Senegalese historian Omar Guèye, it would be nearly impossible to write the history of Africa in the modern era without references to places, peoples, and processes on different continents. He claims that in the beginning, historians in Africa, in their struggle against the persistent prejudices that Africa has no history, wrote national histories still often connected to events beyond this continent. This changed when the focus increasingly switched to subnational groups. Guèye sees the time ripe for linking the wealth of local historical research to broader global trends.[54] He recently published a study on Mai '68 in Senegal in which he locates Dakar within a global network of youth and student movements.[55] However, among historians in Africa, with his global perspectives, Guèye so far seems to plough a lonely furrow; although, some scholars based in

52 For an overview, see M. Gomez, Reversing Sail: A History of the African Diaspora, New York 2005. See also this article, above.

53 On this book and its broader context, see J.-L. Vellut, Prestige et pauvreté de l'histoire nationale. A propos d'une histoire générale du Congo, in: Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire 77 (1999), pp. 480–517.

54 O. Guèye, African History and Global History: Revisiting Paradigms, in: Beckert and Sachsenmaier, Global History, pp. 83–107.

55 O. Guèye, Mai 1968 au Sénégal. Senghor face aux étudiants et au mouvement syndical, Paris 2017. A recent effort to present a truly global portrait of the 1960s and to systematically include non-European regions such as Africa is C. Lian et al. (eds.), The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties: Between Protest and Nation-Building, London 2018.

South Africa do see clear trends towards global approaches within South African historiography (and beyond).[56]

Achille Mbembe critically commented on the ongoing priority of historians in Africa on national and regional perspectives: "The first ritual contradicts and refutes Western definitions of Africa and Africans by pointing out the falsehoods and bad faith they presuppose. The second denounces what the West has done (and continues to do) to Africa in the name of these definitions. And the third provides ostensible proof that – by disqualifying the West's fictional representations of African and refuting its claims to have a monopoly on the expression of the human in general – are supposed to open up a space in which Africans can finally narrate their own fables. This is to be accomplished through the acquisition of a language and a voice that cannot be imitated, because they are, in some sense, authentically Africa's own."[57] Against this background, to do research on Europe, for example, was perceived by many as an activity that perpetuated, in some sense, the colonial extraversion which was about to be overcome and which keeps Africans away from themselves, so to speak.[58] The Cameroonian scholar David Simo, who started as a specialist of German literature, is one of the few Africans who regularly contribute to conceptual debates about global history. He strongly recommends that if African historians want to create alternative (global) historical perspectives, they cannot simply create an African "Other." Instead, they have to develop these alternative perspectives and a critical and constructive stance towards global history through a dialogue with the currently dominant western disciplinary cultures.[59] So far, few Africa-based scholars have followed his advice.

We still have very little in-depth information on recent or current dissertation topics and on history curricula,[60] but it seems very likely that the majority of research-based manuscripts in history produced in Africa (Master, Ph.D.) focuses on aspects of national of even regional history. The internationally well-known Senegalese historian Ibrahima Thioub, currently President of the Université Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar, the most important francophone university in Africa, recently complained: "My students and colleagues in history tend to write about themselves."[61] By this he referred to the fact that most Senegalese historians prefer to write about their home region, mainly for two

56 I. Hofmeyr, African History and Global Studies: A View from South Africa, in: Journal of African History 54 (2013) 3, pp. 541–549. A call for a stronger transnational dimension in South African Labor History has been launched by P. Bonner, J. Hyslop, and L. van der Walt, Rethinking Worlds of Labour. Southern African Labour in International Context, in: African Studies 66 (2007) 2–3, pp. 137–168.

57 A. Mbembe, African Modes of Self-Writing, in: Public Culture 14 (2002) 1, p. 244.

58 D. Simo, Writing Global History in Africa, in: D. Northrup (ed.), A Companion to World History, Malden, MA 2012, p. 438.

59 D. Simo, Writing World History in Africa: Opportunities, Constraints, and Chellenges, in: Beckert and Sachsenmaier, Global History, pp. 235–249.

60 For some information, see C. Janson-Jabeur and C. Coquery-Vidrovitch (eds.), L'histoire africaine en Afrique, Vol. 1, Paris 1995, Vol. 2, Paris 2003; A. Eckert, "To make students aware of the general history of Africa." Geschichtswissenschaft und universitäre Lehre im Fach Geschichte in Afrika, in: G. Lingelbach (ed.), Vorlesung, Seminar, Repetitorium. Universitäre geschichtswissenschaftliche Lehre im historischen Vergleich, Munich 2006, pp. 291–324.

61 Interview with Thioub, Dakar, 14 April 2016.

reasons: It allows them to be active and take part in important and often controversial local debates, and the research is comparatively cheap, since in Senegal as in most African countries research funding is scarce. For them, global history is often not even a matter worth discussing. It appears to them to be yet another western imposition on the writing of history that emphasizes Africa as a site of damage – because Africa is mainly prominent in global history writings through references to the slave trade – and it devalues local knowledge and sources.[62]

Another dimension not explicitly discussed at this roundtable but relevant here is the question of the material basis for research. Jean Allman made the important point that the postcolonial archive is not the easy and direct descendant of the colonial archives project.[63] "It is not a "national archive". It does not reside in one place, or even two or three. It is a global, transnational archive, ranging from Accra to Beijing, from New Delhi to Frankfurt, from Moscow to Bucharest, from Tel Aviv to Harlem. The archival skills that Africanist historians have honed in London, Aix-en-Provence, and Lisbon – in Accra, Dakar, and Luanda, surely require refashioning in order to meet the linguistic, logistic, financial, and conceptual challenges posed by this vast shadow archive, much of it generated by the transnational policing mechanisms of the Cold War surveillance state."[64] Thus, she insists on the necessity to move beyond the older area studies, colony/metropole template and beyond archival work on any given independent African state that is limited to the national archive of that state and the former imperial power. She identifies this as an especially formidable challenge for scholars based at underfunded African institutions. Many scholars and intellectuals working at these institutions still feel marginalized and obliged to operate in an infrastructure that is framed by non-African epistemological interests. Nearly two decades ago, the Nigerian historian Toyin Falola who teaches in the United States, aptly summarized the widespread attitude among African intellectuals towards their position vis-à-vis their North Atlantic counterparts:

> *How Africans, either at home or abroad, will acquire autonomy and control the production of knowledge about their continent will ultimately depend on the possibility of a positive political and economic transformation of Africa. The marginality of African studies and Africans' feeling of irrelevance in Western institutions reflect the marginality of the continent in world affairs. If Africa lacks the resources to sponsor research and publish, to retain excellent scholars and build viable universities, it will be hard to overcome intellectual domination by outsiders to have their own agenda, interests and priorities.*[65]

62 These are impressions of a roundtable discussion with members of the history department of the Univ. Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar, animated by Babacar Fall, in December 2011.

63 J. Allman, Phantoms of the Archive: Kwame Nkrumah, a Nazi Pilot Named Hanna, and the Contingencies of Postcolonial History-Writing, in: American Historical Review 118 (2013) 1, pp. 104–129.

64 Ibid., p. 126f.

65 T. Falola, Nationalism and African Intellectuals, Rochester, NY 2001, p. 291.

One might argue that over the last twenty years, due to its resources and strategic importance, the continent's position in world affairs improved, but the effects on institutions of higher education and research have been marginal so far.

4.

Africans have, as other peoples, always thought about their past, though in distinctive ways that emerged from the social and cultural milieu particular to their lives. Those dealing with the African past had to rely on African modes of historical thought, frequently oral. Those modes referred to understandings of history, memory, power, time, and other aspects that are often not in accordance with the assumptions and questions taken as "natural" or "universal" by history as a discipline founded in Europe. This should not necessarily imply the construction of a fundamental mental difference between Africans and the rest, but allude to the fact that "Africans have made sense of the world and their own histories in ways that are simultaneously consistent with and formative of the realities on the ground around them."[66] One of the problematic aspects that has shaped thinking and writing about Africa's past and which is still characteristic for part of the field of global history, is the idea of conceptualizing Africa as peculiar and other places as normal. The terms of debate have to be shifted away from the particularity of Africa to the particularity of the course of global history in which Africa was a participant. Historians have shown that Africans had a voice in determining what "universal" values are, although theirs was never equal. Still, "Africa's engagement with the rest of the world has been painful and tragic, but the struggles of Africans for one or another form of liberation have, among other things, vitally affected what it means to be free."[67] Global history allows historians to move across and beyond the geographical fields on which the profession has been organized, calling upon us to give as much attention to the particularities of other places as (we) Africanists wish our colleagues would give to the specificities of African history. At the same time, it seems to widen the gap in the production of historiographical knowledge between Africa and the Rest.

66 Cooper, Oral Sources, p. 210.
67 Cooper, Africa's Past, p. 299.

Marrying Global History with South Asian History: Potential and Limits of Global Microhistory in a Regional Inflection[1]

Harald Fischer-Tiné

ABSTRACTS

Der vorliegende Beitrag rekonstruiert zunächst die Genese grenzüberschreitender, „transnationaler" und „globaler" Geschichtsschreibung zu Südasien. Auf dieser Grundlage postuliert er einen spezifischen globalhistorischen Ansatz, welcher die in den *area studies* übliche dichte regional- und kulturspezifische Kontextualisierung nicht zugunsten einer möglichst umfassenden Makroperspektive opfert. Der zur Diskussion gestellte Ansatz erkennt vielmehr den Wert von Mikroperspektiven an und empfiehlt die fokussierte Analyse von einzelnen Akteuren, Organisationen oder Institutionen in ihren vielfältigen Verflechtungen als eine gangbare Methode, um regional grundierte Globalgeschichte zu schreiben. Anders als bei rein mikrohistorischen Zugriffen ist jedoch die multiskalare Erweiterung auf andere relevante Interaktionsräume ebenso unerlässlich. Je nach Themenstellung wird daher das Ausleuchten von regionalen, nationalen, imperialen oder globalen Kontexten erforderlich. Es ist insbesondere ihre Fähigkeit zum „Auszoomen", die den größten Erkenntnisgewinn dieser globalen Mikrogeschichte verspricht. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen eines solchen Ansatzes werden abschließend mit einem Beispiel aus der aktuellen Forschung des Autors zu Dorfentwicklungsprogrammen des amerikanischen YMCA im Indien der Zwischenkriegszeit illustriert.

After revisiting transnationally oriented historiography from within a regional South Asian ambit, this article makes a plea for a very specific take on global-history writing that promises to appeal especially to historians who have learned to value dense regional/cultural contextu-

1 I would like to thank Carolyn Kerchof, Bernhard Schär, Elena Valdameri, Michael Brunner, and Joanna Simonow for reading earlier versions of this article and providing valuable suggestions for its improvement.

alisation through a training in "area studies". The approach proposed here acknowledges the validity of micro-approaches in that it advocates the use of the focused analysis of individuals, organisations or institutions and an exploration of their multifarious entanglements and interactions. Yet, while the contextualisation in micro-spatial units is pivotal, a simultaneous awareness of broader contexts and connections as well as a consciousness of the existence and significance of wider analytical frames of analysis – such as the regional, the national or imperial and, of course, the global is equally important. In fact, it is precisely the ability to "zoom out," to capture the influence of translocal factors on local processes that makes the proposed variety of "global micro-history" work. Potential and limits of the proposed approach are eventually illustrated with an example taken from the author's work on village development programmes launched by the American YMCA in South Asia in the interwar period.

1. The Concept of Global History

After the earlier boom in North America, global history's moment of arrival in the Asian and European academe seems to have finally come, bringing with it the establishment of a growing number of chairs and professional associations, as well as the launch of new journals, book series and other publication vehicles. What is more, after the pioneering phase of the late 1990s and early 2000s, when global historical studies remained relatively rare oddities in the wider field of history, the past decade, in particular, has yielded quite a number of attempts to define and systematize the new historiographical paradigm.[2] Indeed, we have meanwhile even been provided with "manuals," spelling out in concrete detail how to practice global history.[3] However, just like in any other emerging sub-field of historical inquiry, there is still little unanimity among the proponents of global history about the overarching purpose, exact boundaries, suitable topics, and appropriate methods. Quite the opposite: the spectrum of what is understood, labelled or marketed as global history continues to be extremely vast and contested. The loosely defined umbrella is accommodating hugely different research agendas, such as the world-system-theory-inspired analysis of the macro-economic and technological "divergences" between Asia and Europe,[4] as well as micro-historical probings into the effects of inter-

2 See, for example, S. Beckert and D. Sachsenmaier (eds.), Global History Globally: Research and Practice around the World, London 2018; S. Conrad, What is Global History?, Princeton 2016; J. Belich, J. Darwin, and M. Frenz (eds.), The Prospect of Global History, Oxford 2016; L. Testot, Histoire globale: un autre regard sur le monde, Paris 2015; A. Iriye, Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present and Future, Houndmills 2013; P. K. Crossley, What is Global History?, Cambridge, UK 2008; S. Conrad, A. Eckert, and U. Freitag, (eds.), Globalgeschichte: Theorien, Ansätze, Themen, Frankfurt a. M. 2007; C. Douki and P. Minard, Histoire globale, histoires connectées: un changement d'échelle historiographique?, in: Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 54 (2007) 4, pp. 7–21.

3 R.M. Berg (ed.), Writing the History of the Global: Challenges for the 21st Century, Oxford 2013; L. Hunt, Writing History in the Global Era, New York 2014; R. Wenzelhuemer, Globalgeschichte schreiben: Eine Einführung in 6 Episoden, Konstanz 2017.

4 P. Vries, State, Economy and the Great Divergence. Great Britain and China, 1680s–1850s, London 2015; P. Parthasarathi, Why Europe Became Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600–1850, Cambridge ,

cultural encounters in a relatively small geographical space, or the lives of individual "border-crossing cosmopolitans".[5] While I do not quite share the editors' assessment that there is a pressing need for sharply defining the contours of what global history is and what it is not, I would nonetheless like to use this article to make a plea for a very specific take on global-history writing that should be appealing especially to historians who have learned to value "thick description" and dense regional / cultural contextualisation through a training in "area studies". The approach proposed in this essay on global history writing from within a regional South Asian ambit has much in common with the above-mentioned micro-approach in that it advocates the use of the focused analysis of individuals, organisations, or institutions and an exploration of their multifarious entanglements and interactions. Yet, while the contextualisation in micro-spatial units is pivotal, a simultaneous awareness of broader contexts and connections as well as a consciousness of the existence and significance of wider analytical frames of analysis – such as the regional, the national or imperial and, of course the global is equally important. In fact, it is precisely the ability to "zoom out," to capture the influence of translocal factors on local processes, that makes the proposed variety of "global micro-history" work.[6] I would argue that the projected method has the potential to credibly counter some fundamental criticism that has recently been levelled against global history.[7] For one, some critics have castigated global historians for ostensibly privileging a focus on macro-processes and abstract structural changes at the expense of the lived realities, thoughts, and experiences of historical actors. At the same time, several scholars have argued that there is a harmonising tendency in much of global history writing. According to their view, the champions of the global history paradigm are constructing a teleological narrative by unduly celebrating mobility, connectivity, and cosmopolitanism during past

UK 2011; K. Pomeranz, Writing about Divergences in Global History: Some Implications for Scale, Methods, Aims and Categories, in: Berg (ed.), Writing the History, pp. 117–128.

5 M. Gamsa, Biography and (Global) Microhistory, in: New Global Studies 11 (2017) 3, pp. 232–241. For influential examples of the "global biographical" approach see, for instance, J.P. Ghobrial, The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory, in: Past & Present 222 (2014) 1, pp. 51–93; L. Colley, The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History, New York 2007; N. Zemon-Davis, Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds, London 2006.

6 The term "global micro-history" was coined by Antonio Andrade in a 2010 publication: A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory, in: Journal of World History 21 (2010) 4, pp. 573–591. Whereas Andrade's quasi-literary take on global micro-history has rightly come under attack as little convincing, currently a growing number of scholars attempt to develop the method into a sharper instrument in the historian's toolbox. Cf., for instance, R. Bertrand and G. Calafat, La microhistoire globale: affaire(s) à suivre, in: Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales 73 (2018) 1, pp. 1–18; Gamsa, Biography; H. Medick, Turning Global? Microhistory in Extension, in: Historische Anthropologie 24 (2016) 2, pp. 241–252; P. Kupper and B. Schär, Moderne Gegenwelten. Ein mikrohistorischer Beitrag zur europäischen Globalgeschichte, in: C. Dejung and M. Lengwiler (eds.), Ränder der Moderne. Neue Perspektiven auf die Europäische Geschichte (1850–1950), Köln 2016, pp. 93–114; G. Levi, Microhistoria e Historia Global, in: Historia Crítica 69 (2018), pp. 21–35; A. Epple, Globale Mikrogeschichte: Auf dem Weg zu einer Geschichte der Relationen, in: E. Hiebl and E. Langthaler (eds.), Im Kleinen das Große suchen. Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis, Innsbruck 2012, pp. 37–47.

7 For an exhaustive engagement with the critics of global history see also R. Drayton and D. Motadel, Discussion: The Futures of Global History, in: Journal of Global History 13 (2018) 1, pp. 1–21; S. Conrad, Globalgeschichte: eine Einführung, München 2013, pp. 87–111.

centuries as harbingers of today's planetary integration. The suggested micro-historical approach allows for a refutation of such gross oversimplification and demonstrates that global history does not necessarily ignore the life-worlds of historical actors, nor is it about producing a smooth pre-history of globalization through an uncritical fetishization of "connections," "flows," and "entanglements." An analysis of intercultural encounters or other long-distance contacts that loses sight of asymmetrical power relations (or even outright violence), tensions, or tendencies to drift is simply bad history, whether it poses as global or not.

Before I attempt to illustrate the potential of this critical global micro-history with an example from my current research project on the history of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in India, let us first have a closer look at the role South Asia has played thus far for global history and locate the place of global history in the historiography on South Asia.

2. Postcolonial Theory, Global History, and South Asia

Some time ago, Chicago-based historian Dipesh Chakrabarty has pointed a vast readership in his classic *Provincialising Europe* to the "asymmetric ignorance" prevailing in the humanities and especially among historians.[8] While it was perfectly acceptable for a historian teaching in Europe or North America, thus the argument ran, to be utterly ignorant of Chinese, African, or Latin American history, a historian based in those regions would be unequivocally disqualified if he admitted that he had no clue about the history of "Western Civilisation." Fairly obviously, this state of affairs is a result of what can be called the "imperial dividend": an epistemic hierarchy privileging historiography in and on western countries, regardless of the fact whether they were once colonising or not.[9] The prevalence of a Eurocentric perspective and an imperial mind-set in the formative phase of history as an academic discipline during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has also left its mark in countries that were either minor colonial players or unsuspected of having pursued an imperialist agenda at all, such as Denmark, Sweden, Finland, or Switzerland. Even among such "colonial outsiders" the self-identification with a "dynamic" West that has purportedly shaped the course of modern history more or less single-handedly and left its imprint on a "Third World" perceived as inert and passive has been ubiquitous for decades.[10]

Arguably, not only the slow advance of global history, but also the impact of postcolonial studies in the western academe during the past three decades has begun to remedy

8 D. Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference, Princeton 2000, p. 28.

9 P. Purtschert, Switzerland and "Colonialism without Colonies": Reflections on the Status of Colonial Out-Siders, in: Interventions: The International Journal of Postcolonial Studies 26 (2016) 2, pp. 286–302.

10 J. M. Blaut, The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History, New York 1993. For a recent example of the longevity of this trope, see N. Ferguson, Civilization: The West and the Rest, London 2011.

these unfortunate "birth defects" of academic history-writing.[11] The fact that concepts and theories developed by scholars and intellectuals hailing from the allegedly stagnant Global South are increasingly studied by "mainstream" historians and occasionally even applied in works on North America or Europe, has put non-western regions on the historiographical map in unprecedented ways.[12] Besides, even though many advocates of global history might not yet place sufficient emphasis on producing a polycentric historiography, as Stephan Scheuzger convincingly argues in his contribution to this issue, the widened spatial framework used in global and transnational history in itself has been conducive to a greater awareness of the Global South by western scholars. In other words, unlike some critics who perceive global history as a particularly perfidious variety of nineteenth and early twentieth century imperial history especially designed for our times, I do believe that it has a tremendous emancipatory and inclusivist potential. It possesses this potential precisely because it allows for the inclusion of "perspectives from marginal and 'outside' locations,"[13] thus reminding a Western audience that both the shaping of history itself as well as its interpretation are not Western monopolies.

At first sight, this potential seems to become most obvious if one looks at the region I will focus on in the remainder of this article, namely South Asia. It certainly cannot be denied that the Indian subcontinent provides a most pertinent example for the growing global presence, visibility, and impact of what has been dubbed "Southern Theory."[14] Scholars born in South Asia associated with "subaltern" and / or "postcolonial studies", such as the above mentioned Dipesh Chakrabarty, as well as Ranajit Guha, Partha Chatterjee, or Gayatri Spivak, have meanwhile broken into the phalanx of the great white men (and, only occasionally, women) that previously had monopolised epistemic authority in the humanities and social sciences in the West. Today, many European, North American, and Australian historians, even if working in conventional paradigms, would probably be familiar with their names. However, not only the fact that most of the prominent representatives of this group have long taken up chairs in Western elite universities begs the question as to what extent they actually represent their region of origin. Is the scholarship produced by these academics indeed grounded in a specific regional experience, or is it rather the expression of an unattached, deterritorialised postcolonial universalism? To put it differently, how South Asian is the strand of "Southern Theory" they stand for? Interestingly enough, there are quite a few critics in South Asia itself who have been accusing the successful "subalterns in the academy" of elitism, claiming that they have completely lost touch with their home societies.[15] In tandem with the distrust towards

11 Conrad, What is Global History?, p. 3.

12 Cf., for example, G. Sengupta, Elites, Subalterns, and American Identities: A Case Study of African American Benevolence, in: American Historical Review 109 (2004), pp. 1104–1139; J. Marriott, The Other Empire: Metropolis, India and Progress in the Colonial Imagination, Manchester 2003.

13 G. Balachandran, History after the Global Turn: Perspectives from Rim and Region, in: History Australia 14 (2017), pp. 6–12.

14 R. Connell, Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science, Cambridge, MA 2007; cf. especially pp. 165–191.

15 V. Lal, The History of History: Politics and Scholarship in Modern India, Delhi 2005, pp. 186–230. A similar point is

a south Asian historiography that has gone global, history-writing on a world scale as such has also come under attack. As early as 2003, Vinay Lal, one of the most outspoken detractors of the global turn, pointed to the "vastly different conditions" under which research is conducted and produced in the North and in the South and warned that: "to compel [South Asia] to enter the stream of world history whose teleological center is the Euro-American world, would be the clearest sign of a resurgent colonialism."[16] Vinay Lal and other Indian Intellectuals propose instead "vernacular" rather than global histories, that partly also defy the idea of linear progressive time foundational for modern "scientific" historiography.[17] Related criticism also came from non-South Asian professors of South Asian history. While generally appreciative of the potential of Global History, British historian and South Asianist David Washbrook, for example, has pointed to the problems to address "relations of power and exploitation" in a constellation where the quest to overcome Eurocentric positions leads to an emphasis of entanglements and non-western agency. As a result, global historians might "no longer be able to lay not only "the glory" but also "the blame" for projects of world domination onto Europe and Europeans alone, since the category itself begins to dissolve."[18]

Next to this not unproblematic ubiquity of theory-oriented scholarship from the subcontinent, a second reason why "area historians" working on other regions who want to integrate their field into global history debates often envy South Asianists is that one of the world's leading advocates of global history, the late C. A. Bayly, began his career as a historian of India, and examples from the subcontinent hence figure prominently in his writings. In addition to this privileged exposure in canonical works such as Bayly's widely read *Birth of the Modern World*,[19] scholars have pointed to the fact that – and here we can perceive another imperial dividend – the historiography on South Asia is easily accessible for the generalist historian with global propensities, as it happens to be written overwhelmingly in English. For this reason alone, it is argued, the relationship between South Asian and global history appears to be a match made in heaven. But does this assumption withstand critical interrogation? Although the body of high-quality historiography on South Asia produced in vernacular languages is admittedly fairly small (though certainly not completely negligible),[20] this is not true for the sources. It has rightly been pointed out that, even when dealing with the subcontinent's colonial history, a concen-

made in A. Mukherjee, Challenges to the Social Sciences in the 21st Century: Some Perspectives from the South, in: Economic and Political Weekly 48 (2013) 37, pp. 31–37.

16 V. Lal, Provincializing the West: World History from the Perspective of Indian History, in: B. Stuchtey and E. Fuchs (eds.), Writing World History, 1800–2000, Oxford 2003, pp. 270–289, at p. 289. A similar point, that presented western concepts of time and, by extension, western forms of history writing as hegemonic and repressive had been made earlier by A. Nandy, History's Forgotten Doubles, in: History and Theory 34 (1996) 2, pp. 44–66.

17 Cf. also P. Banerjee, Histories of History in South Asia, in: P. Duara, V. Murthy, and A. Sartori (eds.), A Companion to Global Historical Thought, Chichester 2014, pp. 293–307.

18 D. A. Washbrook, Problems of Global History, in: Berg, Writing the History, pp. 21–31, at p. 27.

19 C. A. Bayly, The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons, Malden, MA 2004.

20 Especially Bengali historians have a strong affinity to their mother tongue and cultivated history writing in their own language. Even some prominent members of the subaltern studies group (such as Gautam Bhadra or Partha Chatterjee) would occasionally write pieces in Bangla.

tration on sources in European languages alone would, for many topics, provide only a blurry picture.[21]

In sum then, the apparent affinity between global and South Asian history is more fragile than it seems, and it becomes outright problematic when we look back at the historical trajectories of historiography concerned with the Indian subcontinent. I argue that a number of diverse and otherwise often conflictual historiographical traditions share one commonality: they stress the uniqueness and incommensurability of South Asia and its past, rather than its embeddedness in broader global structures or processes.

An emphasis on South Asia's specificity and otherness clearly marked the earliest serious engagement with South Asian pasts by Western scholars in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Representatives of the first generation of "imperial" British historians like Robert Orme, Mark Wilks, James Mill, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Henry Miers Elliott, and others were particularly keen to highlight the fundamental difference between Europe and South Asia.[22] The underlying logic of this quest for difference is plain to see: India's alleged "backwardness," "superstition," and "despotism" provided a useful foil to Britain's claims about itself. This foil could be instrumentalised to legitimate British expansion in the region and portray the English East India Company's military conquest and economic exploitation after 1757 as a benevolent enterprise of moral and material "upliftment." British "administrator historians" working with the same juxtaposition of Indian inertia and lack of development with the West's modernising impulse carried this narrative well into the twentieth century. The work of historians such as Vincent Smith (1848–1920), Philip Mason (1906–1999), or Percival Spear (1901–1982) – all of whom served for decades in the Indian Civil Service[23] – have been in print uninterruptedly until this day, though mainly written in the first half of the century. Their imperially inclined perspective on South Asian history continued to crucially shape the view of the region's past in western academia for decades after the age of decolonization had begun. If there was an emphasis of translocal entanglements and connections in this kind of historical narrative at all, it was on the "providential" relationship between the subcontinental population and Britain while rendering other simultaneously existing connections invisible.[24] Thus, according to Mason, it was Britain who sent the men "who by the middle of the nineteenth century had brought peace to the country instead of anarchy, had mapped the fields and made lists of everyman's rights had made a beginning of the task of building roads, bridges and railways of harnessing the rivers to irrigation."[25]

21 M. Pernau, Global History – Wegbereiter für einen neuen Kolonialismus?, in: Connections. A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists, 17 December 2004, https://www.connections.clio-online.net/article/id/artikel-572 (accessed 25 January 2018).

22 M. Mann, Sinnvolle Geschichte: Historische Repräsentationen im neuzeitlichen Südasien, Heidelberg 2009, pp. 34–61; R.S. Mantena, The Origins of Modern Historiography in India: Antiquarianism and Philology, 1780–1880, New York 2012, pp. 35–45.

23 H. Tinker, Philip Mason Obituary: Last Witness to the Raj, in: The Guardian, 3 February 1999.

24 I. Chatterjee, Connected Histories and the Dream of Decolonial History, in: South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies 41 (2018) 1, pp. 69–86.

25 P. Mason, The Men Who Ruled India, New York 1985, pp. xii f.

Perhaps the only remarkable aspect of this dubious historical assessment is the fact that it could be written in 1985, four decades after the end of colonial rule.

Various pre-colonial traditions of history writing existed in South Asia, most of which were barely affected by interventions by Western historians until the last third of the nineteenth century. However, when western educated Indian intellectuals developed a "cult of scientific history" from the 1880s onwards, a new nationalist historiography slowly began to take shape.[26] For decades, its agenda was largely defined by the felt need to respond to the challenging imperialist tropes. If western historians exploited the subcontinent's past to demonstrate its allegedly "semi-civilized" status, its technological retardation and the resulting lack of capability for self-rule, the master-narrative of imperial history simply needed to be inverted.[27] The first nationalist historians in the subcontinent became obsessed with unearthing the glories and splendour of South Asia's past. In an attempt to counter the imperial ascriptions of civilizational deficiency and moral-cum political immaturity, pioneering academic historians in English but also in Bangla, Hindi, Marathi, and other regional languages combed sources and literature to recover instances of scientific excellence, social equality, political skill and military prowess. Some of the less sophisticated products of this intellectual labour resorted to a crude kind of nativism and projected modern phenomena such as parliamentary democracy or airplanes and submarines into a distant Aryan past.[28] But even the majority of the more serious academic historians continued to be fixated on constructing a national past that was useful for the independent nation state they hoped to establish rather sooner than later. This explains that for most professional historians in the subcontinent "world history" was a parallel universe rather than something they would engage with on a regular basis. The historiography they produced was, as Partha Chatterjee has pertinently observed, "suffused by the spirit of nationalism and modernist reform and thus inextricably entangled in the ideological web of the national, regional and sectarian politics of South Asia."[29] In other words: in a constellation where the nation, its imperial "others," and occasionally also its discontents reigned supreme, there was not much space for engaging with the wider world. In the rare cases where other regions outside South Asia featured prominently in the histories thus written, the inclusion often also occurred in the service of nationalism. Thus, Kalidas Nag, R.C. Majumdar,[30] and others propagated a variety of

26 D. Chakrabarty, The Calling of History: Sir Jadunath Sarkar & his Empire of Truth, Chicago 2015, pp. 39–44.

27 S.B. Upadhyay, Historiography in the Modern World: Western and Indian Perspectives, New Delhi 2016, pp. 152–161.

28 See, for instance, H. Fischer-Tiné, Inventing a National Past: The Case of Ramdev's Bharatvarsh ka Itihas (1910–14), in: A. Copley (ed.), Hinduism in Public and Private. Reform, Hindutva, Gender and Sampraday, New Delhi 2003, pp. 110–139; D. Arnold, A Time for Science: Past and Present in the Reconstruction of Hindu Science, 1860–1920, in: D. Ali (ed.), Invoking the Past: The Uses of History in South Asia, New Delhi 1999, pp. 156–177.

29 P. Chatterjee, Introduction: History and the Present, in: P. Chatterjee and A. Ghosh (eds.), History and the Present, Delhi 2002, pp. 1–23, at p. 2.

30 K. Nag, Greater India: A Study of Indian Internationalism (= Greater India Society Bulletin, No. 1), Calcutta 1926; R.C. Majumdar, Ancient Indian Colonies in the East, Dacca 1927; A.N. Sastri, South Indian Influence in the Far East, Calcutta 1949.

a pan-Asianist discourses that declared large parts of Asia to be "Greater India" due to a gradual cultural permeation and actual colonization projects conducted by South Asians in Central, South-East and East Asia over centuries.[31]

This relative self-centredness of South Asian historians continued largely unchallenged in the postcolonial period. In Nehruvian India (1947–1964), the discipline of history provided an effective glue to bind the heterogeneous nation together in its difficult formative phase.[32] Jawaharlal Nehru, a gifted amateur historian himself, had set the tone with his *Discovery of India* (1946), a popular attempt to reconstruct the "biography" of the Indian nation.[33] Professional scholars of history continued along similar lines, eager to produce a "rational account of the progress and unity of India from time immemorial."[34] After Independence, their task was facilitated through the generous state subsidies that could now be pumped into the production of history textbooks for schools and colleges and historiographical mega-projects such as the publication of the multi-authored eleven volumes of *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (1952–1974).[35]

When Marxism (in the 1960s and 1970s) and post-colonialism (in the 1980s and 1990s) reached the peak of their impact on the Indian historiography on South Asia, this affected the existing obsession with the nation or, for that matter, the sub-national community as the preferred unit of analysis only tangentially. To be sure, the question debated by Indian historians working in a Marxist paradigm – whether historical concepts developed to explain phenomena in Europe, such as "Feudalism," "Class," or "Renaissance," were universally applicable or in need of being discarded or at least modified for a South Asian context,[36] – involved a certain degree of transregional comparison and manifested a more conscious engagement with broader historiographical trends. However, this did

31 M. Gottlob, Historical Thinking in South Asia: A Handbook of Sources from Colonial Times to the Present, New Delhi 2006, p. 130; Mann, Sinnvolle Geschichte, pp. 128–130.

32 M. Gottlob, History and Politics in Post-Colonial India, New Delhi 2011, pp. 9–11.

33 J. Nehru, The Discovery of India, Calcutta 1946.

34 Mantena, Origins of Modern Historiography, p. 1.

35 R.C. Majumdar et al. (eds.), The History and Culture of the Indian People, 11 Vols., Bombay 195–1974. Although the focus in this survey is on Indian history, a brief glance at other South Asian countries is instructive at this point, as it confirms the existence of a similar pattern throughout the region. Predictably enough, the first generation of academic historians in Pakistan was equally fixated on the "discovery" of the pre-history of their young nation. In spite of the obvious fact that the history of the Muslim and Non-Muslim populations of pre-colonial and colonial India were overlapping to a considerable degree, they had to face the challenge of creating a distinctive trajectory of "Muslim history" in South Asia that would culminate in the creation of Pakistan in 1947. the formation of an equally exclusivist communitarian approach to history-writing could also be observed in Ceylon/Sri Lanka, where, starting in the interwar years, influential Sinhala historians were at pains to accentuate the differences between "Aryan" Singhalese and Dravidian Tamils. Cf. A. Jalal, Conjuring Pakistan: History as Official Imagining, International Journal of Middle East Studies 27 (1995) 1, pp. 73–89; Mann, Sinnvolle Geschichte, pp. 173–178.

36 See, for instance, R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism, Calcutta 1965; H. Mukhia, Was there Feudalism in Indian History?, in: Journal of Peasant Studies 8 (1981) 3, pp. 273–310; S. Sarkar, On the Indian Renaissance, Calcutta 1979; I. Habib, Classifying Precolonial India, in: T.J. Byres and H. Mukhia (eds.), Feudalism and Non-European Societies, London 1985, pp. 44–53; I. Habib, Essays in Indian History: Towards a Marxist Perception, New Delhi 1995.

not mean that the topics of historical studies became significantly more open to leave the established national framework behind.[37]

When the wave of Subaltern Studies eventually swept over South Asian history departments on the subcontinent and in the rest of the world during the last two decades of the twentieth century, its "history-from-below" approach eroded several received historiographical certainties. However, the belief that the nation crucially mattered for the historian was not among them. Indeed, as Ranajit Guha, the *spiritus rector* of the Subalternists famously phrased it, the *raison d'être* of their project was the alleged "failure of the Indian nation to come into its own."[38] In their subsequent attempt to "acknowledge the subaltern as the maker of his own destiny," the uncanny other of the rebellious subject was either the "colonial elitism" of the British Raj or the "Bourgeois-nationalist elitism" of paternalist politicians dominating the Indian National Congress and later the politics of independent India. If the spatial scope of reference did change at all as a result of subalternist revisionism, it was not from the national to the transnational or global but rather to the local. Many contributors to the twelve volumes of Subaltern Studies published between 1982 and 2005 zoomed in on very specific regional and local constellations in order to capture voices of marginal communities such as "tribal" communities or religious fringe groups.[39] Even if one does not subscribe to the scathing critique of the subalternists' alleged "romantic orientalism," as articulated by Vivek Chibber,[40] it is certainly no exaggeration to say that this powerful trend with its focus on densely contextualised micro-studies, too, was not particularly conducive to facilitating the adoption of world or global history.[41]

With these caveats in mind, let us now look at some of the branches of historiography that have dealt with South Asia in wider global or transnational frameworks. For constraints of space, I will limit myself to the discussion of three examples from subfields that have proven to be particularly prolific in this respect, namely Indian Ocean history, the history of South Asian migration and the history of diasporic nationalism.

37 An exception are some economic historians of India whose work will be discussed in the next section.

38 R. Guha, On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India, in: Idem (ed.), Subaltern Studies I, Writings on South Asian History and Society, New Delhi 1982, pp. 1–8, at p. 7.

39 See, for example, D. Arnold, Rebellious Hillmen, the Rudem Rampa Risings 1839–1924, in: Guha (ed.), Subaltern Studies I, pp. 88–142; D. Hardiman, Adivasi Assertion in South Gujarat: The Devi Movement 1922–23, in: R. Guha (ed.), Subaltern Studies III, Writings on South Asian History and Society, New Delhi 1984, pp. 196–230; S. Sarkar, The Kalki Avatar of Bikrampur: A Village Scandal in Early 20th Century Bengal, in: R. Guha (ed.), Subaltern Studies VI, Writings on South Asian History and Society, New Delhi 1989, pp. 1–53; T. Sarkar, Jitu Sandal's Movement in Malda, 1924–1932: A Study in Tribal Protest, in: R. Guha (ed.), Subaltern Studies IV, Writings on South Asian History and Society, New Delhi 1985, pp. 136–164.

40 V. Chibber, Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital, New York 2013.

41 That being said, the fact that, from the 1990s on, a handful of isolated contributions dealing with themes from African or Middle Eastern contexts were included in the Subaltern Studies series, seems to suggest that there was a growing awareness of this limitation. Cf., for instance, T. Ranger, Power, Power Religion and Community: The Matobo Case, in: P. Chatterjee and G. Pandey (eds.), Subaltern Studies VII, Writings on South Asian History and Society, New Delhi 1992, pp. 221–246.

3. South Asian History Beyond the Subcontinent

In spite of the tendencies sketched out above, there have been a few unorthodox practitioners of history who were working with – or at least advocating – a relocation of South Asia's past in broader contexts. Interestingly, until well into the postcolonial period, these tended to be amateur rather than professional academic historians. The historical writings of Bengali economist and sociologist Benoy Kumar Sarkar (1887–1948) provide a powerful example. Sarkar, an ardent nationalist who spent over a decade in exile in Japan, the USA, and various European countries in the 1910s and 1920s to escape political persecution,[42] advocated a campaign against what he called "*orientalisme* in science," namely the representation of Asian societies and countries as defective and fundamentally different from "Euro-American" ones.[43] Part of his counterstrategy consisted of the development of a political science and historiography free from cultural essentialist assumptions, and that worked with global comparisons.[44] In an early manifesto for a new "science of history" published on the eve of World War I, Sarkar overtly deplored the focus on individual nation states and their politics and the "absence of [a] synthetic comprehensive treatment" of the various world regions in historiography.[45] What was required for historians, in his view, instead of such a narrow chauvinistic optic was "to minutely study the array of world forces that has been the result of mutual intercourse of the various peoples in social, economic, intellectual and political matters."[46]

Over the next few decades characterised by nationalist mobilisation, Sarkar's bold and unorthodox universalist vision of history (that was partly indebted to the Pan-Asianist currents mentioned above)[47] did not find too many followers in South Asia. If there is one work that could perhaps be singled out as being in some ways indebted to the Bengali polymath's broad universal approach and the focus on transregional comparisons and interactions it would be K.M. Panikkar's successful but rather controversial work on *Asia and Western Dominance*, published in the early 1950s.[48] Though he had read history at Oxford during WW I, Panikkar, too, was not a professional historian *stricto sensu*. For

42 For recent scholarly engagements with Benoy Kumar Sarkar see S. Sen, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Restoring the Nation to the World, New Delhi 2015; M. Goswami, Provincializing Sociology: The Case of a Premature Postcolonial Sociologist, in: Postcolonial Sociology 24 (2013), pp. 145–175; R.E. Frykenberg, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, 1887–1949, Political *Rishi* of Twentieth-Century Bengal, in: G. Berkemer et al. (eds.), Explorations in the History of South Asia: Essays in Honour of Dietmar Rothermund, New Delhi 2001, pp.197–217.

43 C. Six, Challenging the Grammar of Difference: Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Global Mobility and Anti-Imperialism around the First World War, in: European Review of History 25 (2018) 3–4, pp. 431–449; H. Fischer-Tiné, "Deep Occidentalism"? – Europa und der Westen in der Wahrnehmung hinduistischer Intellektueller und Reformer (ca. 1890–1930), in: Journal of Modern European History 4 (2006) 2, pp. 171–203, at p. 199 f.

44 Cf., for instance, B.K. Sarkar, The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus: A Study in Comparative Politics, Leipzig 1922; Idem, The Futurism of Young Asia, in: International Journal of Ethics 28 (1918), pp. 221–241.

45 B.K. Sarkar, The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind, London 1912, p. 10 f.

46 Ibid., p. 21.

47 C. Stolte and H. Fischer-Tiné, Imagining Asia in India: Nationalism and Internationalism (ca. 1905–1940), in: Comparative Studies in Society and History 54 (2012) 1, pp. 1–28.

48 K.M. Panikkar, Asia and Western Dominance: A Survey of the Vasco da Gama Epoch of Asian History, London 1953.

the better part of his life, he earned his money as a newspaper editor or diplomat. For a long time forgotten, Panikkar's book has been rediscovered in the early 2000s and celebrated in some circles for providing "a rounded non-Western account of Asia's encounter with the West."[49] Like Sarkar three decades before him, Panikkar used a *longue durée* and comparative approach to argue that the period of western dominance during the age of European Expansion was merely a brief episode in world history that would be followed by an age of Asian hegemony.

Panikkar could also be cited as a forerunner of the first of the three "global currents" in South Asian historiography that I will discuss in the following section. Quite obviously, not all varieties of global or transnational history engage with the universal or transcontinental. For the study of many historical problems macro-regions, lend themselves as useful spatial units of analysis as they transcend the narrow focus on a given nation or locality and at the same time avoid the confusing complexity of a global frame of reference. In the wake of Fernand Braudel's highly influential account of the Mediterranean Sea,[50] oceans or "seascapes" have become popular organizing principles to create such macro regions.[51] One of Panikkar's early works on India as a naval power also deserves to be mentioned in this connection since it anticipated a macro-regional approach that would flourish from the 1990s.[52] For historians concerned with South Asia, it was the Indian Ocean that has become the focal point of this new concern with Oceanic history.[53] Perhaps not surprisingly, economic historians working on the activities of Arab, Indian and early European merchants and trading companies in the region were the first to take a particularly keen interest in the emerging "new thalassology."[54] The most influential early contributions to this burgeoning field were Kirti N. Chaudhuri's monographs on the Indian Ocean region. Chaudhuri, who had won fame with his studies on the early history of the English East India Company,[55] showed the potential of macro-regional history to overcome Eurocentric perspectives. His first Indian Ocean book took the arrival of Islam in the region as starting point for the transformative processes he was

49 D. Lal, Asia and Western Dominance: Retrospect and Prospect, in: Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy 8 (2003) 3, pp. 283–299.

50 F. Braudel, La méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II, Paris 1949.

51 For useful surveys of this trend see M. Pearson, Oceanic History, in: P. Duara, V. Murthy, and A. Sartori (eds.), A Companion to Global Historical Thought, Chichester 2014, pp. 337–350; K. Wigen (ed.), AHR Forum Oceans of History, in: American Historical Review 111 (2006), pp. 717–780.

52 K.M. Panikkar, India and the Indian Ocean: An Essay on the Influence of Seapower on Indian History, London 1945.

53 An excellent summary of Indian Ocean research in general is provided by S. Sivasundaram, The Indian Ocean, in: D. Armitage, A. Bashford, and S. Sivasundaram (eds.), Oceanic Histories, Cambridge, UK 2018, pp. 31–61. For pioneering collective efforts see also: S. C. A. Halikowski Smith (ed.), Reinterpreting Indian Ocean Worlds: Essays in Honour of Kirti N. Chaudhuri, Newcastle 2011; A. Jamal and S. Moorthy (eds.), Indian Ocean Studies: Cultural, Social and Political Perspectives, London 2010; J.-G. Deutsch and B. Reinwald (eds.), Space on the Move. Transformations of the Indian Ocean Seascape in the 19th and 20th Century, Berlin 2002.

54 M. Vink, Indian Ocean Studies and the "New Thalassology", in: Journal of Global History, 2 (2007) 1, pp. 41–62.

55 K. N. Chaudhuri, The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600–1640, London 1965; Idem, The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660–1760, Cambridge, UK 1978.

interested in and not, as usually was the case, the arrival of Vasco da Gama.[56] His second book, with its programmatic title *Asia before Europe,* was even more visibly indebted to the methods pioneered by Braudel and other historians of the French *Annales* school in that it paid close attention to the role structural givens of the region, such as topography and climate, played for economic relations, agricultural practices, and cultural uniformities and differences.[57] This first wave of Indian Ocean studies had a clear bias towards maritime trade and related activities of European actors in the region.[58] However, before long, oceanic history was branching out into different fields. Perhaps the most noteworthy development in this context is the creation of the concept of "connected history" by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, who started his career as a historian of the Indian Ocean. His mastery of South Asian, Islamic and Iberian history (and a dozen or so related languages) allowed him to reconstruct the large-scale "reconfiguration of early modern Eurasia," making visible interactions and connections between Asia and Europe that had hitherto gone unnoticed.[59] His unusual language skills and formidable erudition permitted him to come up on the Portuguese and Spanish varieties of imperialism from a truly global perspective and even recruit some early modern Asian writers for the ancestral halls of global history.[60] Even a fairly conventional topic, such as the one addressed in his recent account on European conceptions of India before the Age of Empire,[61] benefits from Subrahmanyam's exceptional multiregional and transcultural competences and his wilful disregard of "boundaries defined for us retrospectively by nation-states and Area Studies." [62]

While Subrahmanyam's writings have illuminated the fragile threads connecting the countries and regions bordering the Indian Ocean with one another (and other parts of the globe) during the early modern period, another author stands out when it comes to taking the *histoire totale* of the Indian Ocean region into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Sugata Bose's sophisticated yet highly readable *A Hundred Horizons* skilfully combines economic, political, and cultural history to paint a compelling portrait

56 K. N. Chaudhuri, Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750, Cambridge, UK 1985.

57 K. N. Chaudhuri, Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750, Cambridge, UK 1990.

58 See, for instance, S. Chandra (ed.), The Indian Ocean: Explorations in History Commerce and Politics, New Delhi 1987; A. Das Gupta, The World of the Indian Ocean Merchant, 1500–1800, Collected Essays of A. Das Gupta, New Delhi 2001; A. Das Gupta and M. N. Pearson, India and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800, Calcutta 1987; K. McPherson, The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea, New York 1993; O. Prakash, The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal (1630–1720), Princeton 1985; S. Subrahmanyam, Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal 1500–1700, Delhi 1990.

59 S. Subrahmanyam, Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia, Modern Asian Studies 31 (1997) 3, pp. 735–62. See also Idem, Aux origines de l'histoire globale, Paris 2014.

60 S. Subrahmanyam, Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500–1640, in: American Historical Review 112 (2007), pp. 1359–1385; Idem, On World Historians in the Sixteenth Century, in: Representations 91 (2005) 1, pp. 26–57.

61 S. Subrahmanyam, Europe's India: Words, Peoples, Empires, 1500–1800, Cambridge, MA 2017.

62 Subrahmanyam, Connected Histories, p. 759. While he has pioneered border-defying history-writing, it should not go unmentioned, that Subrahmanyam has also become critical towards some forms of global history. Cf., for instance, his interview in the Nouvelle Observateur: https://bibliobs.nouvelobs.com/idees/20180528.OBS7286/l-histoire-globale-expliquee-a-ceux-qui-n-y-ont-rien-compris.html (accessed 29 July 2018).

of the macro-region and its multifarious global entanglements during the "age of global empire."[63] What is particularly noteworthy is Bose's inclusion not only of the predictable elite perspectives (such as his account of the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore's extended Asian tour in the 1920s), but also non-elite voices. His analysis of the censored letters written by South Asian soldiers serving in the Mesopotamian campaign during the Great War serves as a powerful reminder that the Indian Ocean was a site of intensive "subaltern mobility" for centuries.[64] Bose's emphasis on political and cultural aspects has meanwhile inspired a fascinating body of contemporary scholarship, some of which is successfully transcending the imperial lens, focusing instead on various dimensions of the "South-South Relations" between South Asia, Africa, and South East Asia.[65]

Mobility is at the core of the second sub-field of South Asian history that has boomed in connection with the bourgeoning of global and transnational perspectives, namely, migration and diaspora studies. To be sure, some aspects of migration history had been addressed by historians of South Asia long before the influence of the new paradigm was being felt. Above all, the history of South Asian "Coolies" under the imperial indenture system (1834–1917) had been a topic for social and labour historians as well as social and cultural anthropologists with historical leanings in the 1970s and 1980s.[66] From the late 1990s, a new wave of sophisticated studies on labour circulation and the formation of global South Asian diasporas added new layers of complexity to this current of research.[67] Instead of seeing Indian indentured labourers as a homogeneous group, differences of ethnicity, language, religion and, most importantly, gender were now put under scrutiny.[68] The new "Coolie history" not only placed an emphasis on the agency of South Asian labourers and contractors rather than portraying them as mere victims of imperial exploiters, it also operated with two favourite tools of global historians by ex-

63 S. Bose, A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire, Cambridge, MA 2006.

64 Ibid., pp. 126–135. Another aspect of non-elite mobility in the Indian Ocean region, namely slave trading and human trafficking, has recently been covered in M. Mann, Sahibs, Sklaven und Soldaten: Geschichte des Menschenhandels rund um den Indischen Ozean, Darmstadt 2015.

65 A. Sheriff and E. Ho (eds.), The Indian Ocean: Oceanic Connections and the Creation of New Societies, London 2014; G. Desai, Commerce with the Universe: Africa, India, and the Afrasian Imagination, New York 2013; I. Hofmeyr and M. Williams (eds.), South Africa and India: Shaping the Global South, Johannesburg 2011; M.R. Frost, In Search of Cosmopolitan Discourse: A Historical Journey across the Indian Ocean from Singapore to South Africa, 1870–1920, in: P. Gupta, I. Hofmeyr, and M. Pear (eds.), Eyes across the Water: Navigating the Indian Ocean, Pretoria 2010, pp. 75–108; P.M. Larson, Ocean of Letters: Language and Creolization in an Indian Ocean Diaspora, Cambridge, UK 2009; I. Hofmeyr, The Black Atlantic Meets the Indian Ocean: Forging New Paradigms of Transnationalism for the Global South – Literary and Cultural Perspectives, in: Social Dynamics 33 (2007) pp. 3–32; T. Metcalf, Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860–1920, New Delhi 2007.

66 See, most notably, B.V. Lal, Girmityas: The Origins of the Fiji Indians, Canberra 1984; M. Tayal, Indian Indentured Labor in Natal, 1890–1911, in: Indian Economic and Social History Review 14 (1977) 4, pp. 519–547; H. Tinker, A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour abroad, Oxford 1974; P. Saha, Emigration of Indian Labour, 1834–1900, Delhi 1970.

67 The most influential work was C. Markovits, J. Pouchepadass, and S. Subrahmanyam (eds.), Society and Circulation: Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia, 1750–1950, London 2006.

68 M. Carter, Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius, 1834–1874, Delhi 1995; Idem, Lakshmi's Legacy: The Testimonies of Indian Women in 19th Century Mauritius, Moka 1994; S. Jain and R. Reddock (eds.), Women Plantation Workers, Oxford 1998.

ploring connections and providing comparisons with other systems of indenture. Thus, Sunil Amrith placed the phenomenon of Indian indenture in broader Indian Ocean and global contexts in some of his widely circulated works.[69] The same can be said about Clare Anderson, whose persuasive studies on the complex trajectories of subcontinental convicts, criminals, and deviants displayed an increasingly global frame of reference over the years.[70] Simultaneously, the strong focus of unfree or semi-free labour migration was complemented by the thorough historical analysis of other forms of South Asian mobility and their multifaceted legacies. A broad spectrum of social groups has by now come under scrutiny. Historians have examined, *inter alia*, the experience of early South Asian upper class travellers and settlers in Europe,[71] explored the ambiguous role of South Asian seamen serving on British ships,[72] and reconstructed the global networks of Indian merchants.[73] Predictably enough, this focus on "India abroad" and "Global South Asians"[74] privileges some interactions above others. Next to the obvious interest in South Asians' migrations to the old imperial metropole Britain, the increasing economic and political importance of the South Asian diaspora in North America during the past three decades has triggered a strong interest in the historical trajectories of sub-continentals in the USA and Canada.[75] The ever-growing body of literature on this topic includes studies on the effects of American and Canadian immigration laws for the first wave of

69 S.S. Amrith, Crossing the Bay of Bengal: The Furies of Nature and the Fortunes of Migrants, Cambridge, MA 2013; Idem, Migration and Diaspora in Modern Asia, Cambridge, UK 2011; Idem, Indians Overseas? Governing Tamil Migration to Malaya 1870–1941, in: Past and Present 208 (2010) 1, pp. 231–261.

70 C. Anderson, Convicts in the Indian Ocean: Transportation from South Asia to Mauritius, 1815–53, Houndmills 2000; Idem, Subaltern Lives, Biographies of Colonialism in the Indian Ocean World, Cambridge, UK 2012; Idem, Transnational Histories of Penal Transportation: Punishment, Labour and Governance in the British Imperial World, 1788–1939, in: Australian Historical Studies 47 (2016) 3, pp. 381–397.

71 E. Boehmer, Indian Arrivals 1870–1915: Networks of British Empire, Oxford 2015; M.H. Fisher, Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travelers and Settlers in Britain, 1600–1857, Delhi 2004; S. Lahiri, Indian Mobilities in the West, 1900–1947: Gender, Performance, Embodiment, Basingstoke 2010; R. Visram, Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1600–1947, London 2002; A.M. Wainwright, The Better Class of Indians: Social Rank, Imperial Identity, and South Asians in Britain, 1858–1914, Manchester 2008.

72 R. Ahuja, Mobility and Containment: The Voyages of South Asian Seamen, c. 1900–1960, in: R.P. Behal and M. van der Linden (eds.), Coolies, Capital and Colonialism: Studies in Indian Labour History, Cambridge, UK 2006, pp. 111–141; G. Balachandran, Globalizing Labour? Indian Seafarers and World Shipping, c. 1870–1945, Delhi 2012; A. Jaffer, Lascars and Indian Ocean Seafaring, 1780–1860: Shipboard Life, Unrest and Mutiny, Woodbridge 2015.

73 C. Dobbin, Asian Entrepreneurial Minorities: Conjoint Communities in the Making of the World Economy, 1570–1940, Richmond 1996; M.A. Falzon, Cosmopolitan Connections. The Sindhi Diaspora, 1860–2000, Leiden 2004; P. Machado, Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c. 1750–1850, Cambridge, UK 2014; C. Markovits, The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama, Cambridge 2000; G. Vahed, Passengers, Partnerships, and Promissory Notes: Gujarati Traders in Colonial Natal, 1870–1920, in: The International Journal of African Historical Studies 38 (2005) 3, pp. 449–479.

74 J. Brown, Global South Asians: Introducing the Modern Diaspora, Cambridge, UK 2006; S. Shukla, India Abroad: Diasporic Cultures of Postwar America and England, Princeton, NJ 2003.

75 S. Bhatia, American Karma: Race, Culture and Identity in the Indian Diaspora, New York 2007. For helpful surveys of existing literature, see S. Shukla, South Asian Migration to the United States, in: J. Chatterji and D. Washbrook (eds.), Routledge Handbook of the South Asian Diaspora, Abingdon 2013, pp. 166–179; and the theme issue on South Asians in Canada of the journal South Asian Diasporas 5 (2013) 1. An interesting cross-section of recent research is offered by V. Bald et al. (eds.), The Sun Never Sets: South Asian Migrants in an Age of U.S. Power, New York 2013.

immigrants,[76] the detailed reconstruction of local diaspora formation,[77] as well as explorations of the hybrid youth culture cultivated by contemporary South Asian diasporas.[78] Some of the most interesting contributions to this body of research have focused less on migration or circulation as such, but rather on the manifold effects it had on the culture and religion of both within the migrating group as well as on the "host society." Using a truly global framework, Nile Green follows South Asian Muslims in his magisterial study *Terrains of Exchange*, to various destinations such as the United States, Russian Empire, and Japan and analyses the various interactions and contestations of religious reformers with representatives of local religious groups.[79] Cultural exchanges in various settings that were triggered by Indian migrants are also explored in Babli Sinha's edited volume on *South Asian Transnationalisms*.[80] Sinha's own work in this context is situated in one of the most fertile offshoots of South Asian diaspora studies, the transnational history of Indian Cinema.[81] Other scholars have meanwhile provided similar border-crossing perspectives on India's literary, culinary, dance, and musical cultures.[82]

Indian Ocean and diaspora studies aside, at least half a dozen of major subfields of South Asian history could be named that have been influenced by the global turn during the past two decades, with the history of science and medicine,[83] the history of

76 R.L. Almy, "More Hateful because of its Hypocrisy": Indians, Britain and Canadian Law in the *Komagata* Maru Incident of 1914, in: Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 46 (2018) 2, pp. 304–322; A.G. Roy and A.K. Sahoo, The Journey of the Komagata Maru: National, Transnational, Diasporic, South Asian Diaspora 8 (2016) 2, pp. 85–97.

77 V. Bald, Bengali Harlem and the Lost Histories of South Asian America, Cambridge, MA 2013; A. Mohammad-Arif, Salaam America: South Asian Muslims in New York, London 2006.

78 S. Maira, Desis in the House, Indian American Youth Culture in New York City, Philadelphia 2002.

79 N. Green, Terrains of Exchange. Religious Economies of Global Islam, London 2014.

80 B. Sinha (ed.), South Asian Transnationalisms: Cultural Exchange in the Twentieth Century, New Delhi 2012.

81 B. Sinha, Cinema, Transnationalism, and Colonial India: Entertaining the Raj, Abingdon 2013. Cf. also R.B. Mehta and R.V. Pandharipande, Bollywood and Globalization: Indian Popular Cinema, Nation, and Diaspora, London 2011; S. Gopal and S. Moorti (eds.), Planet Bollywood: The Transnational Travels of Hindi Song-and-Dance Sequences, Minneapolis 2008; A.P. Kavoori and A. Punathambekar (eds.), Global Bollywood, New Delhi 2008.

82 Cf., for example, P. Saha, Singing Bengal into a Nation: Tagore the Colonial Cosmopolitan?, in: Journal of Modern Literature 36 (2013) 2, pp. 1–24; N. Bhattacharjya, A Productive Distance from the Nation: Uday Shankar and the Defining of Indian Modern Dance, in: South Asian History and Culture 2 (2011) 4, pp. 482– 501; E. Buettner, "Going for an Indian": South Asian Restaurants and the Limits of Multiculturalism in Britain, in: The Journal of Modern History 89 (2008) 4, pp. 865–901; F. Bakrania, Bhangra and Asian Underground: South Asian Music and the Politics of Belonging in Britain, Durham, NC 2013; B. G. Shope, American Popular Music in Britain's Raj, Rochester 2015.

83 For extensive references, see K. Raj, Thinking Without the Scientific Revolution: Global Interactions and the Construction of Knowledge, in: Journal of Early Modern History 21 (2017), pp. 445–458; J. Phalkey, Introduction: Focus Science and Modern India, in: Isis 104 (2013) 2, pp. 330–336; H. Fischer-Tiné, "Pidgin-Knowledge": Wissen und Kolonialismus, Zürich 2013; M.S. Dodson, Translating Science, Translating Empire: The Power of Language in Colonial North India, in: Comparative Studies in Society and History 47 (2005) 4, pp. 809–835.

commodities,[84] and the history of ideas and concepts[85] being prime, but by no means the only, examples. However, I choose to close this brief survey with a discussion of a less fashionable current of research in order to demonstrate that the new "global consciousness" of historians is beginning to affect even the most established fields of historical inquiry such as political history and especially the study of South Asian nationalisms.
In this case, too, the new trend did not emerge in a historiographical vacuum and some forerunners that have fallen into oblivion deserve to be mentioned. As discussed above, the majority of historians of postcolonial South Asia inspired by Marxism continued to work on conventional topics in a spatial framework defined by national or imperial boundaries. However, a small body of literature produced in the 1970s and 1980s anticipated the current focus on "cosmopolitan lives" and "global biographies". Cross-border interactions and internationalism were reconstructed (and celebrated) by a small community of historians working on radical Indian nationalists in exile in the 1910s to 1930s, with particular emphasis being placed on the "revolutionary" contacts they established on a global scale. The majority of the scholars involved in the reconstruction of these leftist anticolonial networks came from South Asia,[86] but the topic appealed to historians in the Eastern Bloc as well. Thus, the most comprehensive and rigorous study of diasporic Indian revolutionaries was undertaken by the GDR historian Horst Krüger.[87] Unsurprisingly, this body of literature was soon forgotten after the collapse of the Soviet Union.[88] It was only in the wake of the global turn and under the impact of the growing interest in the two fields I have sketched out above – namely oceanic history and the history of migration and diaspora – that the phenomenon received renewed attention. Next

84 Cf., for instance, J. Sharma, British Science, Chinese Skill and Assam Tea, in: Indian Economic and Social History Review 43 (2006) 4, pp. 429–455; P. Chatterjee, A Time for Tea: Women, Labor, and Post/Colonial Politics on an Indian Plantation, Durham 2001; G. Riello and T. Roy (eds.), How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500–1850, Leiden 2009; P. Kumar, Indigo Plantations and Science in Colonial India, Cambridge, UK 2012; A. Pryor, Indian Pale Ale: An Icon of Empire, in: J. Curry-Machado (ed.), Global Histories, Imperial Commodities, Local Interactions, Houndmills 2013, pp. 38–57.

85 K. Karttunen, Sabhā, Samāj, Society: Some Linguistic Considerations, in: H. Schulz Forberg (ed.), A Global Conceptual History of Asia, London 2014, pp. 75–90; K.K. Manjapra, Transnational Approaches to Global History: A View from the Study of German-Indian Entanglement, in: German History 32 (2014) 2, pp. 274–293; J. Bakhle, Putting Global Intellectual History in its Place, in: S. Moyn and A. Sartori (eds.), Global Intellectual History, New York 2013, pp. 228–253; P. Chatterjee, Terrorism: State Sovereignty and Militant Politics in India, in: C. Gluck and A. L. Tsing (eds.), Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon, Durham 2009, pp. 240–262; A. Sartori, Bengal in Global Concept History: Culturalism in the Age of Capital, Chicago 2008.

86 See, for example, L.P. Mathur, Indian Revolutionary Movement in the United States of America, New Delhi 1970; A.C. Bose, Indian Revolutionaries Abroad, 1905–1922. In the Background of International Developments, Patna 1971; S.S. Josh, Hindustan Gadar Party. A Short History, 2 vols, New Delhi 1978; T.R. Sareen, Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad (1905–1921), New Delhi 1979; Although published more recently, the biography of Virendranath Chattopadhyaya also belongs to this category, as it was researched in the 1970s: N.K. Barooah, Chatto: The Life and Times of an Indian Anti-Imperialist in Europe, New Delhi 2004.

87 H. Krüger, Anfänge sozialistischen Denkens in Indien. Der Beginn der Rezeption sozialistischer Ideen in Indien vor 1914, Berlin 1985; Idem, Indische Nationalisten und Weltproletariat. Der nationale Befreiungskampf in Indien und die internationale Arbeiterbewegung vor 1914, Berlin 1984.

88 In the case of Horst Krüger, the two final volumes of his planned tetralogy on the world history of the Indian freedom struggle could eventually not be published because the topic of socialist internationalism – and Marxist historiography at large – had suddenly gone out of fashion owing to the breakdown of the GDR regime.

to the obvious inspiration provided by Benedict Anderson's *Under Three Flags*,[89] Sugata Bose's 2006 chapter on "expatriate patriots" in the Indian Ocean had demonstrated the huge potential of a historical study of "long-distance nationalism."[90] In subsequent years, more and more historians of South Asia became dissatisfied with the narrow territorialisation that characterised the dominant version of the Indian independence saga. They particularly criticised that the substantial contributions of diasporic political activists tended to be downplayed or completely ignored in conventional histories.[91] From 2010 onwards, dozens of articles and books on the phenomenon of South Asian long-distance nationalism and the activities of peripatetic revolutionaries and border-defying anti-colonial activists cropped up and immediately impacted the understanding of Indian nationalism. The approaches varied, though. Some scholars – mostly those with a penchant for global intellectual history –, chose the form of a full-fledged biography or a biographical article to give this neglected chapter of South Asian history maximum visibility.[92] Others tried to foreground the network-building activities be it with western socialists or anarchists,[93] with Britain's enemies during the Great War,[94] or with fellow anti-colonial nationalists from other countries.[95] The novel transnational perspective on Indian anticolonial nationalism also pushed the boundaries of the field in new directions. Thus, the interaction of Egyptian anti-colonialists or early African-American civil rights campaigners with Indian nationalists of various colours had never before been analysed in any depth.[96] Equally promising is the close analysis of urban micro-spaces that

89 B. Anderson, Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination, London 2005.

90 Bose, Hundred Horizons, pp. 148–192; for the concept of "long-distance nationalism", see N. Glick-Schiller, Long-Distance Nationalism, in: N. Glick-Schiller et al. (eds.), Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures Around the World, New York 2005, pp. 70–80.

91 M. Goswami, Colonial Internationalisms and Imaginary Futures, in: American Historical Review 117 (2012) 5, pp. 1461–1485.

92 M. Framke, Shopping Ideologies for Independent India? Taraknath Das's Engagement with Italian Fascism and German National Socialism, in: Itinerario 40 (2016) 1, pp. 55–81; Sen, Benoy Kumar Sarkar; H. Fischer-Tiné, Shyamji Krishnavarma: Sanskrit, Sociology and Anti-Imperialism New Delhi 2014; V. Chaturvedi, A Revolutionary's Biography: The Case of V D Savarkar, in: Postcolonial Studies 16 (2013) 2, pp. 124–139; B. Zachariah, A Long, Strange Trip: The Lives in Exile of Har Dayal, in: South Asian History and Culture 4 (2013) 4, pp. 574–592; P. Bose, Transnational Resistance and Fictive Truths: Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Agnes Smedley and the Indian National Movement, in: South Asian History and Culture 2 (2011) 4, pp. 502–521; K.K. Manjapra, M. N. Roy: Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism, New Delhi 2010.

93 I.H. Alonso, M.N. Roy and the Mexican Revolution: How a Militant Indian Nationalist Became an International Communist, in: South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies 40 (2017) 3, pp. 517–530; A. Raza, F. Roy, and B. Zachariah (eds.), The Internationalist Moment: South Asia, Worlds, and World Views 1917–1939, New Delhi 2015; M. Ramnath, Decolonizing Anarchism. An Anti-Authoritarian History of India's Liberation Struggle, Oakland, CA 2011.

94 M. Ramnath, Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire, Berkeley 2011; K.K. Manjapra, The Illusions of Encounter: Muslim "Minds" and Hindu Revolutionaries in First World War Germany and After, in: Journal of Global History 1 (2006) 2, pp. 363–382.

95 D. Brückenhaus, Policing Transnational Protest: Liberal Imperialism and the Surveillance of Anticolonialists in Europe, 1905–1945, Oxford 2017; M. Silvestri, Ireland and India: Nationalism, Empire and Memory, New York 2009; K.P. Grant, The Transcolonial World of Hunger Strikes and Political Fasts, c. 1909– 1935, in: D. Ghosh and D. Kennedy (eds.), Decentering Empire: Britain, India, and the Transcolonial World, New Delhi 2006, pp. 243–269.

96 N.-A-l. Khan, Egyptian Indian Nationalist Collaboration and the British Empire, New York 2011; N. Slate, Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India, Cambridge, MA 2012; B. Sin-

served as communication hubs and sites of encounter for the South Asian revolutionary diaspora and the colourful cast of their local and global allies.[97]

After sketching out various specific fields in which the global turn has proved fertile for historians of South Asia, let me now zoom in on my current research project in order to substantiate my claim that the combination of micro- and transnational perspectives can generate insights that would be otherwise improbable to arrive at. My example will summarize some points that I have recently made in a much more detailed manner elsewhere.[98]

4. Global Microhistory at Work: "Rural Reconstruction" from Southern Travancore to Southern Arizona

In a nutshell, my current project, tentatively entitled *Muscling in on Asia: Colonial Difference, American "Softpower," and the YMCA in India, Burma and Ceylon*, attempts to reconstruct the history of an influential international non-governmental organization from a regional perspective. Conventional approaches would probably tell the story of the Y's activities in South Asia by starting at the headquarters in New York and then examining examples of its work on the subcontinent, possibly comparing it with Y activities in other places. In order to avoid such a bird's eye institutional history approach, I thought it more appropriate to commence my narrative in South Asia and follow my actors (or objects or ideas, as the case may be) to other regions only when they move. I expect that this unusual angle will yield fruitful insights both for the history of the region concerned – South and Southeast Asia – as well as contribute to a better understanding of broader "global issues," such as the history of development and the history of the Cold War.

The North American YMCA branch launched its foreign programme in the late 1880s and over the subsequent half-century, the "Y" became an influential global player.[99] Second only to China, South Asia, and particularly India played the most prominent roles

ha, Dissensus, Education and Lala Lajpat Rai's Encounter with W.E.B. DuBois, in: South Asian History and Culture 6 (2015) 4, pp. 463–476.

97 N. Owen, The Soft Heart of the British Empire: Indian Radicals in Edwardian London, in: Past and Present 220 (2013), pp.143–184; D. Brundage, Lala Lajpat Rai, Indian Nationalism, and the Irish Revolution: The View from New York, 1914–1920, in: E. Dal Lago, R. Healy, and G. Barry (eds.), 1916 in Global Context: An Anti-Imperial Moment, London 2017, pp. 62–75; H. Fischer-Tiné, The Other Side of Internationalism: Switzerland as a Hub of Militant Anti-Colonialism, c. 1910–1920, in: Idem and P. Purtschert (eds.), Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking Colonialism from the Margins, Houndmills 2015, pp. 221–258; H.C. Aspengren, Indian Revolutionaries Abroad: Revisiting their Silent Moments, in: Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History 15 (2014) 3, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/562294; D. McGetchin, Asian Anti-Imperialism and Leftist Antagonism in Weimar Germany, in: D. McGetchin, J. Miang Cho, and E. Kurlander (eds.), Transcultural Encounters between Germany and India: Kindred Spirits in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Abingdon 2013, pp. 129–138.

98 For the following, see H. Fischer-Tiné, The YMCA and Low-Modernist Rural Development in South Asia (c. 1922–1957), in: Past and Present 240 (2018), pp. 194–234.

99 H. Fischer-Tiné, S. Huebner, and I. Tyrrell (eds.), Spreading Protestant Modernity: Global Perspectives on the Social Work of the YMCA and YWCA, c. 1890–1970, Honolulu 2020.

in the YMCA's Foreign Work scheme. Initially, the desire to "evangelize the world in this generation"[100] and gain as many Asian converts as possible, had been the main motivation for the (mostly US and Canadian) YMCA "secretaries" serving on the Indian subcontinent. However, the oft- used phrase "mission field" to refer to the subcontinent is potentially misleading. From the 1910s onwards, the YMCA in South Asia became increasingly active in a variety of undertakings that would normally be seen as secular rather than religious. Instantaneously, conversions were no longer declared to be the primary goal of its engagement. Among the most important non-religious areas in which the Y managed to carve out a niche for itself were: the propagation of sports and physical culture, the dissemination of "science" and other forms of "useful knowledge" (partly achieved through the innovative use of modern mass media such as film, magic lantern slides or gramophone records), the provision of humanitarian aid and caregiving services during armed conflicts or after natural catastrophes and the designing and implementation of "sustainable" rural development schemes. In my forthcoming book, I will devote an entire chapter to each of these activities. For our present purpose, however, it will suffice to focus exclusively on what was called "rural reconstruction" in the parlance of the time.

It would be difficult to argue that the historical analysis of village uplift programmes in colonial South Asia is something earthshakingly original. Quite the reverse: a good deal of research on this topic has been produced since the 1970s. Still, due to the entrenched units of analysis, the bulk of the existing studies focuses on two sets of actors, namely the colonial state as the seemingly natural "driver of modernization" in the region and its various nationalist opponents.[101] The adoption of a global, or at least transnational, perspective, by contrast, renders visible that there existed a middle ground occupied by historical actors that do not fit in the neat narrative of "colonial challenge and nationalist response." Just like in interwar China,[102] the Indian YMCA played a crucial role in developing and implementing agricultural reform programmes that mostly went in tandem with campaigns designed to spread basic knowledge of personal and social hygiene to the rural population. The most promising method to explore the role of this largely US-sponsored Christian INGO in South Asia, as well as to reconstruct its manifold ramifications, seemed to be a focus on the Y's most prominent "rural reconstruction" expert, the American agronomist and YMCA secretary Duane Spencer Hatch (1888–1963).

One entanglement that becomes immediately visible through this biographical focus is the pivotal role the colonial state and the culture of imperialism played for Christian

100 J.R. Mott, The Evangelization of the World in this Generation, New York 1901.

101 For an up-to-date collection of essays with useful references see D. Kumar and B. Raha (eds.), Tilling the Land: Agricultural Knowledge and Practices in Colonial India, Delhi 2016; cf. also C. Dewey, Anglo-Indian Attitudes: Mind of the Indian Civil Service, London 1993, pp. 61–101; D. Kumar, Tagore's Pedagogy and Rural Reconstruction, in: M. Mann (ed.), Shantiniketan-Hellerau: New Education in the Pedagogic Provinces of India and Germany, Heidelberg 2015, pp. 309–330 and S.S. Jodhka, Nation and Village: Images of Rural India in Gandhi, Nehru and Ambedkar, in: Economic and Political Weekly 32 (2002), pp. 3343–3352.

102 C. Liu, Peasants and Revolution in Rural China: Rural Political Change in the North China Plain and the Yangzi Delta, London 2007; C.W. Hayford, To the People: James Yen and Village China, New York 1990.

missionaries like Hatch. This might come as a surprise, because Hatch, as well as many other "liberal" US missionaries, ostentatiously presented themselves as an American alternative to colonial modernity, denying any form of "colonial complicity." A closer look at Spencer Hatch's career (which was far from exceptional in this respect) reveals that this rhetoric could be at odds with actual practice, and the Y secretaries' relationships with imperial state authorities and ideologies could be quite intense. Immediately after finishing his studies at Cornell and before launching his agricultural demonstration center in South India, Duane Spencer Hatch volunteered for the YMCA's "army work" during the First World War. For two and a half years he helped boost the morale of British and colonial regiments stationed on India's North-Western frontier and in Mesopotamia through entertainment and caregiving work. It was during this time that he acquired a great admiration for the British Empire and also developed attitudes towards the indigenous population that, combining benevolence with high-handedness and cultural arrogance, would have been worthy of a British *Sahib*.[103] The quasi-imperial mind-set acquired during his early years, and the deep emotional and epistemic enmeshment with the colonisers' racialist thought, language, and knowledge, would have a tangible impact on his agricultural experiments.

The YMCA's most important agricultural and social laboratory was established in 1924 near the small village of Martandam in the Princely State of Travancore, in today's state of Tamil Nadu in Southern India. Although the set-up could tempt one to interpret the project as the unilateral imposition of Western expert-knowledge on a non-western rural population, a micro-study of the Martandam Rural Demonstration Centre (MRDC) study makes immediately clear that various South Asian actors co-shaped the would-be "light-house village" it from its very inception.[104] Spencer Hatch's self-perception as the undisputable authority on agriculture and "rural reconstruction" was challenged from various sides. For one, K. T. Paul, the first Indian General Secretary of the South Asian YMCA branch and an expert in agriculture himself, used his superior position to impose some decisions on Hatch that left clear traces in the MRDC programme.[105] Next, the New York born agronomist needed to cooperate closely not only with British colonial authorities but also with local rulers such as the Maharajah of Travancore and other members of India's aristocracy in order to secure much-needed financial and logistic support for the project.[106] Although this is mostly rather difficult to pinpoint, given the nature of the available sources, the scattered evidence clearly indicates that Hatch's Ivy League expertise on agriculture, husbandry and marketing of farming products did not always work in the local context and he constantly needed to supplement it with a series of multidirectional borrowings. Part of these borrowings can only be grasped by zoom-

103 H. Fischer-Tiné, "Unparalleled Opportunities": The Indian Y.M.C.A.'s Army Work Schemes for Imperial Troops during the Great War (1914–1920), in: Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 47 (2019) 1, pp. 100–137.

104 A. Kanakaraj, The Light Houses of Rural Reconstruction: The History of the Y.M.C.A's Integrated Rural Development in South India, New Delhi 2000.

105 H.A. Popley and K. T. Paul: Christian Leader, Calcutta 1938, p. 75.

106 University of Arizona, Tucson Special Collections, MS 1482 Duane Spencer Hatch Collection, Box 2, Folder 9/2.

ing out of the MRDC (and the wider YMCA) microcosm. Thus, from the late 1920s onwards, Hatch repeatedly undertook study tours to countries all over the world. One of these journeys led him to Germany and Denmark in 1927, where he spent several weeks studying "Cooperatives, the Folk Schools, and the ways of rural life."[107] Other destinations included the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama where he witnessed "a demonstration made for the whole community at one of the most run-down Negro homes."[108] His Asian destinations included the Philippines, where he studied the home gardening projects directed by the US Colonial Educational Department, and China, where he examined experiments in co-operative egg production and marketing. In 1937 he was invited to attend the "Intergovernmental Conference of Far-Eastern Countries on Rural Hygiene," organised by the League of Nation's Health Organisation (LHNO) and held over two weeks in Bandung in August 1937. The conference focus was on agricultural extension work, nutrition, and the training of rural workers, and Spencer Hatch already counted as an internationally renowned expert in these emerging fields.[109] Particularly the "low-modernist" grassroots approach Hatch had implemented in the MRDC fit perfectly with the LNHO's new paradigm, which emphasized "an awareness of the contextual and the vernacular."[110]

After the conference, Spencer Hatch visited various cooperatives and "the world's most famous nutrition laboratory in Batavia" to learn more about the preparation of soya bean foods. He continued this study tour by visiting Australia, and two French possessions in the South Pacific, Tahiti, and Nouvelle Calédonie, (where he scrutinized the agricultural reform programmes of the French colonial administration) as well as a number of other places.[111] This growing international exposure and transcontinental networking further catalysed the popularity of the YMCA's rural reconstruction methods back in South Asia. The quasi-official recognition was particularly helpful in attracting third party funding for the Martandam Centre from various sides. Thus, from 1936 onwards, the MRDC was in receipt of an annual grant by John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s Davison Fund, and thus helped pave the way for the Rockefeller Foundation's massive intervention in agricultural development programmes in India after independence.[112]

While it is only through a widening of the lens that we can comprehend the composite character of agricultural knowledge (and financial support) that converged in the

107 D.S. Hatch, Beyond the Ends of the Road: Legs for knowledge, unpublished typescript, n. d. [c. 1962], University of Arizona, Tucson, Special Collections, Spencer Hatch Collection, Box 3; p. 192; D.S. Hatch, Up from Poverty in Rural India, Bombay 1932, p. 33; N. Sackley, "Village Models", Etawah, India, and the Making and Remaking of Development in the Early Cold War, in: Diplomatic History 37 (2013) 4, p. 762.

108 Hatch, Beyond the Ends of the Road, p. 127.

109 Report of the Intergovernmental Conference of Far-Eastern Countries on Rural Hygiene, Geneva 1937, pp. 23 f.

110 L. Murard, Designs within Disorder: International Conferences on Rural Health Care and the Art of the Local, in: S. Gross Solomon, L. Murard, and P. Zylberman (eds.), Shifting Boundaries of Public Health: Europe in the Twentieth Century, Rochester, NY 2008, p. 152.

111 Hatch, Beyond the Ends of the Roads, pp. 270–276.

112 Rockefeller Archive Center, Davison Fund Records, IV 3 B 5.2, Series ii, Box 21, fo. 167, Martandam Rural Center, 20 December, 1935.

YMCA's "lighthouse village" in Travancore and retrace its various sources, it is imperative not to neglect the local context. In an interview with an American journalist, Hatch admitted that it was not merely international experts and researchers, but ordinary Indian peasants who added their sometimes superior practical knowledge to the MRDC programme and thus significantly contributed to the success of the YMCA's experiment in rural reconstruction.[113] K.T. Paul's interference; inputs from the local peasantry, the colonial state, and Indian elites, as well as Hatch's global borrowings of agricultural, sociological, and anthropological knowledge are all signs that the "sustainable rural development" scheme developed at the MRDC was a heavily "pidginized" rather than strictly American programme, making the "aid" Hatch and his fellow workers provided only partially "foreign." Accordingly, rural development knowledge synthesised by Hatch and his fellow-workers did not only flow from Martandam to international organisations and from there to development programmes world-wide,[114] it was also transferred directly within South Asia. From the late 1920s onwards, Hatch worked as consultant for the British colonial administration[115] and more than a decade before independence, the rulers of several Indian states copied the MRDC.[116] After 1947, finally, graduates of the MRDC Agricultural Training College who had studied under Hatch rose to prominent positions in the Nehruvian administration. Some of them participated in the planning of large-scale community development schemes of the 1950s.[117]

Spencer Hatch emphasized that the "rural reconstruction" template he had worked out in Martandam would "work in every country,"[118] and, indeed, after he left India in 1941, his career took a truly global turn. It is certainly not an exaggeration to claim that Duane Spencer Hatch became one of the first internationally recognized experts on village development. In the 1940s, he established a rural demonstration centre along the lines of the MRDC in Mexico.[119] He afterwards taught for several years at the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences in Costa Rica, which was sponsored by the Pan-American Union. Simultaneously he was nominated as a founding secretary of the United Nation's Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) when it came into existence in Quebec City in October 1945. Eventually, Hatch went on a long mission for the UNESCO in

113 J. Beatty, Americans All Over, New York 1940, pp. 308 f.

114 UATSHC, Box 3, fo. 14/3, Photographs, Albums Delhi State (1) 1950–1952; UATSHC, Box 3, fo. 6/3, Written Works, Reports, Programms and Memorandums, 1952–1954, File Arab States Fundamental Education Centre, Sirs-el-Layyan, Menoufia, Egypt: Programme of Training for the Period between Dec 1952 and October 1954; D.S. Hatch, What are we up to in Minneriya?, in: Free World 1 (1951) 3, pp. 28–31.

115 E.G. Hatch, Travancore: A Guide Book for the Visitor, London 1939, p. 186.

116 Martandam Practical Training School in Rural Reconstruction, Accomplishment Bulletin: News from old Boys and Girls and what they have done, (April 1940), KFYA, IWI, Box 13, fo. India, Printed Matters, 1939–1967; D. S. Hatch, Toward Freedom from Want: From India to Mexico, London 1949, pp. 268-280. Cf. also B. Wallach, Losing Asia: Modernization and the Culture of Development, Baltimore 1996, p. 135.

117 S. Sinha, Lineages of the Developmentalist State: Transnationality and Village India, 1900–1965, in: Comparative Studies in Society and History 50 (2018) 1, pp. 57–90.

118 D.S. Hatch, My Job is Village Reconstruction, in: The Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin xcviii (1944), p. 8.

119 Anonymous, Y Field Activities in Mexico, in: Mexican-American Review (1952), pp. 40 and 90; E.G. Hatch, In Mexico: Part IV of the Duane Spencer Hatch Story, in: The Quill and Scroll lxix (1963) 4, pp. 11–17.

Ceylon during the 1950s. By that time, he could boast that his methods were so "tried and true" that they had been applied "over India, in Ceylon, in Burma in China, in Egypt, in Mexico, in Latin America, in the Mid-East [sic!] and in Indonesia."[120] Ironically, Hatch's final assignment brought him back to the United States, where he spent the last years of his life on a reservation for Native Americans near Tucson, Arizona, applying the knowledge gathered in Southern India to promote rural community development schemes among a different type of "Indians": members of the Mojave, Navajo, and Hopi tribes.[121]

What, then, does our example tell us about the potential, but also about the risks and shortcomings connected with the global microhistorical approach sketched out above? First, it has become apparent that the widening of the lens and the overcoming of the entrenched fixation on the imperial and national framework was a necessary precondition for paying attention to an important set of actors that might otherwise have fallen through the grid of historical analysis. There can hardly be a doubt that the US-sponsored rural reconstruction efforts of the Indian YMCA did have a significant impact in the region itself. The focus on one specific actor and the institution he set up in South India has allowed for a very thick description of the phenomenon under study. The micro-perspective alone, however would not have allowed for some of the more fascinating insights summarized above. It required a more flexible *jeux d'échelles* to get there.[122] Thus, for instance, the occasional zooming out to follow Spencer Hatch through his various journeys and career stages has shown the contours of a much wider web of interactions and entanglement. What we have seen, was *in nuce* the emerging "transnational development regime," unbound by national or imperial borders that would fully flourish later during the Cold War.[123] The insight that there was a "prehistory" of US-led agricultural development schemes in South Asia is not only important in that it adds to our knowledge about rural development in the region. The choice to reconstruct the trajectory of YMCA rural reconstruction initiatives "from marginal and 'outside' locations" and only later follow the circulation of the YMCA's development knowledge template has allowed to correct the received wisdom in development studies, according to which such programmes came into being after President Truman's famous Point Four speech.[124] However, not only the local and the global perspective have helped to make sense of the Spencer Hatch narrative. The reconstruction of the American agronomist's early "imperial" career during the Great War has also produced momentous insights. The

120 D. S. Hatch, Typescript, Early Times at the Martandam Project, (n. d. [c.1960]), UATSHC, Box 2, folder 13, p. 9.

121 E. Gilchrist-Hatch, Working with… Conclusion: Ceylon and the Colorado River Indian Tribes, in: The Quill and Scroll lxvii (1964) 2, pp. 26–29.

122 The concept of the jeux d'échelles ("playing with the scales") has been introduced shortly before the global turn by the French historian Jacques Revel. J. Revel, Jeux d'échelles: la micro-analyse à l'expérience, Paris 1996.

123 Sinha, Lineages of the Developmentalist State.

124 D. Ekbladh, The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order, Princeton 2010, p. 2. See also N. Cullather, The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia, Cambridge, MA 2010; A. Gupta, Postcolonial Developments: Agriculture in the Making of Modern India, Durham, NC 1998.

question, as to why so many benevolent development projects take on an authoritarian character,[125] is much easier to answer if one takes into account the continuities and discursive entanglements with colonialism. Finally, on an empirical level, the focus on an American protagonist (and a partly US-financed organisation) has opened up a body of extremely rich new source materials that are normally beyond a South Asianist's sight. Thus, next to the more obvious archives in New Delhi, Calcutta, Bangalore, London, and Birmingham, I have visited repositories in Geneva, Minneapolis, New York, New Haven, Springfield, MA, Tucson, AZ, and a number of other places that had hitherto never been on my research itinerary. In the process, I have discovered a wealth of largely untapped material that appears to be of relevance for historians working on South Asia far beyond the narrow focus of my current project.

Is the dynamic "global-micro take" on regional history the new *chemin royale* for historians of South Asia and, for that matter, other area specialists? Should we all become global historians, as C. A. Bayly once famously posited? I am somewhat a reluctant to draw such a conclusion. I would rather side with Indian historian Gopalan Balachandran, who has recently reminded us that no level or locus of historical analysis can credibly claim to subsume all others, or render them redundant.[126] For one, there are certainly historical problems that can be meaningfully addressed by resorting to the more conventional spatial scales of analysis. Indeed, we ought to be careful not to fall into the teleological trap and fish for global connections exclusively. Let me provide just one example. Inspired by the results of my own research, I recently advised one of my PhD students, who is working on the microhistory of an influential institution of higher education in late colonial India (the Sikh community's Khalsa College in Amritsar), to look for global influences in the institution's sports curriculum. Since the College's curriculum was designed during the 1920s an1930s, at a time, when Danish Gymnastic instructors, Japanese Jiu-Jitsu teachers, Prussian body builders and – last, but certainly not least – American physical directors working for the Indian YMCA, exerted an undeniable influence in other parts of India,[127] I expected to find clear marks of this influence in the Amritsar College. However, it turned out that, in this case, global influences – though discernible – were far less significant than we had thought, and a conventional emphasis on the imperial connection proved to be much more rewarding.[128]

Furthermore, interesting as our case study may have been, some thorny issues remain. The interaction between Western Y "secretaries" and Indian villagers could mostly be

125 Cf. also J.C. Scott, Seeing Like a State: How Certain Attempts to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed, New Haven, CN 1998.

126 G. Balachandran, Claiming Histories Beyond Nations: Situating Global History, in: Indian Economic & Social History Review 49 (2012) 2, pp. 247–272.

127 H. Fischer-Tiné, "Fitness for Modernity"? – The American Y.M.C.A. and Physical Education Schemes in Late-Colonial South Asia (c. 1910–1940), in: Modern Asian Studies 53 (2019) 2, pp. 512–559; C.A. Watt, Cultural Exchange, Appropriation and Physical Culture: Strongman Eugen Sandow in Colonial India, 1904–1905, in: International Journal of the History of Sport 33 (2016) 16, pp. 1921–1942.

128 M. Brunner, Physical Education and Sport in the Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1914–1947, in: South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies 41 (2018) 1, pp. 33–50.

reconstructed from the biased YMCA sources and ego documents produced by Spencer Hatch and some of his contemporaries only. Most of the peasants affected by the Y's rural experiment would have been illiterate. Even if this was not the case, written sources would be available in two South Indian languages I am not familiar with, namely Malayalam and Tamil. Depending on the research question and the wider project context, this neglect of sources in local languages can be truly problematic. Especially in light of the "inclusivist and emancipatory potential" of global history that I propagated above, such concerns must be taken seriously. Otherwise, the representation of "indigenous voices" will remain restricted to elite figures, such as K.T. Paul or the Maharaja of Travancore, who wrote in English. Closely connected to the issue of elitism is another problem that deserves attention. To be sure, the use of unexploited source material collected on three continents has produced novel insights, but it has also required a degree of mobility and financial resources that is beyond reach for most historians of South Asia employed in an Indian Pakistani or Bangladeshi institution. It is not least for this reason that many subcontinental colleagues remain rather reserved when it comes to the prospects of global history in "their" region.

Finally, one could pose the question of whether a global history deserving the name must not pay greater attention to various contexts, rather than simply pointing to the existence of connections and reconstructing transcontinental itineraries. What traces, for instance, did Spencer Hatch and the development knowledge he propagated leave in Mexico or in China? Here we seem to have reached the limits of global microhistory – in order to answer such questions convincingly, it would require a polyglot research collective rather than a single historian of South Asia.

On Parallel Tracks at Different Speeds: Historiographies of Imperial Russia and the Globalized World around 1900

Martin Aust

ABSTRACTS

Mit Blick auf die Geschichte Russlands im 19. Jahrhundert argumentiert dieser Artikel, dass weltregionale und globale Ansätze in der Geschichtsschreibung voneinander profitieren. Die Globalgeschichte benötigt quellengesättigte Untersuchungen von Räumen, in denen sich regionale und globale Aspekte verflechten. In den zurückliegenden drei Jahrzehnten haben Historiker Russlands im 19. Jahrhundert und Globalhistoriker sich von vergleichbaren Imperativen leiten lassen: Russlandhistoriker dekonstruierten eine russozentrische Sichtweise der Vergangenheit Russlands, die die Vielfalt des Vielvölkerreiches verschleierte, während Globalhistoriker eine eurozentrische Lesart der Weltgeschichte überwanden. Der Artikel stellt zwei Fallstudien über die Fürstin Olga Aleksandrovna Shcherbatova und Fedor Fedorovich Martens in den Mittelpunkt, die Licht auf Russlands Teilhabe an der Entdeckung und Internationalisierung der Welt im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert werfen.

Elaborating on the history of nineteenth-century Russia, this article argues that world-regional histories and the global history approach benefit from each other. Global history has to be informed by source-based inquiries in spaces where the regional and the global meet. In the past three decades historians of nineteenth-century Russia and global historians have been affected by related imperatives: historians of Russia deconstructed a russocentric view of Russia's past which veiled the diversity of a multiethnic empire while global historians reached out to deconstruct a eurocentric reading of world history. The article highlights case studies of Princess Olga Aleksandrovna Shcherbatova and Fedor Fedorovich Martens which shed light onto Russians' involvement in exploring and internationalizing the world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Comparativ | Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung 29 (2019) Heft 2, S. 78–105.

This contribution reflects my perspective on global history as a historian of Russia. Over the years my research interests have changed and diversified with global perspectives emerging as one amongst other approaches toward my studies of Russia's past. In my PhD thesis I undertook an inquiry into Russian social history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, investigating how Russian noblemen and noblewomen settled arguments about land.[1] My second book explores transnational Polish-Ukrainian-Russian-Soviet memories of seventeenth-century wars from 1934 to 2006.[2] Over the past decade imperial and global dimensions of Russia's past have been at the heart of my publications.[3] Thus, the methodologies of my work depend upon which aspect of Russia's past is to be researched: culture, society, politics, entanglements. This makes global history one of many approaches available to the study of the past. Being interested in Russian relations with Europe, other empires and the world, some methodologies have moved into my focus: comparative history, transnational history, world history, and global history. In my work contributions to the study of contested memories in the twentieth century, reflections on Russia and Europe and studies of transfers into the Russian Empire are informed by the paradigms of transnational history and *histoire croisée*.[4] Comparative history has provided insights into autobiographical practices in the Romanov, Ottoman, and Habsburg empires.[5] However, global and world history prove their relevance beyond comparative, transnational and entangled historical approaches. That holds especially true for the study of nineteenth-century Russia. In Jürgen Osterhammel's reading of the nineteenth century, Russian history is fully integrated into his analysis of the transformation of the world.[6] Osterhammel includes many Russian examples in his account of the nineteenth century to highlight connectivity and to develop varying comparisons e.g. of frontiers and industrialization among lots of other issues. From a German Russianist's perspective two issues are remarkable here: Firstly and very basically, historiographies in Germany and the USA display different notions of the term global history. In Ger-

1 M. Aust, Adlige Landstreitigkeiten. Eine Studie zum Wandel der Nachbarschaftsverhältnisse 1676–1796, Wiesbaden 2003.

2 M. Aust, Polen und Russland im Streit um die Ukraine. Konkurrierende Erinnerungen an die Kriege des 17. Jahrhunderts in den Jahren 1934–2006, Wiesbaden 2009.

3 M. Aust, A. Miller, and R. Vulpius (eds.), Imperium inter pares: Rol' transferov v istorii Rossiiskoi Imperii (1700–1917), Moscow 2010; M. Aust (ed.), Globalisierung imperial und sozialistisch. Russland und die Sowjetunion in der Globalgeschichte 1851–1991, Frankfurt a. M. 2013; M. Aust and J. Obertreis (eds.), Osteuropäische Geschichte und Globalgeschichte, Stuttgart 2014; M. Aust, Russia and Europe 1547–1917, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-and-the-world/knowledge-transfer/martin-aust-russia-and-europe-1547-1917 (accessed 27 March 2019); M. Aust, Die Russische Revolution. Vom Zarenreich zum Sowjetimperium, München 2017; M. Aust, Die Schatten des Imperiums. Russland seit 1991, München 2019.

4 Aust, Polen und Russland im Streit um die Ukraine; M. Aust, K. Ruchniewicz, and S. Troebst (eds.), Verflochtene Erinnerungen. Polen und seine Nachbarn im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Köln 2009; Aust, Russia and Europe; M. Aust, Imperium inter pares.

5 M. Aust and F. B. Schenk (eds)., Imperial Subjects. Autobiographische Praxis in den Vielvölkerreichen der Habsburger, Romanovs und Osmanen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert, Köln 2015.

6 J. Osterhammel, The Transformation of the World. A Global History of the Nineteenth Century, Princeton, NJ 2014. See my review of Osterhammel's Transformation from the point of view of a Russianist: M. Aust, New Perspectives on Russian History in World History, in: Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History 17 (2016) 1, pp. 139–150.

man historiography there is a certain distinction between comparative world history and global history as an endeavour to explore synchronicities and entanglements on a global scale. In one of his articles on how to conceive world history Osterhammel differentiates it from global history which he defines as "interactions in systems encompassing the whole planet".[7] Sebastian Conrad follows Osterhammel's lead in stressing synchronicity and connectivity as hallmarks of global history which help differentiate global history from world history.[8] In the USA this distinction can also be made. The 1995 article *World History in a Global Age* by Charles Bright and Michael Geyer points to differences between global and world history in the sense that once there was a time when the world had not yet been globalized.[9] However, the English translation of Osterhammel's German book shows that in the English language the terms global history and world history can be used synonymously, thus blurring the lines between the two of them: Osterhammel's *Verwandlung der Welt* became a global history in the English translation of the title.[10] Beyond Osterhammel's seminal book on the transformation of the world in the nineteenth century there still remains a lot to explore by historians of Russia. This holds especially true for Russia's contribution to globalizing the world in the nineteenth century and to drawing a balance sheet of how nineteenth-century globalization in some cases limited and in others enlarged opportunities and agencies in Russia.

1. Global History, Area Studies, and Regional Histories

Two imperative principles of global history – to provincialize Europe and to decenter our approaches to the study of the past[11] – do not sweep area histories or at least the study of the history of regions from the table: global history as any history has to be studied from a specific vantage point and has to be based on specific sources. The required vantage point can be a region, and source-reading requires language skills. Both can be turned into a strong argument in favour of studying a region's history within the confines of global history.[12] Further, studying spaces and people needs to consider mental maps and self-descriptions. Studies of mental maps have indeed challenged area studies, most notably in the case of Eastern Europe in the broad German sense of the term Osteuropa including Russia and the Balkans.[13] However, this does not ban regions from historiog-

7 J. Osterhammel, "Weltgeschichte": Ein Propädeutikum, in: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht 56 (2005) 9, pp. 452–479, at p. 460.

8 S. Conrad, Globalgeschichte. Eine Einführung, Munich 2013, pp. 9–13.

9 M. Geyer and C. Bright, World History in a Global Age, in: American Historical Review 100 (1995) 4, pp. 1034–1060.

10 Jürgen Osterhammel, Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts, Munich 2009; Osterhammel, The Transformation of the World.

11 D. Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference, Princeton, NJ 2008; S. Conrad, Die Weltbilder der Historiker: Wege aus dem Eurozentrismus, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 65 (2015) 40–41, pp. 16–22.

12 B. Schäbler (ed.), Area Studies und die Welt. Weltregionen und neue Globalgeschichte, Wien 2007; S. Beckert and D. Sachsenmaier (eds.), Global History Globally. Research and Practice around the World, London 2018.

13 K. Kaser (ed.), Wieser Enzyklopädie des europäischen Ostens, Vol. 11: Europa und die Grenzen im Kopf, Kla-

raphy's basic terms. Spaces have to be studied. As long as actors themselves use a certain vocabulary to relate themselves to spaces, including their mental maps in historiographical analysis is justifiable. The blossoming field of autobiographical practices in empires support the significance of empires and regions as imagined spaces, and as spaces of reference in public discourse.[14] At the same time, this argument shall not be misread as a defense in favour of classic area studies. Historiographic terms signifying regions should be read as analytical ideal types and umbrella terms to produce a synthesis of broad and vast knowledge. These terms should not be understood as containers delimiting a certain area from other regions of the world or global processes. But global history needs to be related to places and spaces in a source-based way. This opens the door for historians of regions to commit themselves to the global history project. Without language skills and source-based local studies exploring connectivity between the local and the global the global history project will be doomed.

2. State of the Art of Globalizing Russian History

At a first glance one is tempted to say that historians of Russia have been latecomers to the field of global history. Asian History to a very large degree dominated the heralds' of global history departure from eurocentrism.[15] Only the third volume of the *Journal of Global History* included the first contribution by a historian of Russia.[16] However, a second glance reveals shared agendas of Global history and Russian history to the effect that the two of them were working independently but along the same lines. They were moving on separate tracks but heading towards the same destination: the deconstruction of national frames and centrisms in the study of the past. These imperatives have been on the agenda of some historians of Russia at a time when the term global history was not yet coined. In 1992, Andreas Kappeler published his magisterial book on Russia as a multiethnic empire.[17] Following Kappeler's lead, historians in Russia, the USA, Europe and Japan have developed a historiography on Russia's past which is critical towards national frames as is global history and which deconstructs a russocentric reading of

genfurt 2003; F. B. Schenk, Mental Maps. The Cognitive Mapping of the Continent as an Object of Research of European History, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/mental-maps/frithjof-benjamin-schenk-mental-maps-the-cognitive-mapping-of-the-continent-as-an-object-of-research-of-european-history (accessed 27 March 2019).

14 D. Lambert (ed.), Colonial Lives across the British Empire. Imperial Careering in the Long Ninenteenth Century, Cambridge 2006; Aust, Schenk, Imperial Subjects.

15 J. Osterhammel. Die Entzauberung Asiens. Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert, Munic 1998; K. Pomeranz, The Great Divergence. China, Europe and the Making of the Modern World Economy, Princeton, NJ 2000.

16 A. Stanziani, Serfs, Slaves or Wage Owners? The Legal Status of Labour in Russia from a Comparative Perspective from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries, in: Journal of Global History 3 (2008) 2, pp. 813–202.

17 A. Kappeler, Russland als Vielvölkerreich: Entstehung, Geschichte, Zerfall 1552–1917, Munich 1992.

Russia's multiethnic past as global historians deconstruct a eurocentric interpretation of the past of the world.[18]

Further, there have been some precursors to global history in the field of Russian history. This argument can be made due to a broad scope of issues which in the early days of global history were claimed as fields informing the global history project: Wallerstein's world system especially in terms of economic history, empires and imperialism as well as the history of civilizations.[19] Over the decades, historians of Russia have made significant contributions to these fields. It may suffice to recall Dietrich Geyer's inquiry into late tsarist Russian imperialism, Hans-Heinrich Nolte's work applying the world-system-approach to the study of Russia and the Soviet Union, and last but not least Marshall Poe's contribution to a comparative history of empires and civilizations.[20] In Poe's reading there is something unique to Russia in world history from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. In comparison to other regions and countries beyond Europe Russia – according to Poe – were not colonized by European powers. Instead Russia met the European challenge and became herself a mighty empire.

In the meantime, global historians have proposed more focused definitions of global history. Sebastian Conrad declared structural causality emerging from a global context the ultimate hallmark of global history.[21] Further, historians and scholars from disciplines once referred to as area studies have also discussed the relations between the local and the global, between area studies, regions and global history more broadly.[22] Last but not least, historians of Russia and the Soviet Union have become fully engaged in exploring the global dimensions of Russian and Soviet history. There are numerous examples which can be cited here, including histories of infrastructures, ethnic cleansing, international law, and many other subjects.[23] Historians of Russia have also capitalized on an advantage which global history offers to them: to emancipate from the burden of the age-old subject of "Russia and Europe" which framed Russian-European relations in terms of transfers running from supposedly civilized Europe to supposedly backward Russia. Steven Marks has written on a broad range of innovations – some of them creative and inspiring, others destructive – which made their way from Russia into the world to leave

18 M. Khodarkovsky, Russia's Steppe Frontier. The Making of a Colonial Empire 1500–1800, Bloomington, ID 2002; J. Burbank, M. von Hagen, and A. Remnev (eds)., Russia. Space, People, Power 1700–1930, Bloomington, ID 2007; I. Gerasimov (ed.), Novaia imperskaia istoriia Severnoi Evrazii, 2 vols, Kazan' 2017; V. Kivelson and R.G. Suny, Russia's Empires, New York 2017; K. Matzusato (ed.), Russia and its Northeast Asian Neighbors: China, Japan, and Korea 1858–1945, Lanham 2017.

19 S. Conrad and A. Eckert, Globalgeschichte, Globalisierung, multiple Modernen: Zur Geschichtsschreibung der modernen Welt, in: S. Conrad, A. Eckert, and U. Freitag (eds)., Globalgeschichte. Theorien, Ansätze, Themen, Frankfurt a. M. 2007, pp. 7–49.

20 D. Geyer, Der russische Imperialismus. Studien über den Zusammenhang von innerer und auswärtiger Politik 1860–1914, Göttingen 1977; H.-H. Nolte, Geschichte Russlands, 3rd edn, Stuttgart 2012; M. Poe, The Russian Moment in World History, Princeton, NJ 2003.

21 S. Conrad, What Is Global History?, Princeton, NJ 2016.

22 Schäbler, Area Studies und die Welt; Beckert and Sachsenmaier, Global History Globally.

23 Aust, Globalisierung imperial und sozialistisch.

their mark in history from the late nineteenth century throughout the twentieth century: from art to antisemitism and ballet to bolshevism.[24]

The future development of scholarship in Russia will have a very profound impact on the prospects of a global history of Russia. Across the political watersheds of the Russian Revolutions in 1917 and the end of the Soviet Union in 1991 a tradition of historiography has survived in Russia. The tsarist university statute from 1835 differentiated chairs at Russian universities in Russian history (also referred to as history of the fatherland, *otechestvennaia istoriia*) and general history in terms of world history (*obshchaia istoriia*, *vsemirnaia istoriia*).[25] Up until today textbooks, journals, and chairs in Russia have followed that model which limits reflections on Russian history within the confines of global and world history. However, it might be that change is on the way. In recent years there has been a significant output of Russian books which explore connections between Russia and other world regions and countries, e.g. the Americas, Japan, China, Egypt, and South Africa. These titles mostly discuss the history of Russian communities in these countries and histories of mutual perceptions, cultural transfers, migrations and trade.[26] In addition there are international titles which either relate diversities within in the Russian Empire to communities abroad, or produce entangled histories of Russia and her neighboring countries and regions.[27]

Another indicator of overcoming the established divide between Russian history and world history might be the latest Russian volume of a history of the world in the nineteenth century.[28] The volume is informed by many threads of historiography: there is a clear focus on economic history triggering social change. The question of how industrialization came into being takes centre stage in the volume. This echoes the tradition of twentieth-century historiography. At the same time, the editor references historians as diverse as Fernand Braudel and Jürgen Osterhammel to sketch out the volume's frame of world history. Be that as it may, it is, however, interesting to see established historians of Russia proper – such as Alexei Miller – contributing to this volume of world history[29]

24 S. Marks, How Russia Shaped the Modern World. From Art to Anti-Semitism, Ballet to Bolshevism, Princeton, NJ 2003.

25 T. Bohn, Writing World History in Tsarist Russia and in the Soviet Union, in: B. Stuchtey (ed.), Writing World History 1800–2000, Oxford 2003, pp. 197–212, at p. 199.

26 To give just a few examples: K. Cherevko, Rossiia na rubezhach Iaponii, Kitaia i SShA (2-ia polovina XVII–nachalo XXI veka), Moscow 2010; I. Vinkovetsky, Russian America. An Overseas Colony of a Continental Empire 1804–1867, Oxford 2011; A. A. Khisamutdinov, Russkaia Japoniia, Moscow 2010; S. Iu. Nechaev, Russkie v latinskoi Amerike, Moscow 2010; A. Davidson and I. Filatova, Rossiia i Iuzhnaia Afrika. Tri veka sviazei, Moscow 2010; M. Matusevich (ed.), Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa. Three Centuries of Encounters, Trenton, NJ 2007. This list could easily be continued.

27 S. Urbansky, Kolonialer Wettstreit. Russland, China, Japan und die Ostchinesische Eisenbahn, Frankfurt a. M. 2008; F. Grüner (ed.), Borders in Imperial Times. Daily Life and Urban Spaces in Northeast Asia, Leipzig 2012; F. Davies, M. Schulze Wessel, and M. Brenner (eds)., Jews and Muslims in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, Göttingen 2015.

28 V. S. Mirzekhanov (ed.), Vsemirnaia istoriia v shesti tomakh, vol. 5: Mir v XIX veke. Na puti k industrial'noi tsivilizatsii, Moscow 2014.

29 A. I. Miller, Imperija i nacija v "dolgom" XIX veke, in: ibid., pp. 246–263. Informed by this publication see also A. Miller and S. Berger (eds.), Nationalizing Empire, Budapest 2015.

– an indicator that the established divide between Russian and World History might be bridged. If this indeed indicated change, the prospects of a globalized history of Russia in the Russian Federation would look promising. Further, these prospects are underscored by contributions by Russian historians in the journal *Ab Imperio*,[30] the PhD-programme Global History of Empires which is jointly hosted by HSE St. Petersburg and Università degli Studi di Torino.[31] Last but not least, the Paulsen programme at the London School of Economics supports young Russian scholars who work on the period from the middle of the seventeenth to the early twentieth century to undertake research and visit conferences abroad.[32]

However, there are also restraints on the horizon. They mainly emerge from history being used in Russian political discourse on a new world order and on how to position Russia in that new world order. Forums such as the Valdai Club, where politicians meet the press and academics for debates, and journals such as *Russia in Global Affairs* contribute to a political discourse which is characterized by a strong use of historical arguments.[33] These uses of the past reaffirm notions of Russia as a civilization – juxtaposed to Europe and the West – and as a sovereign great power which are challenged to uphold their purity as a civilization and status as great power in a hostile world viewed through the lens of the realistic school of International Relations and its assumption of international politics as a zero sum game. It is these specific frames of civilizations as delimitied and power as a force and source of national greatness which global historians seek to challenge by highlighting interactions and connectivity. It might be that the Russian political discourse and its uses of the past infringes on opportunities to globalize the Russian past in the Russian Federation.

3. Temporal and Topical Issues of Russia in Global and World History

Applying global approaches among others to the study of the past encourages me to embrace a variety of pathways of world and global history to advance my inquiries into the past of Russia. My basic questions are: what is peculiar about Russia in history and how was Russia entangled with other world regions and global processes? These questions lead me to value both comparisons of imperial rule and entanglements in a *longue durée* and global history approach to study how Russia affected and was affected by processes of internationalization and transcontinental and global entanglements. The remaining part of my contribution will be limited to the latter issue by exploring how actors from Imperial Russia were engaged with the world and were both affected by and contributed

30 From the editors, The Global Condition: When Local Becomes Global, in: Ab Imperio 19 (2017), pp. 9–14.
31 https://www.globalhistoryphd.unito.it/do/home.pl (accessed 5 April 2019).
32 http://www.lse.ac.uk/International-History/Research/Paulsen-Programme (accessed 5 April 2019).
33 http://valdaiclub.com/ (accessed 5 April 2019); https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/ (accessed 5 April 2019). On Russian foreign policy think tanks, see also A. Graeff, Denkfabriken und Expertise. Russlands außen- und sicherheitspolitische Community, in: Osteuropa 8–9 (2018), pp. 77–98.

to processes of internationalization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Travel writing and international law will be highlighted as two exemplary case studies.

3.1. Transcontinental Travel Writing as Autobiographical Practice: Princess Ol'ga A. Shcherbatova and Her Voyages to Syria, Palestine, Arabia, India, and Java (1880s/1890s)

In recent times, historians of Russia and the Soviet Union have studied the history of travel and tourism both in the late Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. As to the Russian Empire, tourism transformed former spaces of imperial expansion into destinations of Russian national travel. This holds especially true for the Volga and the Crimea.[34] Yet in the late nineteenth century, Russian preferences for traveling within the Russian Empire were highlighted by the ironic novel *Ours Abroad* (*Nashi zagranitsei*) by Leikin.[35] It is the story of a Russian bourgeois couple visiting Paris and getting frustrated by never ending cultural misunderstandings. In her book *Russia at Play* Louise McReynolds concluded – following Leikin – that Russians indeed subscribed to the slogan "home is best" when it came to determining whether to travel in Russia or abroad.[36] Being interested in the global dimensions of Russian history, I have wondered why there has been less focus on Russian imperial subjects travelling around the world or at least across continents than on Russians vacationing either at renowned places in Europe or within the Tsarist Empire. Thus, my curiosity was sparked when I came across the following title: *In the Land of Volcanos. A Travel Account from Java in 1893* by Princess Ol'ga Aleksandrovna Shcherbatova. My enthusiasm increased further when I realized that Princess Shcherbatova had also published books on a handful of other voyages that had brought her to Syria, Palestine, Arabia and India.[37]

Princess Ol'ga Aleksandrovna Shcherbatova began life as a Stroganova, born on September 9, 1867 into the family of Count Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov. In her childhood days everything related to horses became a passion of Ol'ga Aleksandrovna. She was married to Prince Aleksandr Grigor'evich Shcherbatov – as early as 1879 – who shared her interest in horses and horseback riding. Their estate Vasil'ev in the vicinity of Ruza – located to the west of Moscow – offered everything one might expect from a true nest of the gentry. Vasil'ev also included a horse breeding farm and an orangery. In addition

34 G. Hausmann, Mütterchen Wolga. Ein Fluss als Erinnerungsort vom 16. bis ins frühe 20. Jahrhundert, Frankfurt a. M. 2009, chapter 7; K. Jobst, Die Perle des Imperiums. Der russische Krim-Diskurs, Konstanz 2007, chapter IV; A. E. Gorsuch (ed.), Turizm. The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism, Ithaca, NY 2006; A. A. Ivanov (ed.), Istoriia Rossiiskogo Turizma (IX–XX v.), Moscow 2011.

35 N. A. Leikin, Nashi zagranitsej. Iumoristichesko opisanie poezdki suprugov, Nikolaia Ivanovicha i Glafiry Semenovny Ivanovykh, v Parizh i obratno, 9th edn, St. Petersburg 1893.

36 L. McReynolds, Russia at Play. Leisure Activities at the End of the Tsarist Era, Ithaca, NY 2003, chapter 5.

37 O. A. Shcherbatova, Po Indii i Tseilonu. Moi putevyia zametki 1890–91 gg., Moscow 1892; Idem, Verkhom na rodine beduinov. V poiskakh za krovnymi arabskimi loshad'mi, St. Petersburg 1903; Idem, V strane vulkanov: putevye zametki na Jave 1893 goda, Moscow 2009 (first published 1897).

to the equestrian life, the couple loved to travel. All in all, they spent 17 years travelling together within and beyond Russia and Europe.[38]

While travels to Crimea and the Caucasus and to European metropolises such as Vienna, Paris and London were common destinations for Russians of their class, some of their other travels are more unusual. In 1888, the Shcherbatovs travelled from Beirut via Palmyra to Dair az-Zaur on the Euphrates and back. The years 1890/91 took them to India and Ceylon. In 1893 they voyaged to Java. 1895 saw the Shcherbatovs travelling through Syria and Palestine. In 1899 came Egypt, while in 1900 they repeated their 1888 trip from Beirut to Mesopotamia. In 1912, just three years before Prince Aleksandr Grigorevich's death, the couple made their last trip abroad, this time to England and Cyprus.

The Shcherbatovs seem to have had varying motivations in making their frequent trips. In 1888, the idea to travel from Beirut to Mesopotamia appears to have come about quite spontaneously – at least this is how Shcherbatova puts it in her travelogue. Killing time on the yacht of her brother in the Mediterranean Sea, the Shcherbatovs came across a book by Lady Ann Blunt: *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, 2 volumes, London 1879. Without any hesitation, they promptly decided to embark on a trip following the route Lady Ann Blunt had taken. Shcherbatova dispatched her husband to the Beirut-based office of Thomas Cook to arrange the voyage. Prince Shcherbatov lost no time, and very soon the couple was off on its journey to Mesopotamia.[39] Although the decision to undertake this journey in 1888 seems to have come completely out of the blue it also gave them the opportunity to buy Arabic horses on yet another journey onto the Arabian peninsula in 1900. Added to the travelogue there is a list of all in all 27 horses which were acquired and transfered to Vasil'ev, the Shcherbatovs' estate.[40] In addition to travelling to acquire horses, Princess Shcherbatova displayed an erudite interest in botany. On all the voyages she took along a camera to take photographs not merely of well-known sites but also of a huge range of plants. Some of the photographs she took are displayed in her travel accounts. Thus, erudition and exploration seem to have combined as motives for her travel to far-away regions and continents.

As for the infrastructures of travel, the voyages undertaken by the Shcherbatovs displayed aspects that were both typical and particular. The Shcherbatovs travelled by sea as did all their contemporaries with mobility becoming ever more global over the course of the late nineteenth century. The Shcherbatovs boarded ships from the renowned Peninsula and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, also the choice of Jules Verne's hero Phileas Fogg during his travels *Around the World in Eighty Days*.[41] As they cruised the Mediterranean Sea, the Suez Canal, and the Indian Ocean, the Shcherbatovs traveled

38 On the biographies of Princess Ol'ga Aleksandrovna Shcherbatova and Prince Aleksandr Grigor'evich Shcherbatov, see O. A. Shcherbatova, V strane vulkanov, pp. 5–10; A. Shcherbatov, Pravoslavnyi prikhod – tverdynia russkoi narodnosti, reprint Moscow 2010, pp. 5–18; http://old.superstyle.ru/25aug2008/olga_scherbatova?print=1 (accessed 5 April 2019).

39 Shcherbatova, Verkhom ra rodine beduinov, pp. 3, 4.

40 Ibid., pp. 199, 200.

41 Ibid., p. 4.

as part of an international mobile European community. Nobles, bourgeois capitalists and businessmen, upper class tourists, journalists, military officers, diplomats, colonial administrators, planters and grocers – men and women from these groups and professions socialized on board, sharing meals, engaging in conversation, and playing cards and other games late into the evening.[42] This social style was typical of transcontinental travel around 1900. Another typical aspect is the accompanied form of traveling beyond Europe. The Shcherbatovs were never on their own in provinces of the Ottoman Empire, British-India and Java. Translators, Ottoman dragomans, and representatives from the colonial administrations of India and Java always accompanied them, providing both local knowledge and the colonizer's view of India and Java.[43]

The specifics of the voyages by the Shcherbatovs derived from their immense richness. Money simply didn't matter. They frequented the most luxurious hotels. If there were no hotels up to their accustomed European standard, they would avoid local hotels, such as Ottoman travel hostels known as Khans, which European travelers usually described as filthy. Instead the Shcherbatovs would stay in their own tent village. When they travelled, they took along both personnel and tents: a cook and servants to provide a pleasant way of life.[44]

Princess Shcherbatova published her travel accounts in 1892, 1897 and 1903 with three different publishers based in Moscow and St. Petersburg. *Through India and Celoyn. My Travel Notes from 1890–1891* (*Po Indii i Ceilonu. Moi putevye zametki v 1890–1891 gg*) appeared in 1892 with Kushnerev publishers (Moscow). *In the Land of Volcanos* on her voyage to Java in 1893 (*V strane vulkanov*) appeared in 1897 with Goppe publishers in St. Petersburg. *On horseback through the Lands of the Bedouins in Search of Arab Thoroughbred Horses* (*Verkhom na rodine beduinov v poiskakh za krovnymi arabskimi loshad'mi)* appeared in 1903 with Benke publishers in St. Petersburg.[45] She must have been inspired by exemplary travelogues she had read in advance of her voyages. In her travelogue on her voyages to Syria and the Arabian peninsula, Shcherbatova mentioned Lady Ann Blunt's *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, 2 volumes, London 1879. Her books on India and Java each included a chapter called "sources" (*istochniki*) where she lists a few mostly English-language titles dealing with the geography, history, culture, and politics of the destinations in question.[46]

42 Shcherbatova, V strane vulkanov, pp. 71–86.

43 Shcherbatova, Verkhom na rodine beduinov, pp. 4, 5 on the dragoman, an Ottoman interpreter and travel guide; Shcherbatova, V strane vulkanov, pp. 104 and 114 ff. on the Dutch consul Baud and the Cutch General Gouverneur Pinaker Khordik; Shcherbatova, Po Indii i Tseilonu, p. 339 on a meeting with Sir Auckland Colvin thanks to a letter of recommendation the Shcherbatovs had received from the former vice-roy of British-India Lord Litton.

44 European-style hotels in colonial cities were frequented by the Shcherbatovs throughout their travels and are referenced across the travel accounts. For a description of an ensemble of five tents for usage on the road see Shcherbatova, Verkhom na rodine beduinov, p. 6.

45 O. A. Shcherbatova, Po Indii i Tseilonu; Idem, Verkhom na rodine beduinov. V poiskakh za krovnymi arabskimi loshad'mi, St. Petersburg 1903. Idem, V strane vulkanov: putevye zametki na Jave 1893 goda, Moscow 2009 (1897).

46 Shcherbatova, Verkhom na rodine beduinov, p. 3 citing Lady Anne Blunt. The "sources" are referenced in Shcherbatova, V strane vulkanov, p. 253 and Shcherbatov, Po Indii i Tseilonu, pp. 567, 568.

All three publications by Princess Shcherbatova shared common characteristics. In each case, her diaries served as the basic source for her material. The books even retained the form of a diary, including entries organized by time and place. Only a few thematic chapters appeared that departed from the diary format. All three publications highlighted the identity of the author as the first-person narrator and protagonist, all of which served as a clear indicator of the autobiographical character of the travelogues. Throughout the books Shcherbatova referred to her husband Alekandr Grigorevich with the letter "S.", the initial of her husband's pet name Sasha which added some intimacy to the text. Additionally, Shcherbatova's texts reveal insights into her emotions. She described her passage through the Suez Canal on January 7, 1893 as a *rite de passage* from cold Russia and Europe to her beloved warm Orient, a region she had longed to visit ever since her first travels there in 1888.[47] Last but not least the books were richly illustrated with Shcherbatova's own photographs. Tourist features, landscapes and plants made up for the majority of images.

As to gender issues, here were two dimensions: one was explicitly addressed by Shcherbatova herself and the other one follows from questions asked by historians. The voyages through Mesopotamia were undertaken on horseback. In her travel account, Shcherbatova time and again blamed men for delays en route. Being an experienced rider, she had numerous occasions to lament the poor performance of men on horseback. On the road they often did not know how to handle horses. And in the evening men all too often lamented being completely exhausted and tormented by muscle aches. In Shcherbatova's view, the supposedly stronger sex did not live up to its own self-imagination.[48] Here we can add her to a prominent group of European women who experienced Oriental travel as a departure into a realm of freedom.[49] In the Orient, European women found themselves freed from gendered European constraints. Gendered European norms of how to dress became quite impractical when traveling through the desert. To adapt to these circumstances, both male and female European travelers tended to dress in more or less similar ways.[50]

Of more importance, Oriental travel opened up spaces of opportunity. Beyond Europe European women could more easily become engaged on fields held under firm male control in Europe and Russia: academia is a case in point here. Princes Shcherbatova often explicitly mentioned that they came across places where hitherto no Europeans had ventured.[51] The photographs she took were not only designed to serve as nice illustrations in her books. Shcherbatova had a very focused interest in botany and photographed plants and described them in her travelogues in a way which came close to reporting on

47 Shcherbatova, V strane vulkonaov, p. 74.
48 Shcherbatova, Verkhom na rodine beduinov, pp. 11, 12.
49 B. Hodgson, Die Krinoline bleibt in Kairo. Reisende Frauen 1650–1900, German edition Hildesheim 2004; Eadem, Die Wüste atmet Freiheit. Reisende Frauen im Orient 1717 bis 1930, German edition Hildesheim 2006.
50 Shcherbatova, Verkhom na rodine beduinov, p. 21.
51 Ibid., p. 79.

an expedition.[52] Thus, she slipped into the role of explorer of foreign and unchartered spaces. Similar to the large group of amateur orientalists in the Russian Empire, we can refer to princess Shcherbatova as an amateur botanist who set out to enlarge human knowledge of the world. The Orient provided an opportunity to adopt this role, whereas in Russia universities and learned societies – such as the Imperial Geographical Society – were dominated by men. In Russian Asia only men performed the roles of discoverers, whereas Russian noble women were limited to perform the role of their husband's helpful support.[53]

Let us now turn to notions of empire. Princess Shcherbatova describes empires in a way which completely fitted into the standard pattern of European visions of empire. The Ottoman Empire and the colonial empire of the Netherlands served as the two utmost opposed types of empire in Shcherbatova's travelogues. In tune with European mainstream images of the Ottoman Empire, Shcherbatova labelled Ottoman rule as an example of despotic rule. This becomes clear when she described an episode from her travels through Palestine and Syria in 1888.[54] An Ottoman *pasha* urged the Russian travel group to stop and ordered the Russians to submit their weapons to him. According to the *pasha*, foreigners with weapons represented a danger to the Ottoman Empire which required prompt action. The Shcherbatovs opposed the order and said that their weapons only served the purpose of hunting on their long trip through unsettled parts of the Ottoman Empire. A stand-off developed, which lasted for some days. Finally, the Shcherbatovs managed to dispatch a member of their group to a nearby town. From there a telegraph was cabled to the Russian Ministry of Foreign affairs, which in turn informed the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Finally, Ottoman diplomats ordered the *pasha* to let the Russians have their way and keep their weapons. Princess Shcherbatova recounted this episode in her travelogue as a telling example of arbitrary rule and thus Ottoman despotism. As to Dutch colonial rule on Java Shcherbatova was full of praise. She devoted some chapters to politics and the economy on Java. To put it short, she considered Dutch rule over Java to exemplify what we would call a true win-win situation. Local rule was exercised in traditional ways by the Javanese, while the Dutch restricted their rule to suzerainty over the colony. At the same time the Dutch uplifted the economy with benefits for both the Javanese and the Dutch – according to princess Shcherbatova.[55] This was imperial ideology in its purest form: economic bargains and the unspoken, yet clearly palpable notion of civilizational superiority of European Empires. To put it short, princess Shcherbatova's take on empire did not differ one iota from what male Europeans would have written about the Ottoman Empire and the Dutch colonial

52 Shcherbatova, V strane vulkanov, pp. 140–143; Shcherbatova, Po Indii i Tseilonu, pp. 59–64.

53 F. B. Schenk, "Ich bin des Daseins eines Zugvogels müde." Imperialer Raum und imperiale Herrschaft in der Autobiographie einer russischen Adeligen, in: L'homme 23 (2012) 2, pp. 49–64; M. Golbeck, Doppelter Aufbruch. Russlands Vordringen nach Turkestan und in neue Räume der Autobiografik, unpublished PhD manuscript, Bonn 2018.

54 Shcherbatova, Verkhom na rodine beduinov, pp. 56–69.

55 Shcherbatova, V strane vulkanov, p. 40.

empire. Clearly, empire was on princess Shcherbatova's mind and she put herself in the camp of those Europeans who contributed to exploring unchartered spaces beyond Europe, thus being a part of the imperial endeavour of exploring the world.[56]

It fits into this picture that princess Shcherbatova's accounts of non-European countries and their people displayed all indicators of orientalism. In the eyes of Shcherbatova, these countries were beautiful and exotic in terms of landscape and culture, yet backward in terms of indigenous economies and despotic in terms of politics.[57] In recent times, historians have enlarged our knowledge about how women became engaged with imperial and colonial projects. For instance, in the German Kaiserreich women supporting the German colonial project in Africa pointed out that women should be fully included in creating German settler colonies in Africa as only women could contribute to the reproduction of German colonizers, thus helping to establish German rule in Africa in the long term.[58] In this case, women relied on female agencies to make their claim in supporting colonial rule. Princess Shcherbatova emulated the dominant masculine discourse of empire while at the same time she was aware of gender issues given her critique of men in her travel group.

There is even more insight into gender issues with regard to the Shcherbatovs and their travels. Prince Aleksandr Grigorevich contributed a chapter on India being colonized to his wife's account on India and Ceylon.[59] This chapter makes for fascinating reading in relation to other publications by Aleksandr Grigorevich on Russia and her future. It seems that looking into the Indian mirror Prince Aleksandr Grigorevich saw all his anxiety about Russia's destiny. Although his chapter on India made no direct reference to Russia, it shared common topics with his writing on Russia. The common denominator was the fear of being colonized. An orthodox monarchist by heart, one of the greatest fears of Prince Aleksandr Grigorevich was that Russia could – although formally independent and a great power – be colonized financially by other European powers. Thus, a noble conservative whom we would usually suspect to speak out in favour of the Russian Empire's greatness and strength was full of fear of Russia being overwhelmed and exploited by the industrial and financial forces of late nineteenth-century globalization.[60]

It is worth comparing the Shcherbatovs' views of empire against commonly held assumptions of gender, empire and nation. In his book *Natasha's Dance* Orlando Figes pointed out that concepts of the Russian empire displayed notions of masculinity while visions of the Russian nation were characterized by notions of femininity. Thus, the masculine

56 J. Osterhammel and B. Barth, Zivilisierungsmissionen. Imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert, Konstanz 2005.

57 Shcherbatova, Verkhom na rodine beduinov, pp. 5, 11, 18–20, 22, 40.

58 B. Kundrus, Weiblicher Kulturimperialismus. Die imperialistischen Frauenverbände des Kaiserreichs, in: S. Conrad and J. Osterhammel (eds.), Das Kaiserreich transnational. Deutschland in der Welt 1871–1914, Göttingen 2004, pp. 213–235.

59 Aleksandr G. Shcherbatov contributed chapter XV on History, the Current State of Affairs and the Significance of English Rule over India to Shcherbatova, Po Indii i Tseilonu, pp. 535–566.

60 Aleksandr G. Shcherbatov elaborated on this in his publication from 1908, Obnovlennaia Rossiia. It was reprinted in: Russia as Pravoslavnyj prikhod – tverdynia russkoi narodnosti, Moscow 2010.

empire was the force of order whereas the feminine nation was to be loved and defended. Men reached out to enlarge the empire while women and especially Russian nannies instilled love to the Russian nation into the noble sons of the fatherland.[61] The Shcherbatovye completely fell out of this picture. Princess Ol'ga Shcherbatova subscribed to the masculine discourse of empire while her husband lived rather in fear of the Russian nation being colonized by European financial imperialism. Thus, the Shcherbatovs' story invites us to reconsider our assumptions about gendered visions of empire and nation in a globalized world.

3.2. Russian Contributions to the Development of International Law: The Cases of Fedor F. Martens (1845–1909) and Andrei Mandel'shtam (1869–1949)

The development of international law around 1900 is just one of many examples of how Russian actors contributed to globalizing the world in the nineteenth century. In the late nineteenth century, Russia was among the founding members of the International Telegraph Union and International Postal Union. Russia also participated in the Washington Conference which established the Greenwich Meridian and thus the time zones of the world.[62]

It is a generally accepted view that in the last third of the nineteenth century international law took a significant step forward in terms of both becoming a distinguished academic discipline and an ever more elaborated system of international rules.[63] Late imperial Russia contributed its share to this development.[64] The following paragraphs focus on two jurists from the late Russian Empire: Fedor F. Martens (1845–1909) and Andrei Mandel'shtam (1869–1949). It is due to their partisanship of international law that the Russian Empire significantly contributed to the advancement of international law in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The histories of international humanitarian law, of the advancement of the laws of war, of international arbitration and of human rights – they all could not be written without considering contributions by Martens and Mandel'shtam as jurists from the Russian Empire. To drive the point home that

61 O. Figes, Natasha's Dance. A Cultural History of Russia, New York 2002, pp. 126, 127.

62 Russia as a co-founding member of the Postal Union: http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Vertrag,_betreffend_die_Gründung_eines_allgemeinen_Postvereins (accessed 12 April 2019); International Conference Held at Washington for the Purpose of Fixing a Prime Meridian and Universal Day, October 1884. Protocols of the Proceedings, Washington 1884, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17759/17759-h/17759-h.htm (accessed 17 December 2011). On Russia and the International Telegraph Union: M. Siefert, "Chingis-Khan with the Telegraph". Communications in the Russian and Ottoman Empires, in: J. Leonhard and U. von Hirschhausen (eds.), Comparing Empires. Encounters and Transfers in the Long Nineteenth Century, Göttingen 2011, pp. 78–108, at p. 96; M. Herren, Internationale Organisationen seit 1865. Eine Globalgeschichte der internationalen Ordnung, Darmstadt 2009, p. 21.

63 M. Koskenniemi, The Gentle Civilizer of Nations. The Rise and Fall of International Law 1870–1960, Cambridge 2002; B. Fassbender and A. Peters (eds)., The Oxford Handbook of the History of International Law, Oxford 2012.

64 M. Aust, Das Zarenreich in der Völkerrechtsgeschichte 1870–1914, in: M. Aust (ed.), Globalisierung imperial und sozialistisch. Russland und die Sowjetunion in der Globalgeschichte 1851–1991, Frankfurt a.M. 2013, pp. 166–181.

the Russian Empire contributed to international law requires a look at self-descriptions by Fedor Martens and Andrei Mandel'shtam and their pledges of loyalty to the Russian Empire – otherwise they could be perceived as mere international experts without any affiliation to a country or an empire. Further, the stories of Martens and Mandel'shtam implicate four ongoing historiographic debates.

(1) Subjectivity: Autobiographical Practices in Late Tsarist Russia

The last two decades witnessed a significant upsurge in studies of autobiographical practices and self-descriptions by subjects from the Russian Empire. At first, historians focused their attention mostly on members of the elites. The basic assumption was that the dawn of modernity in nineteenth-century Russia doomed religious and service autobiographies. Instead of an orthodox self-description as that by Avvakum or a service autobiography as the one by Andrei Timofeevich Bolotov from the late eighteenth century, new models of self-description were emerging. Scholarship grouped them into types of intelligentsia or revolutionary autobiographies.[65] However, recent studies shed light onto a broader variety of autobiographical practices in late Tsarist Russia. Subaltern autobiographical practices have moved Russian peasants into focus.[66] Edited volumes such as *Empire Speaks Out* and *Imperial Subjects* heralded the advancement of inquiries into the empire's imprint on autobiographical practices and vice versa how they reshaped visions of empire.[67] There is still a need for studies which provide insight into the degree to which people attached significance and meaning to imperial ideologies. How did people respond to concepts of imperial ideology which both tsarist officials and the public offered? Did people make these concepts their own? Did they think of themselves as imperial subjects in a double sense: as subjects first of all defined by loyalty to the empire and the emperor and at the same time as actors who tried to shape imperial visions and concepts of how the empire might work?

(2) The History of Human Rights

There is currently a debate going on as to when the history of human rights does begin. Some argue that modern notions of human rights are merely secularized visions of protection of human beings yet contained within various religions since the ages.[68] Others claim that the enlightenment established notions of human rights, most arguably highlighted by the French Declaration des droits de l'homme in 1789.[69] Further, the

65 U. Schmid, Ichentwürfe. Die russische Autobiographie zwischen Avvakum und Gercen, Zurich 2000; J. Hellbeck and K. Heller (eds.), Autobiographical Practices in Russia. Autobiographische Praktiken in Russland, Göttingen 2004.

66 J. Herzberg, Gegenarchive. Bäuerliche Autobiographik zwischen Zarenreich und Sowjetunion, Bielefeld 2013.

67 I. V. Gerasimov et al. (eds.), Empire Speaks Out. Languages of Rationalization and Self-Description in the Russian Empire, Leiden 2009; M. Aust and F. B. Schenk (eds.), Imperial Subjects. Autobiographische Praxis in den Vielvölkerreichen der Habsburger, Romanovs und Osmanen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert, Cologne 2015.

68 H. Joas, Die Sakralität der Person. Eine neue Genealogie der Menschenrechte, Berlin 2011.

69 L. Hunt, Inventing Human Rights. A History, New York 2008.

nineteenth century has come into the focus of historians writing the history of human rights. Especially the fight for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery, but also interventions into the Ottoman Empire document notions and agencies of human rights in the nineteenth century.[70] However, there are historians claiming that the global history of human rights only came into being rather recently, i.e. in the 1970s.[71] These debates provide an opportunity to stress the significance of Andrei Mandel'shtam in legal history in general and in helping to stress the global notion of human rights yet in the middle of the twentieth century.

(3) Empire and International Law

Another debate concerns the significance of empire on the history of international law and human rights. Empires have moved into focus as contributors to nineteenth-century internationalization and to the issue of human rights. Especially the history of interventions in the Ottoman Empire has especially been highlighted as a history of human rights emerging in the nineteenth century.[72] At the same time, empires have been subjected to postcolonial scholarship arguing that empires created and used principles of international law to sustain their power and status across the globe.[73] Russian direct and indirect rule over Iran in the very early twentieth century serves as an example of how international law could be turned into a tool of imperial rule.[74] After World War One, the League of Nations appears as another case in point. Recent historiography discusses the League of Nations as a sphere where advocates of principles as different as internationalism, empire, the nation state, decolonization, civil society and human rights were engaged in arguments with each other.[75] Fedor Martens' writings and agencies allow deep insights into how advancing international law and using it as an imperial tool were closely linked to each other.

(4) Globalizing the History of International Law

As to academic international law it is still debatable, if and how a global history of international law beyond a Eurocentric master narrative can be written.[76] This issue includes

70 F. Klose, The Emergence of Humanitarian Intervention: Ideas and Practice from the Nineteenth Century to the Present, Cambridge 2015.

71 S. Moyn, The Last Utopia. Human Rights in History, Cambridge, MA 2010; J. Eckel, The Breakthrough. Human Rights in the 1970s, Philadelphia, PA 2014.

72 G. Bass, Freedom's Battle. The Origins of Humanitarian Intervention, New York 2008; D. Rodogno, Against Massacre. Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire 1815–1914. The Emergence of a European Concept and International Practice, Princeton, NJ 2012.

73 C. Douzinas, Human Rights and Empire. The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism, London 2007.

74 M. Deutschmann, An den Grenzen des Völkerrechts. Recht und internationale Anerkennung in den Beziehungen des Zarenreiches zum Iran, in: M. Aust and J. Obertreis (eds.), Osteuropäische Geschichte und Globalgeschichte, Stuttgart 2014, pp. 49–68.

75 M. Mazower, No Enchanted Palace. The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations, Princeton, NJ 2010; S. Pedersen, The Guardians. The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire, Oxford 2015.

76 B. Fassbender and A. Peters, Introduction. Towards a Global History of International Law, in: Idem (eds.), The Oxford History of International Law, pp. 1–24.

the question how to integrate the past of Russian jurisprudence into the history of international law. There are yet accounts of international law characterized by a resilient robustness of eurocentrism and the master narrative of the West. This holds true for introductions into international law such as a classic German piece by Matthias Herdegen, but also for accounts by global historians auch as Bruce Mazlish.[77] In critique of such accounts Francine Hirsch has highlighted Aron Trainin's significant contribution on behalf of the Soviet Union to the advancement of international law in preparing the Nuremberg trials.[78] Be that as it may, recent contributions to the field of Russia and international law frame the story in terms of "Russia and Europe" or "Russia and the West", thus highlighting encounters between supposedly separated entities and looking into differences between Russian, European, and Western understandings of international law.[79] Lauri Mälksoo once put it this way: "The big question was whether they [Martens and his disciples, M. A.] really represented Russia in European international law or rather European international law in Russia."[80] This contribution argues that the history of Russian international lawyers is not only about either Russians adopting European innovations or about Europe being embodied by Russian actors. Martens highlights the advancement of international law in terms of multiple transfers of knowledge, of circulating knowledge from Europe to Russia and from Russia to Europe and – most importantly – into a globalizing world. Russian international lawyers should not be reduced to actors on the classic playground "Russia and Europe". They should be recognized as agents contributing to globalizing the world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

3.3. Fedor Fedorovich Martens (1845–1909), the Russian Empire, and International Law

On June 21, 1909 the *New York Times* issued an obituary. The day before Fedor Martens had died at the railway station Valk, which is located in the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire. The obituary listed the institutions Martens had served and the functions he had fulfilled: permanent member of the Council of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, professor of international law at the University of St Petersburg, permanent member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, Russian plenipotentiary at many international conferences.[81] The list could easily be continued in more detail: Martens' membership with the Ghent based Institut de Droit International and his ser-

77 M. Herdegen, Völkerrecht, 6th edn, Munich 2007, chapter 2; B. Mazlish, The Idea of Humanity in a Global Era, New York 2009, p. 47.

78 F. Hirsch, The Soviets at Nuremberg. International Law, Propaganda, and the Making of the Postwar Order, in: American Historical Review 113 (2008) 3, pp. 701–730.

79 L. Mälksoo, Russian Approaches to International Law, Oxford 2015; R. Allison, Russia, the West, and Military Intervention, Oxford 2013.

80 L. Mälksoo, The History of International Legal Theory in Russia: A Civilizational Dialogue with Europe, in: The European Journal of International Law 19 (2008) 1, pp. 211–232, at p. 221.

81 Frederick de Martens Dead, in: New York Times, 21 June 1909.

vice with the International Committee of the Red Cross come to mind.[82] But yet those few examples from the obituary are telling. Martens was in the service of two masters: on one hand of the Russian Empire and its ministry of foreign affairs and on the other hand of the academic community and institutions of international law. Martens' childhood did not provide any hint that such a career was ahead of him. His parents were Estonians and died yet in his childhood days. Nine-year-old Martens found shelter at a Lutheran orphanage in St. Petersburg. After that he was lucky to be educated at a German Baltic school in the capital of the Russian Empire. He was able to take up his studies of law at St. Petersburg University in 1863 to finish them in 1868. The early 1870s marked the starting point of his career at St. Petersburg University and at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Martens was very well connected within the community of international law. This holds true on both the academic as well as the diplomatic level. His publications were reviewed by the leading journal *Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée*. The journal was dedicated to advancing the cause of comparative jurisprudence and international law. It tried to transfer one of the basic principles of world exhibitions to the field of law. It should serve as a kind of forum, a kind of marketplace where experts from all countries of the world could communicate with each other and unite to learn from each other. In this marketplace international law was not only traded as a set of rules of diplomacy and interstate relations. It also considered issues of humanity, society and individuals.[83] This kind of liberal turn of international law was also reflected in Martens' *oeuvre*. In his *opus magnum* – a two-volume textbook on international law from 1882/83 – Martens stated that a state's participation in international law necessarily required that the state obeyed basic principles of humanity and of the *Rechtsstaat*: only those states which were ruled by law could participate in international law.[84]

But Martens' dedication to the field of international law did not stop at academic endeavours. As a diplomat of the Russian empire Martens tried to advance international law in two fields: international humanitarian law and international arbitration. In the last third of the nineteenth century, what jurists called *ius in bello* moved increasingly onto the international agenda. At this point Martens shared the roadmap laid out by the International Committee of the Red Cross. The Red Cross was eager to improve the lot of wounded soldiers on the battleground and also to establish rules which should protect civilians from being affected by military action.[85] Further, Martens made it his cause to advance and to institutionalize international arbitration. In 1899, the Hague Conference

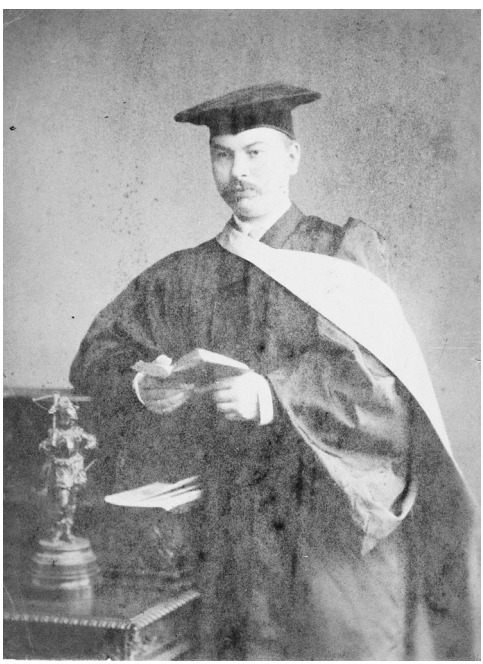
82 The basic biography is V. V. Pustogarov, Fedor Fedorovich Martens. Jurist, Diplomat, Moscow 1999.

83 G. Rolin-Jaequemyns, De l'étude de la législation comparée et du droit international, in: Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée 1 (1869), pp. 117.

84 On Martens and the notion of civilization, see Völkerrecht. Das internationale Recht der civilisirten Nationen. Systematisch dargestellt von Friedrich von Martens. Deutsche Ausgabe von Carl Bergbohm. 2 vols, Berlin 1883/86. See also Pustogarov, Fedor Fedorovich Martens, pp. 118ff.

85 On Martens and humanitarian law, see Pustogarov, Fedor Fedorovich Martens, pp. 98ff. and chapter VI. See also I. S. Rybachenok, Rossiia i Pervaia Konferentsiia Mira 1899 goda v Gaage, Moscow 2005.

established a Permanent Court of Arbitration. Several states, among them Great Britain, Venezuela, the USA, and Mexico engaged Martens as arbitrator of their conflicts.[86]
Martens had the idea that serving the Russian empire and advancing international rule of law would not urge him to take sides. There are at least two answers to the question as how Martens thought about the two roles he was playing. Firstly, he might have believed that he could deliberately switch from one role to the other. And secondly, he must have subscribed to the firm belief that the Russian empire ultimately was acting in favour of international law. Martens followed a line on which his two affiliations were to reinforce each other. Whenever the Russian ministry of foreign affairs or such high ranking and prominent figures as Count Witte asked him for an advice or a favour, Martens was convinced that this was the appropriate way to acknowledge his international experience and reputation. Conversely, whenever Martens participated in international conferences he introduced himself as a professor from St. Petersburg University and as permanent member of the Permanent Council of the Russian ministry of foreign affairs.[87]
How Martens tried to switch between his academic and diplomatic roles is also illustrated by portraits from his early career in the 1880s. Both photographs are obviously part of a larger series of photographs which show Martens displaying different dresses and attributes.[88]



86 On Martens and arbitration, see Frederic de Martens, in: The American Journal of International Law 4 (1909), pp. 983–985; Pustogarov, Fedor Fedorovich Martens, chapter VII.
87 Pustogarov, Fedor Fedorovich Martens, p. 116.
88 Source: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Fromhold_Martens (accessed 23 April 2019).

The first photograph shows Martens as a scholar with a doctoral cap, a kind of robe (an academic gown) and a book. This photograph depicts Martens in pure academic terms. There are no visual signs of Russia or the state. The second photograph shows Martens wearing a kind of uniform adorned with medals. Indeed, Martens had received several medals, among them the order of Aleksandr Nevskii and the order of the White Eagle.[89] These attributes signify that Martens was in search of official recognition of his position. He was keen to be rewarded and honoured by the state, the Russian Empire he was serving.

There are numerous examples which illustrate how Martens put his loyalty to the Empire on display and how he documented it in his autobiographical texts. One example leads us to British-Russian relations and Central Asia. Generally, British and Russian images of the self and the other mirrored and reinforced each other. Both empires perceived themselves as just and peaceful whereas the other power in each case was portrayed as aggressive und suppressive. British publications from the late nineteenth century were convinced that Russian foreign policy pursued a master plan to conquer India. At least to the British public the "Great Game" – originally a literary term referring to Russian skills at playing chess – became a political metaphor of British-Russian rivalry in Central Asia.[90]

89 https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Fromhold_Martens (accessed 12 April 2019).

90 On imperial mirror images in Great Britain and Russia, see M. Aust, Rossiia i Velikobritaniia. Vneshniaia politika i obrazy imperii. Ot krymskoi voiny do pervoi mirovoi voiny, in: Aust et al. (eds.), Imperium inter pares, pp. 244–265.

In 1879/81 Martens and John Westlake – professor of international law at Cambridge University – became involved in the "Great Game". British public opinion had been stirred up by a Russian expeditionary force in Kabul, which was warmly received by the Afghan Emir Shir Ali who stubbornly refused to accept a British deputation on the same terms as the Russian one. While newspapers were speculating on a Russian-British war, Martens suggested a new approach to Central-Asian politics by Great Britain and Russia. He proposed that the two powers the sooner the better might come to fix a Russian-British border across Central Asia. According to Martens the benefits of such a border were first a guarantee of peace in the region and secondly it offered to Russia and Great Britain an opportunity to commit themselves to their true destiny in world history: Namely a civilizing mission among the muslim and nomadic peoples of Central Asia. Martens appealed to Russia's and Britain's sense of responsibility as great powers (*velikie derzhavy*) that the abundance of Central Asian space allowed them to display the forces of both the English as well as the Russian people (*angliiskii i russkii narody*) in terms of equality and mutually assured honesty and confidence.[91]

Rather than shaking Martens' hand, Westlake engaged in an argument with his Russian colleague. Westlake claims that he was not speaking out in favour of actual British foreign policy, especially with regard to Afghanistan. But he was sure that in writing *Russia and England in Central Asia* Martens was trapped by Russian patriotism. Directly responding to Martens, Westlake claimed that contrary to Martens there was no evidence that Great Britain had violated any treaty on Afghan neutrality. What Martens had referred to as a text with a treaty-like quality was rather – according to Westlake – evidence of ordinary talks (French: *pourparlers*), which the Indian viceroy Forsyth had led in St. Petersburg. Thus, Martens was simply incorrect. The Cambridge professor went on to point out that rather than blaming Britain, it was time to acknowledge an aggressive design of Russian expansion. To temper this argument, Westlake continued to point out that in both empires there were some men of low instincts trying to aggressively expand their country's domains whereever possible and other men of good will. Westlake quickly reassured his readers that Martens probably would belong to the good-will-party. But nevertheless, Westlake insisted: There was a very long way ahead of British-Russian reconciliation and any kind of incorrectness à la Martens in his *Russia and England in Central Asia* would do harm to it.[92]

Martens felt the urge to answer. In his reaction to Westlake, Martens tried to map some common ground. Both of them, according to Martens, were convinced that a Russian-British clash in Central Asia probably would have disastrous consequences for both sides. But finally, Martens refuted that Russia was an aggressive power. Martens ended up declaring that whith regard to Afghanistan, first Great Britain had changed the *status quo* so

91 F. de Martens, La Russie et l'Angleterre dans l'Asie Centrale, in: Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée 11 (1879), pp. 227–301.

92 J. Westlake, La Russie et l'Angleterre dans l'Asie Centrale. Réponse à M. Martens, in: Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée 11 (1879), pp. 401–410.

that Russia was forced to respond by conquering Merv. Martens had reached out to calm great power rivalry by means of international law. He ended up legitimizing Russian expansion. The dispute between Martens and Westlake had taken place on the pages of a journal which was dedicated to the cause of international law. In this case, two renowned international lawyers lost common ground and spoke out in favour of their countries. Martens had given insight into his loyalty to the Russian Empire.[93]

In turn, the Russian Empire did not always meet Martens' expectations. The Empire knew when and how to make use of Martens' services. In 1906, French financiers were discussing another large French loan to Russia with Count Witte. It turned out that the French were willing to fix the deal but they came up with one last demand. They asked the Russian side to provide an official letter by Martens which was to state that any changes of the deal were out of reach of the Russian Parliament, the Duma. Witte did his best to make Martens produce such a text. Martens felt honoured and delivered what he was asked to do. On April 4, 1906 the deal was fixed. Russia received 2,25 billion Francs.[94] On April 27, 1906 there was a grand ceremony to open the Duma in the Winter Palace. Martens hoped to be invited – but he was not. It came as a further blow to him that he did not receive a seat in the State Council (*Gosudarstvennyi Sovet*). Thus, Martens realised that his international reputation and his service to the empire were not freely convertible into the degree of official acknowledgement he had hoped for in Russia. Martens turned to his diary to pen down his disappointment.[95]

His diary did not fit the model of the diary of the Victorian age. In his diary, Martens did not dive into all facets of his professional and private life to explore and describe himself as a modern, emotional, and complex character. Rather, the diary was strictly limited to his professional life. It was all about his work, the university, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the recognition Martens expected others to pay to his work. It comes as no surprise that many pages of Martens' diary were dedicated to the frustrations of such high-flying expectations. However, his diary was characteristic of the bureaucratic diary of late Tsarist Russia. These diaries displayed loyalty to the Tsar and the Empire. At the same time, they can be characterized as a prolongued version of the service autobiography. Thus, Russia still offered opportunity to link one's hopes and loyalty to the empire. Martens did so and used his diary to document his imperial loyalty.[96]

The community of international lawyers offered much more recognition to Martens. Ever since the Institut de Droit International had been founded, Martens' major works were reviewed by the journal of the institute, the *Revue de Droit International et de Lé-*

93 F. de Martens, La Russie et l'Angleterre dans l'Asie Centrale. Réplique à M. Westlake, in: Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée 12 (1880), pp. 47–59.

94 Russia's Policy in 1905–1907 from a Diary of F. F. Martens, in: International Affairs 2 (1996), pp. 240–249, at pp. 243–245.

95 Ibid., p. 246.

96 P. Holquist, Bureaucratic Diaries and Imperial Experts. Autobiographical Writing in Tsarist Russia in the late Nineteenth Century; Fedor Martens, Dmitrii Miliutin, Petr Valuev, in: Aust and Schenk (eds.), Imperial Subjects, pp. 205–232.

gislation Comparée. I will focus on reviews of three titles by Martens: his second book *The Office of Consul and Consular Jurisdiction in the East*, a multi-volume series of treaties Russia had concluded with other powers edited by Martens, and last but not least his *opus magnum*, a general outline of international law.

In 1873, Martens published his second book *O konsulakh i konsul'skoi iurisdiktsii na vostoke* (*The Office of Consul and Consular Jurisdiction in the East*). It was soon translated into German.[97] This monograph discussed a century-old privilege of non-Muslims within the confines of the Ottoman Empire. From the fifteenth century onward, Ottoman sultans had conceded privileges to European merchants. Since the eighteenth century, European ambassadors had turned these former privileges into their right to protect non-muslim subjects in the Ottoman empire.[98] Thus, a christian-muslim divide within the Ottoman judicial system was reinforced. European tradesmen and visitors and even non-muslim subjects were out of reach of Ottoman courts.

In 1874, the *Revue* published two reviews of Martens' book on the office of consul. The first one reviewed the Russian book, the second its translation into German.[99] Both reviews, which were written by one reviewer, agreed that Martens' book was worth some accolades. The book was said to be both of high academic value and of particular interest to all those who were in need of information on judicial proceedings in the muslim East. The reviews included a special praise of Martens' juristic sense (French: *le sens juridique*). Martens' contribution was praised for covering the legislation of many countries with regard to the office of consul. These were: France, Great Britain, Germany and former Prussia, Austria, Italy, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, the USA, and Russia. The reviewer fully agreed with Martens' vision of development. For the time being – according to both Martens and his reviewer – there was still a cultural divide between the abovementioned civilized states and the islamic world. But both anticipated a future time in which islamic countries would come into touch with history and would thus abandon the immobility of the Koran to build relations with western states which deserved the title of true international relations (French: *rapports internationaux*). So, Russia was not merely a part of the international club, her international lawyers, represented by Martens, also participated in the global project to spread civilization in islamic countries.

Yet in the same year, 1874, the *Revue* reviewed another work prominently connected with Martens: the first volume of the *Recueil des traités et conventions conclus par la Russie avec les puissances étrangères*. Martens edited this series of documents on behalf of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1874 to 1909, 15 volumes appeared in print. The order of these 15 volumes was not chronological, but spatial and political: the series was grouped into treaties with Austria, Great Britain, France, and Prussia / Germany.[100]

97 F. F. Martens, O konsulakh i konsul'skoi iurisdiktsii na vostoke, St. Petersburg 1873, German edition: Das Consularwesen und die Consularjurisdiction im Orient. Mit Ergänzungen des Autors, Berlin 1874.

98 S. Faroqhi, The Ottoman Empire and the World around it, London 2006, p. 61.

99 Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée 6 (1874), pp. 145–147, 705, 706.

100 Recueil des traités et conventions conclus par la Russie avec les puissances étrangères, 15 vols, St. Petersburg 1874–1909.

The review in the *Revue de Droit International* concerned the first volume, which included Russian-Austrian treaties from 1648 to 1762.[101] It concluded that the series had started under excellent conditions. Martens was applauded for the political order of the series, which he seemed to have adopted from an American edition of treaties. Further, Martens' introduction into the diplomatic history of each treaty was highly welcomed. Finally, the reviewer wished Martens and the series a happy future and recommended other governments to follow the Russian example.

Thirdly, a few words on the perception of Martens' *opus magnum*, *International Law of Civilized Nations* (1881, 1882), are in order.[102] When Martens had continued his studies of international law at the universities of Leipzig, Vienna, and Heidelberg in 1868/69, he had the opportunity to listen to lectures delivered by Johann Caspar Bluntschli. At that time, Bluntschli had just finished his systematic account of international law. It appeared in print in 1868[103] and was soon translated into several languages, among others also Russian. It took Martens roughly a decade to follow Bluntschli's footsteps and to come up with his own general outline of international law. The *Revue de Droit International* was quick to review its first volume in 1882.[104] The reviewer – A. Bulmerincq from Heidelberg – first acknowledged that prior to Martens' *opus* there only had been a few works on international law and no monograph on the whole body of international law written in Russian. Although Bulmerincq hesitated to pronounce a final statement on the book prior to the second volume being published, he was ready to acknowledge Martens' sovereign mastery of the subject. According to this review, the first volume had to be counted among Martens' merits. Discussing the second volume of Martens'work, Bulmerincq readily underscored the merits which Martens deserved.[105]

All in all, these three reviews allow to refer to Martens as a lawyer's lawyer, highly accepted among his peers. And by the works of Martens, Russian scholarship was regarded as a significant contributor to the advancement of international law. There are yet two episodes to relate which highlight Martens' reception across the globe. Martens' textbook on international law was broadly received in many countries. It was translated into many languages, among them Persian, Chinese, and Japanese. In 1905, on the occasion of his release from Russian war captivity, a Japanese soldier said that due to Martens people in Japan was familiar with standards of international law, as it was studied in Japan on the basis of Martens' book.[106] In its obituary, the *American Journal of International Law* (1909) paid tribute to Martens as an international arbitrator:

101 Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée 6 (1874), pp. 709, 710.

102 F. von Martens, Völkerrecht. Das internationale Recht der civilisirten Nationen, 2 vols, Berlin 1883, 1886 (first published in Russian in 1881, 1882).

103 J. C. Bluntschli, Das moderne Völkerrecht der civilisirten Staaten. Als Rechtsbuch dargestellt, Nördlingen 1868.

104 Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée 14 (1882), pp. 444–446.

105 Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée 15 (1883), pp. 630–632.

106 This anecdote can be found in Martens' diary. He penned it down on 17 March 1906 upon being informed by the Empire's General Staff about it: Russia's Policy in 1905–1907 from a Diary of F. F. Martens, in: International Affairs 2 (1996), pp. 240–249, at p. 243.

> *The death of Professor Frederic de Martens on June 20, 1909, has deprived international law of one of the admitted masters of the science, and international arbitration of its most distinguished and experienced partisan.*[107]

These voices from America and Japan indicated the scale of Martens' global perception. As a Russian scholar, Martens not only represented international law in Europe. His works were well perceived beyond Europe. Martens contributed to advancing and globalizing international law. Through the prism of Martens and international law it also becomes clear that the Russian Empire was an active player in advancing international law and bringing about the globalized world around 1900.

3.4. Andrei Mandel'shtam (1869–1949): From Minority Protection to Human Rights

Andrei Mandel'shtam received his academic training as a jurist from Fedor Fedorovich Martens at St. Petersburg University. At the Hague Conference 1907, Mandel'shtam served as assistant to Martens. From 1898 to 1914 he was posted to the Russian Embassy in Constantinople. In 1913, he authored a plan for an Armenian province in the Ottoman Empire under joint international supervision by the Sultan and the European Great Powers. The plan did not materialize, but marked Mandel'shtam's point of departure into the field of minority rights and minority protection. Instead of being protected, Armenians suffered atrocities in World War One, which the Allies Russia, Great Britain, and France described as "crimes against humanity" in their note from 24 May 1915 to the Sublime Porte:

> *In view of these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization the Allied governments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold personally responsible for these crimes all members of the Ottoman government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres.*

This view prolongued and further elaborated some of the principles of interventions into the Ottoman Empire during the course of the nineteenth century. Yet in 1877, Fedor Martens had justified the Russian war against the Ottoman Empire on the grounds of Christianity and humanity.[108]

In the summer of 1917, the Russian Provisional Government asked Mandel'shtam to serve as minister of foreign affairs. At that time Mandel'shtam was busy finishing his book on the fate of the Ottoman Empire: *Le Sort de l'Empire Ottoman*. The atrocities

107 Frederic de Martens, in: The American Journal of International Law 4 (1909), pp. 983–985.

108 On Mandel'shtam, see H. Aust, From Diplomat to Academic Activist: André Mandelstam and the History of Human Rights, in: European Journal of International Law 25 (2014), pp. 1105–1121. Martens legitimizing Russia's war against the Ottoman Empire in 1877: Die russische Politik in der Orientalischen Frage. Eine historische Studie von F. Martens, Professor an der St. Petersburger Universität, St. Petersburg 1877 (Separat-Abdruck aus der Russischen Revue, Bd. XI). On Russia, France, Great Britain, and their Allied Note from May 1915, see Mazlish, The Idea of Humanity, p. 31.

against Armenians in the Ottoman Empire had become a major factor in Mandel'shtam's work. In his book on the Ottoman Empire Mandel'shtam described himself as a liberal Russian and Jurist in favour of the law, having spent 16 years in a country declaring war on the idea of law. Mandel'shtam attached his hopes to the words of the British foreign minister Lord Grey who had declared on 23 October 1916 that the war would be carried on until the supremacy of law over force would be reinstalled. Mandel'shtam had his very own interpretation of that statement. In Mandel'shtam's eyes, these words foretold a union of nations whose power should stand above that of national states. Mandel'shtam imagined the reduction of state sovereignty in the name of law and internationalization.[109] However, in the 1920s being both an emigrant in Paris and a member of an international group of jurists (most notably in the Institut de Droit International), Mandel'shtam first had to deal with issues more down to earth. Minority protection, conflicts between states and their interaction with the League of Nations ranked high on his agenda. Mandel'shtam arrived at the conclusion that minority protection triggered conflicts between states and that the issue of protection would be better served moving it from minority protection to a general protection of human rights. This inspired Mandel'shtam's contribution to a declaration by the Institut de Droit International at its meeting in New York in 1929. This declaration highlighted the idea of rule of law in a civilized world. The declaration envisaged the guarantee of the rights of life, freedom and property, equal protection of rights for all human beings regardless of sex, language, religion, nationality, and race, and the individual freedom to choose religion and language. Last but not least states should be prohibited from discriminating their citizens. The New York declaration from 1929 was not written into positive law at that time. However, the declaration's significance should not be underestimated. The declaration and Mandel'shtam's works relating to it belonged to jurists' basic reading well into the 1960s. International lawyers authoring the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights had read Mandel'shtam's works. Thus, Mandel'shtam's biography and his work as a jurist appear to be a link between legal scholarship and diplomatic agency of late Imperial Russia and the coming into being of global human rights protection by the UN in the middle of the twentieth century. Thus, the history of international law cannot be written without taking into account late Imperial Russia's contribution to the advancement of international law.[110]

4. Conclusion

From the point of view of a historian of Russia the major challenge in applying global history approaches to the study of Russia's past is to address local and regional specifics on the one hand and global factors and developments on the other, while at the same

109 A. Mandelstam, Le sort de l'empire Ottoman, Lausanne 1917, p. IX.

110 Aust, From Diplomat to Academic Activist, pp. 1110–1115; J. H. Burgers, The Road to San Francisco. The Revival of the Human Rights Idea in the Twentieth Century, in: Human Rights Quarterly 14 (1992) 4, pp. 447–477, at pp. 450–454.

time exploring the connectivity between them. Another tightrope walk balances large-scale comparisons of Russia in world history and the synchronicity and connectivity of the global history project. To be sure, the latter is on the agenda of historians of Russia. However, explorations of Russian connectivities in a globalizing world run the danger to reproduce findings which historiographies of other empires, most notably of the British Empire, have long come up with.[111] Running on parallel tracks, sometimes the train of global historians seems to be ahead of the train of Russian historians with the passengers of the global train asking the driver of the Russian train: what is peculiar about connectivity? Would it not rather be interesting to learn more about what is peculiar about Russia? Historians of Russia have for quite a while – with good reasons – been trying to normalize Russian history by renouncing notions of a Russian *Sonderweg* or Russian backwardness.[112] However, historians of Russia should not forget to explain to the academic community what makes Russian history worth studying in comparison to other histories. Current projects by historians of Russia show a lot of potential in becoming engaged with the research agendas of global history. Examples include histories of economic growth, infrastructures of communications as well as the history of the Russian state budget.[113]

These examples share a common denominator: the return of financial and economic history to historiography on the Russian Empire. In the USA and Europe, the cultural turn had nearly transferred economic and financial history to oblivion. Engaging with global history will allow historians to readdress old themes of Russian history in a new way. Economic histories of Russia have stressed the Empire's shortness of capital. Without sufficient Russian capital to drive heavy industrialization from ca. 1890 onward, the Russian State jumped in to attract capital from abroad, especially from Russia's new ally France. This at least is the way classic historiography of Russia puts it.[114] This contributed to the notion of Russian backwardness from the perspective of macroeconomics. However, L. I. Borodkin and A. V. Konovalova have recently shown that big Russian industrial enterprises faired very well at the St. Petersburg stock exchange when it came to acquiring fresh capital on the Russian and international financial markets.[115] Their

111 N. Ferguson, Empire. How Britain Made the Modern World, London 2007 (2003); G. B. Magee and A. S. Thompson, Empire and Globalisation. Networks of People, Goods, and Capital in the British World, c. 1850–1914, Cambridge, UK 2010.

112 M. Aust, New Perspectives on Russian History in World History, in: Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History 17 (2016) 1, pp. 139–150.

113 A. Stanziani, Russian Economic Growth in a Global Perspective, in: Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History 17 (2016) 1, pp. 151–162. At the University of Basel, Frithjof Benjamin Schenk and Boris Belge are currently working on Russian and international hubs of communication. Ekaterina Pravilova, Finansy Imperii: Dengi i vlast' v politike Rossii na natsionalnykh okrainakh [Finances of Empire: Money and Power in Russian policy in the imperial borderlands], Moscow 2006.

114 A. Gerschenkron, Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective, Cambridge, MA 1962; Idem, Europe in the Russian Mirror. Four Lectures in Economic History, Cambridge, UK 1970; D. Geyer, Der russische Imperialismus. Studien zum Zusammenhang von innerer und auswärtiger Politik, Göttingen 1977; M. Hildermeier, Geschichte Russlands. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Oktoberrevolution, Munich 2013, p. 1155.

115 L. I. Borodkin and A. V. Konovalova, Rossiiskii fondovyi rynok v nachale XX veka. Faktory kursovoi dinamiki, St. Petersburg 2010.

book can be read as an imperative to depart from macroeconomics and the whole economic system and instead look at specific economic actors and their agencies. At the same time it is worth investigating how individual entrepreneurs and individual banks in Russia acted to participate in the globalized economy and on international financial markets around 1900. The Russian State Historical Archive (*Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv*, RGIA, St. Petersburg) has a collection on Russian private banks which promises to shed new light on Russian agencies on the international financial market.[116] Eleven banks are of special interest. These are either Russian banks engaged in railroad construction, heavy industry and international trade or banks operating bilateral commercial relations between Russia and other countries. Among the latter are Dutch-Russian, Russo-British, Russo-French, Russo-Asian and Russo-Chinese banks. Both types of banks display archival holdings on meetings, reports and – most importantly – correspondence with business partners abroad. Studying these materials will be only one way to increase communications between the trains of Russian history and global history on parallel tracks.

116 Russian State Historical Archive (Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv) RGIA, inventories of private banks (fondy chastnykh bankov), http://fgurgia.ru/showObject.do?object=33730880 (accessed 5 May 2014).

Connections in Global History

Roland Wenzlhuemer

ABSTRACTS

Die Globalgeschichtsforschung ist kürzlich in eine Phase der Konsolidierung eingetreten, die es notwendig macht, kritisch über die wissenschaftlichen Ziele, die zentralen Fragestellungen und das methodische Instrumentarium des Feldes nachzudenken. In diesem Zusammenhang versucht der Artikel das für die Globalgeschichte zentrale Konzept globaler Verbindungen neu auszuleuchten. Er schlägt vor, den analytischen Fokus auf vier bisher oft übergangene Aspekte globaler Verbindungen zu legen: ihre Rolle als Mediatoren, ihr Auftreten im Plural, ihre Unterschwelligkeit sowie ihre Beziehung zu anderen Verbindungen und Nicht-Verbindungen.

The academic field of global history has recently started to enter into a phase of consolidation that necessitates us to rethink the scientific aims of the field, the questions it tackles as well as the instruments that it has at its disposal. In this regard, the article seeks to reconceptualize the notion of global connections that is so central to the field. It suggests to analytically focus on four aspects of global connections that have often been neglected: their role as mediators, their existence in the plural, their subtlety as well as their relation to other connections or disconnections.

1. The Perspective of Global History

For many years, research and teaching in global history has gone through a veritable boom. The field's focus on global connections and comparisons (to peruse the subtitle of Christopher Bayly's *The Birth of the Modern World*) brought a much-needed extension of its frame of reference to history writing. This broadening of our historiographical perspective was overdue and appealed especially (but not exclusively) to a younger generation of historians. For many, global history and its many related fields promised an escape from the interpretative straightjacket of national history. The new research field immediately proved to be innovative and incredibly productive. Global history attracted

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more and more scholars and started to inscribe itself deeply into the analytical ensemble of historiography. However, in these boom years, the conceptual foundations of the field remained remarkably thin. Maybe unsurprisingly. Global history and its many neighbouring strands of scholarship for a long time defined themselves in relation to what they wanted to overcome. German historian Sebastian Conrad points out that global history seeks to address "two 'birth defects' of the modern social sciences and humanities"[1]: eurocentrism and internalism. By the latter he mainly means a narrow focus on the nation state as the main frame of reference. These are noble and worthwhile pursuits. Regarding the conceptual foundations of the field, however, the mainly work *ex negativo*. This means that the conceptual framework of global history has mostly been discussed in terms of what needs to be overcome, extended or revised, while notions about the theoretical and methodological groundwork of the field often remained very broad, even vague at times. Such broadness is not without its benefits. It significantly contributes to the scholarly attractiveness of global history and opened up many unexpected paths of enquiry. At the same time, however, it makes it difficult to operationalise a Global History perspective, to be clear about the field's scientific interest as well as about its relation and interface to other strands of historical research.

Recently, global history has started to enter into a phase of consolidation. It has become clear to the historical profession that global history is not yet another academic fashion. The approach has come to stay and will make a lasting impact on historiography as a whole. Accordingly, debates about the scientific aims of the field, about the questions it tackles and the instruments it has at its disposal are slowly gaining more momentum. At the same time, scholars have started to rethink the contributions global history can make to historical research as such as well as to the evaluation of current societal challenges. That is to say that recently more and more global historians are beginning to re-evaluate the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the field and seek to build sustainable conceptual foundations for its further development.

Despite their common engagement with the concept of global history, their contributions cover vastly different grounds as already a glance on the relevant publications of the last few years reveals. Sebastian Conrad asks what global history is by examining where it comes from and what it is supposed to achieve.[2] In a volume originating from the opening conference of the Oxford Centre for Global History, the editors seek to provide examples of how the goals of global history can be pursued and which methodologies could serve in this regard.[3] In a contribution of my own, I have set myself a similar task and try to connect the theory and practice of global history in six different case studies.[4] Martin Dusinberre muses about whether it can or should be a goal of global historical writing to give a voice to those overheard in the past and by other strands of historiography.[5] Sven

1 S. Conrad, What is Global History?, Princeton 2016, p. 3.
2 Ibid.
3 J. Belich et al., The Prospect of Global History, Oxford 2016.
4 R. Wenzlhuemer, Globalgeschichte schreiben. Eine Einführung in 6 Episoden, Konstanz 2017.
5 M. Dusinberre, Japan, Global History, and the Great Silence, in: History Workshop Journal 83 (2017) 1, pp. 130-150.

Beckert's and Dominic Sachsenmaier's recent volume *Global History, Globally* traces the commonalities and differences in global historical practice around the globe.[6] Jeremy Adelman, on the other hand, doubted the suitability of global history to engage with the questions of a re-nationalising world and provoked a lively discussion in the field.[7] A recent response to Adelman's critique by Richard Drayton and David Motadel can be found in the *Journal of Global History*.[8] These are only a few examples that testify to a renewed interest in the conceptual foundations of global history. As diverse as they are in their tasks and outlooks, one common feature of all these considerations – sometimes raised explicitly, sometime touched upon implicitly – is the question whether global history has a concrete object of study or whether it is rather a complementary perspective on the human past.

Sebastian Conrad prominently claims that in his understanding global history has a specific research object. The extent to which global history can be applied as a perspective depends, as Conrad says, on the structural conditions of global integration; that is, it depends on whether global connections have durably established themselves structurally.[9] According to Conrad, nuanced treatments of global connections only become possible when global-history-as-perspective and as research object are combined. While Conrad holds this to be the most promising path for research in global history to take and claims that the most nuanced studies in recent years have followed this approach,[10] I argue that applying global history as a perspective on the human past – a perspective that specifically looks at the significance of global connections in a particular research context – renders it a much sharper analytical tool.

Of course, identifying and describing global connections does not explain anything in itself. Like all historical phenomena, they must be carefully contextualised, and their historical significance must be analysed and weighed with consideration. The question is how best to make sense of global connections' impact and how to grasp their particular qualities. The principal goal of global history ought to be to show how global connections emerge from human activity, and how they in turn affect people's thoughts, feelings and choices, which can occur within or without structurally stable conditions. Therefore, such conditions are better thought of as part of a multifaceted context in which the interactions between human actors and global connections should be situated. The intellectual energy and attendant analytical focus in global history should be directed at the interface between human activity and global connections. Accordingly, some of the fields most important questions are: what makes global and transregional connections historically relevant phenomena in the first place? What separates them from local and

6 S. Beckert and D. Sachsenmaier (eds.), Global History, Globally: Research and Practice around the World, London 2018.

7 J. Adelman, What is Global History Now?, in: Aeon, 2 March 2017, https://aeon.co/essays/is-global-history-still-possible-or-has-it-had-its-moment (accessed 1 June 2018).

8 R. Drayton and D. Motadel, Discussion: The Futures of Global History, in: Journal of Global History 13 (2018) 1, p. 121.

9 Conrad, What is Global History?, pp. 11–12 and pp. 67–72.

10 Ibid., p. 10.

regional connections that serve the formative elements of all human communities? To what extent do global connections operate differently? What are their special qualities that justify talking about global history as a distinct perspective in the first place?
These questions might seem self-evident, but they are far from it. Indeed, when taken seriously, they are particularly difficult to interpret and to answer, but tackling them also promises important benefits for research in global history. Focusing on the quality of the connections themselves produces a conceptual abstraction that touches the core of what global history seeks to understand about the world. This abstraction should guide research in global history. It secures the field's conceptual independence and allows it to make a contribution to the discipline of history that goes beyond a mere world historical synthesis or a recapitulation of other fields' research questions, like those of, say, postcolonial or area studies.
Concentrating thus on global connections in no way constricts the perspective of global history, nor does it undermine the status of integration processes as objects. On the contrary, it allows the well-trained gaze of global history to pan very different areas without losing touch with the basic *explanandum*. How and why do people in very different locations and contexts create global and transregional connections? And how do these connections, in turn, affect people? These seemingly simple questions seek to fathom the broader historical significance of global connections. Of course, we might find that in many cases transfer and exchange may have been of little consequence, but such a result must be possible in any reasonable assessment. The point is to situate global connections in a constellation of many factors, even if this means that their role will sometimes be negligible.

2. A Little Theory of Connections

Connection, of course, is hardly a new or unfamiliar term in global history. On the contrary, it is one of the most commonly used terms in the field, which has contributed to it becoming a sort of terminological panacea. In order to make the term more than just an arbitrary label, it must be analytically sharpened. What are global connections, and how can they be grasped theoretically and methodologically? What distinguishes global connections from other kinds of connection? What makes such connections historically relevant? Finally, what do they contribute to global history's research programme? Different conceptions of how to conduct research in global history suggest different answers to these questions. Engaging with these answers will help to frame the notion of connection used here.
Connections are the basic units of analysis in global history. They are the building blocks of all forms of contact, exchange and network, and questions relating to the development of such connections as well as their meaning for historical actors are, accordingly, of great

interest. They are the key elements of influential concepts, like transfer,[11] connected or entangled history,[12] and contact zones.[13] Hardly any study in global history can make do without the concept of connections. However, the very centrality of connections hints at a fundamental problem of global history: all forms of human thought and activity are embedded in complex patterns of connections and exchange patterns. All forms of social organisation are based on this fact. Interpersonal connections and interactions are the basis of all forms of socialisation. In consequence, all humanities and social sciences are always and automatically concerned with the relevance of such connections, and history is no exception. The upshot for global history is that its approach does not complement existing modes with a focus on connections, but with its attention to transregional, global connections. The key question is, therefore, what distinguishes such global exchange processes and the attendant border crossings from other kinds of connection in theoretical terms. Why and how must interactions over long distances and across borders be viewed and investigated differently? How do their effects on the thoughts and actions of the respective actors differ conceptually from the basic connection patterns that prevail in any community? Reflecting on these questions forces us to analytically sharpen our conventional concept of connections and to examine the effects of factors like spatial distance, national borders and cultural differences, to name but a few.

Global connections have hardly been explicitly conceptualised in global history and, as a result, there has been little deliberate engagement with the problem sketched above. Even though the term *connection* is ubiquitous in the global history research, it is almost always used descriptively, which makes it difficult to tackle these important questions. This conceptual gap is most probably a result of how we tend to view connections, especially in relation to the following points:

First, an analytically useful concept of connections has to allow for their role as historical phenomena in their own right with their own spatial and temporal facets. Mostly, connections are generally conceptualised from their ending points, which is to say that most research focuses on actors, locations and objects that are (or are being) connected and maintain exchange relations with each other. These entities change and mutually influence each other by means of the transregional connections they maintain. Such approaches reduce connections to little more than intermediaries, in the sense of actor-network theory. There is contact at the termini, but otherwise they operate as practically invisible transmission media. While connections can thus help to reconfigure relations

11 See M. Espagne and M. Werner (eds.), Transferts. Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe–XIXe siècles), Paris 1988.

12 See S. Randeria, Geteilte Geschichte und verwobene Moderne, in: J. Rüsen, H. Leitgeb and N. Jegelka (eds.), Zukunftsentwürfe. Ideen für eine Kultur der Veränderung, Frankfurt a.M. 1999, pp. 87–95; S. Subrahmanyam, Connected Histories. Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia, in: Modern Asian Studies 31 (1997) 3, pp. 735–762; S. Randeria and S. Conrad, Geteilte Geschichten. Europa in einer postkolonialen Welt, in: S. Randeria and S. Conrad (eds.), Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften, Frankfurt a.M. 2002, pp. 9–49; A. Epple, O. Kaltmeier, and U. Lindner (eds.), Entangled Histories. Reflecting on Concepts of Coloniality and Postcoloniality, Leipzig 2011, pp. 7–104.

13 On the concept of contact zones, see M. L. Pratt, Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation, London 1992.

between the connected entities and alter the meanings of those entities, the connections themselves are assumed to be incapable of creating new meanings.[14] Research in global history, with its interest in the effectiveness of connections, must not settle for this view of connections as practically inert intermediaries, but instead view them as mediators, to stay in the terminology of actor-network theory. Bruno Latour summarises the function of mediators as follows: "Mediators transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry".[15] That is, mediators meaningfully shape the relations between the connected entities. From the perspective of global history, this applies to all kinds of global and transregional connection. Such connections do not bring their termini into direct, unadulterated contact; rather, they interpose themselves as mediators, significantly affecting the mode of contact and, finally, the connected entities as well. Viewing connections – global and transregional connections in the case of global history – as mediators entails recalibrating the analytical focus of inquiries in global history. Connections have to be considered simultaneously with the connected entities and the reciprocal relations between them.[16]

Second, connections should always be considered in the plural. Habitually, we tend to think of connections in binary terms, as either on or off, as existent or non-existent. Especially in the early years of global history, studies in many cases have simply sought evidence of a connection between objects whose connectedness had so far gone unnoticed, showing that there have been global connections in the most unexpected places. As important as such groundwork certainly is, discovering new global connections and identifying a certain subject matter as globally connected does not do justice to the complexity of historical circumstances. A one-or-zero binary does not help to understand how global connections impact on people. Analytically, we should rather conceive of connections as existing in the plural and affecting each other. Relations between particular actors and their communities are always based on assemblages of different kinds of connections. In a global context, such assemblages have to traverse great distances, including a wide variety of borders and obstacles, which affects some kinds of connection in the assemblage more than others. Some are more effective over short distances. Some cross borders with ease, while others do not. In contrast to more local settings, the interplay among the individual connections changes in a global context. The composition of these assemblages varies not only from one situation to another, it also distinguishes global processes of exchange from local ones. One could say that global and local connections differ in terms of the interplay of the various connections and non-connections in such an assemblage, depending, of course, on the historical context in question. Therefore, in order to be analytically more exact, we should not so much ask how global connections

14 See, for example, B. Latour, Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory, Oxford 2005, p. 39.
15 Ibid.
16 M. Dusinberre and R. Wenzlhuemer, Editorial – Being in Transit. Ships and Global Incompatibilities, in: Journal of Global History 11 (2016) 2, pp. 155–162.

affected historical actors but rather how the shifting relations between different forms of connection in a larger assemblage did.

Third, in this plurality of connections we have a certain tendency to focus on particular forms of connection while we overlook the historical significance of others. The global movements of goods and/or people have traditionally (and rightly) received scholarly attention in this regard. Trade and migration have long been recognized as producing global connections of great historical significance. Information and knowledge often moved globally together with goods and/or people or – with what I have elsewhere called the dematerialization of information flows[17] – detached from them. Colleagues from fields such as the history of knowledge or (global) intellectual history[18] have started to look at the particulars and the significance of such global information movements. In often painstaking work they have shown how certain ideas have moved throughout the world, from culture to culture, from society to society, and how in this process they mixed with other concepts, became adapted and transformed. Mostly, however, studies in this field concentrate on what we could call "big" ideas and their intellectual context, e.g. human rights[19], nationalism[20] or even modernity as such.[21] These and many other concepts of similar meaning have been traced around the world and examined as to their historical significance – and rightly so. The underlying assumption is that many people all over the globe – either individually or in groups – built their thoughts and actions in relation to such ideas. Studying the global movements and transformation of idea, thus, helps to understand the historical actors. However, what has often been overlooked in this concentration on globally mobile goods, people and ideas are other, more subtle forms of connection that might have similar explanatory potential when it comes to understanding the actors. These include people's images of the world, of other regions, different cultures or distant things or persons. Sometimes these images are grounded in experience, sometimes they are based on second-hand accounts and hearsay, at other times they are nothing but fiction. In any case, they are part of the basis on which a person feels, thinks and acts. People also have desires trimmed at other parts of the world. They might hope for a better life elsewhere. They might long for someone or something in the distance. Or they might (and often did) feel homesick and long to return home. Similarly, fears and insecurities, anxiousness and discomfort can be directed at the world. All these belong to a different form of global connection, an immaterial, emotional form that is just as historically powerful as connections created by physically moving goods / people or epistemologically moving intellectual concepts. Such connections are just as

17 R. Wenzlhuemer, Connecting the Nineteenth-Century World. The Telegraph and Globalization, Cambridge, UK 2012.

18 For a critical evaluation of the young field of global intellectual history see S. Moyn and A. Sartori (eds.), Global Intellectual History, New York City 2015.

19 S. Moyn, The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History, Cambridge, MA 2010.

20 M. Göbel, Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism, Cambridge, UK 2015.

21 C.A. Bayly, Birth of the Modern World, Malden, MA 2004.

much part of a person's lifeworld as the experience of migration, the consumption of exotic goods or the discussion of foreign political notions can be. They form part of the basis on which people develop their feelings, thoughts and actions. We need to consider these subtle global connections as well if we want to satisfactorily understand and explain how people acted or did not act in the past.[22]

And, coming back to the second point, we should particularly consider them in relation to other connections. Here is a simple example that illustrates this and at the same time will lead us to the fourth and final point. Think about someone who longs to be somewhere else far away (no matter whether home or away) but cannot go there due to, say, financial or political issues. The relation between these two forms of connection with the world – a) the wish to be somewhere else vs. b) the impossibility to actually go there – can be very powerful and inspire people to act in a particular way. Of course, what people make of it can be vastly different. Frustration can grow from the conflicting relation, while other people might be able to creatively resolve the situation. In any case, however, it is the relation between the different connections in an assemblage that holds the most explanatory potential.

Let us stay with this simple example for one more thought. On closer inspection, the impossibility to go somewhere is a negative connection, a disconnection. Global disconnections also need to be considered as parts of larger assemblages. They point at the impossibility to interact with other parts of the world in a particular way. Such impossibilities, of course, are ubiquitous. There are theoretically endless ways in which people *cannot* interact with the world. Therefore, it is analytically pointless to think of all these impossibilities as global disconnections. They become disconnections only when they become part of an assemblage, when they enter into a meaningful relation with other global connections – as, for instance, in the example above. This is the moment when the disconnection becomes historically meaningful. Let me use the history of global communication and transport, on which I have worked for some time, to further illustrate this point. In the middle of the nineteenth century, British merchants and investors have applauded the prospect of a regular steamship route to Australia because in their eyes this would make the flow of commercial information from the antipodes more regular and their investments in the region more calculable and less risky.[23] We know how in the early twentieth century, British telegraphers on remote Pacific islands struggled to make sense of their confusing relation which the rest of the world. Thanks to their "working the wires" they had first-hand access to the news of the world. Should they ever have a broken tooth, however, it could take weeks until they could receive medical treatment in the middle of the Pacific.[24] Even the character of the telegraph as a communication technology is the product of connections and disconnections. Some information – everything

22 Of course, the research field of the history of emotions has in the last decades started to acknowledge the historical significance of feelings such as desire, fear etc. But as of now it has rarely concentrated on their role in global entanglements.

23 Wenzlhuemer, Connecting the Nineteenth-Century World, pp. 85–86.

24 Wenzlhuemer, Globalgeschichte schreiben, pp. 92–108.

that could be compressed into a few dots and dashes – travelled fast and easily along the wires. Other information – more complex background or everything that could not be encoded with the help of the Latin alphabet – was not suitable for telegraphic transmission. In all these cases, the disconnection is part of a larger bundle of connections, part of an assemblage. And it becomes a disconnection only when it enters into relation with other connections. That a telegraph cannot transmit complex background only becomes relevant when it can transmit to-the-point messages. That it takes weeks for a British doctor to reach a remote Pacific island only matters when there is someone there who needs his help. That commercial information from Australia was for a long time sparsely and irregularly available in Europe only matters when someone has already directed his or her commercial interest there. This means: just as we need to extend our focus to include more subtle forms of global connections (see point 3) we also have to take global disconnections seriously and consider them as parts of bigger connective bundles where, analytically speaking, they only become disconnections in the first place.

To summarize my main points so far: I see global history as a particular perspective on the past that is interested in the ways in which people created global connections and in how they were in turn affected by them. It is important to note that these connections are not global history's objects of study in the same way in which Conrad, for instance, argues for processes of global integration to be the field's main objects. Rather, the study of global connections is a conduit, a particular way of analysis. Global connections should primarily serve as the *explanans* and not so much as the *explanandum* (although the former might often lead via the latter). I argue that such an analytical focus necessitates us to understand connections as mediators instead of intermediaries; to examine them in the plural, as parts of a bigger bundle or assemblage of connections that develop their meanings only in relation to each other; to include in our evaluation of connections more subtle and intangible forms of relating to the world; and to also consider the role of global disconnections. Such an approach to global history is close to the historical actors. It seeks to understand how and why they were embedded in different forms of global connections, what this meant for them, how it troubled or excited them and so on. The actors serve as interfaces in at least two ways. In them, connections and disconnections, the global and the local, intersect and interact. At the same time, the actors can serve as a bridge between global history and more established forms of historiography that focus more on the national, the regional or the local. Thinking global history as a perspective that can potentially be trimmed on any subject and seeks to highlight the meaning of global connections for people in the past does not overwrite but extend and complement other approaches. In doing so, it broadens our understanding of history.

3. Example: Willoughby Wallace Hooper

So far, I have not more than hinted at a few brief research examples that can serve to illustrate some of my points above. In the following, I will introduce a historical case study in some more detail and will try to develop it in a way that makes the uses of a perspec-

tive on global connections more tangible. On 21 January 1886, the venerable *Times of London* published an extensive report about the current situation in Upper Burma, the northern part of today's Myanmar. The British had annexed the region in the year before in the course of the Third Anglo-Burmese War and ever since then saw themselves confronted with fierce local resistance. The British government criminalized the insurgents as *dacoits* (bandits) and thought it justified to move hard against any form of resistance. Executions were a common occurrence in Upper Burma in these days. This was a well-known and mostly unquestioned fact back in Britain. It was accepted by the British public as a necessary evil that an imperial power such as Britain had to cope with. And so the article in the *Times* reported rather matter-of-factly about ongoing executions of prisoners in Burma. Towards its end, however, the text also offered a more critical remark. It referred to a certain Reverend Colbeck who at the time was a missionary of the Church of England in Mandalay and who had criticized the professional conduct of the local Provost-Marshall (the chief of the military police) and protested against his treatment of prisoners. Colbeck claimed that the Provost-Marshall had threatened imprisoned locals with immediate execution should they not testify against others. For the reverend, such a practice was shameful for "our name, nation, and religion". And the missionary also pointed to other questionable practices taking place at the execution of prisoners:

> *The ghastly scenes which constantly recur in executions carried out by the Provost-Marshal constitute grave public scandals. The Provost-Marshal, who is an ardent amateur photographer, is desirous of securing views of the persons executed at the precise moment when they are struck by the bullets. To secure this result, after the order, 'Ready,' 'Present,' have been given to the firing-party, the Provost-Marshal fixes his camera on the prisoners, who at times are kept waiting for some minutes in that position. The officer commanding the firing party is then directed by the Provost-Marshal to give order to fire at the moment when he exposes his plate.*
>
> *So far no satisfactory negative has been obtained, and the experiments are likely to be continued. These proceedings take place before a crowd of mixed nationalities, and cannot fail to have a demoralizing effect on both soldiers and spectators.*[25]

Colbeck's protest and the report in the *Times* caused a stir in British government circles. High-ranking politicians started to worry whether this could become a fully-fledged colonial scandal with the potential to influence public opinion about the relentless campaign of the British troops in Burma. Only four days after the publication of the article, Lord Randolph Churchill, the then Secretary of State for India, had to answer questions about these incidents in the House of Commons.[26] In a flurry of telegrams between London, Calcutta, Rangoon and Mandalay, the government and the India Office tried to establish whether there was any substance to Colbeck's accusations and, if so, to contain

25 Anon., Burmah, in: The Times, 21 January 1886, p. 5.

26 Hansard. vol. 302 cc314-7. "House of Commons Debate", 25 January 1886.

the political damage.[27] In this context, the issue about pressing prisoners into testimonies soon faded into the background of the enquiry and the practice of photographing executions moved into the fore. This can partly be explained by the larger ethical questions revolving around the issue. Photography was still a relatively young medium. The possible moral implications of its practice had not been fully discussed yet. Was it okay to photograph people during an execution who could not effectively object? Was it okay to let these people suffer even more for artistic or documentary purposes, e.g. when an execution took longer than necessary due to the needs of the photographer? However, besides these more general issues, another question became more and more apparent between the lines of the telegrams and the parliamentary debate. Should certain things be documented photographically at all and what would it mean if the photograph of an execution in Burma found its way back to Britain? How would such a photo – especially one of the precise moment in which the bullet entered human flesh – affect the public by bringing the fate of the delinquents emotionally much closer to the otherwise distant European observer? These concerns were not made explicit in the debate, but they clearly reverberate between the lines.

The photographing Provost-Marshall went be the name of Willoughby Wallace Hooper (1837–1912). At the age of sixteen, Hooper became a writer at the East India House in London. Five years later in 1858, he went to India to join the 7th Madras Cavalry. An ardent and gifted photographer, Hooper brought his camera with him to India. His talent was recognized by his superiors and in 1862 he was granted leave from his military duties in order to photographically contribute to *The People of India*, an ethnographic project endorsed by the Viceroy of India, Lord Canning.[28] In eight volumes published between 1868 and 1875, *The People of India* sought to provide a survey of the native population of India in altogether 468 annotated photographs. Hooper also photographically accompanied the viceroy during his travels in India. Around 1870 he ventured into commercial photography and, for instance, published a photographic series on tiger shooting, while at the same time staying in the military and moving up in the hierarchy. Hooper became widely known for his photographs of Indians suffering during the Great Famine that hit British India and particularly the region around the Madras Presidency between 1876 and 1878. It has been estimated that the disastrous famine caused more than five million deaths in British India.[29] The colonial government provided only insufficient relief as, among others, William Robert Cornish (1828–1896) repeatedly pointed out. During the famine, Cornish was the Sanitary Commissioner for Madras and constantly argued for more generous relief measures from the side of the government. In one of his statements, he wished for someone to photograph the starving population in order to

27 House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. C. 4690. Burmah, No. 2 (1886). Telegraphic Correspondence Relating to Military Executions and Dacoity in Burmah, 1886, p. 7.

28 K. Howe, Hooper, Colonel Willoughby Wallace (1837–1912), in: J. Hannavy (ed.), Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography, vol. 1, New York 2008, pp. 713–714, at p. 713.

29 D. Fieldhouse, For Richer, for Poorer?, in: P.J. Marshall, The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire, Cambridge, UK 1996, pp. 108–146.

make their suffering more visible for the British public. He wrote: "Children of all ages [are] in such a condition of emaciation that nothing but a photographic picture could convey an adequate representation of their state."[30] Hooper took just such photographs, which as a matter of fact were successfully used in the famine relief campaigns back in Britain.[31] However, neither did Hooper act in any official capacity nor – so it seems – did he care much for a humanitarian cause. Already many contemporaries criticised him for aestheticizing the suffering, for turning the starvers into photographic objects and, above all, for not offering help himself while being so close to those affected.[32] Later, Hooper transferred to Burma and participated in the Third Anglo-Burmese War. Again, he carried his photographic equipment with him and made countless photographs of the campaign. In this context, the incidents that he was later accused of by Colbeck and others took place.

Between 22 January and 1 March 1886, the government tried to establish the exact facts of Hooper's alleged misconduct, to do some damage control and to prepare a formal court of inquiry into the matter.[33] Hooper himself never denied that he had taken pictures of executions, but claimed that he had done so only at two occasions and emphasized that, in his opinion, the delinquents had not even realized him doing so.[34] Eventually, the court of inquiry held at Mandalay on 19 March 1886 came to the opinion that "[t]he conduct of Colonel Hooper […] has deservedly met with public condemnation. It reflects discredit on the army to which he belongs, and is damaging to the character of the British Administration in India." Nevertheless, taking into account that Cooper "had already suffered severely from the consequences of his actions", he got away with nothing but a public reprimand and a temporary reduction of his pay.[35] His further career did not suffer much from this. In 1887, he published the photographic volume *Burmah. A series of one hundred photographs*.[36] The photos of the executions were not included in the volume.

Willoughby Wallace Hooper's photographic journey through South Asia is telling in many ways. It says something about the nature of British colonialism when it points to the relentlessness of the campaign in Burma or to the reluctance to provide adequate relief during the Great Famine. It reveals the colonial gaze[37] captured in Hooper's photographs of these starving in Madras, of the tiger shootings or – of course – of the Burma

30 C. Twomey, Framing Atrocity: Photography and Humanitarianism, in: History of Photography 36 (2012) 3, pp. 255–264, at p. 259.

31 Ibid.

32 K. Howe, Hooper, in: J. Hannavy (ed.), Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography, p. 713.

33 House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. C. 4690. Burmah, No. 2 (1886). Telegraphic Correspondence Relating to Military Executions and Dacoity in Burmah, 1886, p. 7.

34 Anon., Burmah, in: The Times, 4 March 1886, p. 5.

35 Anon., The Charges Against Colonel Hooper, in: The Times, 8 September 1886, p 3.

36 W.W. Hooper, Burmah. A Series of One Hundred Photographs, illustrating Incidents connected with the British Expeditionary Force to that Country, from the Embarkation at Madras, 1st Nov., 1885, to the Capture of King Theebaw, with many views of Mandalay and Surrounding Country, Native Life and Industries, London 1887.

37 Pratt, Imperial Eyes.

campaign. It highlights the contemporary ambiguousness of the new medium of photography oscillating between social documentary and mere voyeurism. And it serves well to illustrate my above points on global connections. How the episodes around Hooper's work as a photographer in South Asia unfolded has been shaped significantly by their embeddedness in different forms of global – in this particular case mostly colonial – connections. Let me briefly point to some of them and bring them into correspondence with my above claims.

First, photography and telegraphy played a central role in the episodes – the latter mainly in the Burma case. Both provided technologically supported connections and, thus, shaped their mediating potential. Telegrams were unrivalled in their speed of communication, but they were very limited as to their possible contents. In the late nineteenth century, the use in itself of telegrams in colonial administration bespoke the priority of the matter communicated. As a medium the telegraph conveyed a meta-message of urgency, while it was far less able to transmit (or establish) the more extensive background of an instance. The global connection facilitated by the telegraph acts as a mediator that changes the meaning of the communication. In this way, the nature of the connection has a formative impact on that which is connected. The same goes for photography. In the late nineteenth century, photos could not easily travel over the wires. In a global context, they moved materially and this means much slower than telegraphic information. Hooper's photographs of the Great Famine took much longer to reach Europe than a telegram and they took very different paths. The sense of urgency that they evoked in many of their viewers was not a consequence of speed of movement but of the intimacy and closeness that they could create between the contents and an otherwise distant audience. The global connection that they provided felt closer than it actually was. William Robert Cornish's thoughts testify to that. Again, the connection is a mediator.

Photography, telegraphy and the relation between the two technologies of communication also hint at what I have called the plurality of connections. The many telegrams between Europe and South Asia after Hooper's conduct at executions had become public also aimed at doing some damage control if possible. The British government sought to establish whether there were any execution photographs in the first place and, if so, to contain their movement to Europe. In short, it tried to control one global connection with the help of another.[38] That is just one particularly obvious example of how global connections exist in parallel and in relation to each other.

Third, as has already become apparent, the Hooper case also points to the wide variety of entanglements involved. At first glance, the nature of the connections supporting the different scenarios seems rather standard. On a colonial backdrop, we have globally moving people such as Hooper, a British missionary or all kinds of British colonial administrators; we have things that travel such as photographic equipment or famine

38 More on telegraphs as an instrument of control can be found here: R. Wenzlhuemer, The Telegraph and the Control of Material Movements: A Micro-Study about the Detachment of Communication from Transport, in: Technology and Culture 58 (2017) 3, pp. 625–649.

relief rations; and, of course, we have information that circulates the globe, for instance in photographic or telegraphic form. Beneath this well-researched ensemble, however, other more subtle forms of connections linger. The British government's anxiety about the situation in Burma and how it could impact on public opinion is one example. As is British public opinion itself – real or perceived – about the Burma campaign. Here we can clearly see the power of connections based on desires and emotions, on certain notions about right and wrong. Maybe this becomes most tangible in Hooper's photographs themselves when Cornish hints at the emotional connection they can provide in the case of the famine or when the government fears that the execution photos could alter public opinion. These forms of global connections might be more difficult to detect than moving people, goods or ideas, and yet they can be very powerful when it comes to the thoughts, feelings and actions of those connected.

Finally, the disconnections. Many of the global connections in the episode gain their meaning through their relation to disconnections, i.e. the active absence of a connection. In the Burma example, the better part of the British public initially cared little about the ruthlessness of the British campaign. The government sought to contain the flow of information (and especially of the photographs) from Burma to Britain. Direct communication between London and Mandalay was not possible. Intermediaries at Calcutta and Rangoon had to come in. In Hooper's book about Burma the photos were missing. During the famine, British relief operations were marginal as was British public interest in the suffering of the local people. In general and as demonstrated above already, media like photography or telegraphy could transport some forms of information but not others. They provided connections and disconnections alike and their nature as mediators draws on this.

4. Conclusions: The Global and the Regional

In this article, I have claimed that we should think of global history as a particular perspective on the past, a perspective trimmed at the role of global connections in history. I have emphasized that such connections should not be conceived as global history's main research objects but should rather serve as its central analytical tools. If we want to understand how historical actors created global entanglements and how these actors were in turn affected by them, a refined and operationalized understanding of global connections is key in this regard. Here, I have tried to illustrate this with the help of a few exemplary points distilled from a random case study about a late nineteenth-century British colonialist and photographer and his exploits in South Asia. Many other contexts could have served the same purpose. As a perspective, global history has no research object as such. It can be applied on any historical issue, any problem that needs explanation. Sure, in many cases, this might not lead to insightful results. Not every subject will reveal new aspects when looked at from a different perspective. This is perfectly normal. At the same time, however, global history becomes complementary. It easily connects

and communicates with other – maybe more regionally or nationally informed – approaches to the past.

Understanding global history as a perspective builds a bridge between research fields and disciplines, for instance between the regionally specialised area studies and Europe-focused mainstream of historical research. This, in the final lines of my argument, leads me to the overarching topic of the present special issue: the relationship between historiographical work and expertise on specific – and usually extra-European – areas and global history as a research field. There is an ongoing debate about how the two research contexts relate to each other, whether areas studies expertise is a prerequisite for good global history research and other such issues.[39] As insightful and justified this debate certainly is, understanding global history as a perspective entails that analytically speaking there is no special relationship between area studies scholarship and global history. The practice of global history does not *automatically* necessitate special knowledge in a particular (preferable extra-European) world region, be it South Asia, Latin America, Russia or Africa. As any other approach, it simply necessitates us to know what we are talking about, to understand the context of that which is connected (the ends of the connection) just as we understand the functioning of the connection itself. This can be pretty complex but it does not automatically rely on area studies expertise. In practice, a particular research context (or part of it) will often be deeply rooted in an extra-European region. Then, if we want to understand the role of global connections in such a context, historians will need language skills and other expert knowledge about the region in question. In short, in such cases historians will need areas studies expertise in order to know what they are talking about. But this is not an automatism and it does not mark a privileged relationship between global history and area studies. In other cases, the connections in question will remain within a culture, within a language framework, but might transgress other forms of borders and boundaries. Understood as a perspective, global history can be trimmed on all sorts of subjects and problems. In some cases, historians will need area studies expertise to meaningfully engage with their case studies, in others they might not. While in the practice of global history, the likeliness that a particular study will need (or at least benefit from) additional language skills and other regional expertise is certainly high, this does not constitute any special relationship from an analytical vantage point.

From another more practical viewpoint, however, there is a special relationship between extra-European history and global history. Area studies experts are often working on countries or regions with a direct or indirect colonial past (or other forms of relations with Europe that left a decisive local imprint). Hence, the examination of global con-

39 See, for instance, B. Schäbler (ed.), Area Studies und die Welt: Weltregionen und neue Globalgeschichte, Wien 2007; B. Schäbler, Zum Verhältnis von Regionalgeschichte (Area History) und Globalgeschichte (Global History) am Beispiel der Osteuropäischen Geschichte, in: M. Aust and J. Obertreis (eds.), Osteuropäische Geschichte und Globalgeschichte, Stuttgart 2014, pp. 307–317; B. Schäbler: Weltgeschichte, Globalgeschichte, Area Histories: Eine Stellungnahme, in: Erwägen Wissen Ethik 22 (2011) 3, pp. 425–429; M. Pernau and H. Jordheim, Global History Meets Area Studies. Ein Werkstattbericht, in: H-Soz-Kult, 14 November 2017, http://www.hsozkult.de/debate/id/diskussionen-4229 (accessed 1 June 2018).

nections played an important role in area studies research very early on and many area studies scholars were global historians *avant la lettre*. That most influential scholars in the field hailed (and still hail) from a North American or European cultural or at least educational background is another factor in this regard. At least on the meta-level of academic self-reflection they were automatically concerned with global connections at work.

Other early impulses to global historical research came from a rather Eurocentric style of colonial and imperial history based particularly at history departments in former colonising countries. While the urge to de-centre history and overcome Eurocentric narratives about the past was usually much less developed in these institutions, they were also concerned with studying global connections (without making it explicit) and also made worthwhile contributions to the field, particularly as regards the role of European colonizers as makers and breakers of global connections. Ideologically, scholars in this field often had little in common with their area studies colleagues. Still, both parties made valuable contributions to the study of global connections before anyone would speak of a field called global history.

Understanding global history as a particular perspective on the past, as a perspective that asks about the historical role of global connections, entails that, analytically speaking, there is no special relationship between the areas studies and global history. For many reasons, regional specialists (and here we should probably include historians of Europe as specialists in just another area) working on a colonial or postcolonial context certainly had a better eye for the significance of global connections and started to systematically examine their meaning earlier than others. For this, they deserve much credit. But it does not constitute privileged access to the field of global history.

Global History as Polycentric History

Stephan Scheuzger

ABSTRACTS

Der Artikel diagnostiziert ein Ungleichgewicht hinsichtlich der beiden grundlegenden Anliegen der Globalgeschichte: Der Fokus hat sich bisher ungleich stärker auf die Untersuchung grenzüberschreitender Verbindungen gerichtet als auf den Anspruch, geschichtswissenschaftliche Perspektiven zu dezentrieren. Am Beispiel der modernen Geschichte des Gefängnisses zeigt der Beitrag grundlegende Probleme globalgeschichtlicher Bestrebungen auf, grenzüberschreitende Übertragungsvorgänge zu rekonstruieren und deren Bedeutung für lokale, nationale oder regionale Entwicklungen zu analysieren. Sein Plädoyer für eine stärkere Dezentrierung historiographischer Betrachtungsweisen verbindet er zum einen exemplarisch mit dem Nachweis, dass die Globalisierung des Gefängnisses, entgegen den etablierten Narrativen, als Entwicklung mit zahlreichen, sich wandelnden Zentren zu beschreiben ist. Zur analytischen Erfassung solcher globalen Prozesse schlägt er das Konzept eines Referenzrahmens vor. Zum anderen unterstreicht der Artikel neben dem Blick auf Transferleistungen die Bedeutung vergleichender Ansätze für die globalgeschichtliche Forschung. Entlang der Unterscheidung von „harten" und „weichen" Versionen von Globalgeschichte wird eine polyzentrische Globalgeschichte einer von den Kompetenzen und Erkenntnisinteressen der *area histories* aus geschriebenen Globalgeschichte gegenübergestellt und argumentiert, dass die Beschäftigung mit der Frage der Globalität von historischen Phänomenen über erstere zu erfolgen hat.

The article identifies an imbalance in the attention given to global history's two fundamental objectives, the focus hitherto having fallen more on the study of cross-border connections than on the vaunted decentring of historiographical perspective. The example of the modern history of the prison serves to illustrate some basic problems faced by efforts to identify cross-border transfers and assess their historical significance for local, national or regional developments. The need for a decentring of historiographical perspectives is illustrated firstly by reference to the fact that, contrary to the established narrative, the globalization of the prison was a

Comparativ | Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung 29 (2019) Heft 2, S. 122–152.

process characterized by a multiplicity of shifting centres. To help grasp such global processes it proposes the concept of a multiple "frame of references". Secondly, the article emphasizes the importance to global historical research, alongside attention to transfers, of the comparative approach. Deploying the distinction between "hard" and "soft" versions of global history, it finally distinguishes between polycentric global history and global history still written from the standpoint of area history, only the former properly engaging with the globality of historical phenomena.

In the entrance area of the museum created within the gloomy walls of Philadelphia's former Eastern State Penitentiary, visitors come upon a huge wall chart entitled "The Most Influential Prison Ever Built". The graphic shows how the architectural layout of the institution "inspired the design of most prisons built in Europe, Asia, South America, and Australia during the 1800s". A myriad red asterisks on a world map and a series of accompanying photographs establish a connection between the first radial prison building in the United States, which received its first convicts in 1829, and the subsequent construction of hundreds of penal institutions on the "hub and spoke" plan, from Canada to Argentina, from Finland to South Africa, and from Mexico to Malta and New Zealand. Evidently based on the work of Norman Bruce Johnston, author of the most important historical study of prison architecture and a sociologist who spent much of his career in Pennsylvanian universities,[1] the chart tells a global history very much in line with the prevailing narrative regarding the worldwide career of the modern prison. Although the "most" can be attributed to the language of museum marketing, and "influence" itself is a notion that professional historians today handle with caution, the map can serve as an illustrative starting point for some general reflections on the problems and potentials of global historical approaches.

1. Connections

The present state of the field offers a number of different ways of understanding global history's goal of fundamentally reframing the scholarly study of the past. There are good reasons to treat "global history" as a rather loose label, rather than get bogged down in fruitless efforts to define as precisely as possible what it is and does. On this, most scholars seem to agree, Dominic Sachsenmaier even speaking of the "necessary impossibility of defining global history".[2] Ultimately, global history shares with other proposed conceptualizations, such as "transnational", "entangled", "connected" or "world" history,

1 N.B. Johnston, Forms of Constraint. A History of Prison Architecture, Urbana 2000; N.B. Johnston, Cherry Hill: Model for the World, in: Idem et al., Eastern State Penitentiary: Crucible of Good Intentions, Philadelphia 1994, pp. 69–79.

2 D. Sachsenmaier, Global Perspectives on Global History: Theories and Approaches in a Connected World, Cambridge, UK 2011, pp. 70–78. See also, among others, S. Beckert and D. Sachsenmaier, Introduction, in: Idem (eds.), Global History, Globally: Research and Practice around the World, London 2018, pp. 1–18, at p. 1; A. Eckert, Globalgeschichte und Zeitgeschichte, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 62 (2012) 1–3, pp. 28–32, at p. 28; P. O'Brien,

an overall concern to broaden historiographical perspectives and to overcome a compartmentalisation believed to be limiting and even harmful to an adequate understanding of the past. Just the same, lack of debate about global history's basic goals and approaches is equally a threat to the field. One example might be the widespread and sometimes forceful reservations that global history has encountered among scholars in Latin America, Africa and Asia, who suspect that behind global history's agenda may lurk not only a teleological vision of a western-dominated process of globalization but an attempt at intellectual neo-colonialism.[3] Another is the fact that the institutionalisation of global history within European universities has until now mainly taken the form – notably at the decisive level of professorial chairs – of an extension to European history (with designations such as "Europe and the world", "European history in global perspective", "European history in its transnational and global entanglements", etc.) and has consequently not been devoid of Eurocentric continuities. A British variant has been the combination of "global and imperial history", which, despite the differences, ultimately raises the same question. Without a sufficiently precise notion of the analytical value said to be added, the claim to effect a fundamental re-orientation of historiographical perspectives also feeds the – often not unjustified – scepticism of global history shared by many academic historians in Europe and the United States, and plays into the hands of those representatives of the discipline who – for reasons not so good – are eagerly awaiting the end of what they consider to be another ephemeral "turn" in historiography or simply an unwelcome questioning of the established ways of historical scholarship. Much of the problem arises from a remarkable lack of clarity about, or even reflection on, what the "global" in the notion of global history actually designates. This is a shortcoming that marks not only the majority of empirical studies undertaken under the label but even conceptual discussion of the subject.

When they come to define the field, practitioners of global history routinely stress the difference between their approaches and the macro perspectives – both spatial and temporal – of a traditionally conceived world history, in the vein of William McNeill, Marshall Hodgson, or Philip D. Curtin – or even of Oswald Spengler and Arnold J. Toynbee.[4] But this characterization – again *ex negativo* – is problematic on a number of

Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History, in: Journal of Global History 1 (2006) 1, pp. 3–39, at p. 3.

3 See, for example, V. Lal, Provincializing the West: World History from the Perspective of Indian History, in: B. Stuchtey and E. Fuchs (eds.), Writing World History, 1800–2000, Oxford 2003, pp. 270–289, at p. 289; M. Perez Garcia, Introduction: Current Challenges of Global History in East Asian Historiographies, in: M. Perez Garcia and L. de Sousa (eds.), Global History and New Polycentric Approaches. Europe, Asia and the Americas in a World Network System, Basingstoke 2018, pp. 1–17, at pp. 6–7.

4 W.H. McNeill, The Rise of the West. A History of the Human Community, Chicago 1963; Idem, A World History, Oxford 1967; Idem, Plagues and Peoples, New York 1976; M. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam. Conscience and History in a World Civilization, Chicago 1974; Idem, Rethinking World History. Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History, Cambridge, MA 1993; P.D. Curtin, Cross-Cultural Trade in World History, Cambridge, MA 1984; O. Spengler, Der Untergang des Abendlandes. Umrisse einer Morphologie der Weltgeschiche, 2 vols, Wien 1918 / München 1922; A. Toynbee, A Study of History, 12 vols, London 1934–1961. For the argument see, for example, S. Conrad, Globalgeschichte: Eine Einführung, München 2013, pp. 13–19, 46–52; S. Conrad and A. Eckert, Globalgeschichte,

grounds. On the one hand, as Jerry Bentley has observed, "the term world history has never been a clear signifier with a stable referent".[5] And on the other, it is undoubtedly correct that for a global historian "the aim is not to write a total history of the planet",[6] although this does not do much to clarify our understanding of the "global" as an alternative concept. What does it actually mean to write the history of a family or a village with a "global consciousness", as Natalie Zemon Davis has proposed?[7] What does "the condition of globality that characterizes our age" imply, exactly, for global history's task, as Michael Geyer and Charles Bright would have it, of recovering "the multiplicity of the world's past"?[8] What do historians do when they "situate […] particular cases in their global contexts" under the historical condition of "some form of global integration" – which is what Sebastian Conrad, in his typology, described as the most sophisticated and promising version of global history?[9]

There are no absolute answers to these questions. But to fail to reflect on the notion of the global as it relates to the subjects under study does nothing to substantiate the claim to produce a distinctive kind of knowledge that is supposed to legitimate global history. Overlaps with other historiographical concepts and fields are inevitable and in themselves unproblematic. Yet while it is impossible to draw a precise line between global and transregional or transnational history, the non-congruencies are as relevant as they are evident. Most research in transnational history would hardly be considered to represent a form of global history by anyone but those who adhere to an "all-in" version of the notion. Study of the transnational linkages between "1968" in the German Federal Republic and in the German Democratic Republic is obviously not driven by the same kind of interest as an exploration of what was actually global about the Sixties.[10] Or, to

Globalisierung, multiple Modernen: Zur Geschichtsschreibung der modernen Welt, in: S. Conrad, A. Eckert, and U. Freitag (eds.), Globalgeschichte: Theorien, Ansätze, Themen, Frankfurt a. M. 2007, pp. 7–49, at pp. 24–25; B. Mazlish, Comparing Global History to World History, in: The Journal for Interdisciplinary History 28 (1998), pp. 385–395; J. Osterhammel, "Weltgeschichte": Ein Propädeutikum, in: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht 56 (2005) 9, pp. 452–479, at pp. 458–462. See also, for example, J.H. Bentley, Theories of World History since the Enlightenment, in: Idem (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of World History, Oxford 2011, pp. 19–35; Sachsenmaier, Global Perspectives on Global History, pp. 18–58.

5 J.H. Bentley, The Task of World History, in: Idem (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of World History, Oxford 2011, p. 1.

6 S. Conrad, What Is Global History?, Princeton 2016, p. 12.

7 N.Z. Davis, Global History, Many Stories, in: M. Kerner (ed.), Eine Welt – Eine Geschichte? Berichtsband 43. Deutscher Historikertag, München 2001, pp. 373–380.

8 M. Geyer and Ch. Bright, World History in a Global Age, in: American Historical Review 100 (1995) 4, pp. 1034–1060, at p. 1042.

9 Conrad, What Is Global History?, pp. 9, 10.

10 T.S. Brown, "1968" East and West: Divided Germany as a Case Study in Transnational History, in: American Historical Review 114 (2009) 1, pp. 69–96. For relevant publications on the "global sixties" see, among many others, H. Righart, Moderate Versions of the "Global Sixties": A Comparison of Great Britain and the Netherlands, in: Journal of Area Studies 6 (1998) 13, pp. 82–96; K. Dubinsky et al. (eds.), New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness, Toronto 2009; S. Christiansen and Z.A. Scarlett (eds.), The Third World in the Global 1960s, New York 2013; T.S. Brown and A. Lison (eds.), The Global Sixties in Sound and Vision. Media, Counterculture, Revolt, New York 2014; E. Zolov, Introduction: Latin America in the Global Sixties, in: The Americas 70 (2014) 3, pp. 349–362. For a critical discussion of the idea of the "global sixties", see, for example, S. Scheuzger, La historia contemporánea de México y la historia global: reflexiones acerca de los "sesenta globales", in: Historia Mexicana 68 (2018) 1, pp. 313–358.

take another example, identification and analysis of the cross-border networks of state terrorism that existed between the South American military dictatorships of the 1970s by no means invokes the global entanglements of Cold War repression.[11] Things become less clear-cut, however, when the relations under study extend between continents. A work on the connections between student protest in West Germany and the United States in the 1960s may claim to be written "in the spirit of a global history".[12] Likewise, the tracking of "African practices of divination, detection, and healing, as they crossed the Atlantic Ocean [as a result of the eighteenth-century slave trade] and were used or transformed in the mixed communities of slaves in the Americas, especially in the Dutch colony of Suriname" has been presented as a "way to enhance the historian's global consciousness".[13] However, the research perspectives of transregional approaches – from world to subnational level – frequently adhere to the same "bilateral logic" as characterizes many studies in transnational history.[14] The repeated appeals for pragmatism as regards the distinctions between "transregional", "transcultural" and "global" histories notwithstanding, scholars who understand their research as a part of the project of global history need to explicitly define their concept of the global as it relates to the phenomena under study. Otherwise, it would be better to speak of "connected history" as Frederick Cooper, among others, has suggested.[15]

Despite the many different ways in which the concept is understood, there does seem to exist a minimal consensus regarding the chief purposes of research in global history, representing something to build upon: on the one hand, the overcoming of "internalist" perspectives on nation-states and other allegedly well-circumscribed territorial entities, and on the other the decentring of perspectives on a past that has habitually been analysed and interpreted taking the "West" as the master reference. In the empirical work done under the name of global history, however, an imbalance between these two major programmatic concerns is apparent. "Connection was in; networks were hot", as Jeremy Adelman put it in recently summarizing developments in the field.[16] And there is a flipside to this diagnosis: a focus on cross-border, long-distance encounters, interac-

11 J. Dinges, The Condor Years. How Pinochet and his Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents, New York 2004; J.P. McSherry, Tracking the Origins of a State Terror Network: Operation Condor, in: Latin American Perspectives 29 (2002) 1, pp. 38–60; Idem, Predatory States. Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America, Lanham 2005.

12 M. Klimke, The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties, Princeton 2010, p. xiii.

13 N.Z. Davis, Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World, in: History and Theory 50 (2011), pp. 188–202, at p. 197.

14 "All Things Transregional?" in conversation with… Sebastian Conrad, in: TRAFO – Blog for Transregional Research, 26.06.2015, https://trafo.hypotheses.org/2456 (accessed 10 January 2018).

15 F. Cooper, How Global Do We Want Our Intellectual History to Be?, in: S. Moyn and A. Sartori (eds.), Global Intellectual History, New York 2013, pp. 283–294, at p. 284. A similar argument has been made by S.J. Potter and J. Saha, Global History, Imperial History and Connected Histories of Empire, in: Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History 16 (2015) 1, https://doi.org./10.1353/cch.2015.0009 (accessed 24 October 2017). For a basic contribution to the concept of "connected history" see S. Subrahmanyam, Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia, in: Modern Asian Studies 31 (1997) 3, pp. 735–762.

16 J. Adelman, What Is Global History Now?, in: Aeon, 26 March 2017, p. 3.

tions, and entanglements has been much more prominent in global historical studies than any effort to systematically decentre historiographical perspectives – let alone to "provincialize Europe" as so many, after Dipesh Chakrabarty, have theoretically claimed to be necessary.[17] But it is precisely this second aspect that offers the more promising way of giving substance to the idea of the global in global history's claim to reframe historical study. Put another way, it can be argued that focus on the study of connections has been accompanied by relative neglect of theoretical elaboration and above all practical analysis of the "global".

Roland Wenzlhuemer was not at all wrong, in his recent contribution to the debate on the writing of global history, to call the focus on connections a kind of shibboleth for global historians.[18] That same book, however, subscribes to the widely accepted idea that connections are precisely what global history is chiefly about.[19] His main argument is undeniable, in face of the often still rather diffuse talk of "flows", "circulations" or "entanglements" as defining the distinctive interest of global historians: the ways in which connections are analysed and the benefits these offer do indeed call for further clarification. Wenzlhuemer thus elaborates on the notion of "connection" through six case studies. This very welcome labour of differentiation and illustration notwithstanding, it is worthy of remark that this work, which untangles different ideas of connection, is much less thorough when it comes to considering what exactly is global in the events under consideration, and why the historical relations presented as examples – all of which link Western Europe to a context elsewhere in the world – are to be understood as global connections, and not just as connections over a long geographical distance.

At the same time, a number of conceptually oriented contributions to the debate on global history and the history of globalization have pointed out a widespread lack of clarity in the use of the idea of connection. In many cases, this imprecision has reflected a lack of terminological rigour and a disregard of the substantial efforts already made to conceptualise at least some of these notions. However, it is also the result of the way that the meaning of such central concepts as "transfer", "diffusion", or "circulation" has both developed and varied in the scholarly debate of recent decades. For many authors who situate their work in the field of global history, the notion of "diffusion", for instance, is the very opposite of an adequate conceptual basis for examining and understanding cross-border connections and entanglements. It has therefore been more or less banned from their analytical repertoire. While there are good historical reasons for this, it is worth noting that over the last fifteen or twenty years the concept has developed – above all in the social sciences, where it came from – in such a way that it no longer has much in common with its deployment in Eurocentric argument, from late-nineteenth-century sociology to the modernization theory of the second half of the twentieth century, such

17 D. Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference, Princeton 2008 (2000).

18 R. Wenzlhuemer, Globalgeschichte schreiben. Eine Einführung in sechs Episoden, Konstanz 2017, p. 17; shortly to be available in English as R. Wenzlhuemer, Doing Global History: An Introduction in Six Concepts, London 2019.

19 "Globale Verbindungen sind die Grundbeobachtungselemente der Globalgeschichte". Ibid., p. 221.

as was once exemplified by George Basalla, chief representative of a diffusionism vehemently criticized by global historians for its unilateralism.[20] In the fields of policy research or research on social movements, for example, "diffusion" has for quite some time been used to analyse relatively small-scale processes much as the notion of "transfer" has been employed in the humanities, bringing with it the idea of multidirectionality.[21] The notion of "circulation", for its part, has enjoyed a boom in global historical research. One of the chief consequences of this, however, has been to further compound the frequent lack of precision in the use of the term. Despite certain attempts to provide a precise understanding of "circulation",[22] the term has often signalled no more than a recognition of the need to take account of movements between historical entities in the analysis of the past. While it seems to be clear, in fact, that a conceptually aware use of involves, as Kapil Raj has indicated, the idea of "a strong counterpoint to the unidirectionality of 'diffusion' or even of 'dissemination' or 'transmission', of binaries such as […] centre / periphery",[23] it is still a matter of debate to what degree the notion implies, in accordance with the metaphor's organic origin, the necessary identity of the start and end points of a continuous movement in a closed system, whether this is to be taken as part of the world (the "British world", the "Atlantic world", etc.) or the whole (the "world system"), or, on the contrary, how much it connotes a sense of openness.[24] However, most authors who have discussed the concept of "circulation" agree in stressing the inextricable link between the translocation and production of "information, knowledge, ideas, techniques, skills, cultural productions (texts, songs), religious practices, even gods".[25] Insight into the intimate interconnection of displacement and transformation not only brings locality into analytic focus but also helps avoid misunderstanding circulation as a movement basically unconstrained by resistances, detours, and blockages – a problem the term shares with other metaphors of liquidity, such as "flow".[26]

20 G. Basalla, The Spread of Western Science, in: Science 156 (1967) 3775, pp. 611–622.

21 For example, Z. Elkins and B. Simmons, On Waves, Clusters, and Diffusion: A Conceptual Framework, in: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 598 (2005) 1, pp. 33–51; D. della Porta, "1968" – Zwischennationale Diffusion und transnationale Strukturen. Eine Forschungsagenda, in: I. Gilcher-Holtey (ed.), 1968. Vom Ereignis zum Mythos, Frankfurt a. M. 2008, pp. 173–198.

22 C. Markovits, J. Pouchepadass, and S. Subrahmanyam, Introduction, in: Idem (eds.), Society and Circulation. Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia, 1750–1950, London 2006 (2003), pp. 1–22; K. Raj, Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900, Basingstoke 2007; Idem, Beyond Postcolonialism … and Postpositivism: Circulation and the Global History of Science, in: Isis 104 (2013) 2, pp. 337–347; S.T. Lowry, The Archaeology of the Circulation Concept in Economic Theory, in: Journal of the History of Ideas 35 (1974) 3, pp. 429–444; S. Gänger, Circulation: Reflections on Circularity, Entity, and Liquidity in the Language of Global History, in: Journal of Global History 12 (2017) 3, pp. 303–318.

23 Raj, Beyond Postcolonialism … and Postpositivism, p. 344.

24 For the former position, see Gänger, Circulation, pp. 307–309, for the latter, Raj, Beyond Postcolonialism … and Postpositivism, p. 344.

25 Markovits, Pouchepadass and Subrahmanyam, Introduction, p. 2.

26 Raj, Relocating Modern Science, pp. 20–21; P. Sarasin and A. Kilcher, Editorial, in: Nach Feierabend. Zürcher Jahrbuch für Wissensgeschichte 7 (2011), pp. 7–11; S.A. Rockefeller, Flow, in: Current Anthropology 52 (2011) 4, pp. 557–578.

The existence of such semantic ambiguities is only one argument for the great theoretical and practical importance of a closer examination of the idea of connection. More is required than the clarification of central analytical categories. Too much work generated in the early enthusiasm for the field has hardly gone beyond the identification of cross-border, long-distance relations and observation of the entangled nature of historical developments, though global history's focus on connections and its claim to produce new understandings of the past are both ultimately based on the ability to specify the role these connections played in local events and processes.[27] The move beyond the identification of connections to analysis of their significance, however, is still too often not convincingly made. "Significance" here has to be understood in both senses of the term, the hermeneutic and the causal-analytical. It implies the need to understand the transformation of meaning that occurs with transfer, and also refers to the question of its importance for historical developments, its "influence", to use the word of the organisers of the Eastern State Penitentiary exhibition. A claim to this kind of explanatory capacity is implied by global history's emphasis on connections.

Given the prominence of connections in the conceptual discussion of global history, as also in empirical work, it is worth pointing out that the obstacles to analysis of the historical significance of transfers and exchanges are frequently underestimated. The history of modern penal reform may serve to illustrate the point. The movement for reform began in the 1770s, most notably in England, the United States and France. Debate revolved around the prison, which subsequently grew into the central institution of punishment worldwide. Over the decades, more and more regions became caught up in the process, such that the globalization of the modern prison can be considered to have been completed in the 1920s, with the European powers' establishment of a more-or-less organised network of central and local prisons in their African colonies. The impulse to reform, however, was not exhausted by the introduction of modern prison systems, and continued where such systems had been established, becoming a permanent feature of the penal world. Given that the handling of delinquency has been, at all times and in all places, not only one of the most controversial aspects of social life but also one of the most important fields of state activity, and that debate on the most appropriate and effective ways of punishing criminals has never ended, prison historians are relatively well-catered-for in terms of sources, compared to those working on other topics. This is true even of those who study penal regimes outside Europe and the United States. Yet the availability of sources still represents a major constraint on any attempt to analyse the significance of long-distance, cross-border connections in the process of penal reform.

One notorious lacuna concerns those who were subjected to punishment: domestic prisoners, convicts transported to penal colonies, those who suffered corporal punishment inside or outside penal institutions. Attributable to a variety of factors, this lack of sources means not only that we know little about the effects of punishment on those

27 See for this crucial argument, among others, Conrad, Globalgeschichte, p. 28.

members of society judged to have violated its norms. Like other institutions forming part of the penal system, prisons were not just places where penological knowledge was applied, they were also major sites for the production of such knowledge. Prisoners themselves contributed in important ways to penal developments, and to the generation and transformation of knowledge concerning the effective and adequate organisation of penal confinement that circulated within and across borders. The well-known deficiency of sources documenting subaltern agency is therefore a factor of crucial importance to transnational or global approaches to penal reform. To read the available sources "against the grain" is, of course, indispensable (and this not only with respect to the role of the prisoners in reform but more generally for the study of this highly hierarchically organised sphere of state activity in which almost every group of actors had an interest in representing the situation in the prisons in a certain light, not at all necessarily corresponding to what they took the reality to be). However, such critical reading of the sources does not solve the fundamental problem, which goes far beyond this particular lacuna. The records of penal regimes and institutions in general survive in only a highly fragmentary form, being in many instances too incomplete to allow for a reconstruction of developments in penal theory and practice sufficiently detailed and comprehensive to determine the precise significance in them of the cross-border interactions identified. The problem is so fundamental that it extends beyond the question of the integration of "peripheral" spaces into the overall picture of modern punishment to decisively affect the historiography of the commonly recognised "centres" of penal reform as well. While researchers studying the history of Philadelphia's Eastern State Penitentiary can count on archival material that enables them to cover at least a variety of important aspects of prison life and the transformation of the institution over time, a reasonably reliable reconstruction of the history of London's Pentonville Prison is almost impossible. Intended as a state-of-the-art prison that would serve as a model for the rest of England, Pentonville was built in the early 1840s, with little regard for expense: it was at the time the most costly building in the British capital with the exception of the Houses of Parliament.[28] Until the early twentieth century it enjoyed an international reputation as the epitome of modern imprisonment, as important a reference as the Eastern State Penitentiary.[29] While historians know of the prison's international importance, attested by a broad array of sources generated by a variety of penal actors in different countries and colonies, and also, again thanks to the availability of sources, about the prison's early role in the transportation of convicts from Britain to the Australian colonies, they are precluded from studying much of Pentonville's cross-border, entangled history in these same decades as records are almost completely lacking.

28 F. Dikötter, Crime, Punishment and the Prison in Modern China, London 2002, p. 6.

29 For the history of the construction of Pentonville Prison, see R. Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue. English Prison Architecture, 1750–1840, Cambridge, UK 1982; M. Ignatieff, A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850, New York 1978.

More than movement of people and flows of goods, it was transfers of knowledge – in the broad sense of the term – that connected historical processes across long geographical distances. To a large extent, histories of global entanglements are histories of knowledge. However, any attempt to determine the influence of transfers on the bodies of knowledge on which historical actors relied in understanding the world, formulating their agendas and taking their decisions is a very thorny business even where one can count on excellent sources. In very many cases the ineliminable lacunae in our knowledge of transfers are too large to be able to assess the importance of these connections for the transformations under consideration. Too many relevant transfers are not identifiable, having left no trace in the documents. What texts did actors actually read? What did they talk about when they met? What first-hand experiences beyond the texts were significant for the ideas they developed and supported? While the nature of the lack may vary as modes of communication change over time, it is a problem that confronts historians dealing with knowledge transfers in any period. The inaccessibility of important aspects of these transfers cannot but affect assessment of the role played by documented cross-border connections in any particular historical development. In addition to these difficulties related to the non-availability of sources, there is a third, more methodological challenge that must be addressed by any attempt to determine the "influence" exerted by any connection identified.

In too many cases, historical research follows the same logic as the wall chart at Philadelphia's Eastern State Penitentiary: the existence of causal relations is inferred from the observation of similarities. There is no doubt that the Eastern State Penitentiary represented an important step in a process that assigned architectural form a central function in the distinctive task of modern prison regimes: to reform the delinquent, compelling him or her to become a useful member of society. Solitary confinement in individual cells – the central technological innovation of the modern prison – was intended to force convicts to confront themselves and what they had done. Complete control, over communication in particular, was supposed to underwrite the reformative effect of the process, intended to make prisoners receptive to the disciplinary virtues of religious instruction and forced labour. One well-known proposal for the constant surveillance of inmates by way of the architectural organization of space is represented by the panopticon conceived by Jeremy Bentham and his brother Samuel: a multi-storey circular prison that provides a view into every single cell on the circumference from an "inspector's lodge" in the middle of the inner yard.[30] This elaborate design however failed to satisfy the government's economic interest in confining a larger number of convicts in one building than a panoptical structure allowed. A compromise was the radial layout that served as the basic model for nineteenth and early-twentieth-century prisons. This allowed centrally-positioned wardens to monitor all movements in the corridors, though not beyond cell doors, while also enabling the allocation of different classes of inmates to different sections of the building.

30 J. Bentham, Panopticon; or, The Inspection House (1787), in: The Works of Jeremy Bentham, vol. 4, Edinburgh 1843, pp. 37–172, at p. 40.

Radial ground plans enabling the surveillance of those confined to institutions had been known in Europe, from Italy to Ireland, since the eighteenth century. The actual models drawn on by John Haviland, the young English architect of Philadelphia's Eastern State Penitentiary, cannot be identified, not even from his personal records. However, as no radial prison building had ever existed in United States before, and as it is possible, at least in part, to identify the publications and the architectural drawings Haviland had most probably encountered when training in London,[31] it is plausible to assume some kind of transatlantic transfer. What is much more difficult, on the other hand, is to determine the "influence" of the Eastern State Penitentiary on subsequent developments elsewhere. The British case offers perhaps the best illustration of the essential problem.

It is well known that many European penal experts visited the Eastern State Penitentiary even in the earliest years of its existence. In retrospect, the most prominent among them were Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont, who travelled the United States on behalf of the French government to observe the country's prison systems – a journey that yielded not only what is probably the nineteenth-century's most widely read text on prison reform, the report *Du Système pénitentiaire aux États-Unis et de son application en France*, but also Tocqueville's classic *De la démocratie en Amérique*.[32] Britain's Home Office likewise commissioned William Crawford to inspect "the several Penitentiaries of the United States, with a view to ascertain the practicability and expediency of applying the respective systems on which they are governed, or any parts thereof, to the prisons of this country".[33] On his return, Crawford used his first-hand knowledge of US prison systems and his influential position as one of England's few national inspectors of prisons in a campaign he launched with a colleague, Whitworth Russell, to promote the introduction to Britain, at both local and national level, of the regime of solitary confinement practised in Philadelphia. Under this, inmates would be held alone in their cells for twenty-four hours a day. Crawford's very positive report on what he had seen in Philadelphia was beyond doubt a powerful contribution to the English debates that finally led to the endorsement of this regime by the Home Office and the prescription of separate confinement in the Prisons Act of 1839, a major consequence of which was the construction of the model prison to be known as Pentonville. But contrary to the narratives that depict this development as the outcome of a literal circulation of knowledge from England to the United States and back,[34] it is indeed almost impossible to assess the precise influence of Crawford's transfer on this change of English penal policy. The discussion of solitary confinement in England in fact went back to the very start of the

31 Johnston, Forms of Constraint, p. 56; Idem, The Human Cage: A Brief History of Prison Architecture, Philadelphia 1973, p. 30.

32 G. de Beaumont and A. de Tocqueville, Système pénitentiaire aux États-Unis et son application en France, Paris 1833; A. de Tocqueville, De la démocratie en Amérique (1835/1840), in: Oeuvres II, Paris 1992. For de Tocqueville's journey in the United States, see G.W. Pierson, Tocqueville in America, Baltimore 1996.

33 W. Crawford, Penitentiaries (United States). Report of William Crawford, Esq., on the Penitentiaries of the United States, Addressed to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, London 1834, p. 3.

34 R.W. England, John Howard and His Influence in America, in: J.C. Freeman (ed.), Prisons Past and Future, London 1978, pp. 25–33, at p. 32.

prison reform movement in the 1770s and 1780s, and to prominent publications by authors such as John Howard, Jonas Hanway, John Jebb, and Jeremy Bentham, widely read beyond the British Isles as well.[35] Debate thereafter continued in England over the decades, varying in intensity but never isolated from discussion in other countries. Consequently, the discussions of the 1830s drew on many entangled layers and strands of knowledge, ideas, and belief regarding the confinement of convicts in individual cells. This has to be a serious obstacle to any attempt to determine the actual "influence" on a significant transformation of the English penal system of a particular, doubtlessly prominent transfer of know-how from the United States. To complicate things even further, Crawford and other British supporters of systematic individual segregation chose for tactical reasons to distance themselves terminologically from their model. They deliberately spoke of "separate" rather than "solitary" confinement, as it was referred to in Philadelphia. For they were aware that the reports of severe mental illness among prisoners in the Eastern State Penitentiary had crossed the Atlantic to become well-known in Europe.[36]
In addition to the problem of sources, there are methodological difficulties that limit the possibility of generating reliable findings regarding the significance for local developments of cross-border transfers, circulations, and entanglements, a limitation hardly reflected in the emphasis placed on the study of connections in the debate on global history's capacity to produce a distinctive form of knowledge. Difficulty in solidly substantiating through empirical evidence how it is that connections "influenced" the historical course of events in a particular context is not restricted to research on the history of such an over-determined social phenomenon as punishment.[37] Generally speaking, the problem is less acute when the object of study is a moment of marked innovation and pronounced transformation, such as the building of the Eastern State Penitentiary represented for the development of prison architecture in the United States. But even when one is dealing with such caesura-like moments – never mind the larger, multi-layered and multiply entangled historical processes much more commonly analysed, in which different temporalities coalesce, such as penal reform in Britain or elsewhere, developing over decades or even centuries – the methodological difficulties present a serious challenge to global history's central claim to provide useful insights into the effects of wide-ranging, cross-border connections. This is not at all an argument against the attempt to identify and analyse what transpired between different, distanced contexts of historical development; but it is substantial evidence, drawn from thorough empirical work, in support of the argument for greater emphasis on global history's other constitutive concern: the decentring of historiographical perspectives.

35 J. Hanway, Solitude in Imprisonment, with Proper Profitable Labour and a Spare Diet, London1776; J. Howard, The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations and an Account of Some Foreign Prisons, Warrington 1777; J. Jebb, Thoughts on the Construction and Polity of Prisons with Hints for Their Improvement, London 1785; Bentham, Panopticon.

36 Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue, p. 326; U. Henriques, The Rise and Decline of the Separate System of Prison Discipline, in: Past and Present 54 (1972), pp. 61–93, at pp. 76–77.

37 D. Garland, Punishment and Modern Society: A Study in Social Theory, Chicago 1990, p. 209.

2. Centre and Periphery

The wall chart at the Eastern State Penitentiary gives one reason for the institution's "influence" on prison buildings elsewhere in the world. A special box with the aptly chosen title "A Tourist Attraction, Even Then" briefly explains to today's sightseers that the penitentiary "once attracted as many visitors as Independence Hall. Tourists roamed these hallways, separated by just a few inches of stone from prisoners labouring in strict isolation and silence. Most visitors were simply curious". But "[d]ignitaries and foreign officials visited too", who "were here to study this ambitious new prison and copy it across the globe (see map, right)." Based on the postulated causal relation between the many missions that came from abroad to visit the institution and the worldwide spread of radial prison buildings, the graphic and its caption, already quoted earlier – "Eastern State Penitentiary inspired the design of most prisons built in Europe, Asia, South America and Australia during the 1800s" – reproduce the established narrative of the global career of the modern prison as a process of diffusion.

The prison reform movement of the late nineteenth century and its quest to collect and systematize available penological knowledge saw the publication of a number of books that claimed to consider the development of prison regimes in global perspective, though they actually extended the focus of Western scholars only a little beyond Europe and the United States to selected spaces in Asia and Oceania.[38] In the mid-twentieth century, a volume on *World Penal Systems* by the prolific Negley K. Teeters – another sociologist who worked for many decades at a Philadephia university – included Latin American countries and a number of Britain's African colonies in its picture of penal reform.[39] Both in these older encyclopaedic efforts and in more recent scholarly presentations of national, colonial, or regional developments, the transformation of penal systems in the "long" nineteenth century and beyond is understood in terms of a more or less explicit conception of centre and periphery. As in the case of many other modern institutions, historical scholarship has consistently localized the origins of modern prison regimes in the "West" and represented their globalization as a basically unilateral propagation to the "rest of the world". This persistent interpretative scheme can be traced back to a Whig history of the prison, with its roots in the penal reform movement itself.[40] And historians continue to locate the centre of global penal reform in a North Atlantic area constituted first and foremost by Great Britain, the United States, and France – including those who have dealt with the history of the prison in Latin America, Asia, or Africa.[41]

38 E.C. Wines, The State of Prisons and of Child-Saving Institutions in the Civilized World, Cambridge, MA 1880; A.G.F. Griffiths, Secrets of the Prison-House or Gaol Studies and Sketches, 2 vols, London 1894; Idem, The History and Romance of Crime from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, vol. 12: Oriental Prisons, London 1900.

39 N.K. Teeters, World Penal Systems: A Survey, Philadelphia 1944.

40 S. Scheuzger, Contre une vision diffusioniste de la "naissance de la prison": perspectives sur les débuts de l'histoire mondiale des régimes pénitentiaires modernes, in: Socio. La Nouvelle Revue des Sciences Sociales (forthcoming).

41 The work of all scholars who have dealt with the history of the prison in Latin America, Asia, and Africa has been based in more or less explicit ways on the idea that the modern prison developed first in Europe and the United

The cogent response to diffusionist models of explanation – in the sense of a basically unidirectional and sequential movement from "the West" to "the rest" – is to treat the centrality of Western developments not as a premise but as itself a subject of historical examination. This should obviously not lead to the replacement of one unexamined premise by another that assumes multidirectional transfers between different world regions, more or less similar in their significance for all sides. Speaking of the decentring of perspectives, one might note too that discussion of global history's contribution to historical knowledge would greatly benefit from more consideration of empirical research rather than merely theoretical reflection. In the case of the history of the prison, this kind of decentred approach does not turn the established picture of worldwide penal developments on its head, but definitely provides a more nuanced understanding.

Pre-modern societies outside Europe and untouched by European colonialism also had prisons, used there much as they had been in Europe before the late eighteenth century, that is, primarily as places of detention and much less as institutions of punishment. These almost universal antecedents notwithstanding, the prison, as it became the predominant form of punishment around the globe during the "long" nineteenth century, did emerge in the "Western" world. This statement, however, needs to be clarified. From its very beginnings in the 1770s, modern prison reform was characterized by a variety of centres that interacted with each other. The processes that attracted most international attention did indeed take place in England, the United States, and France. But reformers in these countries also drew on older architectural models and carceral regimes and contemporary developments, notably in Italy and the Netherlands. John Howard, for example – thought of as "the founding father of penal reform" in Britain and beyond – based his seminal book *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* not only on his inspection of every English and Welsh prison but also on lengthy visits to France, Flanders, the Netherlands and Germany.[42] At the same time, the progress of reform within national contexts was uneven, every country having its own centres and peripheries in penal matters. Philadelphia was one of the most important of these centres, within the United States and beyond – not just after the construction of the Eastern State Penitentiary in the late 1820s, but from the very start of the debate on changing the penal system following the country's independence and the foundation in 1787 of the Society for

States and then in the other world regions. Since these regions have almost exclusively been treated as contexts of reception but not of production of globally circulating knowledge of penal reform, studies on the history of punishment outside the "West" have above all reproduced and not questioned established notions of centres and peripheries. This sequential, ultimately diffusionist understanding of developments has found its expression also in the five major works reviewed by Mary Gibson for her preliminary programmatic reflections on a global perspective on the history of the prison as well as in her own considerations. M. Gibson, Global Perspectives on the Birth of the Prison, in: The American Historical Review 116 (2011) 4, pp. 1040–1063. The books have been: C. Aguirre, The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds: The Prison Experience, 1850–1935, Durham 2005; F. Bernault (ed.), A History of Prison and Confinement in Africa, Portsmouth 2003; D. Botsman, Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan, Princeton 2005; Dikötter, Crime, Punishment and the Prison in Modern China; P. Zinoman, The Colonial Bastille: A History of Imprisonment in Vietnam, 1862–1940, Berkeley 2001.

42 Howard, The State of the Prisons in England and Wales. For the quotation see W.J. Forsythe, The Reform of Prisoners: 1830–1900, London 1987, p. 18.

Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, the first prison reform society in the world.[43] London's status as another centre of not only national but international importance was due to several factors. Not only was it capital of a country with a long tradition of debate on penal affairs, home to authors whose publications circulated around the globe, from John Howard and Jeremy Bentham in the late eighteenth century to William Crawford in the mid-nineteenth and Evelyn Ruggles-Brise in the early twentieth century,[44] and also metropolitan seat of government of the world's largest empire, but from the 1840s onwards the existence of Pentonville Prison would draw the attention of prison reformers all over the world.

Pentonville, considered by many historians to be the most important institution of reference in prison history – rather than the Eastern State Penitentiary – was only the second national penitentiary in England, and had originally been planned and built to serve, as already noted, as a model prison for the country. While in the 1840s, when the penitentiary was constructed, most of England – not to mention other European countries – remained a vast penological periphery, new centres of prison reform were emerging outside Europe and the United States. In 1833, almost a decade before Pentonville started to operate, the Brazilian authorities had begun the construction of a *casa de correção* on the radial plan in Rio de Janeiro.[45] And more or less at the same time as Pentonville received its first convicts, the Chilean parliament decided to build a modern *cárcel penitenciaria* in the nation's capital.[46] Around the mid-century, the governor of Agra's Central Prison, in India's North Western Provinces, could claim to run "by far the largest prison in the world", remodelled and enlarged in the 1840s in the context of early prison reform in British India.[47] The history of the globalization of the modern prison

43 N.G. Teeters, They Were in Prison. A History of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1787–1937, Philadelphia 1937. See also, for example, Idem, The Cradle of the Penitentiary. The Walnut Street Jail of Philadelphia, 1773–1835, Philadelphia 1955; M. Meranze, Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760–1835, Chapel Hill 1996.

44 Howard, The State of the Prisons in England and Wales; Idem, An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe; with Various Papers Relative to the Plague: Together with Further Observations on Some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals; and Additional Remarks on the Present State of Those in Great Britain and Ireland, Warrington 1789; Bentham, Panopticon, pp. 37–172; Idem, Panopticon versus New South Wales, or, The Panopticon Penitentiary System, and The Penal Colonization System, compared (1802), in: The Works of Jeremy Bentham, vol. 4, Edinburgh 1843, pp. 173–248; Idem, The Rationale of Punishment, London 1830; Crawford, Penitentiaries; E. Ruggles-Brise, The English Prison System, London 1921; Idem, Prison Reform at Home and Abroad. A Short History of the International Movement since the London Congress, 1872, London 1924.

45 M. Antunes Sant'Anna, A imaginação do castigo: discursos e práticas sobre a Casa de Correção do Rio de Janeiro, Tese de Doutorado, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro 2010; M.L. Bretas, What the Eyes Can't See: Stories from Rio de Janeiro's Prisons, in: R. D. Salvatore and C. Aguirre (eds.), The Birth of the Penitentiary in Latin America: Essays on Criminology, Prison Reform, and Social Control, 1830–1940, Austin 1996, pp. 101–122; M. Jean, "A storehouse of prisoners": Rio de Janeiro's Correction House (Casa de Correção) and the Birth of the Penitentiary in Brazil, 1830–1906, in: Atlantic Studies 14 (2016) 2, pp. 216–242; C.E. Moreira de Araújo, Cárceres imperiais: A Casa de Correção do Rio de Janeiro. Sues detentos e o sistema prisional no Império, 1830–1861, Tese de Doutorado, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2009.

46 Cámara de Diputados, Sesión 9a, en 26 de junio de 1843, in: Sesiones de los Cuerpos Lejislativos de la República de Chile 1811 a 1845, tomo XXXII, Santiago de Chile 1908, pp. 169–171; M. Bulnes, Cárcel penitenciaria, Santiago, Julio 19 de 1843, in: Boletín de las Leyes y de las Órdenes y Decretos del Gobierno 11 (1843) 7, pp. 103–104.

47 James Pattison Walker, Letter to James Melville, Secretary to Court of Directors [of the East India Company], 30

cannot be properly told through a diffusionist narrative, which is based on the notion of a stable relation between centres and peripheries and a unidirectional movement of knowledge, ideas, and norms. The centres of prison reform were numerous from the start, and actors' ascriptions of status as centre or periphery varied over time and with viewpoint. Penological know-how was transferred in many directions. A closer study of interconnections on a global scale reveals the existence of what should rather be conceptualised as an increasingly global and multiple frame of reference, what one might well call a frame of references: actors in penal reform in ever more places around the world were looking at more and more other places around the world – by no means always the same in each case – in their quest for models for the building and operation of a prison according to modern standards.[48] The crucial argument against diffusionist narratives is that the prison regimes of Europe and the United States too developed within this *global* frame of reference. This was the case for developments, when they came, in the broad penal hinterlands still largely untouched by reform in the middle of the nineteenth century, just as much as for the metropoles of New York, Philadelphia, London, Paris or Berlin, and the other cities, like Geneva, that were early to build institutions to which reference was made in the global debate.[49]

The notion of a frame of references can usefully be applied to the study of any social practice that was connected across borders in the eyes of the historical actors and consequently related to circulations of knowledge in a broad sense.[50] Analytically, this actor-centred perspective depends on a specific understanding of the global and the local as indissolubly bound together. Thus, the global always took place locally. There was no global idea of the modern prison that diffused to become localized in different contexts. Ideas of penal confinement circulated between different contexts and were negotiated and transformed with each displacement. Since the production of knowledge, ideas, and norms was intrinsically linked to their movement, centres of penal reform multiplied. Ideas as to what was a civilised and efficient manner of punishing delinquents

April 1856, letterbook including diary of visits to prisons in Britain, Ireland and France, April–November 1855 and memorandum on service in India relating to prison discipline and education and an account of the Indian Mutiny at Agra, 1855–1866, London Metropolitan Archives, H1/ST/MC/17/1. On the history of the prison reform in nineteenth-century British India, see D. Arnold, The Colonial Prison: Power, Knowledge and Penology in Nineteenth-Century India, in: D. Arnold and D. Hardiman (eds.), Subaltern Studies VIII. Essays in Honour of Ranajit Guha, Delhi 1994, pp. 148–187; D. Arnold, India: The Contested Prison, in: F. Dikötter and I. Brown (eds.), Cultures of Confinement: A History of the Prison in Africa, Asia and Latin America, London 2007, pp. 147–184; M. Offermann, Gefängnisse in der Kolonie, koloniale Gefängnisse. Eine Verflechtungsgeschichte der britisch-indischen Haftanstalten von den 1820er bis in die 1880er Jahre, PhD thesis, University of Bern, 2018.

48 Scheuzger, Contre une vision diffusioniste de la "naissance de la prison".

49 For the case of Geneva, see L. Maugué, L'introduction du système carcéral dans le département du Léman, 1798–1813. Entre utopie pénale des lumières, logique économique et impératifs sécuritaires, in: Traverse 21 (2014) 1, pp. 49–60; R. Roth, Pratiques pénitentiaires et théorie sociale. L'exemple de la prison de Genève, Genève 1981; Idem, La réalisation pénitentiaire du rêve pénal à Genève, in: J.G. Petit (ed.), La prison, le bagne et l'histoire, Genève 1984, pp. 189–200; W. Zurbuchen, Prisons de Genève, Genève 1977; Johnston, Forms of Constraint, p. 60.

50 For an application on the discussion on the "global sixties", see, for example, Scheuzger, La historia contemporánea de México y la historia global.

by imprisonment varied, as did the resources available for their implementation. While the "strange sameness about prisons" identified by late-twentieth-century scholar-activist visitors to penal institutions "all over the world"[51] was equally to be found during the "long" nineteenth century, even institutions designated as "penitentiaries" could differ greatly between the East Coast of the United States, British India, or French West Africa.[52] The meaning of "prison" has varied too greatly around the world for historians to be able to agree on a generally shared understanding of the notion for the purpose of analysis, even for the period since the late eighteenth century. A careful assessment of what was actually global about prisons is thus imperative – and the same is true of many other globalized phenomena, even for so codified a universal norm as human rights.[53] Detailed examinations of this kind must take into account the full extent of the frame of references operative at the time, which does not mean delving into the history of the prison systems of every country and colony. Given the worldwide prevalence of confinement as a technology of punishment and the fact that the relevant interactions involved places all around the globe, however, a substantive global-historical approach to the history of the prison has to consider an appropriate sample of cases covering developments in a variety of social, political, economic, cultural and climatic contexts on most of the continents. On the other hand, empirically grounded findings about the globality of prison regimes require that the effects of cross-border circulations and the similarities and differences between regimes of confinement have in the end to be studied at the scale of the individual penal institution. There is no alternative to this micro-level scrutiny if one is to gain insight into the precise meaning and significance of the processes and events under consideration and thus an understanding of the global aspect of the phenomena concerned. This also implies, incidentally, that the concept of global microhistory that has been increasingly promoted in recent years can be criticized for a certain redundancy.[54]

51 A. Davis and G. Dent, Conversations: Prison as a Border: A Conversation on Gender, Globalization, and Punishment, in: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 26 (2001), pp. 1235–1241, at p. 1237.

52 For the *pénitencier* of Fotoba on the Îles de Loos near Conakry in French Guinea, see M.D.C. Diallo, Répression et enfermement en Guinée. Le pénitencier de Fotoba et la prison centrale de Conakry de 1900 à 1958, Paris 2005.

53 For the argument that human rights were not free-standing and did not speak for themselves, that they always carried meanings given to them by concrete historical actors who referred to them in specific contexts and that human rights came into being only in the interdependence of the universality of their claim of validity and the particularity of their invocation, see S.J. Stern and S. Scott (eds.), The Human Rights Paradox: Universality and Its Discontents, Madison 2014; S. Scheuzger, Wahrheitskommissionen: Der Umgang mit historischem Unrecht im Kontext des Menschenrechtsdiskurses, Göttingen (forthcoming).

54 For the concept of a global microhistory, see, for example, T. Andrade, A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord. Towards a Global Microhistory, in: Journal of World History 21 (2010), pp. 573–591; F. Trivellato, Is there a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?, in: California Italian Studies 2 (2011), http://escholarship.org/uc/item/0z94n9hq (accessed 22 March 2017); A. Epple, Globale Mikrogeschichte. Auf dem Weg zu einer Geschichte der Relationen, in: E. Hiebl and E. Langthaler (eds.), Im Kleinen das Große suchen. Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis, Innsbruck 2012, pp. 37–47; J.-P.A. Ghobrial, The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory, in: Past & Present 222 (2014) 1, pp. 51–93; H. Medick, Turning Global? Microhistory in Extension, in: Historische Anthropologie 24 (2016), pp. 241–252; G. Levi, Microhistoria e Historia Global, in: Historia Crítica 69 (2018), pp. 21–35; R. Bertrand and G. Calafat, La microhistoire globale: affaire(s) à

Conceptual contributions have reminded us time and again that global history is based on a combination of comparison and study of transfer.[55] However, there are many possible ways of relating the two operations, from the use of comparison as a heuristic tool for the study of transfers at the one end of the spectrum to the identification of transfers exclusively as a means to deal with "Galton's problem" at the other, with a series of more evenly balanced possibilities between.[56] Given the prevailing focus on connections, comparison has remained rather underdeveloped in much global historical research, not uncommonly on the basis of the problematic argument that comparative perspectives would reintroduce into the analysis the master concepts that transnational, entangled and ultimately global histories have set out to overcome.[57] Approaches that tackle the question of the global character of historical phenomena must deploy, however, a more balanced synergy of connection and comparison. The argument is not merely theoretical: consideration of the practical limitations on the identification of transfers and the analysis of their historical significance also suggests a greater role for systematic comparison in global historical research. Moreover, the expansion and further complication of the frame of references makes the production of an integrated picture of the global history of the prison just by focussing on connections nearly impossible, in simply practical terms. The frame of references that informed the circulation of knowledge about modern penal confinement became increasingly global. While zones of greater density of exchange can be identified, transfers of knowledge were multidirectional and the networks that structured and were in turn structured by these transfers were polycentric. Actors around the world did not all look at the same places and institutions to gain the knowledge they thought would help them refine their concepts, norms, and practices. Penologists in England, for example, came into contact with important texts relating to the Prussian penal reform of the 1830s only via the United States and William Crawford's visit to Philadelphia.[58] When in the 1870s prominent American prison reformers seeking to transform the established penitentiary system, which they believed had done nothing

suivre, in: Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales 73 (2018) 1, pp. 1–18. For a discussion on the potential and limits of global microhistory, see in this issue also the contribution of Harald Fischer-Tiné.

55 See, for example, Beckert and Sachsenmaier, Introduction, p. 4; R. Drayton and D. Motadel, The Futures of Global History, in: Journal of Global History 13 (2018) 1, pp. 1–21, at p. 3; P. O'Brien, Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History, in: Journal of Global History 1 (2006) 1, pp. 3–39, at pp. 3–7; J. Osterhammel, Transferanalyse und Vergleich im Fernverhältnis, in: H. Kaelble and J. Schriewer (eds.), Vergleich und Transfer. Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften, Frankfurt a. M. 2003, pp. 439–466.

56 See, among many others, M. Bloch, Für eine vergleichende Geschichtsbetrachtung der europäischen Gesellschaften, in: M. Middell and S. Sammler (eds.), Alles Gewordene hat Geschichte: Die Schule der Annales in ihren Texten 1929–1992, Leipzig 1994, pp. 121–167; H.-G. Haupt and J. Kocka (eds.), Geschichte und Vergleich. Ansätze und Ergebnisse international vergleichender Geschichtsschreibung, Frankfurt a. M. 1996; Kaelble and Schriewer (eds.), Vergleich und Transfer.

57 For a prominent early example of this reasoning, see M. Espagne, Sur les limites du comparatisme en histoire culturelle, in: Genèses 17 (1994), pp. 112–121.

58 W. Crawford, William, [Letter to Roberts Vaux], New York, 2 July, 1833, Historical Society of Pennsylvania Archives, Vaux Family Papers, 1739–1836, Collection 684: Series 1a: Roberts Vaux, Incoming Correspondence, Box 4: 1832–1836, Folder 4.

to curb crime, began to experiment with a flexible period of imprisonment at the state of New York's Elmira Reformatory, they were particularly guided by their consideration of Walter Crofton's "Irish prison system", which was based in turn on the "mark system", a staged progression to release introduced by Alexander Maconochie in the penal colony of Norfolk Island in the South Pacific in 1840.[59] Chilean penal reformers attended not only to prison regimes in the United States, England, and France but also to penal experience in Spain, Belgium, and Bosnia, while the authorities of the national penitentiary in neighbouring Argentina – in order to bolster their own national reputation – published in the early twentieth century a booklet reprinting a series of reports in European newspapers that favourably contrasted the experience of the *penitenciaría* in Buenos Aires with European countries' continuing failure to reduce criminality.[60] The notion of a frame of references is intended precisely to grasp analytically this plurality of perspectives, which yielded manifold, multidirectional transfers between a wide variety of places. Using it to analyse the interconnectedness of developments in different parts of the world necessarily means attending to the extent, interruption or indeed absence of cross-border circulations. While the construction of a series of new central prisons in British India in the 1840s was guided in great part by reports about penitentiary regimes in England and the United States, cross-border transfers of knowledge became relatively less important for developments in the second half of the century, which depended much more on the circulation of know-how within India itself.[61] Similarly, when the authorities of the Grand Duchy of Hesse planned the building of a new penitentiary at Butzbach in the 1880s, they took hardly any account of contemporary penal developments outside Germany. They based their ideas on the architecture and organisation of the prison almost exclusively on expertise gained in the model institutions of Berlin-Moabit (whose builders and operators had for their part closely followed the example of Pentonville Prison), Bruchsal in Baden (for which, among others, Philadelphia's Eastern State Penitentiary served as a model), and Freiburg im Breisgau.[62] Given the extensive, complex, decentred, and uneven nature of the frame of references, a global historical

59 A. Maconochie, Crime and Punishment. The Mark System, Framed to Mix Persuasion with Punishment, and Make Their Effect Improving, Yet Their Operation Severe, London 1846; Idem, Norfolk Island, London 1847; Idem, Secondary Punishment. The Mark System, London 1848; W. Crofton, Remarks on Sundry Topics Considered in the International Penitentiary Congress of London, in: E.C. Wines, Report on the International Penitentiary Congress of London, held July 3–13, 1872, Washington 1873, pp. 354–358; T. Carey, Mountjoy: The Story of a Prison, Cork 2000; F.B. Sanborn, The Elmira Reformatory, in: S.J. Barrows (ed.), Reports Prepared for the International Prison Commission, Washington 1900, pp. 28–47; R.G. Waite, From Penitentiary to Reformatory: Alexander Maconochie, Walter Crofton, Zebulon Brockway and the Opening of the Elmira Reformatory, in: Criminal Justice History 12 (1991), pp. 85–106.

60 España – Proyecto de ley de prisiones, in: Revista de Prisiones (Santiago de Chile) 1 (1889) 3, pp. 225–242; E. Pages, Los establecimientos penales en Bélgica, in: Ibid. 1 (1889) 7, pp. 647–652; 2 (1890) 1, pp. 3–7; 2 (1890) 2 y 3, pp. 87–91; 2 (1890) 4 y 5, pp. 203–209; F.J. Herboso, Estudios penitenciarios, in: Ibid. 2 (1890) 2 y 3, pp. 100–117; 2 (1890) 4 y 5, pp. 218–242; 2 (1890) 6 y 7, pp. 335–346; 2 (1890) 8 y 9, pp. 463–476; La Penitenciaría Nacional de Buenos Aires juzgada en el extranjero, Buenos Aires 1908.

61 Offermann, Gefängnisse in der Kolonie, koloniale Gefängnisse, pp. 156–179, 286–287.

62 Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt, G21A, 2275–2280.

approach to the history of the prison – and not to that history alone – has certainly to complement the focus on connections with systematic comparison.

Comparison is in fact already involved in any attempt to differentiate centres and peripheries in historical processes. Generally speaking, the identification of similarities and differences is crucial to determining what relationship may exist between developments that seem to share a global dimension, to identify what is actually global in the phenomena under consideration. The history of the prison again illustrates the point. Comparison in this case generates essential insights, revealing, among other things, that the global evolution of the modern prison through the "long" nineteenth century was informed by a shared set of ends and means – which is not to say a unitary idea of what the modern prison actually was. As a central institution of punishment, the prison was always intended to serve the four main goals that over time came to constitute, to put it oxymoronically, the classic catalogue of modern correctional goals: retribution, incapacitation, deterrence and rehabilitation. These four ends were served by a number of practices, among them solitary confinement, corporal punishment, compulsory labour and progressive reward. Ends and means could be combined in manifold ways, but while prison regimes around the world might vary considerably in the importance they assigned to any element – in their emphasis, for example, on deterrence or on rehabilitation, or how much use might be made of solitary confinement or corporal punishment – systematic comparison reveals that they shared all of them. All these goals and all these practices played a role everywhere a prison was built and operated in accordance with modern ideas. Such insights put into question the interpretations and explanations offered by dominant narratives of the history of the modern prison. One consequence among many is that it can be argued that rather than employing the widely used term, "colonial prison" – implying a categorial difference between the prisons of the colonial world and their counterparts in the metropoles – it would be more appropriate to speak of "prisons in the colonies", given the differences of degree rather than of fundamental character.[63] What is more, a comparative approach generates findings that are at least as important to explaining the global proliferation of the prison across nearly every cultural, economic, religious, political, and climatic context as those obtained by the identification and analysis of connections: a crucial factor in the worldwide career of the prison was precisely its multifunctional character.

63 For the notion of the "colonial prison" see, among many others, Arnold, The Colonial Prison; S. Hynd, "Insufficiently Cruel" or "Simply Inefficient"? Discipline, Punishment and Reform in the Gold Coast Prison System, c. 1850–1957, in: V. Miller and J. Campbell (eds.), Transnational Penal Cultures. New Perspectives on Discipline, Punishment and Desistance, London 2015, pp. 19–35; D. Paton, No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Foundation, 1780–1870, Durham 2004; T.C. Sherman, Tensions of Colonial Punishment: Perspectives on Recent Developments in the Study of Coercive Networks in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, in: History Compass 7 (2009) 2, pp. 659–677.

3. Polycentric Histories

By calling the conventional metageographical categorizations of historiography into question, global historical approaches touch conceptions not only of national but also of area history in a fundamental way.[64] However, in the latter case, the possible effects are far from unambiguous. An answer to the question whether area history finds itself affirmed by the boom in global history – given its ability to provide expertise for a non-Eurocentric history of entanglements and interdependencies – or, on the contrary, contested in its essence – based as it is on notions of bounded spatial entities that global history aspires to do away with as constitutive frames for the production of historical knowledge – depends not least on the concept of global history upon which the judgement is based. Although more differentiated typologies of global historical approaches have been proposed,[65] for the argument to be made here, one very basic distinction is sufficient: that between "soft" and "hard" versions of global history, as drawn, for example, by Frederic Cooper.[66] It concerns the difference in the role of the global in the framing of knowledge. On the "soft" side of the spectrum are efforts to escape the boundedness of historical analysis in terms of nations, continents, cultures, civilizations or areas in which the focus of interest ultimately remains the history of a nation, region or area. In such a case, the global can be characterized as a distant horizon denoting the ultimate container of processes and structures that cross spatial boundaries of all kinds. In the "hard" variant, the global moves from the unexamined background to be the centre of theoretical interest. Historical phenomena are studied in their global dimension: it is their globality that is examined, by way of analysing their local meanings and significances in a sufficient number of case studies around the world. In other words, in the second version, global history is not merely a perspective but also an object of study. Contributions to global history written from an area point of view are "soft" global history. There have been very many such, given that the majority of the historians who have most notably shaped the field have come from a background of a specialization in the history of a non-European region. These studies help advance our understanding of historical structures and processes in decisive ways, both by making geographically far-reaching connections visible and by decentring historiographical perspectives. Ultimately, however, they remain limited in their capacity to decentre. Eurocentric views are destabilized, but research interests continue to be centred on a single historical space that is examined in its entanglement with other world regions, and the production of historical knowledge takes place along these lines. When such area-centred versions of

64 For the concept of area histories and their historical development, see, for example, B. Schäbler, Einleitung. Das Studium der Weltregionen (Area Studies) zwischen Fachdisziplinen und der Öffnung zum Globalen: Eine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Annäherung, in: Idem (ed.), Area Studies und die Welt. Weltregionen und neue Globalgeschichte, Wien 2007, pp. 11–44.

65 For example, Conrad, Globalgeschichte, pp. 10–12; A. Dirlik, Performing the World. Reality and Representation in the Making of World Histor(ies), in: Journal of World History 16 (2005), pp. 391–410.

66 Cooper, How Global Do We Want Our Intellectual History to Be?, pp. 283–285.

global historical studies have provided deeper insights into the history of other regions of the world, those regions have mainly been in the "West". The historical origins of area studies, the roots that global history shares with post-colonial studies, and global history's goal of historicizing modern "Western" self-descriptions by demonstrating their dependence on (Western) Europe's and the United States' external "others" explain much of this tendency.

Area historians have indeed been less susceptible to "internalist" analytical perspectives than historians of the nation state. This is one reason why area histories are not challenged by global historical approaches in the same way as are national histories. As the contributions to this issue of the journal make clear, there has been a long tradition of area historians treating their topics as entangled histories – *avant la lettre* – extending beyond their regions' borders. Area historians have also worked with a greater awareness of the constructed nature of the spatial frameworks they employ. And they have been far more obliged to take account of the internal diversity of their geographical fields of study than have scholars concerned with national histories. They have thus been less prone to essentialism. Area histories are important to the project of global history not just for the indispensable knowledge they provide about the past of non-Western regions, but also for their familiarity with the switch between different levels of observation, from micro to macro, from local to world region and beyond, along what Jacques Revel famously called the "jeux d'échelles", the scale shifts between research perspectives.[67]

It is obvious and has repeatedly been emphasized that it makes no sense to think the relationship of global and area or national histories as alternatives or competitors.[68] Although discussed by some scholars, the death of area history as a result of the "global turn" is neither imminent nor even foreseeable.[69] In theory, at least, global history, area history, regional history, national history and local history complement each other. There are many histories that can be meaningfully analysed at different scales, the history of the prison again providing an illustrative example. But research at any one scale has to take account of the insights gained at others. It is impossible to construct an adequate history of national prison systems in the "long" nineteenth century while ignoring the cross-border circulation of penological knowledge and more generally the global career of the modern prison since historical actors began assessing their own prison systems in the light of developments elsewhere.[70] National histories of the prison likewise have to address the often very marked differences at the subnational or local levels.[71] A global

67 For the concept of the "jeux d'échelles", see J. Revel, Micro-analyse et construction du social, in: Idem (ed.), Jeux d'échelles. La micro-analyse à l'expérience, Paris 1996, pp. 15–36.

68 Among others, S. Subrahmanyam, Aux origines de l'histoire globale, Paris 2014, p. 63.

69 Such a passing away has been diagnosed, for example, by G. Franzinetti, The Strange Death of Area Studies and the Normative Turn, in: Quaderni storici 150 (2015), pp. 835–847.

70 For the argument to historicize comparison, see, for example, A.L. Stoler, Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post)Colonial Studies, in: The Journal of American History 88 (2001), pp. 829–865.

71 See, for example, for the case of England M. DeLacy, Prison Reform in Lancashire, 1700–1850: A Study in Local Administration, Stanford 1986; S. McConville, English Local Prisons 1860–1900: Next Only to Death, London

history of the prison, on the other hand, will be unable to produce a convincing account without integrating the results of research on penal regimes at the national and local levels – which implies, and this needs to be emphasized, not just reading a now extensive body of secondary literature but also conducting original research on a reasonable range of cases. This is even necessary in matters that have already been extensively treated, such as the history of the prison in the United States or Great Britain, or in Philadelphia or London more particularly. There are, of course, many topics that are best studied at the regional, national or local rather than global level. But the appropriateness of a specific perspective cannot be judged from an "internalist" point of view: the decision requires a certain openness of perspective. It is in this sense, of an "alertness to global or international connections and comparisons", that we should understand Christopher Bayly's widely quoted dictum that all historians are – or should be – global historians now.[72]

"Soft" versions of global history, however, ultimately operate in the mode of extension.[73] This is most evident in the case of the many studies in which historians of Europe endeavour to connect with global history, enlarging their perspectives first and foremost along the lines of colonial expansion. Even much of the work done under the rubric of the new imperial history – for some considerable time, at least – can be said to have done little to decentre perspectives.[74] The same may be said of global historical approaches from an area history standpoint, even though they do indeed effect a decisive shift of historiographical perspective away from Eurocentric narratives. The focus of interest in "hard" versions of global history, however, is different – another reason why they do not compete with area histories. In taking the globality of historical phenomena as one of its chief objects of research, this type of global history involves a much more fundamental shift of perspective. In this stricter sense, by no means all historians are – or should be – global historians.

"Hard" global history is not to be mistaken for the exclusive practise of "macro-history" or the writing of historical syntheses. In order to draw conclusions regarding the significance of cross-border connections for local developments and to establish the similarities and differences between such developments across the world, "hard" global historical approaches have to combine macro and micro perspectives on the past – in the case of the history of the prison, the analysis of the global career of the modern prison in the "long" nineteenth century, on the one hand, and the study of the basis on which individual carceral institutions were built, organised and operated on the other. Far from subsuming or passing over local particularities in a bird's-eye view, "hard" versions of global history

1995; E. Stockdale, A Study of Bedford Prison, 1660–1877, London 1977; S. Webb and B. Webb, English Prisons under Local Government, London 1922; J.R.S. Whiting, Prison Reform in Gloucestershire, 1776–1820: A Study of the Work of Sir George Onesiphorus Paul, London 1975.

72 C.A. Bayly, The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914. Global Connections and Comparisons, Oxford 2004, p. 469.

73 On extension as a mode of operation in the humanities and social sciences, see J. Osterhammel, Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Erweiterung oder Alternative?, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft 27 (2001) 3, pp. 464–479.

74 M. Pernau and H. Jordheim, Global History Meets Area Studies. Ein Werkstattbericht, in: H-Soz-Kult, 14 November 2017, <www.hsozkult.de/debate/id/diskussionen-4229> (accessed 12 April 2018).

have to shift along the whole range of scales if they are to answer the question of what was actually global about the phenomena under study. But rather than deploying a concentrically structured perspective in the manner of their "soft" counterparts, they create polycentric histories. Much more interested in the global dimension of their objects of study than in the global context and the wider entanglement of developments in a specific village, country or area, they consider historical processes and structures from a variety of angles. Aiming for a better understanding of the interdependent processes of the universalisation and particularisation of penal confinement, and thus equally concerned, for example, with the histories of the Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia, Pentonville Prison in London, the *cárcel penitenciaria* in Santiago de Chile, the Central Prison in Agra, the *penintenciaría nacional* in Buenos Aires, the *Zuchthaus* of Butzbach in the Grand Duchy of Hesse, or the *pénitencier* in Conakry, a "hard" global perspective on the history of the prison produces what has been called a history "à parts égales".[75] Contrary to the vocal critique of certain area historians, it can be argued that "hard" versions of global history are ultimately more effective in moving beyond the West-rest axis than are global histories written from an area standpoint – the frequently made but infrequently substantiated claim that they further the study of South-South entanglements notwithstanding. From a "hard" global historical perspective, Western Europe and the United States can more easily be conceived as two "areas" among others. Or, depending on the meaning the term is given, the qualifier "area" can be replaced with less difficulty by a probably more productive, since more flexible, concept of "regional" histories: "Latin American", "Asian" and "African" history are in any event generally divided, in practice, into different regional sub-fields, while other regional approaches, such as Atlantic or Mediterranean history or the history of the Indian Ocean, cut across the spatialization of "area" histories. Moreover, "hard" versions of global history are at worst not less suited to deal with the limitations of connections than are the "soft", area-focused variants, since the scope of historical phenomena is one of their central research interests. They probably even tend to be more attentive to ruptures of relations, blockages of circulation, and the thinning-out or even absence of entanglements.[76]

Although histories of globalization are a speciality of "hard" global history, not even in this variant should global history be equated with the historiography of globalization.[77] A concept such as the frame of references, which maps transfers of knowledge and ideas from the historical actors' point of view, is indeed suited to identify and analyse processes of globalization. But like a network approach, the study of historical developments in

75 B. Romain, L'histoire à parts égales. Récits d'une rencontre Orient-Occident (XVIe-XVIIe siècles), Paris 2011.

76 A prominent argument for a thorough examination of the limits of interconnections in the context of global studies has been made by an area historian: F. Cooper, What is the Concept of Globalization Good for? An African Historian's Perspective, in: African Affairs 100 (2001), pp. 189–213.

77 This equation has been made by a series of prominent contributions to the literature on global history. For example, M. Geyer and C. Bright, World History in a Global Age, in: American Historical Review 100 (1995) 4, 1995, pp. 1034–1060; Osterhammel, "Weltgeschichte", pp. 460–461; L. Hunt, Writing History in the Global Era, New York 2014, pp. 44–77. In later texts, Jürgen Osterhammel has differentiated the history of globalization and global history. See, for example, Globalizations, in: Bentley (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of World History, pp. 89–104.

terms of their frame of references does not just produce knowledge of the concrete connections between them and of the density and direction of transfers – or the distribution of centres and peripheries, if one likes; it also reveals the fragmentary character of exchange and the limits of entanglement. Since the concept focuses attention, even more than do many network approaches, on what was moved along the connections, on what actors actually referred to and on what finally resulted from the relationship, it brings with it a great capacity for the identification of difference and the understanding of particularities. This corresponds to "hard" global history's interest in going beyond the identification of connections, entanglements and world-systems – and thereby also beyond the history of globalization – to determine what was actually global about the phenomena under study.[78] Recognition of the importance of understanding local developments not only in their interdependence across long distances and their similarities across different political, cultural, economic, religious or climatic contexts, but also in their specificity and singularity, entails a re-equilibration of what Jeremy Adelman has called global history's privileging of motion over space.[79] The more general recourse to systematic comparison that is called for by this also has the potential to undo euro- and other centrisms and so support an *histoire générale*.[80]

We have seen that "hard" versions of global history are immune to many of the fundamental criticisms levelled against the field. There is no teleological vision underlying their production of historical knowledge; they certainly do not imply rejection of smaller scales of historical experience in favour of a more-or-less exclusive interest in macro structures and processes; they are not at all blind to ruptures in the web of interconnection, to obstructions to circulation, or to the unentangled; and they are at far less risk of reproducing Western or other "centrist" mind-sets in their explanation and interpretation of the past than are "soft" versions of global history. At the same time, the practice of global history as polycentric undeniably faces a number of important challenges that concentric perspectives are spared, at least to some degree. But although such concerns have to be taken seriously, "hard" versions of global history do not necessarily produce "history light".[81] Given the ambition to marshal together a significant variety of local processes in different parts of the world and examine their similarities, entan-

78 For differentiated discussions of the relationship between global history and the history of globalization see, among others, B. Mazlish, Comparing Global History to World History; B.K. Gills and W.R. Thompson (eds.), Globalization and Global History, London 2006; M. Rempe, Jenseits der Globalisierung: Musikermobilität und Musikaustausch im 20. Jahrhundert, in: B. Barth, S. Gänger and N.P. Petersson (eds.), Globalgeschichten. Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven, Frankfurt a. M. 2014, pp. 205–227.

79 Adelman, What Is Global History Now?

80 See, for example, H.-G. Haupt and J. Kocka, Historischer Vergleich: Methoden, Aufgaben, Probleme. Eine Einleitung, in: Idem (eds.), Geschichte und Vergleich. Ansätze und Ergebnisse international vergleichender Geschichtsschreibung, Frankfurt a. M. 1996, pp. 9–45, at p. 26; R. Grew, The Case for Comparing Histories, in: The American Historical Review 85 (1980) 4, pp. 763–778, at p. 777.

81 Margrit Pernau has warned against the danger that global history could turn into a "history light" due to an abandonment of the discipline's minimal professional standards: Global history. Wegbereiter für einen neuen Kolonialismus?, in: Connections. A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists, 17.12.2004, www.connections.clio-online.net/article/id/artikel-572 (accessed 12 February 2015).

glements, and differences on a global scale, the effort called for is substantial. But since "hard" global histories must take their examination of historical phenomena down to the micro-level in order to assess their globality, the risk of such broad approaches flattening out the complexity of developments is ultimately limited. Sound knowledge of regional and local particularities is indispensable for this kind of research, which cannot rely on secondary literature alone. It rather calls for thorough source-based explorations and the work in the archives that they involve.

This does, however, highlight the problem of feasibility. Scholars adopting "hard" global historical approaches are not only obliged to acquire specialized knowledge of more places than do their colleagues practising "soft" versions: the cultural, political, social, economic and environmental differences between the places they consider will generally be considerably wider. The research effort entailed by the practise of global history as polycentric history is very high – in sharp contrast to the not uncommon picture of global historians as monolingual consumers of studies conducted by others, with little if any interest in painstaking archival work. To stay with the same illustrative example, considerable resources, of time, above all, but also financial, are required to study in detail penal systems in the United States, the United Kingdom, Chile, Norfolk Island, British India, Argentina, Hesse-Darmstadt, and French Guinea – down to the construction and operation of particular prisons in all their cross-border entanglements – as well as penal developments more generally elsewhere in the world, over a period such as the "long" nineteenth century.[82] However, the difference of effort as compared to other approaches is ultimately only one of degree. The crucial question about the scope and scale of global history research projects in their "hard" version concerns neither the quality nor the practicability of the work. It concerns rather the willingness of historians to engage in this kind of research, especially in an academic culture that often does not reward very wide-ranging projects that require great deal of input over a longer period of time before generating publishable output – which preferably has to take the form of journal articles rather than monographs or collective volumes. And it also concerns the willingness of the scholarly community to support such time- and money-consuming research through its systems of funding.

This is not to deny the existence of qualitative challenges with the potential to seriously limit the ambitions of global historical research. Linguistic skills, in particular, determine the potential scope of global historians' work. They are hardly ever so adequate as not to affect the way scholars frame their perspectives on the global dimension of their topic, their preparedness to learn new languages notwithstanding. As in response to other fundamental questions regarding the expertise necessary to deal with a broad array of contexts and coping with quantity of empirical work involved in global historical studies, the most common reaction to the problem has been to champion collaborative forms of research. In recently asserting that "the edited volume and the work of translation are the

82 S. Scheuzger, The Global History of the Prison in the Long Nineteenth Century (in preparation).

natural media of global history", Richard Drayton and David Motadel spoke for many.[83] It is true that the volume of material to be dealt with is potentially overwhelming for the individual historian, just as it is a fact that the language requirements for studies that aim to cover developments in Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Africa in their cross-border entanglement can hardly ever be met by a single scholar. But it is also true that teamwork cannot compensate for all that is lost without the benefit of a single historian's approach to a subject. The problem of coherence is considerable. In too many instances, even collective volumes claiming to embody a comparative perspective have hardly got beyond what Ernst Troeltsch characterised a century ago as a "bookbinder's synthesis".[84] There can be no doubt of the value of intelligently conceived edited volumes that meaningfully interrelate the individual contributions and do not leave all the effort of comparison to the reader. But the limitations of this format are also obvious, particularly when a global history approach aims not just to compare but also to identify and analyse wide-ranging connections between different world regions. Very worthwhile in themselves, a series of recently published collective volumes, first steps in the treatment of punishment in global historical perspective, testifies to anthologies' tendency to the aggregation of case studies,[85] only marginally contributing to the study of the global interconnectedness of penal developments across the world.

Collaborative research is not a *sine qua non* of global history. Hasty dismissal of the single-author monograph and promotion of the edited volume as the only feasible and adequate format for the study of historical phenomena in their global dimension risks the loss of important potentials for the production of knowledge. The single-author study's capacity to propose coherent interpretations, trace cross-border circulations, shift smoothly between macro and the micro levels of analysis and compare cases within a consistent framework – in sum, to think things together – is unrivalled by other modes of historiographical representation. No inevitable falling back into new "master narratives" is entailed by the study of globality of historical phenomena from the point of view of a single scholar.[86] And argument regarding the single historian's practical inability to marshal the sources required to study events and developments in their global dimension is sometimes not much more than a rejection of the undeniably demanding workload

83 Drayton and Motadel, The Futures of Global History, p. 15.

84 E. Troeltsch, Der Historismus und seine Probleme. Erstes Buch: Das logische Problem der Geschichtsphilosophie (1922), Berlin 2008 (Ernst Troeltsch: Kritische Gesamtausgabe, vol. 16/2), p. 1029. For a small typology of collaboratively organized forms of comparative work, see M. van der Linden, Transnational Labour History: Explorations, Aldershot 2003, pp. 189–190.

85 C. Anderson (ed.), A Global History of Convicts and Penal Colonies, London 2018; Ch. de Vito and A. Lichtenstein (eds.), Global Convict Labour, Leiden 2015; F. Dikötter and I. Brown (eds.), Cultures of Confinement: A History of the Prison in Africa, Asia and Latin America, London 2007; V. Miller and J. Campbell (eds.), Transnational Penal Cultures. New Perspectives on Discipline, Punishment and Desistance, London 2015.

86 The argument for such a regression has been made, for example, by C. Douki and Ph. Minard, Histoire globale, histoires connectées: Un changement d'échelle historiographique? Introduction, in: Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 54 (2007) 5, pp. 7–21, at p. 18.

implied by this kind of research. In the end, the appropriate research design and publication format are essentially dictated by the object of study.

I would maintain, for instance, that my ability to read English, French, Spanish, German, Portuguese, and Italian fits me to write a worthwhile global history of the prison in the "long" nineteenth century. This is the case, however, only because the idea of the modern prison as an institution of punishment for the most part has its roots in Western Europe and the United States, and because the globalization of the institution was closely associated with the history of European expansion. Furthermore, these language skills equally have qualified me for the study of the global history of the prison with a specific focus on the global career of the prison, and on the cross-border, far-reaching circulation of knowledge, ideas and norms, and the role of these in the development of prison regimes in different contexts around the world, as well the ways in which experiences with penal regimes transformed the bodies of knowledge transferred. However forceful these arguments based on historical circumstance and the particular focus of research, it cannot be denied that penal developments in vast and important territories, from the Ottoman and the Russian Empires to China and Japan, remain beyond the scope of a historian with these linguistic skills. He or she is thus compelled to cover them through the literature available in the languages possessed – which does indeed exist for relevant aspects of the history of the prison.[87] For the study of other parts of the world, he or she will depend on "colonial archives", another serious limitation on the perspectives that can be taken into account, the ability to read the sources "against the grain" notwithstanding. Yet specialists in the history of punishment in colonial contexts frequently do not have any broader a basis in terms of sources. Furthermore, the challenge of integrating subaltern agency into the picture – not only of that of prisoners, but of wardens, prisoners' families, the wider public – is a notorious problem for any historian dealing with penal regimes, not just in contexts of colonial domination but also in Europe and the United States.

There is, of course, global historical research that calls for a range of language skills hardly achievable by a single scholar. The proliferation of the prison through the "long" nineteenth century was constantly legitimized in terms of its civilizing mission, in Europe and the United States as in the "rest of the world". Study of the notion of "civiliza-

87 See, for example, K.F. Schull, Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire: Microcosms of Modernity, Edinburgh 2014; U. Adak, Central Prisons (Hapishane-I Umumi) in Istanbul and Izmir in the Late Ottoman Empire: In-between Ideal and Reality, in: Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association 4 (2017) 1, pp. 73–94; Idem, On the Margins of the City: Izmir Prison in the Late Ottoman Empire, in: A. Chappatte, U. Freitag and N. Lafi (eds.), Understanding the City through Its Margins. Pluridisciplinary Perspectives from Case Studies in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, Abingdon 2018, pp. 77–93; B.F. Adams, The Politics of Punishment: Prison Reform in Russia, 1863–1917, DeKalb 1996; E. Kaczynska, Sibérie: La plus grande prison du monde, 1850–1914, in: J.G. Petit (ed.) : La prison, le bagne et l'histoire, Genève 1984, pp. 213–224; Dikötter, Crime, Punishment and the Prison in Modern China; B. Bakken (ed.), Crime, Punishment, and Policing in China, Lanham 2005; K. Mühlhahn, Criminal Justice in China. A History, Cambridge, MA 2009; M. Tsien, Overlapping Histories: Writing Prison and Penal Practices in Late Imperial and Early Republican China, in: Journal of World History 20 (2009) 1, pp. 69–97; D. Botsman, Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan, Princeton 2005.

tion" or "civility" in a global perspective, to take just this obvious example, makes very different demands in terms of the variety and depth of linguistic expertise required. A recent project on this theme – adopting a rather "soft" global historical perspective, with its focus on Europe and Asia – thus draws on the combined skills of a carefully considered team.[88] Their work has shown that, lying between the edited volume and the single-author monograph, the collectively written monograph has a great though as yet little explored potential as a form for the presentation of the results of global historical studies.[89] Despite this innovative approach, the volume is still marked by a clear division of labour in the writing of the chapters. And although the project brought together scholars who were able, between them, to deal with sources in thirteen languages, the book was written in English. In this, it offers yet another illustration of the fact that collaborative publications – monographs even more than edited volumes – are ultimately more prone than single-author works to reproduce and reinforce what is probably the most problematic trend in global history: the dominance of English and the academic hierarchization of languages even in a field of historical scholarship committed to the decentring of perspectives.

Emphatically and justifiably rejecting the idea that global history is a field dominated by works of synthesis rather than by research based on archives and primary sources, Sanjay Subrahmanyam declared "qu'il est impossible d'écrire une histoire globale de nulle part" – that no extra-terrestrial point of view is available to writers of global history.[90] It is possible, however, to write global history from a variety of places. For its "hard" version, this is even indispensable. The alternation of perspectives – each, for Subrahmanyam, "fonction directe d'une formation à la lecture de textes, d'archives et d'images"[91] – implies, so to speak, a polyphony of historical actors under study.[92] Going further than this, many advocates of collaborative forms for the writing of global history seem also to argue a need for the multiplication of historians' voices within particular projects and publications as a structural consequence of the challenges encountered by the practice of polycentric history. However, merely aggregating the contributions of specialists in different national, regional, or area histories does not result in good global history. Not only does their collaboration have to be carefully conceived, in "hard", polycentric versions of global historical research, they also have to be able to shift scale beyond their specialist geographical sphere, connecting it with other contexts by way of comparison as well as by identifying and analysing transfers and entanglements. This implies a break with the centricity of regional specialists' perspectives that goes beyond the critique of Eurocentrism. Ultimately, the difference between collaborative or individual global historical re-

88 Pernau and Jordheim, Global History Meets Area Studies.
89 M. Pernau et al., Civilizing Emotions: Concepts in Nineteenth Century Asia and Europe, Oxford 2015.
90 Subrahmanyam, Aux origines de l'histoire globale, pp. 62–63.
91 Ibid., p. 63.
92 For the argument that a crucial potential of global history exists in new ways of framing, sequencing and juxtaposing the sources of historical actors, see, for example, M. Dusinberre, Japan, Global History, and the Great Silence, in: History Workshop Journal 83 (2017) 1, pp. 130–150.

search is again a matter of degree rather than of quality. The decentring of perspectives is in great part a matter of historians' ability and inclination to change their sites of study.[93] An individual historian of penal regimes can become an expert in the history of as many sites in Europe, the Americas, Asia, African, and Oceania – "muddying [her or his] boots in the bogs of 'micro-history'"[94] – as is necessary to be able to write a global history of the prison, for example.

However great the effort made, the number of relevant contexts omitted by an individual historian's source-based research will nonetheless most likely be greater than in the case of a team. The gain, on the other hand, is the capacity of the single author to produce a coherent account of complex developments. While the workload involved in multiplying sites of historical knowledge production is definitely lower for members of a research group, as compared to the historian working alone on a "hard" global historical project, the effort required for teams to analyse and present their material they have gathered so that the result is more than the sum of the parts should not be underestimated.

There is no royal road to writing "hard", polycentric global history. The advantages and disadvantages of research designs and publication formats must be weighed in every case, and will depend on the topic, the research question, or the period under consideration. It would, for example, be not only possible but also well worthwhile to examine the pre-modern history of the prison – of places of confinement, rather – in global perspective.[95] Such a project, however, would more insistently call for collaborative research than does the global history of the modern prison. Research on phenomena in pre-modern contexts also raises the question of the meaning of the "global" in particularly emphatic form. This question is, as has been shown here, central to the distinctive concern of global history in its "hard" version – which also enables it, incidentally, to span the divides between historical epochs still strongly evident in both the theory and practice of global history. "Soft" versions treat the globality of the historical phenomenon under study as a premise or contribute to the research on the question by focussing on a specific spatial context, yet without being primarily interested in examining the question. This does not mean however, that area or national histories' smaller-scale examinations may not raise substantive questions about the globality of phenomena.

There are two final observations to be made regarding the central issue of globality. First, there cannot be clear and absolute criteria that determine whether a historical phenomenon qualifies as global or not. The inability to provide a simple, quantitative, *a priori* index – in how many countries, across how many continents? – is however no argument against the validity of the concept. The globality of any historical event or process has

93 N.Z. Davis, Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World, in: History and Theory 50 (2011), pp. 188–202, at p. 194.

94 S. Subrahmanyam, Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia, in: Modern Asian Studies 31 (1997) 3, pp. 735–762, at p. 750.

95 For a first approach, see, F. Bretschneider and N. Muchnik, The Transformations of Confinement in a Global Perspective (c. 1650–1800), in: X. Rousseaux (ed.), A Cultural History of Crime and Punishment in the Age of Enlightenment, London (forthcoming).

to be determined in each individual case, made convincing on the basis of meticulous inquiry. In the case of the modern prison, it can be argued that in certain regions of the world – in some parts of Africa, for example – the process of its establishment as a central institution of punishment took almost the whole of the twentieth century. Just the same, there are strong reasons, as outlined above, to treat the modern prison as a truly global phenomenon from the 1920s onwards. By way of anecdote, one may note that as early as the turn of the century a penitentiary had been established at the very end of the world, though the radial building of the Ushuaia penitentiary in Argentinian Patagonia, which came into operation in 1904 and became famous as "la cárcel del fin del mundo",[96] is not even marked on the map at the Eastern State Penitentiary.

The question of the geographic extent of a phenomenon, of course – and this is the second point to be made – is not an end in itself. Any answer requires the exploration of its meaning and historical significance in a wide variety of localities. Such an analysis thus produces important insights that contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon in general. To what is still the central question of all research in prison history – "Why prison?"[97] – it brings, for example, new and fundamentally important explanatory elements: a global perspective can show that the prison's multifunctionality has been a crucial factor in the global career of an institution that has never met the high expectations of it as a supposedly effective means of reducing crime. It was the multiplicity of goals motivating contemporary actors that saw prison reform become a continuous, world-embracing process extending from the eighteenth century to the present day. While "soft" versions of the global historical approach may be able to overcome "internalist" explanations of prison reform, "hard" versions also decentre historiographical perspectives on this institution so central to the way modern societies deal with norm-breaking and delinquency. In doing so, they are able to challenge long-established narratives about the global spread and development of the prison – diffusionist and generally one-dimensional in their analysis, in terms of either a Whiggish history of progress, a history of social control and discipline, or a history of colonial oppression and domination. In a certainly controversial contribution to the debate on global history, David A. Bell has claimed, with polemical but justified acerbity, that "the hope of taking part in a powerful and exciting intellectual trend (coupled, perhaps, with the prospect of winter research trips to Barbados or Goa) has drawn in many scholars with little concern for the original political stakes".[98] Central to those was the endeavour to decentre scholarly vision. Area histories have contributed in decisive ways to this through their fundamental research on the "others" of Eurocentric worldviews.[99] But to comprehend the world as

96 C.P. Vairo, El presidio de Ushuaia, 2 vols, Buenos Aires 1997/2006; L. Caimari, Apenas un delincuente: Crimen, castigo y cultura en la Argentina, 1880–1955, Buenos Aires 2012 (2004), pp. 62–73.

97 D. Scott (ed.), Why Prison?, Cambridge, UK 2015.

98 D. A. Bell, This Is What Happens When Historians Overuse the Idea of the Network, in: New Republic, 26 October 2013, https://newrepublic.com/article/114709/world-connecting-reviewed-historians-overuse-network-metaphor (accessed 10 November 2018).

99 Schäbler, Einleitung, p. 40.

a place of diversity and unity, to explore the interdependent processes of particularization and universalization produced by globalizations, and to study fragmentations and interconnections, differences and similarities between peoples' histories from the local to the global level, global history has to be thought and practised as a polycentric history.

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