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2006–2007
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Workshop Materials

Special Focus:
Teaching About the Indian Ocean World

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Note: This Special Focus document was developed prior to the course changes in 2011-12. While these materials are still relevant to teaching the revised AP® World History Curriculum Framework, teachers should be aware of the differences.

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Important Note: The following set of materials is organized around a particular theme, or "special focus," that reflects important topics in the AP World History course. The materials are intended to provide teachers with resources and classroom ideas relating to these topics. The special focus, as well as the specific content of the materials, cannot and should not be taken as an indication that a particular topic will appear on the AP Exam.

Introduction: AP World History and the Indian Ocean World

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It makes a great attention-getting story in my world history classes: Did you know there were flush toilets in fourteenth-century East Africa? Traveling to Kilwa, Mombasa, and other former East African city-states in 1994, I was wandering through ruins of Islamic-inspired palaces, built with indigenous Swahili (coral rag) building materials. I saw two-story buildings with sewage systems that rivaled anything seen in Europe until the late nineteenth century. The amalgamation of cultural influences—Indonesian glass beads, Chinese pottery, Portuguese forts, and Swahili customs—heightened my interest in the connections that created this early cosmopolitan world. Clearly, I could not teach about the wonders of East Africa (those toilets really were impressive) without placing the region in context. Kilwa had much more in common with Calicut then it did with Timbuktu at the time.

Teaching about the "Indian Ocean world" as a zone of dynamic interaction between peoples makes more pedagogical and historic sense than teaching about it through traditionally delineated national or continental units such as "Africa." However, our textbooks do not all agree with this premise. The materials provided here attempt to address what may be a void in background information and curricula for teachers about the region, despite the fact that the region is currently being heavily researched, and published on, by world historians.

> A recent monograph encourages us to reconsider the validity of teaching in traditional units such as continents and civilizations and asks us to instead reflect upon using the best unit possible for the question at hand.* By looking at what some have called "circum-maritime" regions and others have called "zones of interaction" or world networks, such as the Indian Ocean world, we can ask better questions about how places have connected across time and place.

* Martin W. Lewis and Karen Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Special Focus: Teaching About the Indian Ocean World

In these materials, Erik Gilbert's "Introduction to the Indian Ocean World" develops this idea and provides an overview of the changes and continuities in this region. He examines the many global connections that exist—migration, slaves, commodities, language, religion, architecture, food, fauna, agriculture, exploration, and empire expansion. David Kalivas encourages us to consider the importance of point of view and maps by looking at a variety of maps that show both perspective and content. By studying the human element, we see that the Indian Ocean world is not just about trade. The Internet lesson focuses on travelers such as Zheng He and Ibn Battuta. We see the migration of peoples and religion, as well as technologies, through these materials. The "Southernization" lesson further emphasizes the diverse nature of these exchanges. The article by Parker James reminds us of the importance of Southeast Asia and provides us with several windows into thinking about the movement of architectural style, religion, and technology.

As we look through the *AP World History Course Description*, it is apparent that the Indian Ocean world figures prominently in AP World History. Within the "Foundations" unit, a major development is the growth of interregional networks, which includes the spread of trade as well as religion. Within that context, students should be able to describe that trading system as well as places within it, including what would later be known as India, China, and comparatively the Mediterranean world. From 600 to 1450, the height of the Indian Ocean world, the references are even more numerous: interregional trade, the Islamic world, Indian Ocean trade, the spread and contacts of major religions including missionary movements, initiatives of Ming China (a reference in part to Zheng He), Arab migrations (diasporas), and the spread of disease and urban growth due to trade. The entire question concerning the existence of a world economic system at this time can be answered through a look at the dynamic nature and large scope of Indian Ocean trade. By 1450, changes in technology, trade, and encounters began to alter the balance in the Indian Ocean world. The effect of the Portuguese and later the British and the Dutch on trade and empire—as well as the spread of disease, the introduction of new foods to the region, and changes in forced labor systems—changed the region still further. Moving forward in time, issues of empire and industrialization are raised as one considers the British East India Company's role.

These materials were written specifically for AP World History teachers, thus satisfying the developments identified above, and yet this case study of the Indian Ocean world might also be used by regular-level world history teachers and professors in postsecondary schools. Teachers might choose to utilize some or all of these materials chronologically as they proceed through the course. Alternatively, teachers may wish to spend a week discussing and writing about the Indian Ocean world within the

600–1300 unit, moving backward and forward in time to show the dynamism of the region. I hope these materials provide a starting point for teaching about the region and that you will be encouraged to delve deeper into the burgeoning historical research that is becoming available. The materials here are intended to model the historical thinking skills necessary for success in AP World History. That includes strategies for working with images and maps, writing theses for essays that address comparison and change over time, answering a Document-Based Question, analyzing point of view, using primary and secondary sources, and using the Internet. My hope is that these materials provide you with not only background information and lesson ideas but also important skill-building ideas for the course.

Special Focus: Teaching About the Indian Ocean World

Introduction to the Indian Ocean World

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One of the more interesting symptoms of the newness of world history as a field is that no two world historians seem to agree on exactly what world history is. But almost everyone will concede that if world history has an opposite, something it strives not to be, it is national history. World historians have, like salmon battling their way through waterfalls and rapids, struggled mightily against academic history's dominant unit of analysis—the nation-state. Instead we have substituted other units—civilizations, areas (in the area studies sense), continents, language groups—all in attempt to get away from the limits of the nation-state. The more we employ these units of analysis, however, the more they start to seem like nation-states warmed over. Continents and civilizations, in particular, have come to be employed much like big nation-states. One answer to this challenge has been a growing interest in "zones of interaction"—places like oceans, deserts, and grasslands that have served as meeting places between peoples of different backgrounds. The Indian Ocean is one such place, and it offers the teacher examples of trade, travel, migration, imperial conquest, and religious and cultural interaction in almost any period.

The Indian Ocean is central to world history. It is unique among the world's oceans in that it was the first real ocean that humans could cross rather than just clinging to the shorelines. At times when the Atlantic and Pacific were insurmountable barriers, crossed only by accident or out of desperation and effectively separating the Old World from the New, people were busy sailing back and forth on the Indian Ocean. In many ways the Indian Ocean is more like a giant version of the Mediterranean Sea—the archetype of the manageable, human-scale body of water—than it is like the Atlantic and the Pacific. It's not just bigger than the Mediterranean; its place in the world allows it to connect far more and diverse people and places to each other. The Indian Ocean is where Africa and Eurasia come together.

A Sailor's Ocean

The Indian Ocean seems almost designed with the early sailor in mind. Most of its waters are warm. Indeed, in the summer the Red Sea and Persian Gulf can be uncomfortably hot for swimmers. Until quite recently, some fishermen in South Arabia and India went to sea in catamarans, vessels that were little more than bundles of sticks that the fisherman sat on with his feet hanging down into the water. These are also fairly

placid waters. There are big storms on the Indian Ocean, but in general the worst of the cyclonic storms stay in the southernmost part of the ocean, where there are few people.

The wind system of the Indian Ocean would seem to be tailor-made for long-distance voyaging. Unlike the Atlantic and Pacific, which have wind patterns that circulate one way north of the equator and the other way south of the equator and stay that way throughout the year, the monsoons of the Indian Ocean reverse direction in a predictable way each year. From December to March, during the northeast monsoon, the dominant winds blow from the northeast toward the southwest. From May to September, during the southwest monsoon, the pattern reverses, and the winds blow out of the southwest toward the northeast. In the Atlantic and the Pacific, long-distance voyagers often had to sail way out into the ocean in the opposite direction of where they wanted to go to get to a latitude where they could find a wind going their way. It was not until the fifteenth century that sailors first figured this out and were able to master the winds of the Atlantic. In contrast, Indian Ocean sailors could always sail with the wind behind them, needing only to wait until the right time of year brought them the wind they needed. Mariners had figured out the Indian Ocean's monsoons by at least the later centuries BCE. Thus oceanic trade and travel has a longer history on the Indian Ocean than elsewhere.

Unlike the Pacific or the Atlantic, the top of the Indian Ocean is at a low and warm latitude. The Vikings were able to cross the Atlantic by following the arc of islands across the ocean's high latitudes. One can only imagine the cold misery and danger of these voyages. Indian Ocean sailors had the luxury of being able to follow a coastline across the top of their ocean at latitudes that are quite balmy. Thus, even before sailors mastered the techniques needed for blue-water sailing, they could cross the ocean without getting far from land, or skip across the smaller bodies of water created by the inverted "W" shape of the Indian Ocean. As early as the third millennium BCE, sailors were traversing the waters between Mesopotamia and the Indus in what seem to have been very simple craft, connecting two of the region's earliest civilizations. All the world's oceans have served at various times to connect the societies on their rims, but the Indian Ocean's ease of navigation got it started ahead of the all the others, except for the Mediterranean.

The Ocean Connects

The Mediterranean may take the prize for earliest long-distance trade (there seems to have been a maritime trade in obsidian as early as 6000 BCE), but the Mediterranean lacks both the size and the cultural and ecological variety of the Indian Ocean. Scholars

have made much of the unity of the Mediterranean world, arguing that the similarities in the environment of the region coupled with the high volume of trade served to make the Mediterranean, on some fundamental level, a culturally unified place. Because so much Indian Ocean history has been inspired by the work of Fernand Braudel, whose work on Mediterranean history first proposed the idea of that sea's unity, Indian Ocean historians have long debated the applicability of that notion to the larger world of the Indian Ocean. While there is no consensus on the broader unity of the Indian Ocean, and even its most notable proponent, K. N. Chaudhuri, seems to have some reservations about the idea, some of the subregions of the Indian Ocean have a sort of unity to them. Southeast Asians may, like people in the Mediterranean, practice very different religions, but they also share ways of dressing, building houses, cooking, farming, and viewing the world. The same might be said for the somewhat larger subregion of the western Indian Ocean. Trade and environmental forces have created a lesser degree of unity in the coastal cultures of the Arabian, African, and Indian lands that border the Arabian Sea. But what is perhaps most interesting about the Indian Ocean is its lack of unity. It is big enough that it connects cultures and environments that are quite different.

The Mediterranean runs east-west, and so there is little variation in its ecology. Some bits are wetter and some drier, but mostly it's all "Mediterranean." By contrast, the Indian Ocean includes environments as varied as tropical East Africa, the deserts that border the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, the intensely wet areas of southern India, and the tropical rainforests of Southeast Asia. This ecological variety served as a stimulus to trade. The Persian Gulf had little in the way of timber, but the teak forests of India and the mangrove swamps of East Africa were only a month away by ship. Horses do not thrive in southern India, but they were needed for military purposes. Arabian horses were exported by ship to the ports of southern India to meet this need. Spices and incenses grew only in a few favored places. Pepper was grown throughout southern India, but some of the more valuable spices like nutmeg and cloves were produced in a few little islands in Southeast Asia. Frankincense comes from a few places in South Arabia and the Horn of Africa. These goods, however, were desired throughout the Indian Ocean and beyond. Ships carried these goods to distant markets.

The ecological diversity of the region is paralleled by its human diversity. Because of its size, the Indian Ocean connects several regions of Africa, Southwest Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and, to a degree, East Asia. People in these places eat different foods, dress differently, talk differently, build their houses differently, and perhaps most tellingly build their boats differently. Despite their differences, these regions and the people in them were, for most of their history, in regular and intimate contact with each other. What the Indian Ocean lacks in Braudelian unity, it makes up in vigorous cross-

cultural interaction. Its port cities, bustling with sailors waiting for the next monsoon shift, must have been among the most cosmopolitan places in the premodern world. During the seventeenth century, the Southeast Asian port of Melaka is said to have been home to 84 different languages. The easy sailing conditions coupled with the ecological diversity of the Indian Ocean made it one of the most economically and culturally dynamic places on the Earth. Until the opening of sea routes to the Americas, the Indian Ocean was the center of the world.

People in Motion

Trade sweeps up people in its wake. Merchants and sailors are the most obvious of these, but they are not the whole story. And sometimes people move around for reasons unrelated to trade. In one of the epic movements of people that made the Austronesian languages for a time the most widespread language family on the planet, Madagascar was settled by people from Southeast Asia. They came in several waves during the first millennium CE, and no one is sure what route they took, but somehow they got from one side of the ocean to the other in sufficient numbers that half the island's human genetic material derives from Southeast Asia. Those types of human migrations would never have happened at so early a date on the other oceans. The closest Atlantic parallel would be the Vikings' fleeting contact with North America. But Newfoundland, unlike Madagascar, bears only the slightest traces of the Norse presence there. The Beothuks of Newfoundland did not speak languages derived from Old Norse. The inhabitants of Madagascar speak a Malayo-Polynesian language.

Various slave trades and labor migrations have crisscrossed the Indian Ocean. The best known of these is the trade in slaves from East Africa to Arabia and India, but there was also a thriving slave trade in Southeast Asia, and slaves from that region ended up as far afield as South Africa. There was also a slave trade from India to the French-controlled islands of Mauritius and Reunion. In the nineteenth century contract workers from India flooded into East Africa and the sugar-producing island of Mauritius, while Chinese contract workers and merchants went to Southeast Asia. Both places have been permanently transformed by these migrant groups. Over 30 percent of the population of Malaysia is ethnic Chinese.

Merchants of course are inclined to travel and often settle in new places. At various times there have been colonies of Roman merchants in India; Arab Muslims and Jews in India; Indians and Chinese in Southeast Asia; Europeans in India, Southeast Asia, and East Africa; and the list could go on. But the point is that from the earliest times, when sailors from the land of Dilmun (probably Bahrain or Oman) carried goods between

the Indus and the Tigris-Euphrates regions, there have been merchant diasporas in the India Ocean world. Even now, much of the supply of spare parts for cars and trucks in East-Central Africa is controlled by merchants from the Hadhramaut region of Yemen, whose family networks stretch from East Africa to South Arabia to the Persian Gulf. Trade on the Indian Ocean is and has been cross-cultural.

Religious teachers and missionaries also have followed in trade's wake. Sometimes it is because migrant communities import teachers or priests to serve their own needs. Thus Indian merchants of the first millennium CE living in Southeast Asia brought in Brahmin priests to serve the spiritual needs of their own communities, but that led to the spread of Hinduism within the royal courts of their hosts. Later, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Muslim scholars from the Hadhramaut would travel to Java and Sumatra to tend to the educational and spiritual needs of Arab merchants there but also to proselytize the Sumatrans and Javanese. Hadhrami religious scholars likewise played a major role in shaping the practice of Islam in nineteenth- and twentieth-century East Africa.

Imperialism

The Indian Ocean has also been the scene of much empire building. While the pace of that empire building picked up after 1500, long before then the Sassanian Empire stretched down the Persian Gulf into South Arabia briefly, and the Ottoman Turks had their own imperial venture on the Red Sea. Zheng He's fifteenth-century voyages might also be seen as a mildly imperialist venture. The arrival of the Portuguese after 1500 led to a new approach to empire, as the Portuguese focused on controlling the sea lanes. Their attempt at controlling the sea, though never that successful, was a novelty. No previous power in the Indian Ocean had sought to do much more than the occasional suppression of piracy. The Portuguese essentially tried to institutionalize it. Most scholars accept that despite their best efforts, the Portuguese had a fairly limited effect on Indian Ocean trade. Not so the Dutch and English East India Companies. If the Portuguese were imperialists with commercial interests, the Dutch and English Companies were businesses with a sideline in empire. Both ended up with significant territorial possessions and with sufficient control over commerce to reshape sea trade and even production. Because they were organized as joint stock companies, both also had access to a great deal more capital than either the Portuguese or any of their merchant rivals in the Indian Ocean. Thus they are considered to have had a much more profound effect on the region than the Portuguese did.

Traditionally the arrival of the Dutch and the English is seen as the final chapter in the story of the Indian Ocean. The growing power of the English, Dutch, and, to a lesser extent, the French gave them a growing share of the region's trade and led to a much greater integration of the Ocean's economy into the Atlantic and even the Pacific. The ultimate death knell was rung by the arrival of the steamship, which made the monsoons more or less irrelevant and outcompeted local sailing vessels. Thus most Indian Ocean histories end in 1750.

In the last five years there has been a growing interest in the Indian Ocean world since 1750. Even as European empires came to dominate the region, regional trade continued, functioning often as a parallel or niche market. Trade goods that for one reason or another could not bear the cost of shipment in a steamer continued to move in locally owned sailing ships. The continued use of dhows, prahus, and junks meant that there were sea trades in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that were mostly outside the control of the colonial powers. It also meant that the movement of sailors and merchants continued to follow the patterns of the monsoons. European imperialism also had the effect of increasing the opportunities that some groups of people had for movement within the region. Indians in particular moved within the British Empire in the Indian Ocean. Large numbers of Indians came to East Africa as merchants, as contract laborers, and as low-level bureaucrats. Indians also followed the British flag to Malaya and Yemen. Steamships also amplified some older sources of human movement. The Hajj became much cheaper and safer when steamships became common, and the numbers of pilgrims traveling from India and Southeast Asia increased correspondingly. Even the advent of air travel and the oil economy of the Persian Gulf have not completely stamped out the old patterns of human movement. There is a steady movement of people between Oman and Zanzibar, two places that were once linked by the dhow trade but are now even more intimately connected by a daily Gulf Air flight. Southern India is full of big houses paid for with money earned by the many Indians who work in the Persian Gulf. The monsoons may not set the pace of trade and travel anymore, but the Indian Ocean is still alive with the movement of people and goods.

The Indian Ocean and World History

One of the main themes of the AP World History course is cross-cultural interaction. Historian Jerry Bentley has suggested that three of the most important forms that cross-cultural interaction takes are long-distance trade, migration, and imperialism. The Indian Ocean is a good place for teachers to address all of these issues. Some of the world's earliest long-distance trade took place there. Arguably, between 1000 and 1500 the Indian Ocean was the geographical center of the world economy. The region

was central to European imperialism, and it continues to be a region awash in migrants. There is hardly a major historical phenomenon, trend, or era that does not have its Indian Ocean component or example. The Indian Ocean is central to world history, and it should be central to the AP World History course.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Barendse, R. J. *The Arabian Seas*. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2002.

Chaudhuri, K. N. *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Chaudhuri, K. N. *Asia Before Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Hourani, G. F. *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963/1995.

Kearney, Milo. *The Indian Ocean in World History*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Pearson, M. N. *The Indian Ocean*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Ray, Himanshu Prabha. *The Archaeology of Seafaring in Ancient South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Indian Ocean Trade: A Practice Thesis-Writing Activity

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What is a good thesis? Students struggle with this idea constantly, whether writing a change-over-time essay, document-based piece, or comparison essay. The opportunity to create a road map, showing what will be proven with evidence throughout an essay, is daunting, but if students use the correct tools, the task is manageable and the students will be successful. Good thesis writing begins with looking critically at the question and determining groups that will answer the question. Students need to be able to organize their essays through that short statement, setting them up for how they will organize their entire essay. Indian Ocean trade changed over time; this statement does not tell the reader what caused that change, where change was seen, or what outside forces facilitated this change. Our students need to create better maps in writing their essays using specific information and historical facts.

Objectives

- Students will design a good thesis statement using graphic organizers.
- Students will analyze information through graphic organizers and small-group discussions.

Materials

Tables on Indian Ocean change over time (included below)
- AP World History Exam questions from past years (at AP Central)
- AP World History Exam sample answers (at AP Central)

Procedure

Before the students enter the room, the teacher should write the following on the board:

> A thesis should address all parts of the question, take a position on the question, and set out categories for discussion.

1. Students brainstorm what a good thesis means. They should recall the idea of using this statement as a road map for what they will prove throughout the essay. Students should be familiar with thesis writing and the change-over-time essay format for the AP Exam. Students will write a thesis statement by the end of the period using techniques modeled throughout this lesson.
2. Students are given the following thesis statement:

   Indian Ocean trade changed over time from 500 BCE to 1400 CE.

3. Have students volunteer information about why this thesis does not work, without even knowing what the question asks of them. Students should see that this statement is too general and that evidence and reasons need to be given of the changes in Indian Ocean trade.
4. Using the tables provided at the end of this article, ask students to create discrete categories of analysis, focusing on why the Indian Ocean changed over time. Sample groups are technology, interactions between different groups, geography and nature, conquest/colonization, religion, and diplomacy.
5. Have students look at the following outline of an imaginary essay, which provides the topic sentences and evidence. Using this outline, ask the students to create a better thesis statement than the first thesis of "Indian Ocean trade changed over time from 500 BCE to the present." See handout 1 on page 17.
6. Students share their thesis statements. Students could write their thesis statements on the board to initiate a classroom discussion about who came up with the best road map without simply restating the topic sentences. Which thesis statements work best, and what are the similarities students see comparing the statements? The teacher should be sure students are looking at places as well as periodization.

An Alternative Activity

1. Students look at the tables to come up with their own thesis statements regarding the following question:

   Analyze the changes and continuities in the Indian Ocean region from 500 BCE to 1400 CE. Discuss economic, cultural, and demographic factors. Using 500 BCE as a starting point, include examples from at least three of the following regions: South, Southeast, and East Asia; the Middle East; and East Africa.

2. In small groups, have the students come up with thesis statements to answer this question. Possible answers might be:
   A. Indian Ocean trade changed in the Middle East, East Asia, and East Africa due to new markets, new technologies coming from Asia, and disease.
   B. From 500 BCE to 1400 CE, Indian Ocean trade changed from a system based on short travel over land, where few goods were traded to a small number of people, to a system expanded by interactions with the Islamic world, and finally into a world economy, causing a number of diaspora communities.
   C. From the fifth century BCE to the first century CE, Indian Ocean trade was concentrated on land trade, with India's political stability facilitating trade. With the technological advances made from 500 BCE to 1000 CE, trade was conducted in the Indian Ocean with new maritime knowledge, with dhows and junks continuing to connect Africa to the rest of the world. From 1000 CE to 1400 CE, the growth of African city-states stimulated trade with Islamic and Chinese merchants, intensifying trading networks through this interaction.

   Note to teacher: None of the possibilities listed above are perfect, but it is valuable to have students critique these as a means of improving their own. For example, in A, the thesis does provide a clear road map, but how did the trade change? (For the better?) In B, the thesis provides clear periodization, but it is unclear that there were diaspora communities since early times. C is a bit too lengthy, though it does a nice job with periodization and analysis.
3. This is a loaded question with many thesis statements possible. Looking at the contributions from the class, start to analyze what has been written. Is periodization seen? Do these groups of time make sense? Are different areas addressed? Use examples to show students how to address these splits in times to help them organize their essays and create effective thesis statements.
4. Extension: Look at the same topic as a comparison question. Have the students come up with ideas of grouping for a compare-and-contrast lesson. For example:

   > Compare and contrast the economic, cultural, and demographic factors that led to the change of the Indian Ocean trade network in at least three of the following regions: South, Southeast, and East Asia; the Middle East; and East Africa.
   > - Exchange of ideas, religion, goods, and agricultural crops
   > - Specialized goods: Southeast Asian spices, Southwest Asian horses, East African slaves, ivory and gold
   > - Trade diasporas: Rise of Islam, success of Muslim merchants, and expansion in Southeast Asia due to decline of Mongols

Conclusion

Students will raise questions of difficulties they find in writing good thesis statements.

1. Students will view past change-over-time questions to come up with sample thesis statements.
2. Using sample essays from past AP Exams, students will critique thesis statements of those questions.

Handout 1

Thesis Practice: Indian Ocean Trade
Bad thesis:
"Indian Ocean trade changed over time from 500 BCE to the present."

Rewrite the thesis above using the "Imaginary Essay Outline" below. Be sure that your thesis explains why or how, as well as gives an indication for how the essay will be organized.

Imaginary Essay Outline

I. New technology allowed Indian Ocean trade to expand from 500 BCE to 1000 CE.
   A. Maritime knowledge
   B. Dhows from India
   C. Chinese junks

II. Interactions between different peoples led to further expansion of trade from 1000 CE to 1400.
   A. Islamic world
   B. Arrival of Europeans in Africa
   C. Asians still dominant in trade

III. Globalization has led to creating a stronger Indian Ocean trade network from 1400 to the present day.
   A. Control of trade markets
   B. Imperialism/colonization
   C. Diaspora

Table 1

Time Period	Basic Features at Beginning of the Period	Basic Features at the End of the Period	Key Changes	Key Continuities	Reasons for Change or Continuity
Foundations Mauryan era Fifth century BCE to first century BCE	Long-distance travel over land from India to Persia and Mediterranean and Silk Roads to China	Trade by Indian merchants from Southeast Asia to India; products from India and beyond to Rome	Maritime knowledge of Indian Ocean winds following coastline; growth of trade	Long-distance trade by land; trade in exotic products for elite: silk, spices, and gems	New technologies New markets Political empires' growth and stability
500 BCE to 1000 CE	Regular trade with mariners from Rome (pepper) Coastal trade still the norm	Use of dhows—large stable ships carrying more tonnage Use of Chinese junks; trade conducted in stages	Increase in food surplus; growth of trade; larger ships; better commercial organization; Indian artisans create export market	India as emporia—way station Trade diaspora communities	New technology, increased stability and prosperity led to increased demand and local specialization
500 CE to 1400 CE	Fourth to fifth century Malay trade colonies in Madagascar; most East Africans agricultural	Wealthy Swahili city-states: Kilwa, Sofala, Zanzibar Based on trade in gold, ivory, and porcelain	Swahili peoples trade with Islamic merchants; West Africa—growth of trade	Part of interior and wider Indian Ocean trade China, India, Islamic world	Spread of Islamic trading; networks into East Africa

Time Period	Basic Features at Beginning of the Period	Basic Features at the End of the Period	Key Changes	Key Continuities	Reasons for Change or Continuity
1400 CE to 1750 CE	Wealthy city-states—strong system of trade in entire region; Zheng He voyages	Europeans now part of trade network to seek money in spice and silk trade	Arrival of Portuguese followed by Dutch and English; Vasco de Gama 1487 Trading posts empires; joint-stock companies	Strong Indian Ocean trade; Asians still dominant players	Arrival of Europeans—short term; infections, money; increased gunpowder, number and size of European ships by 1700s
1750 CE to present	European control of Indian Ocean trade markets (British East India Co.) Beginning of colonies	ASEAN dominates control of parts of trade; integrated part of world economy	Use of steamships, railway as part of imperialism, control of trade Increasingly intense globalization	Diaspora communities; pirates, spices, cotton	Trade more dependent on air Globalization

Table 2. Change Analysis: Indian Ocean

Time Period	Basic Characteristics of the Theme in Time Period	Examples from Three Specific Societies	Key Changes from Previous Period	Key Continuities or Similarities to Previous Period	Reasons for Change or Continuities
1000 to 1450	Centered in Indian Ocean but connected to trade patterns in trans-Sahara, silk routes, South Asian, and European/ Mediterranean/ Middle East	Dar al-Islam promotes trade from Spain to India Mongols revive silk routes	Silk Route extended in East Europe Crusades revive trade between Europe and Middle East	Silk routes Indian merchants dominate Indian Ocean	Mongols keep peace Crusades Monsoons promote trade in Indian Ocean
	Asian and European, Mediterranean, and the Middle East dominated by Arabs and Indians. Growth of trade cities in Africa, India, China, Central Asia, and Italy Trade in spices and luxury goods overland, bulk by sea Transregional	Europe isolated at first African gold and salt trade	Africa connected to Mediterranean/ Indian Ocean trade Demographic changes—population growth in Asia, decline in Europe New types of long-distance trading	Demand for goods from China and India	Africa provides two-thirds of world's gold China has strong economic and governmental support for innovation New crops, disease, and technology Trade, diplomacy, and missionaries

Time Period	Basic Characteristics of the Theme in Time Period	Examples from Three Specific Societies	Key Changes from Previous Period	Key Continuities or Similarities to Previous Period	Reasons for Change or Continuities
1450 to 1750	Atlantic-centered but connected to Pacific silver trade, and on to south Asian and Indian Ocean Slaves, precious minerals, food crops Global trade/global economy	European colonial empires in Americas Atlantic slave trade—impact on both ends Manilla galleons	Shift from Arabs and Asians to Europeans in maritime trade Global Columbian exchange—food and disease	Continued demand for Asian goods results in continued strong economy for China. Arabs retain control over overland trade routes and centers. Increased cultural diffusion on a global scale	Conquest/ colonization of new areas of the world China still major supplier of silk, tea, and so on Europeans develop technology as an advantage
	Dominated by Europeans Major demographic changes worldwide		Atlantic slave trade Spanish silver drives trade Portuguese then Dutch take control of Indian Ocean		Gunpowder empire of Ottoman, Mughal, Ming/ China favor stability over innovation by 1750 Slaves needed in Americas to produce crops, work mines Transfer of new foods and disease

Southernization Lesson Plan

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Rationale

The ideas contained in "Southernization" by Lynda Shaffer (*Journal of World History*, 1994) are provocative. The reading helps students to understand the early and diverse roots of movement in the Indian Ocean trade. It does raise the question of whether the term "southernization" is any better than the idea of "westernization." The format of the inner-outer circle discussion below allows students to debate this point as well as to analyze the article.

Procedure

1. Provide the full article for students to read in advance. Using the version of the article from the Dunn reader allows students to also read the John Voll response. They should draw a mental map of Afro-Eurasia prior to reading. As they read, they should take notes on the map, being sure to use arrows to show connections as ideas, commodities, and people move.
2. Once they complete the reading and the map, students should compose five higher-level questions to use for discussing the reading. They should also answer the questions. Students should think about questions that are more analytical. For example, one of my students once asked, "Does the process of southernization point to early capitalism in the Indian Ocean region?"
3. As class starts, check to make sure all students have already completed their questions. In class, place the students in two equal circles (one inner and one outer), where the students in the inner circle will begin to ask one another their questions. The students in the outer circle should note what goods, ideas, persons, and so on are moving and connecting with other areas or groups. Students should then be directed to speak at least three times (or another number the teacher determines based upon the time available and the number of students involved)—either responding to or answering questions. The teacher may wish to assign a facilitator within the group to help the discussion flow. After 15 to 20 minutes (or longer as desired), switch the two groups. The new inner circle repeats the process. (This method is also called "fishbowl.")
4. At the end of class, have students turn in their questions and answers as well as their notes. The teacher might also assess the quality of their comments in the discussion.

Alternative Activity

Rather than have the students complete the reading and participate in a graded discussion, provide students with the hand-drawn map attached here, which includes information from the reading. They should then answer the "Southernization Questions" using the map. I have used this strategy with my lower-level students. My AP students enjoy the Shaffer reading.

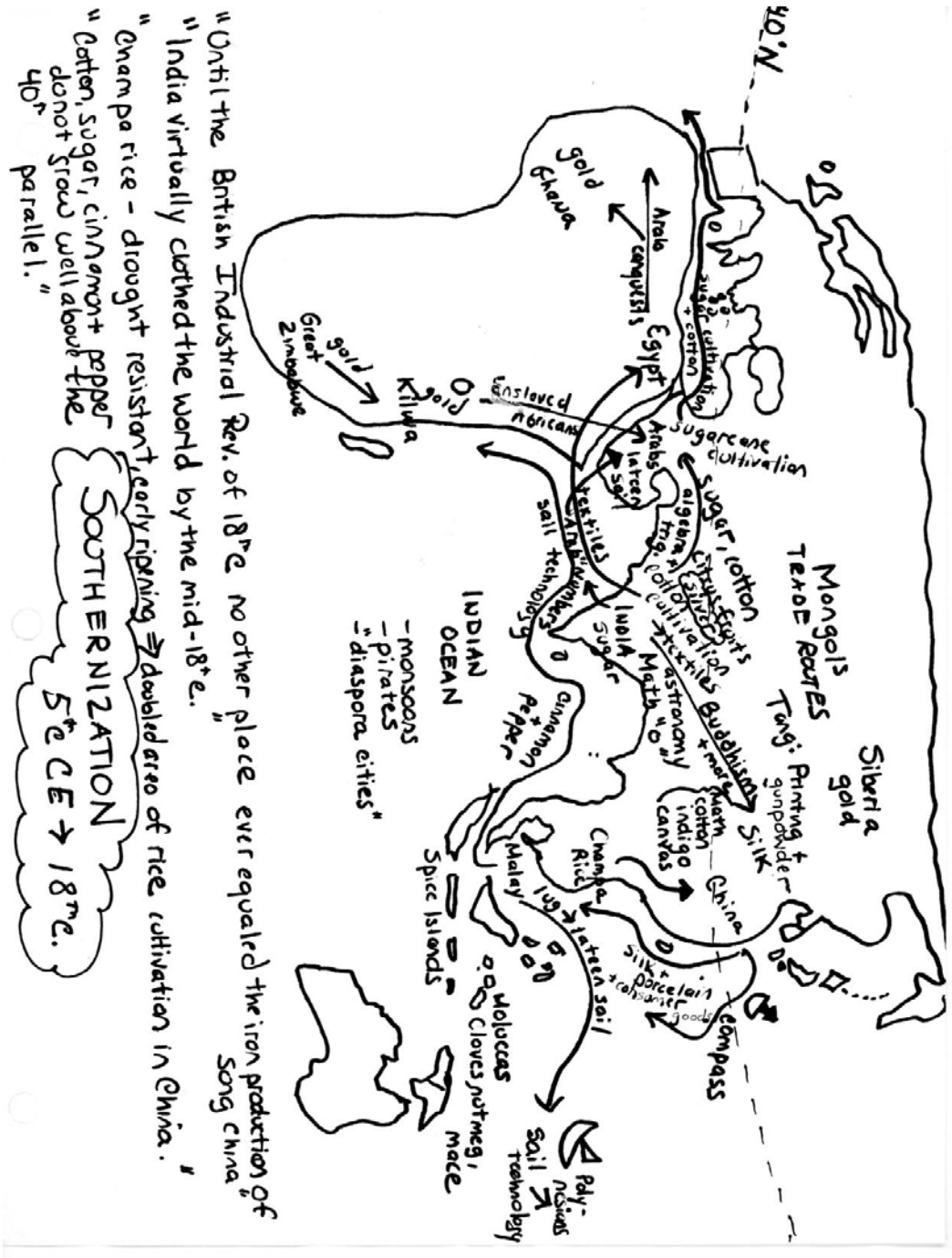
Suggested Background Materials

Shaffer, Lynda. "Southernization." *Journal of World History* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1994). From the abstract:

> A process called southernization first began in Southern Asia. By the fifth century C.E., developments associated with southernization were present in India, whence they spread to China and then to the Middle East and the Mediterranean basin. After 1200 they began to have an impact on southern Europe. These developments included the discovery of bullion sources, the emergence of a new mathematics, the pioneering of trade routes, the trade in tropical spices, the cultivation of southern crops such as sugar and cotton, and the invention of various technologies.

The article may also be found in a slightly abridged form in Ross Dunn, ed., *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion* (2000), and an even shorter segment is available in Reilly, *Worlds of History*, vol. 1. It is also available as one of the Essays on Global and Comparative History through the AHA (www.historians.org/pubs/globals.htm).

Map: Southernization, Fifth Century to Eighteenth Century



Southernization Questions

These questions are based on the article "Southernization" by Lynda Shaffer (*Journal of World History*, 1994).

Use the map to answer the following questions:

1. Describe examples of interaction that you see in the Indian Ocean basin.
2. What commodities were being transported through the Indian Ocean? To where? From where?
3. What is the global significance of southernization? (Give at least *three* examples.)
4. Explain this statement from the article: "Full southernization and the wealth that we now associate with northwestern Europe came about only after their outright seizure of tropical and subtropical territories and their rounding of Africa and participation in Southern Ocean trade."
5. Explain how all of the following were repercussions of southernization:
   - World-changing Chinese inventions of compass, printing, and gunpowder
   - Transmission of bubonic plague from China to the Middle East, Africa, and Europe
   - Expansion of Islam
   - Portuguese (European) exploration success (compass and lateen sail)
6. What do you think motivated the author to use the term "southernization" to describe these exchanges in world history?

Studying Java's Hindu-Buddhist Heritage Through Architecture

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Southeast Asia in a Global Context

Southeast Asia lies at the point where the Indian Ocean meets the South China Sea. It is a central point on the maritime trade nexus that has helped to link the Afro-Eurasian world together for millennia. Seafaring Southeast Asians have been active participants in this transcontinental trade for at least two thousand years. Southeast Asians—especially speakers of the "Austronesian" family of languages (also known as the Malayo-Polynesian family)—were among the world's first open-ocean navigators (see Map 1 on page 34). Their early activity in the Indian Ocean is still evidenced by the widespread use of the archetypal Austronesian sailboat—the outrigger canoe—as far west as the Swahili Coast of Africa and the island of Madagascar. The connection between Madagascar and the Indonesian archipelago is especially close, since linguistic clues and genetic evidence have combined to prove that the earliest human inhabitants of the island were migrants from Island Southeast Asia. Austronesian migrants also moved eastward to colonize the islands of Polynesia, as far as Easter Island in the eastern Pacific, and as far south as New Zealand. All of this migration took place centuries before the so-called European voyages of discovery.

Southeast Asia attracted foreign traders to their shores as well. Traders from around the Indian Ocean Basin, as well as from China, followed the monsoon winds to ports around Southeast Asia in order to trade their goods for spices and gold. Such traders needed to be resident in those ports for months at a time, since they needed to wait for these "trade winds" to change direction, as they do twice a year. Such long periods of residence provided ample opportunity for cultural exchange, and for millennia the peoples of Southeast Asia have been masters of cultural borrowing. During the region's so-called "classical period," which corresponds more or less with the time that we in the West call our "medieval" or "middle" age, Southeast Asians were particularly keen to borrow from India, as Indian religious and cultural forms proved well suited for adaptation to local social conditions.

Southeast Asian peoples share a set of indigenous cultural elements that give the region a distinct shared identity and also distinguish them from the cultural giants to the west and north. Among these is a relatively high status for women in society and an

animist religious tradition based on the veneration and propitiation of various local spirits. Imported cultural ideas and forms tend to coexist with these indigenous cultural elements, to be integrated with them, and to be altered in the process. The result is a region with a distinctly hybrid culture, one that tends to welcome outside cultural influences and to incorporate them creatively and on their own terms.

Southeast Asia is also known for its distinctive regional architecture, especially so for the grand stone monuments that grace the ruins of what were once the region's great cities. The following lesson deals with two of the earliest of these great stone monuments: the great Buddhist stupa known as Borobudur (thought to have been built between 778 and 824 CE) and the nearby Hindu temple complex known as Prambanan, also known as Lorojonggrang Temple (thought to have been built around 850 CE). These great monuments were constructed in a fertile central region of the island of Java, in the eighth and ninth centuries BCE, which was home to the world's densest Austronesian population.

Classical Java was enormously rich and its central region especially so. Central Java is a remarkable place. The soil is volcanic, and the tropical monsoon climate yields copious rainfall, although concentrated in a rainy season. If that water is stored and channeled through irrigation canals, the rich soil can easily produce three rice crops per year. This was a strong incentive for developing hydraulic resources, and from early times the Javanese were brilliant managers of their water resources. The elaborate network of rice terraces in Java and Bali are among the most remarkable human achievements in the world today: massive earthworks built largely by human labor and locally managed at the village level. This resulted in an agricultural economy that yielded a large surplus.

Another source of Java's wealth was that the islanders maintained exclusive control of the world's trade in "fine spices," particularly cloves and nutmeg, for many centuries. Java controlled access to the Banda Islands, also known as the Spice Islands, which at the time were the only places on earth where those spices could be grown. When the spices were harvested they were transported to Java, and traders who wished to buy those spices had to do their business there. The result was a lucrative trade that was balanced for centuries in Java's favor. This trade, combined with the island's extraordinary agricultural productivity, allowed the Javanese to support a dense population. Most Javanese were peasants, directly involved in wet rice cultivation. However, the agriculture of Central Java was so productive that it was possible to support a relatively dense population, and there was sufficient surplus to support a significant portion of society engaged in nonagricultural pursuits. Among these were people who worked as artists, musicians, dancers, engineers, stonecutters, masons, weavers, scholars, religious figures, and government officials.

Borobudur

The most famous of Java's classical monuments is Borobudur, and it remains the largest Buddhist structure extant in the world today. Borobudur was commissioned during the period when the Sailendra dynasty ruled Central Java. The Sailendras were not native to Java. They claimed roots from the dynasty that ruled Funan, a Hindu-Buddhist state centered on the lower Mekong basin in the early centuries of the first millennium, as well as from the dynasty that ruled Srivijaya, a kingdom likely centered at Palembang, on the eastern coast of Sumatra. Srivijaya's wealth and prestige were based on its control of the Straits of Malaka (an important shipping lane that links the Indian Ocean basin with the South China Sea) from about 200 to about 1400 CE. The Sailendra ruled Central Java from the middle of the eighth century CE until the year 832.

Javanese Buddhism

The Sailendra were Mahayana Buddhists, and Borobudur was built as a monument to their religion. Buddhists see life on earth as a nearly endless cycle of reincarnation. They believe that the experience of people in the physical world is characterized mostly by suffering, and that the root cause of suffering is desire. The way of the Buddha promises individual practitioners alleviation from this suffering either as a reward for meritorious conduct or through a process by which individuals disengage from the physical world through meditation and other practices. Buddhist enlightenment leads ultimately to "nirvana," a blissful state that results in the extinguishment of the soul, a permanent release from consciousness and thus from the cycle of reincarnation.

The monument of Borobudur is designed to be a physical manifestation of this idea in stone. The building is built in a form that resembles a step pyramid, with a number of different levels. The lowest levels depict earthly life, with each successive level depicting steps in the Buddhist's path to enlightenment.

Photograph by Mark Long. Copyright © 2005 borobudur.tv.

The top level is an expression of sublimity. It lacks the detailed ornamentation of the lower levels. Instead there is just the viewer, the sky, and a series of bell-shaped stupas, each with a meditative Buddha figure lodging inside.

Some scholars have interpreted the monument at Borobudur as a case of pure borrowing from India. To a partial extent, they are right. The style of the sculpture and the manner in which those representations are manifested seem to be borrowed more or less directly from patterns already established in India. But Borobudur itself was something entirely new. It was technically a stupa, but it was unlike any stupa that had ever been imagined. It was constructed on an unprecedented scale and indeed remains the largest Buddhist religious structure extant in the world today—a veritable manmade mountain.

This makes sense, considering the area in which it was constructed. Java sits on an active tectonic zone, part of the famous Pacific "Ring of Fire." Because of this, the island is highly prone to volcanism. Two volcanoes, Mount Merapi and Mount Merbabu, dominate the immediate area in which Borobudur was constructed, and Mount Merapi (whose name literally means "fire mountain") is nearly continuously active, with eruptions often visible in the local area both night and day.

Photograph by Mark Long. Copyright © 2005 borobudur.tv.

These mountains are dynamic features of the local landscape and were considered to be sacred by the local inhabitants. The design for Borobudur reflects both the landscape in which it was built and the attitudes of the people who designed and constructed it toward that landscape. While its design incorporates aspects of Buddhist archetypes such as the stupa and the mandala, these elements are merged with the notion of the sacred mountain, appropriate for a society where people lived at the feet of active volcanoes that, for them, were alive with spiritual power. Borobudur is thus an excellent example of the Southeast Asian genius for hybridized cultural borrowing. Although based on imported forms, the building is creatively adapted to conform to local needs and norms, with a result that was entirely new.

Prambanan

Borobudur is such an extraordinary monument that it is often studied alone. That can be misleading, because it is a Buddhist monument, which could lead to students understanding classical Java as merely a Buddhist society. The temple complexes at Borobudur and Prambanan in Central Java are best understood in relation to each other. When the Sailendra dynasty fell from power in Java, in 832 CE, a Hindu dynasty known as the Sanjaya rose to replace them. It was they who founded the kingdom of Mataram, and it was they who commissioned the temple complex at Prambanan to be built, and in the long run, Hinduism influenced Java's hybrid religious tradition far more heavily than did Buddhism.

Photograph by Mark Long. Copyright © 2005 borobudur.tv.

Javanese Hinduism

Most Americans think of Hinduism as a complex religion with many gods, and there is truth to this. However, there is simplicity within the complexity because—like Christianity—Hinduism is based on a trinity. The beings in the Hindu trinity are Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the preserver; and Shiva, the destroyer. As in Christianity, these are considered to be three manifestations of a single universal being. Here is how it works: In the beginning, there was the one. The one was in a state of perfect existence in which there was no consciousness, no self, and no otherness. All was one. There was no need to distinguish between the universal and the particular, because they were the same. However, there came a point at which the one became conscious of its own existence, and that was when the universe came into being. Upon achieving consciousness, the universal one gained an identity, which was Brahma, and as Brahma came into being he immediately split into two, to become Shiva and Vishnu. All beings in the universe, whether mortal or divine, are individual manifestations of Brahma. Vishnu endeavors to maintain the universal order, but the day will come when Shiva

will destroy it. That destruction is really a creative act, because the universe will then be reincarnated in the form of the universal one, and the cycle will begin again.

The temple complex at Prambanan is a physical manifestation of the Hindu trinity. Its three great towers represent Brahma (to the left), Shiva (in the middle), and Vishnu (to the right). Javanese Hinduism was particularly partial to Shiva; therefore, the tower dedicated to him is the tallest of the three. Many of the bas-reliefs in the temple complex are devoted to depicting the Ramayana, one of the two great Hindu epics (the other being the Mahabharata). But this is also a Javanese monument; therefore, these towers also represent the local sacred mountains.

Not long after the completion of the temples at Prambanan, the Sanjaya dynasty that commissioned it fell from power, and sometime thereafter the kingdom of Mataram appears to have experienced a catastrophic natural disaster. The nature of that disaster has yet to be determined, but the evidence appears to point toward an eruption of Mount Merapi as a likely possibility. Regardless of the source, the result was that the region's dense population was dispersed, and the centers of Javanese cultural activity moved elsewhere on the island. Both sites were eventually abandoned. An earthquake toppled the temples at Prambanan, while Borobudur remained mostly intact but slowly disappeared into the jungle. While these monuments were never forgotten by the local inhabitants, they were neither excavated nor restored until relatively recently. Both are now listed as UNESCO World Heritage sites.

The classical civilization of Java continued to flourish for many centuries. Buddhism there eventually fused with Hinduism to become "Hindu-Buddhism," a syncretic religious and cultural tradition that was widely practiced on both the mainland and the islands of Southeast Asia throughout the classical age. The famous Khmer temple complex known as Angkor Wat in Cambodia is a notable example of later Hindu-Buddhist architecture.

On Java, Islam gradually supplanted Hindu-Buddhism as local residents mingled with Muslim traders who hailed from both India and the Arab world (see Map 2). Although Muslim traders had visited Java for many centuries, the conversion of the local population began in earnest in about the fourteenth century, when the Islamized maritime Malay trading state of Pasai, located in northern Sumatra, began to export its language and culture through its commercial links in Island Southeast Asia. In Java, Islam spread gradually from the coast to the interior, in a process that took many generations. However, by the turn of the sixteenth century CE, nearly the entire population of the island was converted to Islam. Hindu-Buddhism continued

to be practiced on the island, however, and saw a final flowering in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the eastern kingdom of Majapahit. When Majapahit finally collapsed, around the turn of the sixteenth century, the Majapahit court and religious community decamped for the island of Bali, where they maintained those traditions for centuries. The Hindu-Buddhist religious and cultural traditions continue to flourish there today.

As was the case with their earlier religious traditions, the Javanese altered Islam in the process of incorporating it. The result is a hybrid form of Islam that is uniquely Indonesian. It was Sufi Islam that came to dominate the religious life of the island, a form of the religion prone toward mysticism and tolerant of syncretism. Javanese Islam allows local people to acknowledge indigenous religious traditions, and people continue to propitiate those spirits (now referred to by the suitable Islamic term "ginn"). Today, Indonesia is the most populous Muslim nation on the planet, but it is also a nation whose national symbol (as well as the name of its national airline) is Garuda—the Hindi eagle deity who serves as the vehicle of Vishnu.

Further Reading

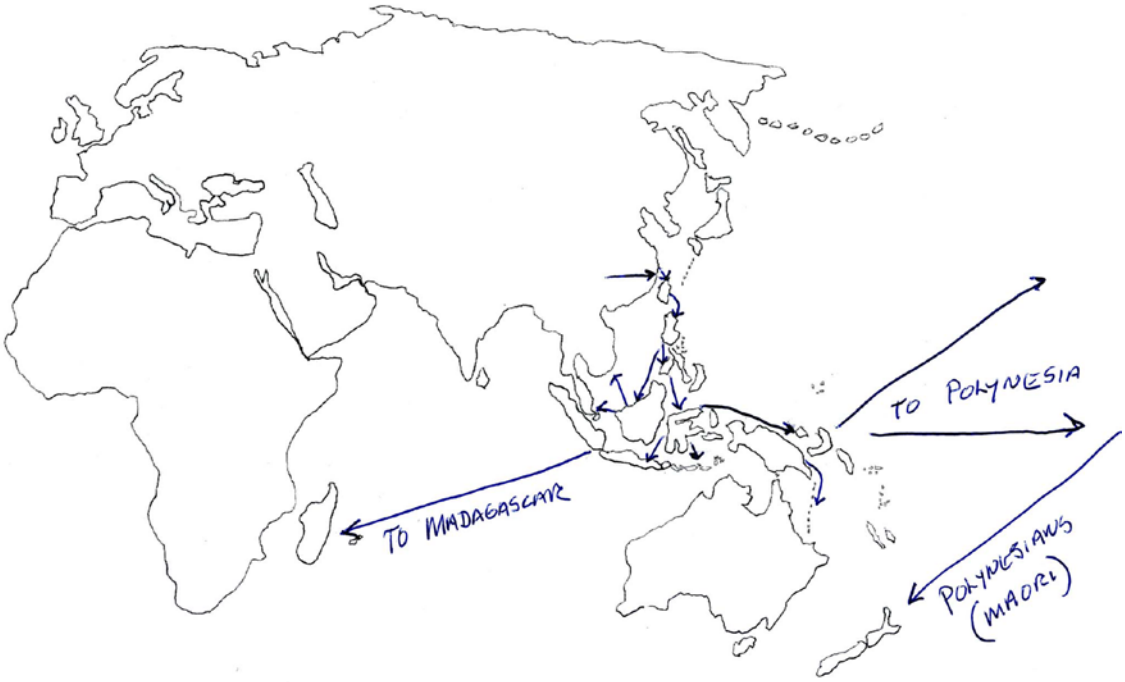
Bellwood, Peter. *The Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysia Archipelago*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997.

Reid, Anthony. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce: 1450-1680, Volume 1: The Lands Below the Winds*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1988.

Tarling, Nicholas, ed. *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

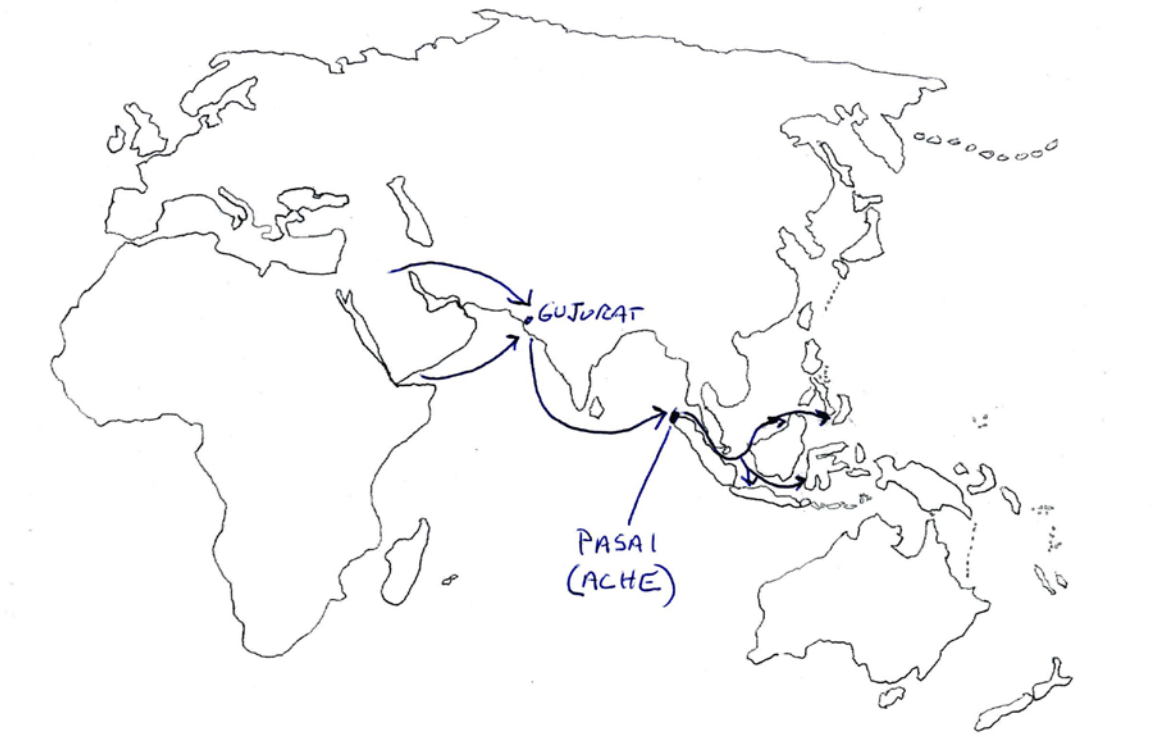
Web site: www.borobudur.tv [A comprehensive guide to Javanese religious traditions.]

Map 1: The Austronesian Expansion



The Austronesian family of languages, of which Javanese, Malay, and Indonesian are members, is one of the most widely distributed language families on earth. Speakers range from Madagascar in the western Indian Ocean to Easter Island in the eastern Pacific and include nearly the entire population of Island Southeast Asia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, as well as the indigenous Maori population of New Zealand. This broad distribution is evidence of a remarkable seaborne migration that began with the colonization of Taiwan, sometime before 3000 BCE. Significant dates (all approximate) include their migration to Java by about 1500 BCE, east to Hawaii and west to Madagascar by about 500 CE, and southward to New Zealand by about 1300 CE. The Austronesian family includes more than a thousand individual languages bound together by shared history, morphology, and structure.

Map 2: The Coming of Islam



The map above depicts a possible route by which Islam migrated into the Indonesian archipelago. Islam migrated into Southeast Asia primarily by maritime trade routes. Some scholars credit Gujurati traders for carrying Islam into the region; others believe that it diffused there directly from the Arab world. A watershed event, however, was the conversion of the north Sumatran kingdom of Pasai to Islam (near the contemporary sultanate of Ache) in the late thirteenth century. The Pasai monarchy supported the development of a new Islamic Malay culture, which quickly spread along maritime trade routes. Especially significant was the creation of "Jawi," a written form of the Malay language, based on the Arabic script. A second watershed came with the rise of the sultanate of Malacca, which came to dominate maritime Southeast Asia in the course of the fifteenth century. This new, robust, Malay culture speeded the spread of Islam into much of Island Southeast Asia. In Java, the spread of Islam was a gradual process and took many generations. It spread first to port cities along the coast and then migrated slowly inland. This process can be considered complete with the extinction of Majapahit, the last of Java's Hindu-Buddhist monarchies, in 1520. Javanese Islam tended to absorb, rather than supplant, aspects of the island's existing religious belief systems—both animist and Hindu-Buddhist. It can therefore be understood as a product of processes of religious syncretism.

Class Discussion of Assigned Reading

Divide the class into groups and have them discuss the following questions related to the above reading. Each group should assign one member as secretary. The secretary will take notes on the group discussion and report the results to the class.

1. What is syncretism? Use examples from the reading.
2. What is hybridity? Use examples from the reading.
3. Is adapting a borrowed design to local conditions an example of creativity?
4. What are some examples of cultural hybridizations in contemporary America?
5. What were the characteristic religions of Island Southeast Asia during the period under discussion?
   a. Which of them were imported?
   b. Which of them were indigenous?
   c. Which of them were hybrid?
   d. How are they reflected in the architecture of Borobudur?
   e. How are they reflected in the architecture of Prambanan?
6. How do Buddhism and Hinduism differ from each other? How are they similar?
7. Who were the Sailendras and the Sanjayas? Why were they significant to the story of Borobudur and Prambanan?
8. Why is Borobudur a good example of how Southeast Asians adapt borrowed forms to local conditions?
9. Why is Mount Merapi significant to this story?

Conclusions

Write a one-page reflection from the perspective of a Dutch trader arriving in Java in 1620. Describe what he sees, being sure to include examples of the varying cultural influences on architecture.

Or

Sketch an imaginary architectural structure that might be found in Southeast Asia that reflects syncretism and/or hybridism.

Using the Built Environment As Historical Evidence: The Cases of Borobudur and Prambanan

Most historians use written documents as their primary forms of evidence. One problem with this method is that it privileges literate societies over nonliterate ones or,

as is the case with eighth-century Java, a literate society from which very little textual evidence has survived. This false notion reinforces widely held beliefs that nonliterate societies exist outside of the historical realm—that they are "primitive," "timeless," and static—in marked opposition to the notion of the dynamic progress of societies engaged in historical change. One way we can mitigate this disparity is to look beyond historians' traditional inventory of textual evidence to evidence gleaned from other aspects of a society's culture—for example, from its technology, its art, or its material culture. In this lesson, we will investigate how architecture can be used as historical evidence.

The built environment—whether in the form of great monuments or of everyday "vernacular" buildings—documents aspects of the culture and society in which it was built and used. There is a broad spectrum of meaning present in any building. These range from sculptural representations and epigraphic texts consciously etched into a stone facade to less-conscious reflections of social norms (for example, how different cultures' notions of gender relations are reflected in the arrangement of rooms in a domestic floor plan).

To prepare for this lesson, students should become familiar with the www.borobudur.tv Web site. On the day of the lesson, divide the class into groups, each with a designated secretary. The groups should discuss the questions below. The secretaries should take notes on the group discussions and then report them to the class as a whole.

Note to teacher: You may wish to schedule the class in a computer lab if one is available so that students can look at the images as they work.

1. Why is Borobudur useful as historical evidence of the civilization that built it?
2. What can Borobudur reveal about the everyday lives of the Javanese people around the time that it was built?
3. How did Borobudur function as a religious document? What does it reveal to you about Mahayana Buddhism in Java?
4. Did Borobudur have a political function?
5. How did Prambanan function as a religious document? What does it reveal to you about Hinduism in Java?
6. Did Prambanan have a political function?
7. Taken together, what can Borobudur and Prambanan reveal about the interaction of religious and political life in the times in which they were built?
8. What can they reveal about economic life in the times in which they were built?
9. What can they reveal about social organization in the times in which they were built?
10. What do they have to say about interregional connections in the times in which they were built?

Afro-Eurasia Map Exercise

Locate the following on the map provided on the next page.

Bodies of Water
Arabian Sea
East China Sea
Indian Ocean
Mediterranean Sea
Persian Gulf
Red Sea
South China Sea

Continents
Africa
Asia
Europe

Peninsulas
Anatolian Peninsula
Arabian Peninsula
Balkan Peninsula
Iberian Peninsula
Italian Peninsula
Korean Peninsula
Malay Peninsula
Somali Peninsula

Archipelagos
Andaman Islands
British Isles
Indonesian Archipelago
Japanese Archipelago
Philippine Archipelago
Ryukyu Islands

Islands
Bali
Borneo
Great Britain
Ireland
Java
Luzon
Mindanao
New Guinea
Sri Lanka
Sulawesi
Sumatra
Taiwan

Southeast Asia Map Exercise

Locate the following on the map provided on the next page.

Physical Features
Bali
Borneo (Kalimantan)
Hainan Island
Java
New Guinea (Iryan Jaya)
Sulawesi (Celebes)
Sumatra

Countries
Burma (Myanmar)
Cambodia
China
Indonesia
Laos
Malaysia
Philippines
Singapore
Taiwan
Vietnam

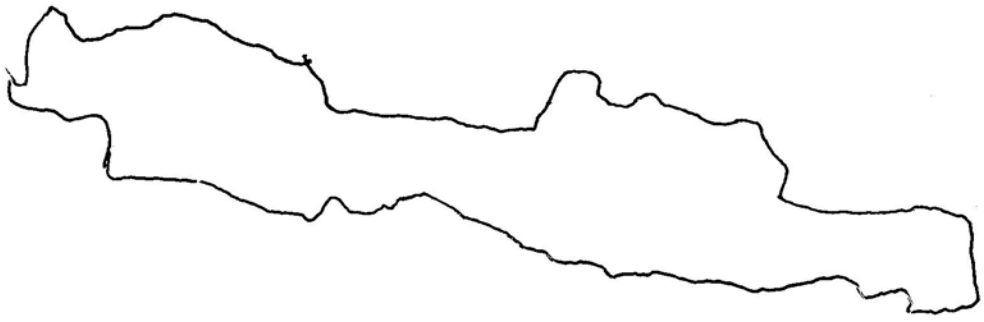
Cities
Bangkok
Hanoi
Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon)
Jakarta
Phnom Penh
Siem Reap (Angkor)
Singapore
Vientiane
Yangon (Rangoon)

Java Map Exercise

Locate the following on the map below.

Cities
Bandung
Jakarta
Semarang
Surabaya
Surakarta (Solo)
Yogyakarta

Sites Mentioned in This Lesson
Borobudur
Mt. Merapi
Mt. Merbabu
Prambanan



The Indian Ocean World Through Maps

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Introduction: Maps and World History

Maps are important tools for learning about world history because they can illustrate human interactions and connections as they outline the complexities of migration, commerce, and war over time and space. Maps are necessary for illustrating areas under study in world history classes, but it is also important to realize that a map is never just a map. An important lesson for world history students is to realize that maps use projections and reflect points of view dependent on the projections used and the themes and information displayed, or not displayed. Maps are therefore not simply maps without meaning; rather, they represent the values and perceptions of their authors. Maps inform us of themes emphasized, or not emphasized, by their authors, so maps require scrutiny for both their cartographical accuracy and their historical content.

The only way to truly represent the Earth is to use a sphere (globe), but to describe and analyze the history of the human experience, a very large sphere would be needed. The efficiency of maps seems an excellent alternative to many large globes in the classroom. However, projecting the Earth in whole or in part onto a flat surface does result in some distortion, which in turn can result in a misperception of the area and/or themes illustrated by the maps. To illustrate this point, in the sixteenth century Gerardus Mercator developed a projection designed to help mariners navigate the oceans. This map—known as the Mercator projection—became popular and was commonly used well into the twentieth century. However, the problem with a Mercator map is that the distortion increases as you move northerly and southerly, where landmasses seem much larger than areas nearer to the equator. Thus in the Mercator projection, Greenland, which is more than 500 thousand square miles, appears significantly larger than Africa, which is more than 11 million square miles. This means the areas nearer the equator are vastly distorted in size compared with the northerly and southerly areas, and whoever views the Mercator maps at face value would believe the areas of South America, Africa, India, and Southeast Asia to be much smaller than is actually the case. Naturally, the other side of this coin is that the United States, Canada, and Europe are seen as more centered and larger than is actually the case.

In 1973, the Peters projection emerged to counter the visual distortions of proportional size represented by Mercator but in turn created a whole other set of distortions by

unrealistically elongating all the landmasses to give a less-than-accurate image of the Earth's geography. To give proportional size representation, the Peters projection distorts sizes to provide equal area relationships but does so at the expense of the overall image of the world. However, during the last quarter of the twentieth century, the Mercator projection was increasingly set aside. While there was a flurry of support for the Peters projection in the 1970s and 1980s, another projection by Robinson, popularized by *National Geographic* world maps, emerged to be among the most commonly used map projections for displaying the world. To conclude, it is useful to recognize that maps have a history of their own. They are projections, which means they reflect viewpoints, but they are nonetheless important tools for understanding world history.

The Indian Ocean World Through Maps

The maps in this section on the Indian Ocean have been selected for the themes they directly portray as well as for the ideas they may inspire when viewed along with the discussion questions. In addition to viewing maps, the following discussion questions suggest creating activities where students and teachers draw maps on specific themes. This provides instruction about the content as well as informs students about the role of perception in map making. The general objective of this lesson is to learn about the Indian Ocean through maps; the secondary objective is to encourage us to think about the maps we see, or do not see, in our readings and what they may mean for the study of world history. It would be useful to develop custom maps, but in the meantime, maps for this section can be found in chapters 1 and 4 of Robert Tignor et al., *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart: A History of the Modern World from the Mongol Empire to the Present* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2002, paperback, ISBN 0393977463).

This lesson should begin within an introduction to the idea of zones of interaction as major units for understanding world history. The Indian Ocean world is one of those zones of interaction, one part of a global network of zones linking many regions within the entire framework of African and Eurasian histories from the earliest millennia to the most recent eras of human history. When thinking about world history, we should dispense with using continents as analytical tools; instead, we should begin to see the world within context as a series of interactive zones. For starters, I've listed some examples of zones of interactions that could be useful for understanding connections within and across regions in the study of world history. These are meant as a way to begin discussions about zones of interactions in place of the more traditional nation-state or continental approach to history.

Examples of Zones of Interaction

1. Mediterranean
2. Steppe
3. Saharan
4. Indian Ocean
5. Mississippian
6. Atlantic

Follow-Up Discussion Questions

1. Is using the seven continents as a framework for analysis more accurate for understanding the history of human interactions?
2. Do the above zones of interactions create a framework for studying the intersections of human cultures and societies over a long period of time?
3. Can you think of other zones of interaction? List and explain your reasoning for adding more zones.
4. Possible extension: Examine how people migrate and interact by creating an ethnic, linguistic, and food map of the region under study.

Trade Routes

View the interactive Indian Ocean Trade Routes Map available at www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200504 or any textbook map of the Indian Ocean world illustrating the movement of monsoon winds, Ibn Battuta, Marco Polo, and Zheng He.

Follow-Up Discussion Questions

1. A tradition of navigational guides developed in the Indian Ocean world beginning in the first century CE with *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and continued into the fifteenth century with the navigational work of Ibn Majid. How did the seasonal regularity of the monsoon wind systems create the basis for Indian Ocean trade?
2. The above map illustrates the monsoon winds during the Age of Sail, where wind was the primary engine for short- and long-distance seagoing trade. These monsoon winds made it possible to create navigational timetables and trading schedules based on when the winds flowed northerly or southerly throughout the Indian Ocean world. Discuss the importance of winds in the Age of Sail and how the steam engine would alter the monsoon-based economic system during the industrialization of the nineteenth century.

3. How did environmental conditions (monsoons and climate) intersect with human history in the Indian Ocean?
4. In what ways are Africa and Eurasia connected to one another?
5. Based on other information in this unit, what types of commodities and ideas are traveling along these routes?

Creating Maps

1. Marco Polo, Zheng He, and Ibn Battuta set out on their journeys during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but they did so over existing trade and migration routes. Demonstrate the very long history of Indian Ocean interactions and connections by creating a map on a separate piece of paper showing the travels of other Eurasian and Indian Ocean travelers such as Faxian and Xuanzang.
2. On your map, show the origins and movements of commodities to illustrate linkages between Indian Ocean and Eurasian economic and cultural areas—for example: rice, bananas, silk, jade, silver, assorted spices, pepper, ivory, and enslaved persons.
3. The establishment of trading relationships created opportunities for migration and for the movement of religious traditions. Add to your map the places where the major religions—Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam—originated and illustrate where they moved in the Indian Ocean world.

The Spice Islands: Internet Hunt

Locate a map of the Spice Islands. Use your textbook and the Internet to learn more about the Spice Islands and the spice trade.

Some suggested sites:

- Epicentre site (Spice Encyclopedia)
  www.theepicentre.com/Spices/spicetrd.html
  www.theepicentre.com/Spices/excerpt2.html
  www.theepicentre.com/Spices/king.html
- American Spice Trade Association Timeline of Spice History
  www.astaspice.org/history/timeline.htm

For more background information, see Jack Turner, *Spice: The History of a Temptation*, 2004.

Discussion Questions

1. How did the Spice Islands create an ancient trade in spices in the Indian Ocean and Eurasian worlds?
2. Which spices were the most valuable, and why?
3. What is meant by this fifteenth-century quote? "He who is lord of Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice."
4. What initially created the need for a spice trade? Have those motivations changed over time?
5. What role do the Spice Islands have in the global spice trade of the twenty-first century?

Creating Maps: Origins and Routes

Create a map showing the origins of cinnamon, cloves, mace, peppercorns, and allspice. Show routes of spice traders over time.

Extension

Make a list of all the spices in your kitchens and do a historical analysis of the origins and economic history of those spices.

Globalization and the Indian Ocean World

"Map 4-1 Trade in Silver and Other Commodities, 1650-1750," from *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart: A History of the Modern World from the Mongol Empire to the Present* by Robert Tignor et al. Copyright © 2002 by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Used by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Discussion Questions

1. The above map illustrates trade in silver and other commodities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Discuss how the Indian Ocean world of migration, commerce, and conquest was a foundation area that led to the eventual development of globalization beginning in 1492–1498.
2. The Mediterranean world was a conduit for the flow of commodities (sugar, spices, silks, and so forth), which was fed by Indian Ocean and Eurasian trade routes. How important was this trade for the development of the Western European economy and culture during the Renaissance?
3. The expansion of Western Europe begins in earnest with the Spanish conquest of the Americas. How was this expansion connected to the navigational knowledge and techniques of the Indian Ocean world?
4. The Spaniards became preoccupied with their New World Empire (sixteenth century), while the Portuguese set their sights on creating a seaborne empire in the Indian Ocean world. Using the list of places that follows, draw the major Indian Ocean areas onto a map of the region and then illustrate the dominant players—empires—in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.

Indian Ocean trading system:
- Aden
- Mocha
- Hormuz
- Gujarat
- Goa
- Malabar coast: Calicut, Cochin, Goa
- Coromandel
- Swahili coast: Rhapta, Pemba, Mogadishu, Lamu, Mombasa, Malinde, Kilwa, Sofala, Great Zimbabwe
- Melaka
- Aceh
- Spice Islands: Ternate, Banda, Moluccas
- Macao
- Hong Kong

Trading and seaborne (Indian Ocean) empires:
- Portuguese
- Dutch
- Ottoman
- Oman
- British

The Indian Ocean Economy: Lesson on Secondary Sources

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Using Secondary Sources for the Indian Ocean

Scholarship on the Indian Ocean has increased in recent years as historians and social scientists have begun to recognize the importance of the region as a unit of study in and of itself. The study of the Indian Ocean allows students to discuss the interaction of migrants, merchants, missionaries, and others as people from multiple continents, regions, and states traversed water routes and overland trade networks to exchange commodities and culture on a grand scale.

In addition to investigating the wealth of primary sources available, encourage your students to read and discuss historians' interpretations of the Indian Ocean's past through monographs, academic articles, and edited volumes of research. One of the best ways to get your students thinking about the importance of trade and human interaction is to have them investigate maps and charts listing the specific goods that were exchanged, who exchanged them, and which routes they used.

Andre Gunder Frank's work *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* is a good source of maps and tables for your students to explore (see the ones found on page 52 and page 54 of this lesson plan). Ask students to consider what environmental and geographic factors may have impacted the trade of goods westward from India to Africa (monsoon winds, distance, and so on). Also ask them to consider which regions of India specialized in the production of goods versus the transshipment of goods. Why would some regions prefer to trade goods for gold or silver? And what disadvantages did Europeans trying to enter the Indian Ocean trade system face?

By studying the role of the Indian subcontinent as a textile production center and as a reexporter of spices from Southeast Asia, it becomes clear why the English had such great interest in colonizing the region. Further exploration of regional power struggles and monopolies helps us to see why England, eventually, chose to adopt new political policies in the region. Since Indians had no interest in European trade goods (mainly woolens and timber), Europeans had to buy goods with silver and gold. When this got too costly, the English settled on a policy of conquest and taxation to fund their purchases in the Indian Ocean. The rest is history!

Part I: Historical Context

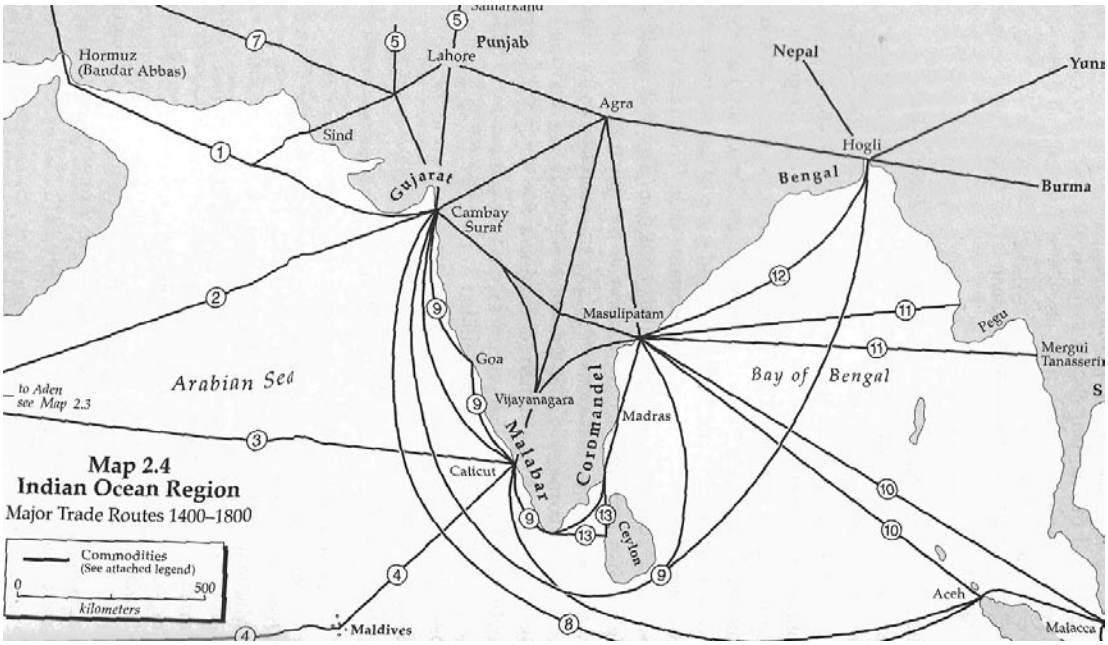
The geographical and economic center of the Indian Ocean world is the Indian subcontinent. In the seventeenth century, India was home to some of the world's largest cities and wealthiest port towns, with populations ranging from 200,000 to 500,000 each.[1]

At least six of the dozen or so key trade centers were located on the Indian subcontinent: Surat (a.k.a. **Cambay**), Goa, Calicut (on the Western or **Malabar Coast**) and Madras, Masulipatam, and Bengal (on the Eastern or **Coromandel Coast**). These regions were politically independent and ruled by various Hindu kings and Muslim sultans. Their wealth was based on commerce, both via the trade of goods from the interior (such as **textiles**, **pepper**, and **aromatic wood**) and from the **transshipment** of goods to and from Africa and other parts of Asia. These coastal trade regions were connected to the world economy through a vast network of land and sea trade routes, stretching north into Central Asia, Tibet, and China (connecting to the Silk Roads), east to Arab lands and the African Swahili coast, and west across the Bay of Bengal to Southeast Asia, to places like Malacca and the Spice Islands of present-day Indonesia.

While many Westerners may associate India with colorful spices and zesty curries, India possessed very few **spices** (with the exception of pepper and sugar).[2] It was, however, a key player in the exchange of goods and the facilitation of trade between the east Indian Ocean world and the west Indian Ocean world. **Cotton textiles**, such as calico, muslin, and chintz (all Indian words), were the chief profit-making commodity in India. Indian traders from Gujarat and Bengal interacted with Arab, Armenian, Persian, Jewish, Swahili, Malay, Chinese, and Thai traders, among others, in a bustling ocean of exchange.

1. Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley, California: University of California, 1998), p. 85. Frank also notes that urbanization during this period, generally, was significantly higher than later Indian urbanization in the nineteenth century (under the British Empire). For a chart on India's rapid demographic growth, see Tables 4.1 and 4.2 in Frank, pp. 168 and 170.

2. Thomas R. Metcalf and Barbara Metcalf, *A Concise History of India* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: University of Cambridge Press, 2001), p. 43.



Major trade routes of the Indian Ocean (1400–1800), from page 86 of the following book. *ReOrient: A Global Economy in the Asian Age* by Frank, Andre G. Copyright 1998 by University of California Press—Books. Reproduced with permission of University of California Press—Books in the format Other Book via Copyright Clearance Center.

Terms to Know

Concepts	Trade Goods	Places
Balance of trade (deficit/surplus)	Aromatics	Arabian Sea
Bullion	Calico	Bay of Bengal
Deindustrialization	Chintz	Bengal
Entrepôt	Cowries	Cambay
Export/import	Muslin	Coromandel
Interregional trade	Opium	Goa
Tax farmer	Pulses	Gujarat
Transshipment	Sandalwood	Malabar
	Textiles	Masulipatam
		Surat

The Role of Indian Cotton, Pepper, and Silver Bullion After 1500

Excerpts from Andre Gunder Frank's *ReOrient*, pp. 85–89:[3]

> India had a massive **balance of trade surplus** with Europe and some with West Asia, based mostly on its more efficient low-cost cotton textile production and also of course on pepper export. These went westward to Africa, West Asia, Europe and from there on across the Atlantic to the Caribbean and the Americas. . . .
>
> India received massive amounts of **silver** and some **gold** from the West. . . . Since India produced little silver of its own, it used the imported silver mostly for coinage or **re-export**, and the gold for coinage, jewelry, and hoarding.
>
> India also exported cotton textiles to and imported spices from Southeast Asia. The same route was used to exchange cotton textiles for silk and porcelain and other ceramics from China. However, India seems to have had a **balance of trade deficit** with Southeast Asia. . . . The vast bulk of this trade was in Muslim Indian hands and on Indian-built shipping, although some was also in Arab and Southeast Asian—also Muslim—hands. . . .
>
> Different Indian regions also traded and had balance of trade surplus and deficits with each other. The major coastal regions all traded with each other—and with Ceylon—and also served each other as **entrepôts** in transoceanic and continental caravan trade. . . . The interior had an export surplus with the coastal ports and in exchange received imported goods and coin, which had been minted from imported bullion (or melted-down foreign coins) in or near the ports. Silver tended to move north into regions governed by the Mughals, and gold went south, especially to Malabar and Vijaynagara. [See table on next page.]

The following table from Frank's *ReOrient* details which regions of India traded which particular goods. The numbers here correspond with the map "Major Trade Routes of the Indian Ocean (1400–1800)" on page 52 of this lesson plan.

3. *ReOrient: A Global Economy in the Asian Age* by Frank, Andre G. Copyright 1998 by University of California Press—Books. Reproduced with permission of University of California Press—Books in the format Other Book via Copyright Clearance Center.

Table of Goods Traded by India

The table below appears on page 87 of the following book. *ReOrient: A Global Economy in the Asian Age* by Frank, Andre G. Copyright 1998 by University of California Press—Books. Reproduced with permission of University of California Press—Books in the format Other Book via Copyright Clearance Center.

Routes Westward	Routes Eastward
1. India–West Asia	
cotton textiles, dyes indigo, silk, silk textiles iron & steel products housewares, wood & glass prods., rice pulses, wheat, oil [spices, pepper, ceramics] aromatics, incense shawls, blankets, paper gumlace, saltpeter	dye woods, salt, pearls minerals, metal/products copper, lumber, horses carpets, luxury goods fruits, dates, arms coral, rosewater dye woods silver
2. Gujarat–Gulf	
same as 1 (above)	wine, opium, pearls aromatics, incense silver, gold
3. Malabar–Gulf	
pepper, rice [spices]	gold
4. Malabar–East Africa	
rice, cowries	[southward] horses, camels, sheep, cotton
5. Gujarat/Punjab–Central Asia	
[northward] cotton & silk textiles pulses, rice, wheat, indigo, tobacco	[southward] horses, camels, sheep, cotton
6. West–Central–East Asia	
silk, tea	horses
7. Gujarat–Sind–West Asia	
cotton textiles wheat, indigo	silver

8. Gujarat–Southeast Asia	
spices, [sugar, silk, ceramics] gold	cotton, textiles coral, copper, glass [re-exports from Aden] silver
9. India inter-regional trade	
exchanges among most major Indian products along maritime and overland trade routes among Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, Malabar, Vijaynagara, Coromandel, Bengal	
10. Coromandel–Southeast Asia	
tin, sugar, metals elephants [ceramics, silk] gold	cotton textiles slaves, rice, diamonds silver
11. Coromandel–Burma/Siam	
tin, elephants, woods, silver	cotton textiles
12. Coromandel–Bengal	
silk, cotton textiles, rice & sugar	
13. Ceylon–India	
elephants, cinnamon jewels, pearls	rice

Trade Map of the Indian Ocean World

For a full-color electronic map of trade routes of the Indian Ocean, see www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200504.

This map, produced by the bimonthly magazine *Saudi Aramco World*, outlines land and sea trading routes, including those used by Marco Polo (1271–1295), Ibn Battuta (1325–1354), Zheng He (1405–1433), and Vasco Da Gama (1497–1499). It also shows the direction of the north and south monsoon winds and several key historic sites and port cities. *Saudi Aramco World* describes its mission as follows:

> Saudi Aramco, the oil company born as an international enterprise 75 years ago, distributes *Saudi Aramco World* to increase cross-cultural understanding. The bimonthly magazine's goal is to broaden knowledge of the cultures, history and geography of the Arab and Muslim worlds and their connections with the West. *Saudi Aramco World* is distributed without charge, upon request, to interested readers worldwide. (www.saudiaramcoworld.com/about.us)

Part II: Activity

1. **Groups:** After providing an overview of Indian Ocean geography and trade goods (maps and table located on pages 52 and 54), break students into **four groups**.

2. **Readings:** Assign each group one of the following secondary source readings (see attached):
   Excerpt 1: "Traveling Salesmen" (Ken Pomeranz)
   Excerpt 2: "Killing the Golden Goose" (Ken Pomeranz)
   Excerpt 3: "The Politics of Pepper" (Chris Bayly)
   Excerpt 4: "An Ocean of Spices" (Erik Gilbert)

3. **Questions:** Ask the group to first read their secondary source excerpt silently (they may also do this for homework the night before class) and then **answer the following questions** about their reading as a group.
   a. What is the main commodity being discussed in this reading?
   b. How did the exchange of this commodity shape regional politics? And/or how did politics shape this trade?
   c. Who benefited most by the trade of this commodity? (An individual? Ethnic group? Region?) How?

d. What regions are mentioned and connected by trade in this reading? Find them on the map.
e. Did the local people living in the regions discussed in this reading benefit from the trade? Why or why not?

4. **Skit:** On the next day, after students have answered these five questions in groups, ask each group to prepare a **short skit** to present their reading to the rest of the group (see skit ideas below).

Alternatively, the class may engage in the jigsaw activity explained below.

For the skit activity, the following rules apply:

a. The skit should describe **what** is being traded, **who** is trading it, and **where** it is being traded (source and destination).
b. The students presenting the skit ***cannot*** **directly name the commodity** being traded (horses, textiles, or pepper) or the specific names of the places involved in the trade.
c. The students who present the skit must **act out their own interpretation of the reading** before their classmates so as to reveal the nature of the author's argument.
d. The **class must guess what is being traded and what the main issue/argument is**. Students are allowed to use props, draw on the board, or hold up signs that reveal clues, but they should not name the trade.

Skit Idea 1

A good skit will last about **5 to 8 minutes** and will **identify key players and trade goods** from the excerpt. For example, a skit about the "Traveling Salesmen" (excerpt 1) might show a very dashing horse trader, Ardestani, arriving from Persia and appearing before the sultan of Golconda to trade gorgeous stallions. The student playing the sultan might be so pleased with Ardestani's success as a trader (bringing wealth to Golconda) that he offers Ardestani diamond mines and tax-revenue-collecting rights. Students can show Ardestani's wealth increasing with props and additional servants. Students representing Dutch and Portuguese traders might pantomime a brief dispute and have Ardestani settle it with promises for trade concessions and tax relief. The final scene would have the sultan plotting to get rid of Ardestani because he is too rich and powerful—Ardestani runs for his life, flees Golconda, and finds employment at the Mughal court!

The audience should be able to guess the main argument: Traders in India were international figures who traveled across borders and who often made themselves

indispensable at courts throughout the Indian Ocean. Even something like the horse trade was lucrative business, highly political, and, occasionally, even dangerous!

Skit Idea 2
A good skit will last about **5 to 8 minutes** and will **identify key players and trade goods** from the excerpt. For example, a skit about "An Ocean of Spices" (excerpt 4) might start off with two colonial Americans unloading pepper from the ships onto the docks in Boston Harbor. One lad might sneeze (**remember students shouldn't mention what is being traded**), and the other might laugh as they start to chat about the fact that this "stuff" they use as ballast in their ships used to be prized among ancient Egyptian kings and Venetian merchants. In a series of brief flashbacks in the skit, students might illustrate how pepper from India was traded for luxury goods to Europeans in the Mediterranean and also how some Roman traders went to India, took up residence, and adopted Buddhism. Another pair of students might represent ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia who set up residence in a diaspora community there because of the lucrative trade in spices. Particularly energetic students might enact a sword fight or battle at sea between Europeans in contest for control of an Indonesian Spice Island! Returning to the colonial students on the docks in Boston Harbor (1750s), students could summarize the change-over-time by explaining that after 1600 changes in the politics of trade and in the methods of transport made pepper cheap and easy to come by, even for poor American dockworkers!

The audience should be able to guess the main argument: The value of commodities change with time as politics and transport technology changes. India's role as a center of global trade and transshipment impacted the lives of millions, from mighty kings in Rome to common laborers in Boston!

Alternative to Skit Activity: Group Jigsaw
This activity is suitable for less-dramatic students.

a. Give each student in your class one of the four excerpts to read for homework.
b. At the beginning of class the next day, have those who read the same article get together and answer the five questions given in number 3 of this activity.
c. Ask each group to prepare a short presentation to the class focusing on the items being traded, the major players in the trade, and the main argument the author makes in the excerpt.
d. Ask each group to pick a spokesperson who will "teach" his or her article to the rest of the class. Remind students that as they listen to the presentations, they should be taking notes focusing on the trade good and the economic and political issues involved in the trading process. Then move on to the assessment in number 5.

5. **Assessment:** Once all the groups have performed their skits (or completed the jigsaw activity), ask students to each write a paragraph about the parallels they found between the four stories. Students may wish to reflect upon the questions below, or you can ask them to come up with one of their own:
   - In what way did **politics shape the economic interactions** in the four stories we have shared?
   - In what ways does the arrival of **European merchants and trade interests change** circumstances in the four stories we have shared?
   - How might **culture and cultural exchange have impacted the lives of the people** you've read about as a result of the trading in the four stories we have shared?

Excerpt 1: Traveling Salesmen

This selection is from "Traveling Salesmen, Traveling Taxmen" on pp. 33-35 of *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to Present*, by Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, second edition, published by M. E. Sharpe in 2005. The authors describe the seventeenth-century Indian Ocean world as a place of commerce where the entrepreneurs who were often the most successful were those who traveled across regional borders easily and won political favor in royal courts. Foreign businessmen were often hired to collect taxes (they were called "tax farmers") and given important posts with the governments of host countries in reward for their services. Such "political merchants" as the one highlighted in this section were common in the Indian Ocean world and seen as essential to the trade.

> Consider, for instance, Muhammed Sayyid Ardestani. Born in Persia in 1591, he turned up in the Indian sultanate of Golconda in the 1620's, making a fortune as a horse trader. To modern ears, "horse trading" may suggest small-scale peddling in wide open markets, but it was something very different in seventeenth-century South Asia. From the 1400's on, the scale of warfare on the Indian subcontinent increased dramatically as the Mughal Empire (itself of Persian origin) sought to conquer as much as possible of present-day India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan, while other states (and leagues of states) sought control over areas big enough to be viable bases for resistance. Horses were one of the two crucial sinews of power that no Indian state could produce for itself—adequate war mounts had to come from Arabia, Persia, or Central Asia, at enormous cost. . . .
>
> In fact, horses were probably the single biggest import into India (unless we count silver, much of which was re-exported to get more horses)—and since India was probably the world's largest exporter from 1500–1700,

the horse trade was a crucial link in world trade. Because horses had such strategic importance, virtually every state intervened heavily in the horse trade, often making it a state monopoly. Thus a would-be large-scale horse trader was likely to have two choices: accept appointment as an official of one of the importing states, and play the game of court politics, or find another line of work.

Having established himself at court (where Golconda's Muslim rulers preferred Persian Muslims to indigenous Hindu traders), Ardestani soon wangled another enormously lucrative concession: running one of Golconda's fabled diamond mines. Thus enriched, he was prepared to help the sultan procure the most basic military necessity: Money. . . .

Sometime in the 1630's Ardestani became governor and tax farmer for the province that included Masulipatam, the biggest port on India's Eastern coast. Here both Asians and Europeans came to buy the textiles that unlocked the other riches of the globe: they were exchanged for spices in Southeast Asia, gold in East Africa, slaves in West Africa, tobacco and sugar in the New World, and silver in Europe. As the port's principal tax collector, Ardestani soon developed ties to the British, Dutch, and Portuguese, despite their often violent quarrels with each other. . . . Ardestani's personal trading empire soon extended east to Burma and Indonesia. . . .

Foreign traders at Indian Ocean ports had a problem. Though monsoon shifts determined when they could arrive and why they had to leave, orders had to be placed several months in advance for the intricate woven goods they so prized. . . . Here a local partner like Ardestani had an enormous edge: not only was he cash-rich, but he had successfully bid for the right to collect the land and other taxes from a number of weaving villages, too. . . . He could thus lock up much of the best cloth for himself and his preferred clients; both the British and the Dutch learned to their cost how hard it was to bypass such middlemen and deal directly with producers.

For years, Ardestani went from triumph to triumph. In the 1640's he served as a general in one of Golconda's many campaigns to capture more of coastal India; he bought up more and more tax farms; and he amassed a personal bodyguard of over 5,000 complete with European-made artillery. . . . After losing a factional quarrel at court, Ardestani was arrested by a new sultan . . . but even that defeat was temporary . . . [he used] some of

his immense wealth to buy his release, [and] defected to the Mughal court . . . [where he] resumed his old activities on new terrain. . . .

[T]ax farmers were such an essential part of the South Asian commerce and politics that it was a long time before anyone tried to do without them. [4]

Excerpt 2: Killing the Golden Goose

This selection is from "Killing the Golden Goose" on pp. 228-231 of *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to Present*, by Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, second edition, published by M. E. Sharpe in 2005. The authors describe the importance of textiles in the Indian Ocean economy, and later in the Atlantic economy, as Europeans began trading Indian cloth pieces for slaves. Indian weavers were highly skilled and adaptable businessmen whose wares dominated the global market until the English invented mechanized looms and cheaper textile substitutes with which the Indian weavers could not compete. Thus the authors claim that it was the English industrial revolution and the expansion of English markets through imperialist politics that destroyed the Indian textile industry and forever changed Indian Ocean trade networks.

When the Dutch arrived in the Moluccas (Indonesia) a century after DaGama's voyage [in 1498], they found their New World loot was not acceptable as payment for the spices they sought. Instead, the local nobles and merchants wanted to be paid in textiles from Coromandel, in Eastern India; before long the Dutch East India Company (E.I.C.) found it necessary to have a trading post in Coromandel in order to carry on its Southeast Asian procurement. And over the 200 years following that (all the way down to 1800), a variety of European powers found that Indian textiles were the preferred way to pay for African slaves. These cloths made up over 50% of the goods exchanged by French traders for slaves in the two years (1775 and 1788) for which we have complete records; one Frenchman noted ruefully that while Francophone planters in the Caribbean could be forced to take French goods for their sugar, African traders refused, insisting on top-quality products. The British experience

4. Copyright © 2005 by M. E. Sharpe, Inc. From Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present*, 2d ed. (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2005), pp. 33-35. Used with permission. All rights reserved. Not for reproduction.

in Africa was similar until very late in the century, when their artisans finally learned to make passable imitations of Bengal and Coromandel fabrics. . . . In much of the world, then, Indian textiles were more liquid than money. They were also probably the first industrial product to have a worldwide market. Fine Indian fabrics reached more than just Southeast Asia and Africa: in the 1700's they drove most of the Ottoman silk industry to the wall, conquered Persia, and won a big chunk of the European market. . . . Probably the only court in the eighteenth century world not graced by Indian cloth was that of the Chinese Emperor. Meanwhile, the cheaper grades of Indian cloth traveled equally well, clothing laborers from Southeast Asia to North America, including many of the slaves who had been sold for fancier Indian cloths. . . . All told, India probably produced over 25% of the world's cloth; and since its own population (at most 15% of the world in 1800) was poor and lived mostly in hot climates, a good two-thirds of that was available for export.

What accounted for this fabulous success? In part, it was careful attention to customers' changing wants: even in the 1400's, it appears, Indian merchants often returned from Southeast Asia with drawings of new patterns that their trading partners wanted copied for next year's fabrics. In part, it was superior access to a huge crop of high-quality cotton; except in China, no comparable source existed until the post-Independence American cotton boom. But above all, it was highly skilled labor—much of it available at extremely low wages.

What finally brought an end to the reign of Indian textiles? In the long run, England's industrial revolution, begun by firms largely dedicated to imitating Indian cottons for sale in African and American markets. But even before that, Englishmen in India, trying to hold back the challenge from Lancashire, had begun to kill the goose that laid the golden egg. When the English East India Company (E.I.C.) conquered Bengal in the 1750's, it immediately set out to eliminate all other buyers of cotton textiles for export and finally to bring the weavers under their control. Various discriminatory measures hobbled other merchants: a new law made it a criminal offense to work for anybody else while someone had an outstanding advance from the EIC. . . . The EIC agents were empowered to post guards at homes of weavers under contract to them. The EIC admitted that it paid anywhere from 15 to 40% less than other buyers, but expected these measures to help it get all the cloth it needed anyway; a Company official told Parliament in 1766 that now that it ruled Bengal, the EIC expected to double its cloth exports within a few years.

> Instead, though, weavers took the only recourse they had against what was now effectively a state [monopoly]; they left their looms entirely, migrating or becoming agricultural laborers. Within a generation, the specialized weaving communities around Dacca had disappeared, and the city itself shrank to a fraction of its former size. Countless looms in peasant homes that had once produced for export now only made cloth for fellow villagers. The EIC's goals were no different in kind from those that had always motivated the merchants in this trade; but by pursuing them with a new ruthlessness and consistency, they had done the seemingly impossible, destroying their era's premier industry in order to save it.[5]

Excerpt 3: The Politics of Pepper

This selection is from pp. 61-63 of *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* by C. A. Bayly (Cambridge University Press, reprint edition, 1990; the press first published the book in 1988).The author describes the complex regional power struggles that took place between Hindu and Muslim kingdoms along the western coast of India during the eighteenth century. Coastal states amassed huge armies to expand their territories and fight for control of the pepper trade and the lucrative profits that this trade provided. Simultaneously, new states from the interior of the subcontinent (such as Mysore) were expanding toward the coast to gain access to the rich trade. European traders expanded their trade power in these regions, too. Soon after their arrival in India, the merchants of the English East India Company (referred to as the Company) built up their own armies and began challenging local commercial rivals. Local rulers, like Tipu Sultan of Mysore, were eventually defeated, and the English came to dominate the major cotton and pepper trade networks in the southwest of the subcontinent (see map on page 52).

> [In some regions] . . . the trading and money-lending activities of the British helped undermine the finances of indigenous states, while Indian entrepreneurs provided the skills and means by which they could appropriate local resources. On the west coast again the priorities and fate of Indian merchants were to prove a critical spur to British expansion.
>
> On the Malabar Coast the process of commercialization had gone ever further than in Bengal or Madras. Bonded serf labor was widely in

5. Copyright © 2006 by M. E. Sharpe, Inc. From Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present*, 2d ed. (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2006), pp. 228-231. Used with permission. All rights reserved. Not for reproduction.

evidence, but there were large commercial farms, very high land prices and a flourishing market in mortgages. This resulted from well-developed external and inland waterborne trade routes, down which were carried valuable items such as teak wood, coconut produce, and above all, pepper. The coast was controlled by a constellation of petty Hindu kingdoms rules by the Nayar warrior caste and several coastal Muslim states. These petty kings were also entrepreneurs in pepper. But their desire for monopolies and transit had often brought them into conflict with the major pepper-trading interest, the Moplah merchants, supposedly descendants of Arab traders and Indian women, who were linked into the wider west-Asian commercial world. In the south, the state of Travancore had succeeded by 1750 in establishing a viable pepper monopoly and a large army.

The British, based on coastal fortresses . . . had established a foothold on the coast in the footsteps of the Portuguese and Dutch. Their factors [warehouses] at Tellicherry had acted like a small Indian state seeking control of pepper lands through a series of petty wars against other states, and from time to time, the French. The weak and isolated British authorities at Surat and Bombay did little to encourage their local territorial ambitions. Yet as in other parts of India the decisive turning point in the second half of the 18th century was brought about by the expansion and consolidation of a new Muslim state, Mysore . . . [Sultan] Tipu [of Mysore] desired to control the rich trade of the coast, as much to further commercial links with Muslim west Asia as to break down dangerous dependencies on the Europeans. For a time the British . . . held off the Sultan by satisfying his desire for European weapons, but between 1785 and 1789 they were effectively cut out of the pepper trade when Mysore had succeeded in stalemating Madras during the Second Anglo-Mysore war. . . .

With the narrow defeat of Tipu Sultan in the third Anglo-Mysore War (1791) the Company and private British interests in a now reinvigorated Bombay were enabled to construct their lucrative trade in pepper.[6]

6. C. A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, reprint edition (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 61-63. Copyright © 1990 Cambridge University Press.

Excerpt 4: An Ocean of Spices

This selection is from *Trading Tastes: Commodity and Cultural Exchange to 1750* (Prentice Hall, 2006) by Erik Gilbert and Jonathan Reynolds. The authors describe the cultural and economic significance of spices such as pepper, nutmeg, and cloves. India was central to the spice trade because of its geographic location in the Indian Ocean and because of its role as a transshipment center. Between the first century and the fifteenth century various state powers battled for control of the Spice Islands and the many trade networks along which spices were bought and sold. Tracing the history of the conflicts and cross-cultural exchanges flavored by these spices gives us a better understanding of how commerce and the politics of interaction have shaped our world.

[**Editor's Note:** The College Board is awaiting permission to reprint this excerpt. It may be found in *Trading Tastes: Commodity and Cultural Exchange to 1750* (Prentice Hall, 2006) by Erik Gilbert and Jonathan Reynolds.]

Continuities, Connections, and Changes: Using the Internet to Explore the Indian Ocean World

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Media Literacy: Credibility and the Internet

Many twenty-first-century students believe that if a topic cannot be "Googled" then there is no information on it. Research often starts and stops at the Internet. How should students gauge the credibility of a Web site? Many library home pages now provide a guide to students for evaluating sources. An example of one is at http://lhs.lexingtonma.org/Library/eval.html.

After students have completed the Web hunt described below, have them search on their own for two additional Web sites—one they believe to be credible and one they have doubts about. Engage in a class discussion about how to be selective when using Web sources. Why might the sites chosen for this Web hunt be considered credible? How can you tell if you end up with a sixth-grade paper instead of an academic source that could be quoted or trusted? A discussion about recent controversies over Wikipedia and other online sources could be valuable.

Rationale

There is a wealth of high-quality materials on world history available on the Internet. Directing student research into world historical topics can be a beneficial way of modeling good academic materials, using a diverse range of source materials and appropriate technology.

Procedure

1. Students can use the handout included here or go directly to the URL www.kn.sbc.com/wired/fil/pages/huntindianodr.html.
2. They should complete the questions using the nine Web sites listed. When they complete the hunt, they should be able to answer the "Big Question" on change and continuity over time in the Indian Ocean.

Student Handout

Connections, Continuities, and Changes: An Internet Treasure Hunt on the Indian Ocean World

Introduction

Through these Web sites, you will explore how the Indian Ocean world changes over time. Who are the major players? Who are the major agents of change? What are the global processes motivating that change? How do the players change? Treat this as a scavenger hunt. The answer to the first question is likely to be found in the first Web site listed and so forth. When you have successfully found all the pieces, you will be able to answer the "Big Question" below!

Questions

1. Look at the first part of this article and discuss why geography (and point of view) matter in the Indian Ocean. Then scroll down, taking note of the changes in Indian Ocean trade over time. When you reach the section on the Indian Ocean diaspora, read the first two paragraphs. Explain what is meant in the quote by Barendse.
2. Explore the interactive trade routes map. Name three connections you see between places in the Indian Ocean world. Be specific about the places involved and the nature of the connection. Scroll down the time line, looking at the variety of events. Hypothesize why the time line ends when it does.
3. On the same Web site used in question 2, click on "The Traveler Ibn Battuta" and provide *five* examples of how Ibn Battuta lived in a cosmopolitan world. Think about trade, textiles, influence in foods, and so on.
4. If possible, watch the video stream of this episode. If not, read the PDF file and look at the images. What effect did trade have on urban areas along the Indian Ocean? Name specific examples.
5. Visit the World History Traveler. Launch the traveler, then select "Find a Thematic Pathway." Choose "Indian Ocean Trade" and then "Connections & Encounters." Click the Go button and then select "Ship and Caravan Trade Move Goods." Look at the short reading and the images. What does this say about the types of commodities that flowed on the Indian Ocean trade routes?
6. Visit the interactive map. How does the map demonstrate Zheng He's global influence? Looking at this interactive site, called "China's Great Armada," consider what the creators believe to be the reason for China's current superpower status.
7. How does China remember Zheng He today?

8. What was the significance of the Portuguese arrival in Calicut in 1497? What was the point of view of local Muslim merchants? How did this herald a change?
9. Look at the photographs of the journey. What types of obstacles did Ibn Battuta face in his journey?
10. What is the significance of this twenty-first-century mall in Dubai? What replica is located in the China section of the mall? What are the Ibn Battuta trials?

Internet Resources

- Indian Ocean Trade Diaspora: http://lrrc3.sas.upenn.edu/indianocean/group1/lyman.html
- The Indian Ocean and Global Trade: www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200504
- *Connections Across Water* video: www.learner.org/channel/courses/worldhistory/unit_video_10-1.html
- World History Traveler: www.learner.org/channel/courses/worldhistory/traveler.html
- Zheng He—China's Great Armada: www7.nationalgeographic.com/ngm/0507/feature2/multimedia.html
- Zheng He—The Next Asian Journey: www.time.com/time/asia/features/journey2001
- Portugal's Entry into the Indian Ocean Trade Community: www.ucalgary.ca/applied_history/tutor/oldwrld/merchants/portugal.html
- The Travels of Ibn Battuta: www.sfusd.k12.ca.us/schwww/sch618/Ibn_Battuta/Ibn_Battuta_Rihla.html
- Ibn Battuta Mall: www.ibnbattutamall.com/index.asp

The Big Question

How has the Indian Ocean world changed and stayed the same over time? Think about the players, agents of change, and global processes involved.

Sources for Further Reading and Study

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Articles and Books

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Annenburg Media. *The Indian Ocean World*. Bridging World History video series with companion Web site (supplementary documents and World History Traveler). www.learner.org/channel/courses/worldhistory/unit_video_10-1.html, www.learner.org/channel/courses/worldhistory/traveler.html.

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Kearney, Milo. *The Indian Ocean in World History*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Ringrose, David R., ed. "South Asia and the Indian Ocean." *Expansion and Global Interaction, 1200–1700*, pp. 129–160. Addison Wesley Longman, Inc., 2001.

Shafer, Lynda. "Southernization." *Journal of World History* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1994).

Web Resources

Applied History Research Group: Merchants and Traders (from the University of Calgary, Old World Contacts multimedia tutorial)

- Portugal's Entry into the Indian Ocean Trade Community www.ucalgary.ca/applied_history/tutor/oldwrld/merchants/portugal.html
- Sea-Route to India and the Red Sea Trade (European explorers and Vasco DeGama) www.ucalgary.ca/applied_history/tutor/eurvoya/vasco2.html

Growth of Global Trade to 1500 (animation)
http://web.arch.ox.ac.uk/archatlas/Trade/Trade.htm

Ibn Battuta Mall
www.ibnbattutamall.com/index.asp

Ibn Battuta on the Web (Web sites for Ibn Battuta)
www.isidore-of-seville.com/ibn-battuta/1.html

Indian Ocean Diaspora in World Systems Perspective
http://lrrc3.sas.upenn.edu/indianocean/group1/lyman.html

National Geographic: China's Great Armada (July 2005, focus on Zheng He)
www7.nationalgeographic.com/ngm/0507/feature2

Saudi Aramco World: The Indian Ocean and Global Trade (July/August 2005, focus on Zheng He, Ibn, and Marco)
www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200504

Time: The Next Asian Journey (August 2001, special report on Zheng He)
www.time.com/time/asia/features/journey2001

Trade Routes in the Indian Ocean (map)
http://media.maps101.com/SUB/HGIFS/WRLH049-H.gif

The Travels of Ibn Battuta—A Virtual Tour with a Fourteenth-Century Traveler
www.sfusd.k12.ca.us/schwww/sch618/Ibn_Battuta/Ibn_Battuta_Rihla.html

Contributors

About the Editor

Deborah Smith Johnston teaches AP World History, regular-level world history, and international relations at Lexington High School in Lexington, Massachusetts. She codirected the first national AP World History training workshop in 2000 at Northeastern University (Boston) as well as the curriculum development institute for AP units for the College Board in 2001. She has led over 15 AP Summer Institutes in world history in Saipan, London, Vermont, and Hawaii. She has been actively involved with the World History Association (WHA) since 1997 and currently serves on the executive council. She helped to originate the annual WHA Teaching Prize given each year for the best classroom use of new research. Having recently completed her doctorate in world history at Northeastern University, she also occasionally teaches graduate and undergraduate courses for preservice and veteran teachers. Her dissertation focused on new approaches to teaching the world history survey at all levels. In addition, she served on the advisory board for Oregon Public Broadcasting's recently released *Bridging World History* video series, funded by Annenberg Media, and she has been involved with *World History Connected* as a columnist since the beginning of the online journal's publication three years ago.

Erik Gilbert is an associate professor of history at Arkansas State University, where he teaches African history and world history, and other things as needed. He holds a B.A. from the College of William and Mary, an M.A. from the University of Vermont, and a Ph.D. from Boston University. His research has focused on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Zanzibar and its relationship to the western Indian Ocean world. He is the author of *Dhows and the Colonial Economy of Zanzibar, 1860–1970* (2004) and, with Jonathan Reynolds, *Africa in World History* (2004) and *Trading Tastes: Commodity and Cultural Exchange to 1750* (2006).

Susan Graham is a world history teacher at Lexington High School in Lexington, Massachusetts. After completing a bachelor's degree in history from John Carroll University in University Heights, Ohio, in 1995, she obtained her master's degree in education from the University of Massachusetts Boston. She has been teaching for seven years, two of which have been with AP World History students.

Special Focus: Teaching About the Indian Ocean World

Whitney Howarth has taught world history at the college level since 1999. Before coming to Plymouth State University (PSU) in 2004, she was a lecturer at Suffolk University, Salem State College, and Northeastern University. She also worked at Northeastern's World History Center, where she assisted in editing the H-World online discussion group and also worked on the research, design, and development of *Migration in Modern World History, 1500–2000* (Thomson Wadsworth, 2000), a 13-unit multimedia course on CD-ROM. Her regional specialization is India. Her research focuses on the nineteenth century and examines themes such as colonization, the economics of empire, and nationalism. Her doctoral dissertation, "Mission to Modernity: Formation of a Hindu Political Community in Late-Nineteenth Century Mysore," investigates the princely kingdom of Mysore as a nexus of world historical interaction and ideological debate. She is currently preparing this manuscript for publication. Her other teaching and research interests include women's studies, comparative nationalism, postcolonial literature, forced migrations, development, and globalization. She currently teaches courses at PSU in comparative nationalism, India in global context, modern world history (1500 to present), the British Empire, and global colonial women (Algeria, Honduras, India, and Afghanistan).

Heyward Parker James is a world historian who specializes in the history of the human-built environment. His range of interests includes the histories of eastern and southern Asia, Oceania, sub-Saharan Africa, and the Western Hemisphere in pre-Columbian times. He wrote his dissertation on the global history of the tropical stilt house and received his doctorate from Tufts University in 2001. He worked as the associate director of the World History Center at Northeastern University and currently serves as secretary treasurer of its successor organization, the World History Network.

David M. Kalivas is professor of history at Middlesex Community College. He is editor of the H-Net list H-World, which serves as the primary online discussion group for practitioners of world history, is affiliated with the World History Association, and is coeditor of the world history section at Blackwell's online journal *History Compass*. He has over two decades of teaching experience at Middlesex Community College and has been an innovator in online social science curriculum development. He presents on world history topics, with special interest on Central Eurasia and Indian Ocean connections. He has lectured widely, from invited speaker at the University of Maryland's Humanities Forum series to the Peabody Essex Museum, Stockholm School of Economics, Moscow Pedagogical University, and areas in his region.

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