3 Roots, Routes, Ocean Wor(l)ds

The Watery Archive in the Art of Karishma D'Souza

Karishma D'Souza and R. Benedito Ferrão

Figure 3.1 Exhibition view, *Ocean in Another* (2022) at the Oceans as Archives Conference, University of Amsterdam

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Appropriately, our first conversations as artist and curator about the exhibition that would become *Ocean in Another* occurred across the watery expanse that separated our coastal work locations which, at different moments, were Goa, Portugal, or the US state of Virginia (all places with colonial histories). Our communication occurred over email, this epistolic emblem of contemporaneity mirroring the early modern forms of global connection created through the establishment of oceanic routes. Like European sailors

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of yore seeking out the Indies on ships whose voyages were subject to the elements, our messages were carried through underwater cables crisscrossing the distance between lands. Our electronic missives traveled the length of the globe. This was due to a technological advancement dating back to the Victorian era when, in 1858, for the first time, a cable connection was made midway in the Atlantic Ocean to telegraphically bridge its continental extremes.[1] Similarly, our discussions sought out oceanic linkages as the history between worlds, these themes already extant in Karishma D'Souza's artistic depictions of the Indian and Atlantic Oceanic realms as archives that seep into one another.

Our digital trans-oceanic discussions about the exhibition were informed by questions of how the seemingly separate realms of the waters on different sides of the planet were linked historically, allowing for trade, migration, and the forced transfer of peoples from their original homelands through enslavement. As Stuart M. McManus observes, "The connected and comparative history of Atlantic and Indian Ocean slavery is still in its infancy."[2] In considering the yet-to-be surfaced interdependent pasts shared by these oceans, we were particularly interested in thinking about the lusophonic (and other) associations to be traced therein. J. Bohorquez finds, for instance, that it was not only the Portuguese who looked eastward to profit from trade across the oceans. South Asian merchants also participated in the "web of multidirectional capital [flow]" that encompassed the lusosphere across the Indian and Atlantic Oceans.[3] Lusospheric connections, as we refer to them, evoke, both Portuguese coloniality and the Portuguese-speaking world, but moreover the relationships, wrought through oceanic history, between these otherwise geographically dispersed regions. In devising the exhibition based on such research, we bore in mind the movements of the enslaved, traders, and goods as made possible by Portuguese coloniality. Parallelly, we also were mindful of transcontinental ecology and ongoing postcolonial heritages between the seas.

Even as we grappled with these legacies, we saw them as being intimately tied to our own shared heritage as Goans. Goa was a Portuguese colony from 1510 to 1961, unlike most of the rest of what is now India. Thirteen years after Indian independence from British rule in 1947, the Indian army fought a swift two-day battle with the Portuguese to take over Goa. No referendum was held to establish Goan self-determination. In centering the ocean as a historically inspirational aesthetic in D'Souza's works and how we wanted them to be received at the exhibition, we also considered how we might represent Goan identity differently. We pondered what it might mean to think of Goa not (only) as a colony of Portugal and subsequently India, but as part of an oceanic "terrain [that] constitutes no single nation."[4]

Following Isabel Hofmeyr's charge to reconceptualize the Indian Ocean beyond the sociocultural, political, and economic limitations of the nation-state, R. Benedito Ferrão and Vishvesh Prabhakar Kandolkar analyze the multiplicity of influences in the oeuvre of Vamona Navelcar (1929–2021).[5]

An artist whose life and career spanned the lusospheric Indian and Atlantic Oceans, both during colonial and postcolonial periods in Goa, Portugal, and Mozambique, the Goa-born Navelcar's art cannot be framed by any of these locations alone.[6] Forced into exile on more than one occasion and on more than one continent, not only Navelcar's anti-colonial stance took artistic form but his aesthetic also derived from the influences he imbibed in Asia, Europe, and Africa. Such an experience of the lusosphere was not one exclusive to Navelcar, his canvas capturing the inter-oceanic histories and cultures that colored the lives of many Goans who like him found themselves in multiple parts of the interconnected Portuguese colonial world. In our exhibition, we channeled this heritage while also wanting to indicate that it was not only the Goan past. Like us, many other Goans continue to have diasporic, familial, cultural, and affective connections that ripple across the waters of the oceans our forebears negotiated.

As Viewed Through the Oceans

These discussions about oceans and pasts led to a capsule show of five works, coinciding with the Oceans as Archives conference at the University of Amsterdam in July 2022. Fittingly, the venue of the exhibition was a room with a view of a canal outside, its aqueous glare falling on the painted waters of D'Souza's canvasses, as if in reflective conversation. Inescapable in this setting was the added emphasis of Dutch colonial history and the Netherland's inextricable ties to a maritime heritage. In fact, the legacy of Dutch overseas involvement abuts upon the history of Portuguese India, both European colonists having tussled over multiple sites on the Malabar and Konkan coasts. Notably, in 1663, the Dutch ousted the Portuguese from Kerala, a region of much colonial significance, given that it was where the Iberians first made landfall in South Asia in the prior century.

Oceanic colonial trysts of such ilk and the murky depths of seafaring history provided the tenor for the exhibition and find echoes in the curatorial note that accompanied it:

> Freedom and adventure, the boundless oceans connote. Such indulgent notions are breached by the archives captive in the waters' depths, thalassic histories of colonialism, enslavement, and displacement. In this collection, Karishma D'Souza brings together the tides of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans, wading through histories of inter-oceanic relations, especially as they relate to the lusophonic world—Portugal, its colonies in Asia and Africa, their shared heritage.
>
> A portrait of the metropole, *Rooting-1* (2018) colours postcolonial Lisbon (denoted by its quintessential steps) with Saharan sands that sweep into the city from across the Atlantic. Blown in by winds that billowed the sails of early modern vessels of conquest, the sand is a gritty reminder of Portugal's colonial entanglement with Africa. Also

visible is the verdant presence of flora that travelled with people on the Indian Oceanic trade routes, symbolic of contemporary cultural influence from Portugal's "elsewheres." *Memory holder* (2018) sets an unblinking bluest eye against a backdrop of watery cloudscape and the wavy woodgrain of a ship's floorboards, surfaces that cloak a conspiracy betwixt the environment and mercantilist ambition. Aqueous humour(lessness) flecked with foreign objects, infinite rows of unnamed captives in unseen seas, seedlings that will take root in and forever change alien landscapes across two oceans. Yet, what is made invisible is not unforgotten. *Journeys* (2018) renders a forlorn island with human contour, making memories of body and land a contiguous geography against which the ocean ebbs as a constant reminder of the unsaid. The past is malleable, however, swimming between the blood trees of ancestry, deeply rooted in the multilayered fathoms of *Ocean Words* (2018) and what *lies* concealed in *Origin-Mythology propaganda* (2018).

History cannot be washed away, the oceans whisper. Its waters are never only its own, each ocean a holder of the heritage of another.[7]

Breathing Underwater

In "An Ocean of Stories," Christine Machado remarks of the exhibition that its title, *Ocean in Another*, is "inspired by [a] classic but little-known trip hop album," which is Esthero's (1998) release, *Breath from Another*.[8] Much like the depths of the ocean, the title track is dark and moody; its opening lyric intones: "Feet in the water is not cold enough."[9] Conjuring the image of walking underwater, the idea of bodily contact with the ocean as an intermeshing of geographic and personal histories was the starting point of Ferrão's curatorial process of working with D'Souza's art for this exhibition. As part of this endeavor, Ferrão responded ekphrastically to the artist's paintings, *Ocean Words* and *Rooting-1*:

As a child, I was convinced I could walk across the bottom of the ocean and arrive elsewhere. I knew this meant my body would be completely submerged in water, that my ears would fill up with the sea, that very little light would filter down to the ocean's floor as the watery world surrounded me.[10] But in the deep, I thought that I would only feel a sense of calm as my measured steps took me steadily forward to the destination I was determined to arrive at.

It matters little now that I had imagined this possibility though I still do not know how to swim. (How did this come to be when for centuries my forebears only knew the ways of the water?) What is important is that I could see from where I stood on the shores of my birthland, another place. Little toes pressing into the sand, I strained my eyes to look across the Arabian Gulf, its very name suggesting distance. Sun in my eyes, I could still catch a glimpse of it, this land on the other side. "Go back to where you came from," someone would say to me and I wondered if they meant that barely visible

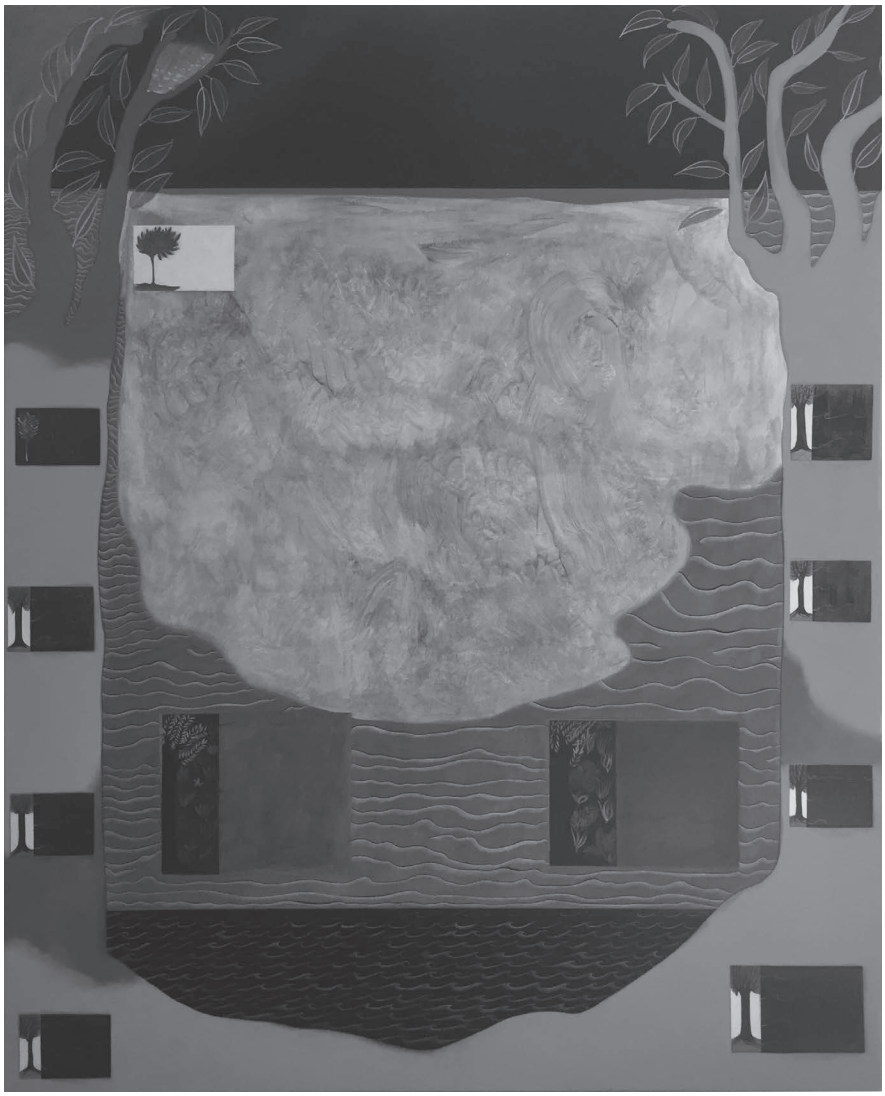

Figure 3.2 Ocean Words Karishma D'Souza (2018)

speck of earth on the other side of the only sea I had ever seen. Can you go back to a place you never came from?

A few years after the British had left East Africa, my mother, still a girl then and whose own mother had recently died, boarded a ship that would depart from the Swahili coast. Its destination was a country her own parents had recreated on this other edge of the ocean. She was to accompany her father to the place he had come from and to which he was now returning to

Figure 3.3 *Rooting-1*, Karishma D'Souza (2018)

spend his last days. My grandfather told his daughter that he was taking her home, a place she had never been to before.

Nearly five centuries earlier, the Portuguese had also made that very same journey, far away from their own shores. In fact, they would not have been able to do so had seafarers on either side of the Indian Ocean not traveled to each other's coasts.[11] Dhows, glass beads, and traveling seeds that would take root in new lands, made their way between these cultures much before

Europeans traversed these routes.[12] With the arrival of the Portuguese, the enslaved too would be ferried along this expanse against their will, twinning the trade in unfree bodies in two oceanic worlds. The waterways are an archive of places found and lands lost.

When she boarded the ship, my mother did not know then that it would take her 40 years to return to her birthland, nor that her children would be born in a country that was neither the one she was leaving from nor the one she was journeying to.

I tell my mother that I see a country across the sea as the sun begins to dip below the horizon. The tide has receded and I think twice before asking, fearing that she might shatter my juvenile grasp of the world. "If you walk on the floor of the ocean, could you get to that other place?" She pauses and a smile plays across her face. "You might, but how do you know you won't find a more interesting world before you got there?"

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In writing about *Ocean in Another*, Alia Yunis references the curator's process in bringing together the show; Yunis quotes Ferrão as saying:

> Even as a globe or a map of the world may visually demonstrate to us that the waters of our planet are conjoined, our understanding of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans tends towards a separation of these fluid regions, as if they had disconnected histories . . . D'Souza's art offers an opportunity to think otherwise, in its considerations of the linkages between oceanic worlds.[13]

Likewise, Arti Das conveys Ferrão's vision for the exhibition as being one where "D'Souza's works [would] elicit conversations about historical confluences as seen through the watery legacies these paintings portray . . . [and especially] how inter-oceanic pasts flow into the present and continue to influence our contemporary moment."[14]

The Artist on Process

The works in the exhibition *Ocean in Another* were produced during my first year in Portugal in 2018 from a bedroom table in Damaia, a locality of Lisbon with a sizable ethnic Cabo Verdean and Angolan population, and later at Concorde, an artists' collective studio in São Vicente, another locality in the city. I had recently arrived from Goa, and my mind was still in Goa and filled with India. The works are finally a reflection on the ocean, heritage, and ancestors beyond the nation-state, while thinking of the dangers of nationalism.

The painting *Origin-Mythology Propaganda* references the dominant caste myth of Parashurama. In the myth, a Brahmin hero, Parashurama, an avatar of Vishnu, approaches the Konkan coast with his clan of Saraswats from the

Figure 3.4 Origin-Mythology Propaganda, Karishma D'Souza (2018)

north. He pierces the Arabian Sea with an arrow, causing it to recede and virgin land, which is now Goa, to emerge as a space for the new arrivals to inhabit. This Brahmanical myth of the creation of Goa is not historical fact, for it denies the reality of Indigenous people having inhabited the region for millennia. Yet belief in this caste-myth has been inextricably linked to one community's claim over the land, concomitant with the invisibilization and dispossession of the rights of Goa's Indigenous peoples—namely, the Velips, Dhangars, Kunbis, and Gawdas. Questioning this living myth and its sanctity leads to a questioning of contemporary land ownership and privatization for a chosen few. The myth is widely propagated and, of course, antagonistic till today.

In December 2019, months before the onslaught of the pandemic in India and the curbs on public gatherings, the Government of India amended the Citizenship Act of 1955. It also began to build massive internment camps for the millions who would lose citizenship, and consequently their land and their lives.[15] The amendment was designed to make those who are Muslim lose their Indian citizenship if they did not have the paperwork to prove generational nationality. This in a country where almost none, that is, only a very tiny minority of citizens (evidently of the richer economic strata, and this would also bring in the caste discrimination angle), have paperwork from two generations back. The amendment led to immediate countrywide protests.

One such rally against the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA 2019) occurred in February 2020 in the southern Goan village of Benaulim (coincidentally the

place where Parashurama's mythic arrow allegedly pierced the ocean). At this rally, Ramkrishna Jalmi, a higher secondary school laboratory assistant and tribal leader in the village of Borim, questioned the origin myth of the Saraswats and its reference to virgin land, connecting the ancient takeover of the region to the Indian government's bid to implement the CAA, which intends to strip populations of their legitimate right be in the country.[16] The Crime Branch arrested Jalmi within days of him making this speech, and the Education Department suspended his employment amidst calls for him to be fired. The grievance cited was Jalmi's questioning of the Parashurama myth and its connection to the founding of Goa as a land created for Brahmins.

As evidenced by incidents of this nature, where an ordinary person can potentially lose their livelihood for challenging caste hegemony, the Parashurama myth is not only valorized and perpetuated but also reified in upholding Brahmanical power. It is this powerful hold of the myth, a story of land acquisition in the garb of a miraculously receding sea, that *Origin-Mythology Propaganda* apprehends and seeks to challenge.

Today, tribal land continues to be stolen for projects that recurrently take from Goa's Indigenous communities, transferring such "virgin" land to those whose claim over it remains dubious. These issues are at the forefront of *Origin-Mythology Propaganda* where a pillar of fire incinerates caste threads in the midst of swords and bloodshed; the sea's currents carry away the remnants. The caste thread, or janve, is blessed by a Brahmin priest and worn across the chest and shoulder of a dominant caste male after a pre-pubescent ritual called the thread ceremony. Ritually worn as a symbolic marker of privilege and hierarchy, it is a visible representation of pride and dominance in the caste hierarchy. As a display of masculinist and high-caste privilege, it operates in its hypervisibility to further negate the presence of the marginalized. The side of the painting depicting land has a re-emergence of aspects of an older religiosity, not centered around caste but nature worship, of snakes, ant-hills, and water bodies in the sacred groves of Goan forests. This brings back the ways of being in communities that care for the land, which is being horrifically lost in today's Goa with the onslaught of cultures that aim at disconnecting people from each other and from the natural world.

Thinking about nationalism, when people's understanding or ways of seeing cannot be manufactured, manipulated, or silenced through propaganda, either through ancient myths or new ones in the contemporary media, extreme physical violence is the next step to maintain the status quo of where privilege lies. The violent destruction of land in Goa also has precedent in the long-standing plight of Kashmir. The year 2018 was the bloodiest in a decade in Kashmir. The Indian army fired into private residences and rained bullets on demonstrators protesting civilian killings. People on the street were blinded as were children in their homes. The blood drops in the eye looking out of the painting *Memory Holder* reference the events of 2018 in Kashmir where people were deliberately blinded. The guns were aimed into the crowd, at people's faces and heads, to willfully maim. The eye in *Memory Holder* is

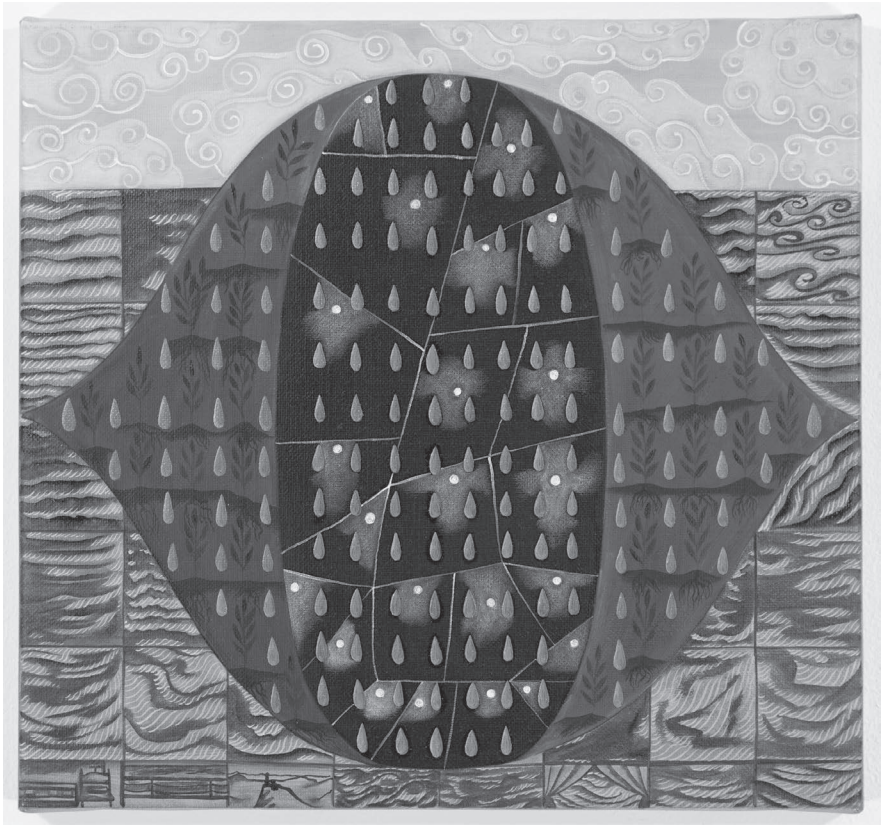

Figure 3.5 Memory Holder Karishma D'Souza (2018)

also a self-portrait warning against fabricated blindness, or turning a blind eye and a deaf ear unless the physical violence reaches one's doorstep and enters one's home. It refers to seeing the world through knowing adult eyes, looking out from a background of memories. The eye looms above an ocean landscape. The background of the painting is a reference to my childhood on the sea. Because my father is a Master Mariner, I often sailed with him in my youth. Additionally, we lived on the coast in places like Goa and Bombay. At the same time as the painting alludes to the littoral and sea-bound travel, it also charts my own development toward adulthood.

A sheet of blood drops curtains reality like an imposed veil or cataract. From the inner darkness of the eye's pupil shines light. This is a reference to an excerpt from a poem by Jayanta Mahapatra:

> And we know we aren't ready for answers or for the heart's cries, as a web of light is flung across those dim places of the body where we hate to hide again.[17]

This poem contains keen observations of everyday activities unfolding in a city at dawn and the last lines shift to what is needed for a hopeful future. In the lower left corner of the painting are depictions of personal memories which have been important markers in my life; they reference pivotal occurrences that have contributed toward an understanding of myself and the world. Among these memories are the printmaking department at Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad University—Vadodara, another of sailing, and one of a friend and I at a cliff in Matheran. The stylized clouds in the sky, at the top of the painting, are a reference to Buddhist religious paintings from Ladakh, which used to be, till recently, a district of Kashmir.

Other paintings in the exhibition *Ocean in Another* are also portraits. *Ocean Words*, an ambigram in memory of the 15th-century poet Kabir's upside-down language, portrays the Atlantic Ocean; *Rooting-1* is a likeness of Lisbon; and *Journeys* is a portrait of an unknown ancestor. For me, the paintings also function as correspondence with loved ones. I often have particular people in mind as viewers of the works in the process of painting them.

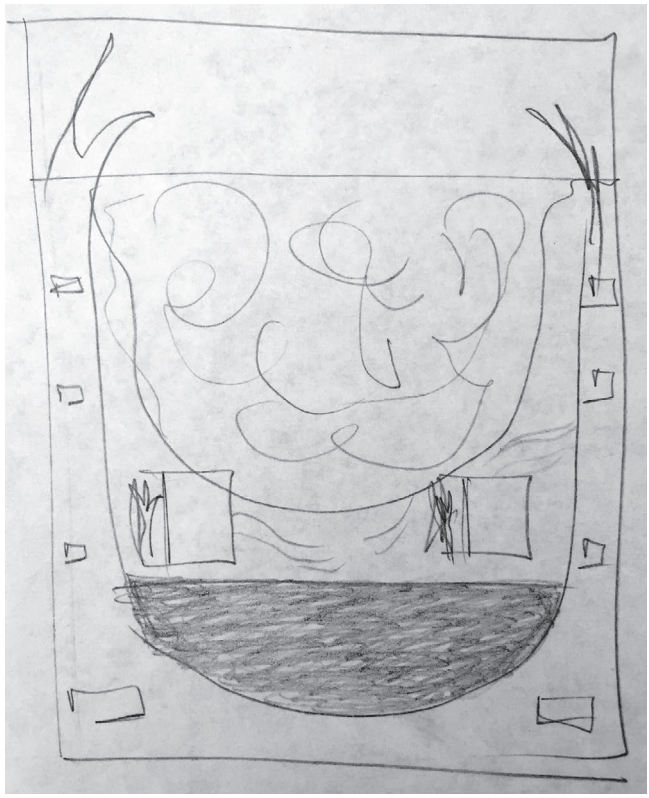

Figure 3.6 Preliminary drawing-1 for *Ocean Words*, Karishma D'Souza (2018)

In 2015, I visited Joung, a college friend, in Myanmar. Together we visited the city of Bagan where one of the frescoes at a Buddhist pagoda depicts the Jataka tales and stories of the Buddha's life. The imagery in the fresco is arranged like a quilt of hundreds of squares. Unfortunately, a section of the painting had peeled off and this layer hung off the curved ceiling like a sail. One of the squares in the fresco was a bird's eye view of a river, with two people standing on either side of the water under trees. This was one of the images that inspired the painting *Ocean Words*, which renders a view of the Atlantic as seen from Lisbon, a city also situated on a riverbank.[18] Visually deriving from the placement of trees in the Bagan fresco detail, the red trees that form borders in *Ocean Words* are symbols of my parents as watchful blood-trees of ancestry. Also symbolizing my parents in this painting are the floating blue rectangles in the ocean.

Flows of water are denoted in different visual languages. Does the meaning of a thing represented change with new renditions of it? Seeing figures of the Buddha in Buddhist monasteries, repeatedly painted like a litany of prayers inspired this repetitive use of images in my own work. Repetition in the similar "slides" of trees placed within the trunks of the larger red trees creates the possibility of re-looking at and re-engaging, a second chance at

Figure 3.7 Preliminary drawing-2 for *Ocean Words*, Karishma D'Souza (2018)

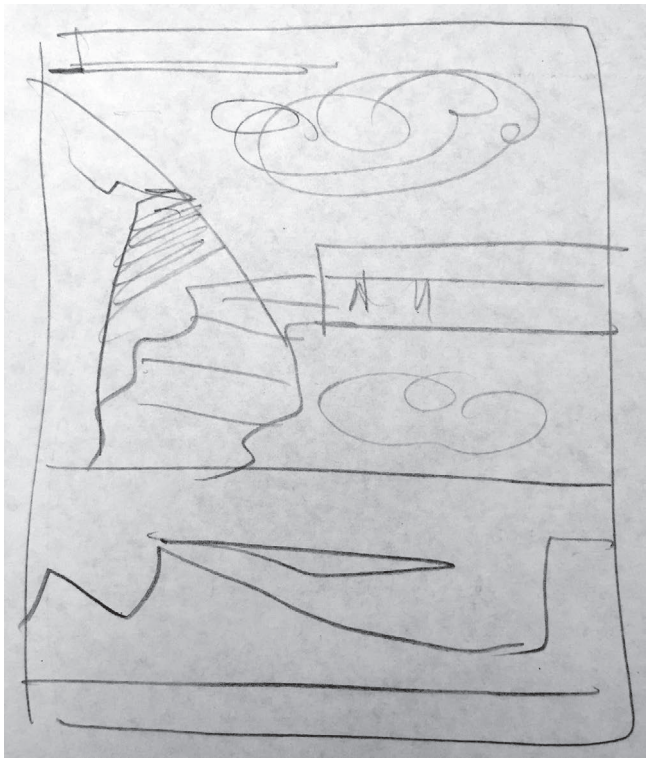

Figure 3.8 Preliminary drawings-3 and 4, for *Rooting-1*, Karishma D'Souza (2018)

contemplation, to create a pause for space or to move deeper, adding different thoughts to a symbol with each repetition while painting or looking at the motif.

The other image behind *Ocean Words* is a black-and-white photograph of an elderly man wearing a cap, who has his back to the photographer. He is sitting comfortably and slightly hunched on a bench between two short, fine-branched trees and looking out at a river. This is a cover image of a book of photographs I had seen at a bookshop at the Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon. The photograph has three sedentary subjects: the two trees, again framing the image, and the elderly man watching the moving river while seated. An image of a river is often peaceful to look at and makes one imagine the other places it touches.

The picture that feeds most of my paintings from 2009 onward, and all the works in *Ocean in Another*, is Piero della Francesca's painting *The Flagellation of Christ*, presumed to have been created between 1465 and 1472. This painting has been on my mind for a long time. Its subject is a man, Jesus of Nazareth, who is being whipped. This violence occurs in the midst of a

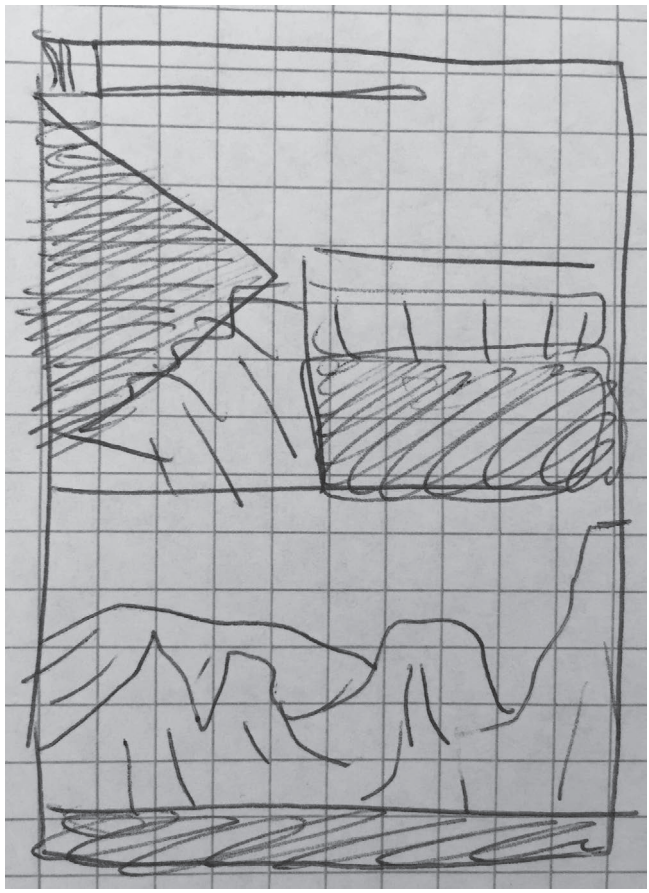

Figure 3.9 Preliminary drawings-3 and 4, for *Rooting-1*, Karishma D'Souza (2018)

peaceful composition of a building and an enclosed courtyard with a tree beyond a boundary wall, while three elegant men engage in conversation in the foreground of the work. The scene in the painting is simultaneously serene and bloody, tricking the eye into not seeing what is clearly the main subject, thereby questioning blindness or unseeing. The gaze moves into the architectural spaces instead of resting on the flogging, and the three figures in the background at least become almost invisible. One can be captivated at the way light falls on the draped vestments of the figures in the painting or the leaves on the tree in the background. As a viewer I felt completely detached from the horror that is the central subject of the painting. This detachment led me to consider how aesthetic beauty can be a hook that captures attention, a useful tool to point to something important in order to understand and commune or communicate with it and can, conversely, be a reminder that beauty may be a veil over some kind of hell.

Figure 3.10 Stitcher Karishma D'Souza (2018)

Rooting-1 is a portrait of Lisbon looking across the Mediterranean toward Africa: Morocco and the desert. Plants make their way to new homes through this landscape, freer than people when they successfully cross borders. This painting also references an earlier work of mine, *Stitcher*, from 2011. Created in Vadodara, where I lived for eight years after completing my post-graduation, *Stitcher* is a portrait of my mother, one I created to ground me while living in an unfamiliar place.

The references in *Rooting-1* to landscapes from earlier paintings bring familiar colors and spaces into Lisbon, a city new to me at the time, which was the setting of this work. Social and ecological damage in Goa due to invasive mining is depicted in the barren landscape in the band toward the base of *Rooting-1*.

The painting *Journeys* began with a centralized face of an unknown ancestor and a shadow of a coconut tree. The face is a symbol of a portal, which the ocean or the ancestor could be seen as. I was also thinking of a blue papyrus piece with the imagery of waves on it like lines on a notebook, or writing, on a flat background of blood that symbolizes connection.

The Oceans Within Walls

Taking cue from the inter-oceanic inspiration of D'Souza's art, we conceived of *Ocean in Another* as an exhibition that asks its viewers to think about colonialism across the globe as a network of watery routes. Can one truly say

Figure 3.11 Journeys Karishma D'Souza (2018)

where one ocean ends and the other begins? While globalization may seem to be a relatively recent phenomenon, its history is deep, with roots (and routes) in the thalassic paths of colonialism. The interdependence between these systems of trade is inflected by the legacy of the transportation of enslaved people, merchandise, and plant life via the seas. Portuguese colonialism entrenched Europe, Africa, and Asia, allowing for a wide span of commerce, human trafficking, and cultural exchange. Plants and trees show up often in D'Souza's paintings, motifs that emerge from her interest in colonial botany

and the transference of flora between parts of the world linked by sea voyages. In turn, this signals how wind currents and oceanic passages between continents aided the movement of people, merchandise, and cultural influences across these pelagic expanses.

Ocean in Another, the name of the exhibition, is meant to complement "Oceans as Archives," the title of the conference at which it was displayed. Both titles are cognate in their recognition of oceans as chroniclers of information. But beyond this, the name of the art exhibition is meant to speak directly to oceanic heritages as being the product of fluid encounters. Every ocean contains the waters of another, the exchange ever-present. If oceans made human transport across the globe possible, how can any place along the route ever be said to be insular? Otherness is always inherent to such place-making.

Notes

1 James Griffiths, "The Global Internet Is Powered by Vast Undersea Cables: But They're Vulnerable," *Cable News Network*, July 26, 2019, https://www.cnn.com/2019/07/25/asia/internet-undersea-cables-intl-hnk.
2 "Slavery and the African Diaspora beyond the Atlantic," *English Historical Review* 137, no. 585 (2021): 553, https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/ceab274.
3 "Linking the Atlantic and Indian Oceans: Asian Textiles, Spanish Silver, Global Capital, and the Financing of the Portuguese-Brazilian Slave Trade (c. 1760–1808)," *Journal of Global History* 15, no. 1 (2020): 34, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022819000317.
4 R. Benedito Ferrão and Vishvesh Kandolkar, "Canvas Adrift: Vamona Navelcar, Artist of the Unframed Ocean," *Verge* 8, no. 1 (2022): 110, https://doi.org/10.1353/vrg.2022.0007.
5 Isabel Hofmeyer, "Universalizing the Indian Ocean," *PMLA* 125, no. 3 (2010): 722–723, https://doi.org/10.1632/pmla.2010.125.3.721.
6 Ferrão and Kandolkar, "Canvas Adrift," 110.
7 R. Benedito Ferrão, "Ocean in Another by Karishma D'Souza," *Oceans as Archives*, 2022, https://www.oceansasarchives.org/portfolio-1/project-one-bj73p-xxb2a-9452p-kms74-47e9h-cgewc-nrex2-7cr67-r42wp.
8 "An Ocean of Stories," *Navhind Times*, July 14, 2022, https://www.navhindtimes.in/2022/07/14/magazines/buzz/an-ocean-of-stories/.
9 Esthero, "Breath from Another," *Breath from Another*, 1998, The Work Group.
10 In evoking the fantastical here, Ferrão takes cue from Sumati Ramaswamy who, in writing about Lemuria, the mythical continent between Asia and Africa, presses the notion of this fabulous geography into the service of recuperating loss. As Ramaswamy enquires: "What is a lost place? What symbolic capital does a lost place command that an available place does not?" *The Lost Land of Lemuria: Fabulous Geographies, Catastrophic Histories* (University of California Press, 2004), 3.
11 Arguing for a non-Eurocentric globalization that predates European contact with Africa and Asia, Horton, Boivin, and Crowther find "the African littoral [to have been] a zone of interaction, with a north-south axis between the Gulf, Arabia and the Red Sea, and the eastern African coast as far as southern Africa, and an east-west axis that crosses the Indian Ocean connecting Africa and Madagascar with Southeast Asia." (2021, 384). Mark Horton, Nicole Boivin and Alison Crowther, "Eastern Africa and the Early Indian Ocean: Understanding Mobility in

a Globalising World," *Journal of Egyptian History* 13, nos. 1–2 (2021): 380–408, https://doi.org/10.1163/18741665-12340063.

12 Excavations between 2011–2012 at archaeological sites in Zanzibar uncovered evidence of "the trans-oceanic biological exchange that brought a variety of Asian plants and animals to the East African coast in the premodern period," as well as glass beads. Marilee Wood, Serena Panighello, Emilio F. Orsega, Peter Robertshaw, Johannes T. Van Elteren, Alison Crowther, Mark Horton and Nicole Boivin, "Zanzibar and Indian Ocean Trade in the First Millennium CE: The Glass Bead Evidence," *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 9, no. 5 (2017): 880, https://doi.org/10.1007/s12520-015-0310-z.

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