Western Civilizations

VOLUME TWO

21E

JOSHUA COLE • CAROL SYMES

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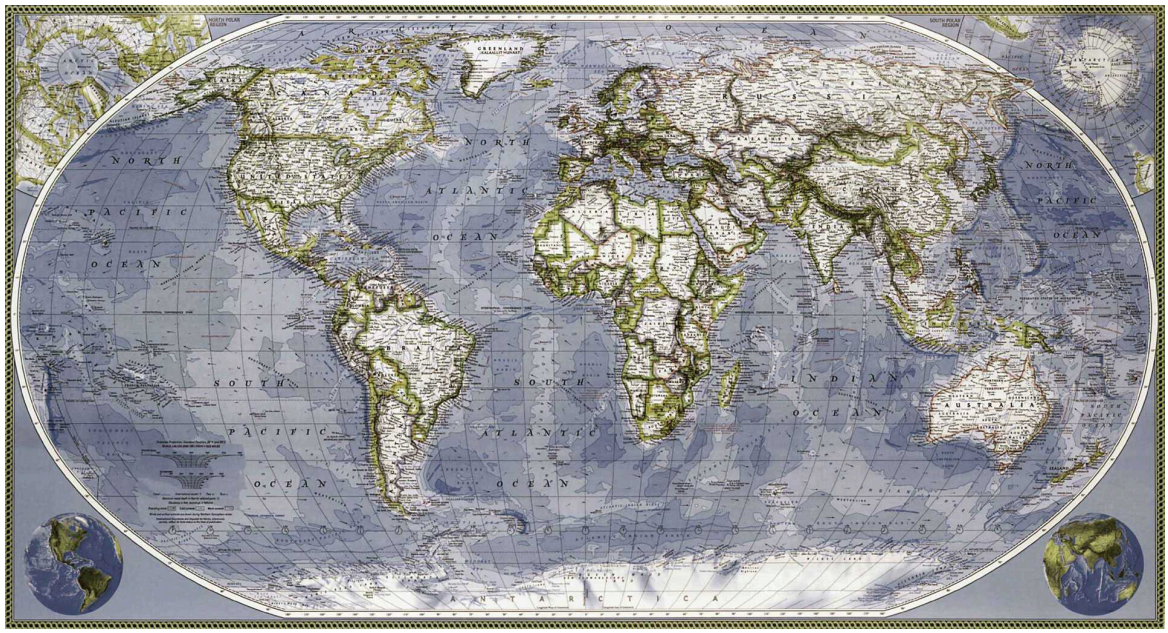
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Western Civilizations

Their History & Their Culture

TWENTY-FIRST EDITION

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Preface

This Twenty-First Edition of *Western Civilizations* is a landmark in a long and continuing journey. Since its original publication in 1941, this book has been assiduously updated by succeeding generations of historians who have kept it at the forefront of the field in both scholarship and pedagogical innovation. Our newest edition carries this legacy forward, further honing the tools we have developed to empower students—our own and yours—to engage effectively with the themes, sources, and challenges of history. It presents a clear and concise narrative of events that unfolded over many thousands of years, supplemented by a compelling selection of primary sources and striking images. At the same time, it features a unified program of pedagogical elements that guide students from understanding core content to reading and analyzing historical sources and, finally, to developing a sophisticated sense of the ways that historians reconstruct the past on the basis of those sources. This framework, and a brand-new set of activities built around select sources from each chapter, helps students to read and interpret historical evidence on their own, encouraging them to become active participants in the learning process and helping them to think historically.

The wide chronological and geographical scope of this book offers an unusual opportunity to trace historical trends across several interrelated regions—western Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, and Europe—whose cultural diversity has been constantly reinvigorated and renewed. Our increasing awareness that no region's history can be isolated from global processes and connections has merely heightened the need for a richly contextualized and broad-based history such as that represented in *Western Civilizations*. In this edition, we have added an attention to the changing meanings of ethnicity and race in human societies. This focus adds a further dimension to our already rich treatment of human mobility. The study of human mobility—and the corresponding evolution of ideas about human differences—have emerged as a vital field of study in recent years. Today's students are deeply interested and invested in the relationship between globalization and population movements, and the ways that this mobility is related to social conflict, environmental changes, and contemporary disagreements about race, ethnicity, and national identity. It is important that students be able to put these contemporary discussions in historical context and to see their own concerns and aspirations reflected in the historical curriculum.

As in previous editions, we have continued to balance the coverage of political, social, economic, and cultural phenomena with extensive treatment of gender, race, sexuality, daily life, material culture, art, science, and popular culture. Our history is also attentive to the latest developments in historical scholarship. The title of this book asserts that there is no single and enduring "Western civilization" whose inevitable march to domination can be traced chapter by chapter through time. This older paradigm, strongly associated with the curriculum of early twentieth-century American colleges

and universities, no longer conforms to what we know about the human past. It was also overly reliant on the nationalist histories of only a few countries, notably England, France, and Germany. In this book, we therefore pay much closer attention to central and eastern Europe, as well as to Europeans' near neighbors in Asia, Africa, and the Atlantic world, with a particular focus on European and Muslim relations throughout the Mediterranean and Middle East. No history of Western civilizations can be coherent if it leaves out the intense conflicts, extraordinary ruptures, and dynamic changes that took place within and across all of these territories. Indeed, smoothing out the rough edges of the past does students no favors. Even an introductory text such as this one should present the past as it appears to the historians who study it: as a complex panorama of human effort, filled with possibility and achievement but also fraught with discord, uncertainty, accident, and tragedy.

Pedagogical Features

In our continuing effort to promote the active study of history, this book is designed to reinforce your course objectives by helping your students to master core content while challenging them to think critically about the past. In previous editions, we augmented the traditional strengths of *Western Civilizations* by introducing several exciting new features. These have since been refined in accordance with feedback from student readers and teachers of the book. The most important and revolutionary feature is the pedagogical structure that supports each chapter. As we know from long experience, many students in introductory survey courses find the sheer quantity of information overwhelming, and so we have provided guidance to help them navigate through the material and to read in meaningful ways.

At the outset of each chapter, the ***Before You Read This Chapter*** feature offers three preliminary windows into the material to be covered: *Story Lines*, *Chronology*, and *Core Objectives*. Following the *Story Lines* allows the student to become familiar with the primary narrative threads that tie the chapter's elements together, while the *Chronology* grounds these *Story Lines* in the period under study. The *Core Objectives* alert the student to the primary teaching points in the chapter. The student is then reminded of these teaching points upon completing the chapter, in the ***After You Read This Chapter*** section, which revisits the material in three ways. The first, *Reviewing the Objectives*, asks the reader to reconsider the core objectives by answering a pointed question about each one. The second, *People, Ideas, and Events in Context*, summarizes some of the particulars that students should retain from their reading, through questions that allow them to relate individual terms to the major objectives and story lines. Finally, *Thinking About Connections* allows for more open-ended reflection on the significance of the chapter's main themes, drawing students' attention to issues that connect it to previous chapters and to their own historical present. Together, these pedagogical features serve to enhance the student's learning experience by breaking down the process of reading and analysis into manageable tasks.

A second package of pedagogical features is designed to capture students' interest and to compel them to think about what is at stake in the construction and use of historical narratives. Each chapter opens with a vignette that showcases a particular person or event representative of the era as a whole. Within each chapter, an expanded program of illustrations and maps are enhanced by the addition of *Questions for Analysis* that urge the reader to explore the historical contexts and significance of these images in a more analytical way. The historical value of visual artifacts is further emphasized in another feature: ***Interpreting Visual Evidence.*** This section provides a provocative departure point for analytical discussions about the key issues raised by visual sources, which students often find more approachable than texts. Once this conversation has begun, students can further develop their skills with the ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** feature, which offers close readings of primary texts accompanied by thought-provoking interpretive questions. The diversity of Western civilizations is also illuminated through a look at ***Competing Viewpoints*** in each chapter, in which specific debates are presented through paired primary source texts. In the new Norton Illumine Ebook, the ***Competing Viewpoints*** features have been transformed into engaging interactive activities that marry audio, pop-ups providing definitions and analysis of sources, and clickable assessments graded on completion. These interactive activities are paired with two new Check Your Understanding questions with rich answer-specific feedback at the end of each chapter section that motivate students and give them opportunities to practice their learning. The bibliographical *Further Readings*, located at the end of the book, has also been brought up to date.

Another recent addition is the ***Past and Present*** feature. Designed to help students connect events unfolding in the past with the breaking news of our own time, it pairs one episode from each chapter with a phenomenon that resonates more immediately with our students. To bring this new feature to life for students, we have also created a series of **Past and Present Videos**, in which we analyze and elaborate on these connections. There are a number of illuminating discussions, including "Spectator Sports," which compares the Roman gladiatorial games with NFL football; "The Reputation of Richard III," which shows how modern forensics were recently used to identify the remains of this medieval English king; "The Persistence of Monarchies in a Democratic Age," which explains the origins and evolution of our ongoing fascination with royals such as Louis XIV and Princess Diana; and "The Internet and the Enlightenment Public Sphere," which compares the kinds of public networks that helped spread Enlightenment ideas to the way the Internet spreads political ideas to support movements such as the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street. Through this feature, we want to encourage students to recognize the continuing relevance of seemingly distant historical moments, but we also want to encourage historically minded habits that will be useful for a lifetime. If students learn to see the connections between their world and the past, they will be better able to place unfolding developments and debates in a more informed and complex historical context.

A Tour of Chapters and the Newest Revisions

Our previous edition of *Western Civilizations* updated and reorganized the presentation of material on central and eastern Europe in order to provide a richer account of Europe's diverse political and social histories. We also developed a theme on environmental history in both volumes, with special attention to the ways that human society has been shaped by—and affected—the physical world. For this Twenty-First Edition we paid particular attention to the ways that evolving notions of "race" and other forms of human difference have intersected with the rise of Western concepts of democracy, liberalism, and equal citizenship.

In this Twenty-First Edition:

Chapter 1 takes account of recent scholarship challenging the traditional narrative of civilizational development as a straight line from settlements to urban centers. Though changes in the climate allowed for increased sedentary food production and regional trade, these practices did not entirely replace hunting and foraging or temporary settlements, as previously thought. In keeping with the new theme of this volume, which traces emerging ideas of human difference, this chapter explains how some early societies resisted developments in managed food production to avoid accumulating wealth or establishing the hierarchical structures characteristic of many civilizations. Attention to new research on the role of ritual architecture in early settlements, such as Gobekli Tepe in Turkey, is enhanced by a new image of the site. A new ***Competing Viewpoints*** feature examines how forms of inequality and unfree labor emerged in early societies, featuring excerpts from Exodus and an inscription from the Sumerian city of Lagash. A new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** excerpt is taken from a ritual incantation performed at the entombment ceremony of an Egyptian pharaoh.

Chapter 2 has been updated with rich new research that adds nuance to our understanding of the various peoples who came to prominence during the Bronze Age, including the Hyksos and Phoenicians. A new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** feature includes an excerpt from the Hebrew book of Samuel that depicts Samuel's ambivalence about choosing a human king to rule over the Israelites. A new section, "Climate Change and Civilizational Collapse," considers new research indicating that the fall of the Neo-Assyrian Empire can be partially attributed to a decades-long drought induced by climate change and over-farming. A new *Thinking About Connections* question asks students to consider how climatic changes have contributed to the success or failure of early civilizations.

Chapter 3 explores how Hellenic group identity was formed to exclude "barbarians": foreigners whom the Greeks considered to be culturally inferior. The *Story Lines* have been revised to reflect this focus, and a new section, "Hellenic Expansion and Identity," discusses the development of *ethnos*, or the Hellenic idea of group identity. A new ***Interpreting Visual Evidence*** feature reveals how recent discoveries add nuance to

our own notions of Hellenic identity, by demonstrating that classical Greek sculptures and buildings were brilliantly painted at the time of their creation: not starkly white, as once believed. The section titled "The Daily Life of Athens: Men, Women, and Slaves" includes a revised discussion of the role of slavery in ancient civilizations, emphasizing how any person could become enslaved, most often by warfare or poverty. A new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** elaborates on this dynamic through an excerpt from Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian War, in which the consequences of Athenian hubris lead to the enslavement of surviving prisoners of war. A new *Thinking About Connections* question invites students to consider how modern anachronisms and assumptions have made it challenging to look for evidence of "race thinking" in pre-modern societies.

Chapter 4 continues with the investigation of slavery in antiquity through a new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** excerpt in which Aristotle justifies the subjugation of humans by arguing that some people are naturally "free," namely Greek men, while others are not. The ***Competing Viewpoints*** feature includes a revised selection from Plato's *Republic* to better highlight Plato's argument about the participation of women in Hellenic society. Chapter 5 has been generally revised to underscore the presence of slavery in Roman society and the roles that enslaved individuals played in everyday life.

In Chapter 6, new scholarship has informed the treatment of the Roman Empire's gradual Christianization and the persistence of traditional (pagan) religions and practices. A new section on the narrowing pathway to Roman citizenship helps to explain the tensions between new waves of migrants and the imperial government, as well as the Goth's remarkable transition from refugees to rulers. A new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** feature highlights an excerpt from the *Getica*, a history of the Gothic tribes that describes the career of Theodoric, who ruled the Eastern Gothic Kingdom of Italy. This excerpt further contributes to the theme of "difference" by revealing how Theodoric was able to rule successfully by maintaining and blending both Gothic and Roman cultural and identities. A new *Thinking About Connections* question prompts students to consider why women were excluded from leadership roles in the Christian Church.

The *Story Lines*, *Core Objectives,* and *Chronology* of Chapter 7 have been revised to account for new evidence on the effects of the Justinianic Plague, based on advances in ancient DNA research and archaeological evidence that have revealed the devastating effects of this first (semi-global) pandemic. A new map fully depicting the Arab world's relationships with the Roman Empire's heirs helps to demonstrate the complex political and cultural dynamics undergirding Islam's expansion, while a new section on the emergence of Islam more accurately captures the circumstances that enabled the proliferation of this new religion, including the varying levels of religious tolerance among neighboring civilizations. A brand-new discussion of the Iconoclast Controversy now emphasizes the role of wealthy monasteries in Byzantine society, as

well considering how both Rabbinic Judaism and Islam affected Christian religious practices during this era.

Chapters 8 and 9 continue to elaborate on the many cultural, political, and economic changes of the Middle Ages, as the focus of the book shifts to northern and western Europe for the first time. Chapter 8 includes a new map of Paris that demonstrates how medieval cities were constructed and evolved over time, and how religious and urban life were intertwined. Chapter 9 includes a more extended discussion of developments in the Islamic world, considering how elite women were afforded opportunities and freedoms there as well as in Christian Europe and Byzantium.

Chapter 10 includes several new primary sources that offer insights on the ways that various forms of "difference" were understood in medieval Europe. A new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** features a remarkable verse romance that complicates conventional understandings of premodern gender roles. A new ***Competing Viewpoints*** compares two documents describing antisemitic attacks on Jewish communities and the responses of Christian officials to those attacks. New research on the origins and spread of the Black Death has been included, since evidence now indicates that the plague had begun devastating communities in Asia by the end of the twelfth century.

In Chapter 11, a new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** highlights the ways that women often defied the narrow roles assigned to them: a scathing letter from the duchess of Ferrara to her husband, critiquing his poor military leadership and questioning his fitness for office. A new section titled "Later Medieval Ideas of Religious and Physical Difference" engages in a nuanced discussion of how, over time, European Christians came to associate certain physical characteristics with Jews and Muslims. A new ***Competing Viewpoints*** includes two excerpts that reflect very different views on interreligious marriages and the meanings attached to dark skin. Finally, a *Thinking About Connections* question prompts students to consider how ideas about race were constructed before the modern era.

Chapter 12 has been revised to better capture the forced conversion or expulsion of Muslims from Iberia that accompanied the "reconquest" of Christian Spain. The discussion of encounters between European conquistadors and the Indigenous peoples of the Americas takes account of recent scholarship and clarifies what we know about the new arrivals' reliance on native interpreters like La Malinche, without whom Cortes would have been unable to challenge the Aztec empire. In Chapter 13, a revised discussion of the Christian reformers who preceded Martin Luther helps to contextualize the shifting landscape of a divided Christian Europe during the sixteenth century. A new *Thinking About Connections* question prompts students to consider whether a revolutionary break within the Roman Church was inevitable.

In Chapter 14, key sections have been revised to emphasize the destructive consequences of European colonial projects in the Americas, including emergence of a new, racially based idea of slavery in the Atlantic World. A new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** reveals how the ruler of Ethiopia responded to the growing traffic in enslaved

Africans by outlawing the capture or sale of his Christian subjects. Chapter 15 elaborates on the kidnap and sale of African men and women into slavery, noting that racial justifications for slavery came in later years. A careful discussion of the Code noir has been added, which examines how rules for enslaved people in the French colonies contributed to the emergence of modern ideas about racial difference. The description of John Locke's critique of absolutism has been revised to emphasize that the values in his seminal work *Two Treatises* clashed with his complicated views on hereditary slavery.

Chapter 16 has been revised to account for the emergence of scientific theories about human races. A new section titled "From Geology to Geography and the Human Sciences" draws connections from the study of geology to the study of human populations, citing François Bernier, whose work categorizing humans by physical traits was an early example of what would become a general consensus about the existence of distinct human races. The section also draws connections to the trade in enslaved people and the implications of racial categories on the expansion of slavery in the Americas. A new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** includes an excerpt from Bernier's work where he puts forth his theory of different "races" or "species" of human. A new *Thinking About Connections* question asks students to consider the role of science and progress for natural philosophers and its implication for the future.

We have revised Chapter 17 to focus on the divergence between Enlightenment ideals and the treatment of enslaved African peoples. The chapter emphasizes that while Enlightenment thinkers shared the conviction that equality should not extend to enslaved Africans in the Americas, these enslaved peoples created their own communities and cultures and rebelled frequently against the hierarchical systems that maintained their oppression. A new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** demonstrates how Enlightenment-era thinkers began to consider the division of humans into species. This chapter also includes a more in-depth discussion of slavery in the United States at the time of the Revolution. Chapter 18 explores these ideas further with a newly detailed discussion of the Haitian revolution and its radical application of Enlightenment ideals to enslaved populations. A new ***Competing Viewpoints*** provides insight into the dynamics of this revolution through the words of a group of enslaved men and a French Catholic priest advocating on behalf of the free people of color in Haiti.

Chapter 19's revisions focus on how industrialization and new technologies allowed for the further proliferation and profitability of slavery. Chapter 20 maintains its focus on the spread of nationalism, with a new emphasis on who was routinely excluded from the nationalist imagination. Threaded throughout the chapter is a new discussion of how racial hierarchy excluded enslaved Africans from citizenship and other "inalienable" rights. A new ***Competing Viewpoints*** engages with the question of how racial thinking influenced debate about the origins of social hierarchies in English culture.

Chapter 21 continues with concerns brought up in Chapter 20 regarding the exclusion of minority groups from national identity. Special attention is paid in this chapter to the

deportation of Native Americans from their lands as the United States expanded westward, accompanied by a new map that shows the deported groups. The discussion of the American Civil War has been revised to include a depiction of Reconstruction and the implementation of so-called "Black codes." A new ***Competing Viewpoints*** includes an excerpt from Frederick Douglass and an excerpt from an Italian nationalist, both invoking slavery as a lens to view national identity and freedom. A new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** criticizes earlier writers who purported human populations could be divided into distinct races.

Chapter 22 defines, with greater specificity, kinds of imperialism and colonialism, and the resistance of colonized peoples, including indigenous peoples, enslaved peoples, and settlers themselves. Greater detail has been added to the discussion of the dynamics of settlers in Africa and the colonized population, including the genocide of the Herero and Nama peoples in present-day Namibia. A more nuanced discussion of Darwin's work has also been added and clarifies Darwin's stance on the delineation of human "races." A new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** engages with the work of Arthur de Gobineau, whose work popularized a view of history where the major turning points could be explained by the relationships between "strong" and "weak" races. A new *Thinking About Connections* question prompts students to consider how beliefs about race influenced the support of European colonialism in the nineteenth century.

In Chapter 23, we continue to examine how the idea of race emerged with a new ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** featuring work from Madison Grant, an American who embraced scientific definitions of race. The section on Social Darwinism has been revised to emphasize how the concept deviates from Darwin's original theories. A new *Thinking About Connections* question asks students to consider how scientific racism continues to resonate in the present. Chapter 24 has been revised to discuss how non-Turkish minorities came to be persecuted as nationalism grew, with particular focus on the American genocide.

Chapter 25 includes revisions to the section on Hitler's economic plan for Nazi Germany, accompanied by a new image showing Nazi propaganda promising economic recovery. The section on Nazi Racism has been revised to connect the threads of conversation in earlier chapters about the long tradition of European racism with Hitler's own ideas of racial hierarchy and antisemitism. More details have been added to the sections on Jim Crow laws in the American South, the origins of the Great Depression, and the developments in physics that led to the development of the atomic bomb. Chapter 26 emphasizes the role of the French colonies in Africa as the roots of resistance against the Vichy government.

Chapter 27 has been revised with greater focus on the precarious position of the former European colonies after decolonization, including their vulnerability to extractive industries and the wealth inequality among Europeans and the diverse African populations. A new *Thinking About Connections* question asks students to consider the role of the United States and Europe in eastern European affairs during the Cold War and today. Revisions to Chapter 28 expand on the condition of Europe's colonies

after decolonization with particular focus on the legacy of colonial racism. A new ***Competing Viewpoints*** feature compares an article from German magazine *Der Spiegel* and bell hooks, who both invoked race in discussions of American popular music's social resonance in the second half of the 20th century, albeit in very different ways.

Chapter 29 brings both volumes to a close in a wide-ranging discussion that connects current events in Europe and the world to the deeper past. The *Core Objectives, Story Lines*, and *Chronology* have been updated to account for major world events including Brexit, the COVID-19 pandemic, and Russia's war in Ukraine. This final chapter discusses the economic and political turbulence of the first decades of the twenty-first century—the threat of terrorism, the global financial crisis of 2008, and the rise of populist political parties in Europe that challenge the goal of European integration—as an indication that the global order that emerged in the aftermath of the Second World War is now being transformed into something else whose contours remain as yet unclear. Political polarization and a weakening of democratic institutions in the United States has aggravated this uncertainty, and Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 threatens to upend it altogether. The conclusion invites students to place these very contemporary debates within the context of Europe's broader history, allowing them to connect what they have learned from the past to the world in which they themselves live.

Media Resources for Instructors and Students

History becomes an immersive experience for students using Norton's digital resources with *Western Civilizations*. The comprehensive ancillary package includes tools for teaching and learning that reinforce the *Core Objectives* from the narrative while building on the history skills introduced in the pedagogy throughout the book. This Twenty-First Edition features a groundbreaking suite of resources, including a Norton Illumine Ebook that shines light on student learning through engaging and motivational features that illuminate core concepts for students in a supportive, low-stakes environment; InQuizitive, Norton's award-winning formative adaptive system; and an extensive library of History Skills Tutorials to guide students in analysis and interpretation. Norton is unique in partnering exclusively with subject matter experts who teach the course to author these and other resources listed here. As a result, instructors have all the course materials they need to successfully manage their Western Civilizations course, whether they are teaching face-to-face, online, or in a hybrid setting.

STUDENT RESOURCES

Norton Illumine Ebook Norton's high-quality content shines brighter through engaging and motivational features that illuminate core concepts for all students in a supportive, accessible, and low-stakes environment. Embedded interactives engage students with applications and explorations of important course content and Check Your Understanding questions with rich feedback motivate students and build confidence in their learning. The active reading experience also includes the ability to highlight, take notes, search, read offline, and more. Instructors can promote student accountability by adding their own content and notes and through easy-to-use assignment tools in their LMS. Norton Ebooks can be viewed on—and synced among—all computers and mobile devices. Norton Ebooks are born accessible, which means we keep all learners in mind during the entire production process. The assignable *Western Civilizations* Norton Illumine Ebook includes the following enhanced features:

- **NEW** Check Your Understanding questions with rich answer-specific feedback that motivates students and builds confidence in their learning. Multiple-choice questions with rich answer-specific feedback appear at the end of each chapter section and provide students the opportunity to test their understanding of important material immediately after they first encounter it within the reading.
- **NEW** Competing Viewpoints interactives transform the popular primary source document feature in each chapter into an engaging integrative activity, including embedded interactive questions and feedback. One interactive in each chapter

includes an embedded audio reading of each document excerpt to help students engage with sources that may seem dense and unfamiliar, as well as embedded, pop-up annotations to provide reading support to students and help them better understand the trickier elements of the source excerpt. Interactive questions about each passage with rich answer-specific feedback prompt students to think critically about each primary source.
- Embedded author videos with the textbook authors give students a closer look at each chapter's essential developments, difficult concepts, and primary source documents. All videos are available with transcripts and closed captioning.
- Tool-tip key term definitions.
- Expandable images and maps.

InQuizitive is a groundbreaking, formative, and adaptive learning tool that improves student understanding of the core objectives in each chapter. Students receive personalized quiz questions on the topics with which they need the most help. Questions range from vocabulary and concepts to interactive maps and primary sources that challenge students to begin developing the skills necessary to do the work of a historian. Engaging, gamelike elements motivate students as they learn. As a result, students come to class better prepared to participate in discussions and activities.

History Skills Tutorials combine video and interactive assessments to teach students how to analyze sources. Three overview tutorials provide start-of-the-semester introductions to "Analyzing Primary Sources," "Analyzing Images," and "Analyzing Maps." Developed by Stacey Davis (Evergreen State), a library of tutorials for each chapter asks students to interpret a document, image, or map from their reading—with guided questions and explanatory author videos—and then relate that source to a key chapter theme. These tutorials give students the opportunity to practice and hone their critical analysis skills every week of the semester, and because each tutorial builds from a source, image, or map in each chapter, students can get the most from their textbooks.

Additional content on the Digital Landing Page (DLP) includes author videos and an Online Reader.

INSTRUCTOR RESOURCES

Resources for your LMS

Easily add high-quality Norton digital resources to your online, hybrid, or lecture course. Get started building your course with our easy-to-use coursepack files; all activities can be accessed right within your existing learning management system, and many components are customizable.

- **NEW** Norton Illumine Ebook is an engaging and motivational digital version of the textbook that supports instructors and students by bringing learning to light.
- **InQuizitive** is Norton's award-winning, easy-to-use adaptive learning tool that personalizes the learning experience for students and helps them master—and retain—key learning objectives.
- **History Skills Tutorials** are interactive, online modules that provide practice and a framework for analyzing primary source documents, images, and maps.
- **Author Videos** on both *Core Objectives* and *Past and Present* feature topics from the reading.
- **Online Reader** offers hundreds of additional Primary Sources and supplemental Media Analysis Worksheets.
- **Flashcards** for each chapter, which can be flipped, printed, or downloaded, align key terms and events with brief descriptions and definitions.
- **Chapter Outlines** provide students with an opportunity to see at a glance what will be covered in the chapter.

Other instructor resources

- **Instructor's Manual** is designed to help instructors prepare lectures and exams and contains detailed chapter outlines, general discussion questions, document discussion questions, lecture objectives, interdisciplinary discussion topics, and recommended reading and film lists.
- **Test Bank** contains more than 2,000 multiple-choice, true/false, and essay questions. This edition of the Test Bank has been completely revised for content and accuracy. All test questions are now aligned with Bloom's Taxonomy for greater ease of assessment.
- **Lecture PowerPoint Slides** are ready-made presentations that provide comprehensive outlines of each chapter, as well as discussion prompts to encourage student comprehension and engagement. They can easily be customized to meet your presentation needs.
- **Graphic content** includes all of the art from the book available in JPEG and PowerPoint format for instructor use. Alt-text is provided for each item.

Acknowledgments

Our first experience as members of the *Western Civilizations* authorial team, working on the Seventeenth Edition, was a challenging and rewarding one. In our second edition, we were able to implement a number of useful and engaging changes to the content and structure of the book to make it even more compelling and student-friendly. In these and all subsequent editions, as we work to incorporate ongoing scholarship and engage with emerging historical questions, the third and this fourth edition, we continue to be very grateful for the expert assistance and support of the Norton team, especially that of our editor, Justin Cahill, and senior associate editor, Anna Olcott. Linda Feldman, our fabulous project editor, has driven the book beautifully through the manuscript process. Meanwhile, Mike Cullen and Julie Tesser did an excellent job of finding and securing many of the exact images we specified. Sean Mintus has efficiently marched us through the production process, masterfully orchestrating the many permutations of this text, both print and electronic. The wonderful Betsy Twitchell has been tirelessly developing the book's fantastic digital media, particularly in developing, with Julia Gossard (Utah State University), the exciting new interactive feature and Check Your Understanding questions in the Norton Illumine Ebook. Hillary Roegelein, Kate Brayton, and Jennifer Jussell have ably managed many other electronic ancillary materials. Finally, we want to thank Sarah England Bartley and social science specialists Julie Sindel, Alison Hodges, Susan Hood, and Carrie Polvino for spearheading the marketing and sales campaign for the revision.

We are also indebted to the numerous expert readers who commented on various chapters, offering important corrections and suggestions, thereby strengthening the book as a whole. We are thankful to our families for their patience and advice, and to our students, whose questions and comments over the years have been essential to the framing of this book. And we extend a special thanks to, and hope to hear from, all the teachers and students whom we might never meet: their engagement with this book will frame new understandings of our shared past and its bearing on our future.

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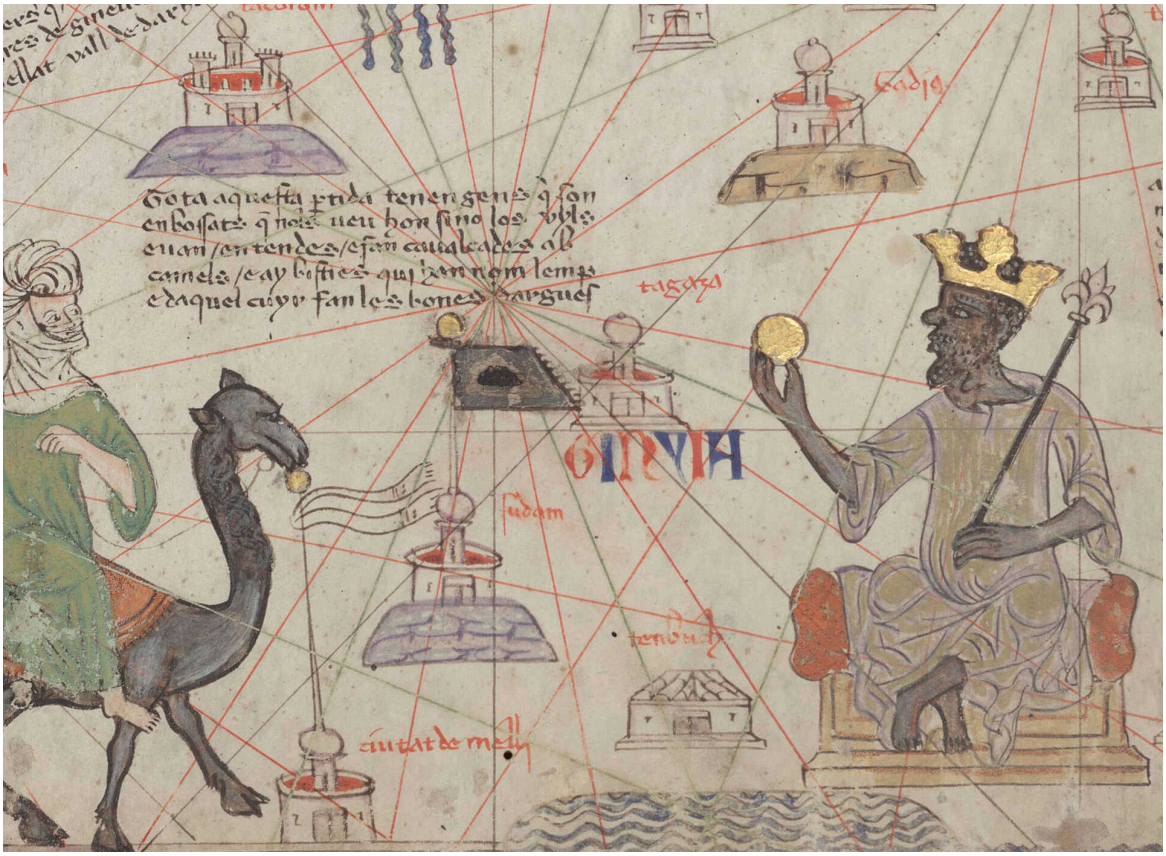
Western Civilizations

Their History & Their Culture

10

The Medieval World, 1250–1350



The man has a crown on his head and looks at a golden sphere he holds in one hand. He has a long stick with a flower head on the other hand. The background depicts different geographical areas with hand-painted images. A man on a camel is on the left side.

Before You Read This Chapter

STORY LINES

- The Mongol Empire widened channels of communication, commerce, and cultural exchange between Europe and the Far East. At the same time,

Europeans were extending their reach into the Atlantic Ocean.
- Western civilizations' integration with this wider medieval world led to new ways of mapping, measuring, and describing that world.
- Despite these broadening horizons, most Europeans' lives were bounded by their communities and focused on the parish church.
- Meanwhile, the growing strength of the kings of France and England drew them into territorial disputes that led to the Hundred Years' War.
- As global climate change affected the ecosystems of Europe and caused years of famine, the integrated networks of the medieval world facilitated the rapid transmission of the Black Death.

CHRONOLOGY

1206–1279 Rapid expansion of the Mongol Empire under Genghis Khan and his heirs

1240 The territory of Rus' is dominated by the Mongols; Mongol Khanate of the Golden Horde established

1260–1294 Reign of Kublai Khan, Great Khan, and emperor of China

1271–1295 Travels of Marco Polo

1309 "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy in Avignon begins

1315–1322 The Great Famine in Europe

1320 The Declaration of Arbroath proclaims Scotland's independence from England

1326–1354 The travels of Ibn Battuta

1337 Beginning of the Hundred Years' War

1347–1353 Spread of the Black Death in Europe

1350 Circulation of Mandeville's *Book of Marvels*

CORE OBJECTIVES

- **DESCRIBE** the effects of the Mongol conquests.
- **IDENTIFY** the key characteristics of the medieval world system.
- **UNDERSTAND** the reasons for the papacy's loss of prestige and the rise of strong secular monarchs.
- **DEFINE** the concept of sovereignty and its importance.
- **EXPLAIN** the rapid spread of the Black Death in this historical context.

When Christopher Columbus set out to find a new trade route to the East, he carried with him two influential travel narratives written centuries before his voyage. One was *The Book of Marvels*, composed around 1350 and attributed to John de Mandeville, an English adventurer (writing in French) who claimed to have reached the far horizons of the globe. The other was Marco Polo's *Description of the World*, an account of that Venetian merchant's journey through the vast Eurasian realm of the Mongol Empire to the court of the Great Khan in China. He had dictated it to an author of popular romances around 1298, when both men (Marco Polo and his ghostwriter) were in prison—coincidentally, in Columbus's own city of Genoa. Both books were the product of an extraordinary era of unprecedented interactions among the peoples of Europe, Asia, and the interconnected Mediterranean world. And both became highly influential, inspiring generations of mercantile adventurers, ambitious pilgrims, and armchair travelers. Eventually, they would fuel the imaginations of those future mariners who launched a further age of discovery (see Chapter 12).

In many ways, these narratives were as fantastical as they were factual, making them problematic sources for historians. But they are representative of an era that seemed wide open to every sort of influence. This was a time when ease of communication and commercial exchange made Western civilizations part of an interlocking network that had the potential to span the globe. Although this network would prove fragile in the face of a large-scale demographic crisis, the Black Death, it created a lasting impression of infinite possibilities. Indeed, it was only *because* of this network's connective channels that the Black Death wreaked such devastation, beginning—as recent research shows—in Asia at least a century before its arrival in Europe around 1347. Looking back, we can see the century leading up to this near-worldwide crisis as the beginning of a new global age.

Europeans' integration with this widening world not only put them into contact with unfamiliar cultures and commodities but it also opened up new ways of looking at the world they already knew. Novel artistic and intellectual responses are discernible in this era, as are a host of new inventions and technologies. At the same time, involvement in this wider world placed new pressures on long-term developments within Europe, notably the growing tensions among large territorial monarchies, and between these secular powers and the authority of the papacy. By the early fourteenth century, the papal court was literally held hostage by the king of France. A few decades later, the king of England openly declared his own claim to the French throne. The ensuing struggles for sovereignty would have a profound impact on the balance of power in Europe, and further complicate Europeans' relationships with one another and with their far-flung neighbors.

THE MONGOL EMPIRE AND THE REORIENTATION OF THE WEST

In our long-term survey of Western civilizations, we have frequently noted the existence of strong links between the Mediterranean world and the Far East. Trade along the network of trails known as the Silk Road can be traced far back into antiquity, and we have seen that such overland networks were extended by Europe's waterways and by the sea. But it was not until the late thirteenth century that Europeans were able to establish direct connections with India, China, and the so-called Spice Islands of the Indonesian archipelago. For Europeans, these connections would prove profoundly important, as much for their impact on the European imagination as for their economic significance. For the peoples of Asia, however, the more frequent appearance of Europeans was less consequential than the events that made these journeys possible: the rise of a new empire that encompassed the entire continent.

The Expansion of the Mongol Empire

The Mongols were among many nomadic peoples inhabiting the vast steppes of central Asia. Although closely connected with the Turkish populations with whom they frequently intermarried, the Mongols spoke their own distinctive language and had their own homeland, located to the north of the Gobi Desert in what is now known as Mongolia. Essentially, the Mongols were herdsmen whose daily lives and wealth depended on the sheep that provided shelter (sheepskin tents), woolen clothing, milk, and meat; but they were also highly accomplished horsemen and raiders. Indeed, it was to curtail their raiding ventures that the Chinese had fortified their Great Wall many centuries before. Primarily, though, China defended itself from the Mongols by attempting to ensure that the Mongols remained internally divided, with their energies turned against each other.

In the late twelfth century, however, a Mongol chief named Temujin (c. 1162–1227) began to unite the various tribes under his rule. He did so by incorporating the warriors of each defeated tribe into his own army, gradually building up a large and terrifyingly effective military force. In 1206, his supremacy over all these tribes was reflected in his new title: Genghis Khan (from the Mongol words meaning "universal ruler"). This new name also revealed his wider ambitions and, in 1209, Genghis Khan began to direct his enormous army against the Mongols' neighbors.

Taking advantage of the fact that China was then divided into three warring states, Genghis Khan launched an attack on the Chin Empire of the north and managed to penetrate deep into its interior by 1211. These initial attacks were probably looting expeditions rather than deliberate attempts at conquest, but their aims were soon

sharpened under Genghis Khan's successors. Shortly after his death in 1227, a full-scale invasion of both northern and western China was under way. In 1234, these regions also fell to the Mongols. By 1279, one of Genghis Khan's numerous grandsons, Kublai Khan, would complete the conquest by adding southern China to the empire.

For the first time in centuries, China was reunited, although under Mongol rule. It was also connected to western and central Asia in ways unprecedented in its long history, because Genghis Khan had brought crucial commercial cities and the Silk Road trading posts (Tashkent, Samarkand, and Bukhara) into his empire. Building on these achievements, one of his sons, ögedei (*EHRG-uh-day*), laid plans for an even farther-reaching expansion of Mongol influence. Between 1237 and 1240, the Mongols under his command conquered the Rus' capital at Kyiv and then launched a two-pronged assault directed at the rich lands of the European frontier. The smaller of the two Mongol armies swept through Poland toward Germany; the larger army went southwest toward Hungary. In April 1241, the smaller Mongol force met a hastily assembled army of Germans and Poles at the battle of Legnica in southern Poland, where the Mongols were driven back at the cost of many lives on both sides. Two days later, the larger Mongol army annihilated the Hungarian army at the river Sajo. It could have moved even deeper into Europe after this important victory, but it withdrew when ögedei Khan died in December of that year.

Khanate of the Golden Horde, Ilkhanate, the Chagatai Empire, the Empire of the Great Khan, and the Song Empire, conquered in 1279, form the Mongol Empire. Mongol campaigns post 1259 included those from Hangzhou in the Song Empire to Japan, from the Empire of the Great Khan coast to Japan, from Guangzhou in the Song Empire to Java, from the Yangtze River in the Song Empire to the Bay of Bengal in Burma, and from Baghdad in Ilkhanate to Jerusalem in Arabia. The Silk Road extended from Kaifeng in eastern Asia through Turfan and Tashkent, and was divided by Bukhara in Ilkhanate. One road headed to south Delhi, while the other to Baghdad. From there it split again, one north toward Constantinople, another southwest toward Jerusalem, and ending at the Arabian Sea shores.

THE STATES OF THE MONGOL EMPIRE. Like Alexander's, Genghis Khan's empire was swiftly assembled and encompassed vast portions of Europe and Asia. ▪ ***How many different Mongol khanates were there after 1260, when Kublai Khan came to power? Were these domains mapped onto older divisions within Western civilizations?*** ▪ ***How might the Mongol occupation of the Islamic world have aided the expansion of European trade?*** ▪ ***At the***

same time, why would it have complicated the efforts of crusader armies in the Holy Land?

Muscovy and the Mongol Khanate

As we have seen in previous chapters, the capital of Rus' at Kyiv had fostered crucial diplomatic and trading relations with both western Europe and Byzantium, as well as with the Islamic caliphate at Baghdad. But that dynamic changed with the arrival of the Mongols, who shifted the locus of power from Kyiv to their own settlement on the lower Volga River. From there, they extended their dominion over a vast terrain, stretching from the Black Sea to central Asia. It became known as the Khanate of the Golden Horde, a name that captures the striking impression made by the Mongol tents, which literally shone with wealth because many were hung with cloth of gold. (The word *horde* derives from the Mongol word meaning "encampment" and the related Turkish word *ordu*, "army.")

Both the troops shoot arrows and spears at each other. The men on the right side have shields to protect themselves. The bloodshed is more on the left side than on the right side. The top and bottom of the illustration have a script.

THE BATTLE OF LEGNICA, 1241. This image from a fourteenth-century chronicle shows heavily armored knights from Poland and Germany (on the right) confronting the swift-moving mounted archers of the Mongol cavalry (on the left). Mongol warriors often had the advantage over Europeans because their smaller, faster horses carried lighter loads and riders could shoot down their opponents at long range. ▪ ***Which army appears to be gaining the upper hand here?***

A MONGOL ROBE IN CLOTH OF GOLD. The majestic term *Khanate of the Golden Horde* captures both the power and the splendor of the Mongol warriors who conquered Rus' and many other lands. The robe depicted here dates from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and was made from cloth of gold: silk woven with gold (and sometimes silver) threads, a precious but surprisingly durable material that was also used for banners and even tents. A robe similar to this one was recently sold at auction for nearly a quarter of a million dollars.

Initially, the Mongols ruled Rus' lands directly, installing their own administrative officials and requiring local princes to show their obedience to the Great Khan by traveling in person to the Mongol court in China. But after Kublai Khan's death in 1294,

the Mongols began to tolerate the existence of several semi-independent principalities from which they demanded regular tribute. Kyiv did not recover its dominant position, but one of these principalities, the duchy of Moscow, gained new political and economic prominence due to its strategic geographical location. Moscow became the tribute-collecting center for the Mongol Khanate, and so was supplied with resources to defend itself against attack. Its dukes were even encouraged to extend their lordship to neighboring territories in the region in order to increase its security. Eventually, the Muscovite dukes came to control the khanate's tax-collecting mechanisms. As a reflection of these extended powers, Duke Ivan I (r. 1325–1340) gained the title Grand Prince of Rus'. When the Mongol Empire began to disintegrate, the Muscovites were therefore in a strong position to succeed their former overlords.

The Making of the Mongol Ilkhanate

As Ögedei Khan moved into the lands of Rus' and eastern Europe, Mongol armies were also sent to subdue the vast territory that had been encompassed by the former Persian Empire, then those by the empires of Alexander and Rome. Indeed, the strongest state in this region was known as the sultanate of Rûm (the Arabic word for "Rome"). This Sunni Muslim sultanate had been founded by the Seljuk Turks in 1077, just prior to the launching of the First Crusade, and consisted of Anatolian provinces formerly belonging to the eastern Roman Empire. It had successfully withstood waves of European crusading ventures while capitalizing on the further misfortunes of Byzantium, taking over several key ports on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea as well as cultivating a flourishing overland trade.

But in 1243, the Seljuks of Rûm were forced to surrender to the Mongols, who had already succeeded in occupying what is now Iraq, Iran, portions of Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the Christian kingdoms of Georgia and Armenia. Thereafter, the Mongols easily found their way into regions weakened by centuries of Islamic infighting and Christian crusading movements. The eastern Roman Empire, as we noted in Chapter 9, had been fatally weakened by the Fourth Crusade. Constantinople was now controlled by the Venetians, and Byzantine successor states centered on Nicaea (in Anatolia) and Epirus (in northern Greece) were hanging on by their fingertips. The capitulation of Rûm left remaining Byzantine possessions in Anatolia without a buffer zone, and most of these were absorbed by the Mongols.

In 1261, emperor Michael VIII Paleologus (r. 1259–1282) managed to regain control of Constantinople and its immediate hinterland, but the depleted empire he ruled was ringed by hostile neighbors. The crusader principality of Antioch, which had been founded in 1098, finally succumbed to the Mongols in 1268. The Mongols themselves were halted in their drive toward Palestine only by the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt, established in 1250 and ruled by a powerful military caste of non-Arab Muslims. The name of this dynasty reflects the fact that its founders were originally Turkic slaves (in Arabic, *mamlūk* means "an enslaved person").

Khan and Khatun sit on a large pillow with their legs crossed. They look at each other and have slices of bread in their hands. Three people wait on them. An Arabic script consists of three lines on the top.

THE MONGOL RULER OF Islamic PERSIA, HIS CHRISTIAN QUEEN, AND HIS JEWISH HISTORIAN. Hulagu Khan (1217–1265) was a grandson of Genghis and a brother of Kublai. He consolidated Persia and its neighboring regions into the Ilkhanate. This image shows him with his wife, Dokuz Khatun, who was a Turkic princess and a Christian. It comes from the *Compendium of Chronicles* by Rashid al-Din (1247–1318), a Jewish convert to Islam, whose work exemplifies the pluralistic culture encouraged by Mongol rule: written in Persian and often translated into Arabic, it embeds the achievements of the Mongol ruler within the long history of Islam. ▪ ***Why would Rashid al-Din have wanted to place the new Mongol dynasty in this historical context?***

All of these disparate territories came to be called the *Ilkhanate*, the "subordinate khanate," meaning that its Mongol rulers paid deference to the Great Khan. The first Ilkhan was Hulagu, a brother of China's Kublai Khan. His descendants would rule this realm for another eighty years, eventually converting to Islam but remaining hostile toward the Mamluk Muslims, who were their chief rivals.

The Pax Mongolica and Its Price

Although the Mongols' expansion of power into Europe had been checked, their combined conquests made them masters of lands that stretched from the Black Sea to the Pacific Ocean: one-fifth of the earth's surface, the largest land empire in history. Yet no single Mongol ruler's power was absolute within this domain. Kublai Khan (1260–1294), who took the additional title *khagan* (or "Great Khan"), never claimed to rule all the Mongol khanates directly. In his own domain of China and Mongolia, his power was highly centralized and built on the intricate (and ancient) imperial bureaucracy of China; but elsewhere, Mongol governance was directed at securing a steady tribute payment from subjugated peoples, which meant that local rulers could retain much of their power.

This distribution of authority made Mongol rule flexible and adaptable to local conditions, and in this it resembled the Persian Empire (Chapter 3) and also could be regarded as building on Hellenistic and Roman examples. But if their empire resembled those of antiquity in some respects, the Mongol khans differed from most contemporary European rulers in that they were highly tolerant of all religious beliefs. This was an advantage in governing peoples who observed an array of Buddhist, Christian, and Islamic practices, not to mention Hindus, Jews, and the many itinerant groups and individuals whose languages and beliefs reflected a melding of many cultures.

The map shows the nine major interlocking contact zones of the medieval world. The zone in northwestern Europe includes the cities of Hvalsey, Bergen, Dublin, London, Bruges, and Riga. The zone in southwestern Europe includes the cities of London, Bruges, Troyes, Venice, Genoa, Marseilles, and Barcelona. The zone in

south-central Europe includes the cities of Moscow, Kiev, Caffa, Constantinople, Venice, Genoa, Marseilles, Alexandria, and Cairo. The zone in northeastern Africa includes the cities of Alexandria, Cairo, Jiddah, and Aden. The zone in the Middle East includes the cities of Tabriz, Baghdad, Basra, Hormuz, and Muscat. A large zone across Eastern Europe and Asia includes the cities of Caffa, Constantinople, Tabriz, Bukhara, Samarkand, Karakorum, and Peking. The zone in southwestern Asia includes the cities of Hormuz, Muscat, Aden, Cambay, Calicut, and Quilon. The zone in southeastern Asia includes the cities of Peking, Hangchow, Zaytun, Canton, Malacca, and Palebang.

THE MEDIEVAL WORLD SYSTEM, C. 1300. At the turn of the fourteenth century, Western civilizations were more closely connected to each other and to the rest of the world than ever before: waterways and overland routes stretched from Greenland to the Pacific coast of Southeast Asia and down to West Africa. The interlocking regions and contact zones of this system are represented on this map. ▪ ***How did Europe's relationship with its neighbors change as a result of its integration into this wider world?*** ▪ ***How were seemingly marginal territories (such as Rus' or Hungary, Scotland, or Norway) central to one or more interlocking components of this system?***

This acceptance of cultural and religious difference, alongside the Mongols' encouragement of trade and love of rich things, created ideal conditions for some merchants and artists. Hence, the term *Pax Mongolica* ("Mongol Peace") is often used to describe the century from 1250 to 1350, a period in many ways analogous to the one fostered by the Roman Empire at its greatest extent (Chapter 5). No such term should be taken at face value, however, because this peace was bought at a great price. The artists whose varied talents created the gorgeous textiles, utensils, and illuminated books prized by the Mongols were not all willing participants in a process that was usually disruptive and often violent. Many were captives subject to ruthless relocation. The Mongols would often transfer entire families and communities of craftsmen from one part of the empire to another, directly and indirectly encouraging a fantastic blend of artistic techniques, materials, and motifs. The result was an intensive period of cultural exchange that might combine Chinese, Persian, Venetian, and Hungarian influences (among many others) in a single work of art. These objects encapsulate the many legacies of the Mongols' empire.

The Mongol Peace was also achieved at the expense of many flourishing Muslim cities that were devastated or crippled during the bloody process of Mongol expansion—cities that had preserved the heritage of even older civilizations. The city of Heràt, situated in one of Afghanistan's few fertile valleys and described by the Persian poet Rumi as the "pearl in the oyster," was entirely destroyed by Genghis Khan in 1221 and did not fully recover for centuries. Baghdad, the splendid capital of the Abbasid caliphate and a haven for artists and intellectuals since the eighth century (Chapter 8), was savagely besieged and sacked by the Mongols in 1258. Amid many other

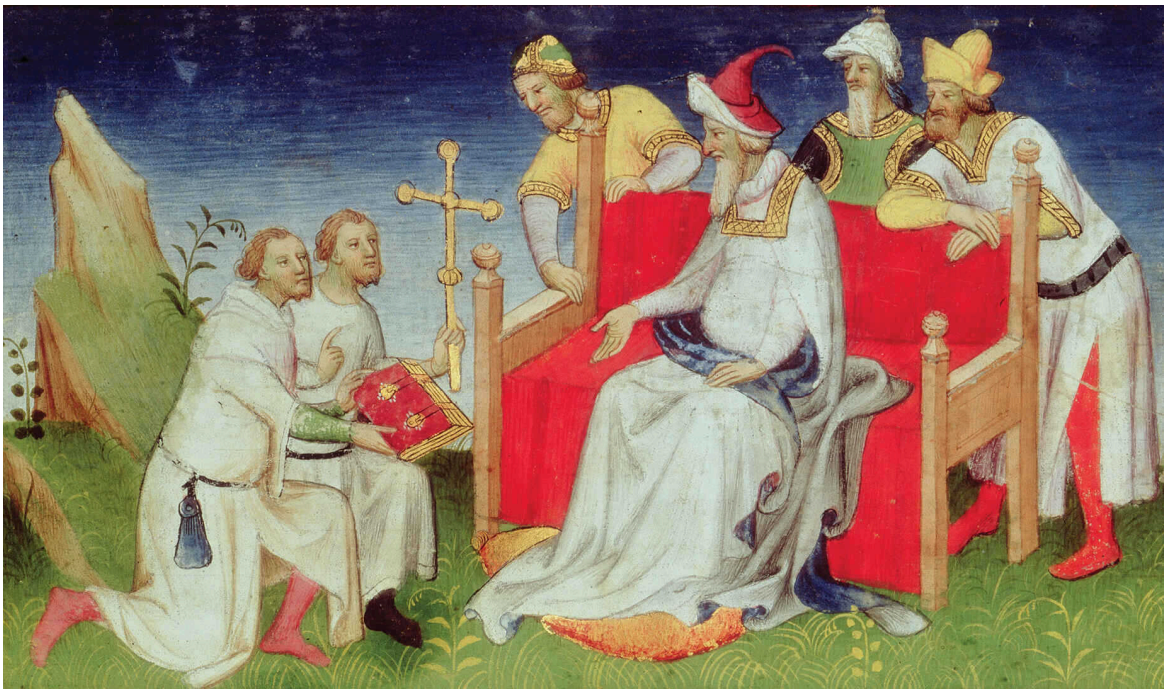
atrocities, the capture of the city resulted in the destruction of the House of Wisdom, the library and research center where Muslim scientists, philosophers, and translators preserved classical knowledge and advanced cutting-edge scholarship in such fields as mathematics, engineering, and medicine.

Baghdad's destruction marked the end of medieval Islam's golden age, since the establishment of the Mongol Ilkhanate in Persia eradicated a continuous zone of Islamic influence that had blended cultures stretching from southern Spain and North Africa to India.

Bridging East and West

To facilitate the movement of people and goods within their empire, the Mongols began to control the caravan routes that led from the Mediterranean and the Black Sea through central Asia and into China, policing bandits and making conditions safer for travelers. They also encouraged and streamlined trade by funneling many exchanges through the Persian city of Tabriz, on which both land and sea routes from China converged. These measures accelerated and intensified the possible contacts between the Far East and the West. Prior to Mongol control, such commercial networks had been inaccessible to most European merchants. The Silk Road was not so much a highway as a tangle of trails and trading posts, with few outsiders who understood its workings. Now travelers at both ends of the route found their way smoothed.

Among the first travelers from the West were Franciscan missionaries whose journeys were bankrolled by European rulers. In 1253, the friar William of Rubruck was sent by King Louis IX of France as his ambassador to the Mongol court, with letters of introduction and instructions to make a full report of his findings. Merchants quickly followed. The most famous are three Venetians: the brothers Niccolò and Matteo Polo, and Niccolò's son, Marco (1254–1324). Marco Polo's account of his travels (which began when he was seventeen) includes a report of his twenty-year sojourn in the service of Kublai Khan, and the story of his journey home through the Spice Islands, India, and Persia (see ***Competing Viewpoints*** above). As we noted on page 331, this book had an enormous effect on the European imagination; Christopher Columbus's copy still survives.



The Great Khan sits on a chair. The three men behind the Great Khan watch the whole scene with curiosity. The two ambassadors kneel before the Great Khan and present a Christian cross and a Bible.

VENETIAN AMBASSADORS TO THE GREAT KHAN. Around 1270, the Venetian merchant brothers Niccolò and Matteo Polo returned to Europe after their first prolonged journey through the empire of the Great Khan, bearing with them an official letter to the Roman pope. This image, from a manuscript of Marco Polo's *Description of the World*, shows his father and uncle at the moment of their arrival in the Great Khan's court, to which they have seemingly brought a Christian cross and a Bible. ▪ ***Knowing what you've learned about the Mongols and the medieval world, do you think it is plausible that the Polo brothers would have carried these items with them?***

Competing Viewpoints

Two Travel Accounts

Two of the books that influenced Christopher Columbus and his contemporaries were travel narratives describing the exotic worlds that lay beyond Europe—worlds that may or may not have existed as they are described. The first excerpt here is taken from the account dictated by Marco Polo of Venice in 1298. The young Marco had traveled overland from Constantinople to the court of Kublai Khan in the early 1270s, together with his

father and uncle. He became a gifted linguist and remained at the Mongol court until the early 1290s, when he returned to Europe after a journey through Southeast Asia and Indonesia, and across the Indian Ocean. The second excerpt is from the Book of Marvels, *attributed to John de Mandeville. This is an almost entirely fictional account of wonders that also became a source for European ideas about Southeast Asia. This particular passage concerns a legendary Christian figure named Prester ("Priest") John, who is alleged to have traveled to the East and become a great ruler.*

Marco Polo's Description of Java

Now know that when one leaves Champa[1] and went between south and southeast 1,500 miles, then one comes up to a very large island called Java which, according to what good sailors say who know it well, is the largest island in the world, for it is more than three thousand miles around. It has a great king; they are idolators and pay tribute to no man in the world. This island is one of very great wealth: they have pepper, nutmeg, spikenard, galangal, cubeb, cloves, and all the expensive spices you can find in the world. To this island come great numbers of ships and merchants who buy many commodities and make great profit and great gain there. On this island, there is such great treasure that no man in the world could recount or describe it. I tell you the Great Khan could never have it on account of the long and fearsome way in sailing there. Merchants from Zaytun[2] and Mangi[3] have already extracted very great treasure from this island, and continue to do so today.

Source: Marco Polo, *Here the Great Island of Java is Described*, trans. Sharon Kinoshita (Indianapolis/Cambridge, 2016), p. 149.

John de Mandeville's Description of Prester John

This emperor Prester John has great lands and has many noble cities and good towns in his realm and many great, large islands. For all the country of India is separated into islands by the great floods that come from Paradise, that divide the land into many parts. And also in the sea he has many islands. . . .

This Prester John has under him many kings and many islands and many varied people of various conditions. And this land is full good and rich, but not so rich as is the land of the Great Khan. For the merchants do not come there so commonly to buy merchandise as they do in the land of the Great Khan, for it is too far to travel to. . . .

[Mandeville then goes on to describe the difficulties of reaching Prester John's lands by sea.]

This emperor Prester John always takes as his wife the daughter of the Great Khan, and the Great Khan in the same way takes to wife the daughter of Prester John. For these two are the greatest lords under the heavens.

In the land of Prester John there are many diverse things, and many precious stones so great and so large that men make them into vessels such as platters, dishes, and cups. And there are many other marvels there that it would be too cumbrous and too long to put into the writing of books. But of the principal islands and of his estate and of his law I shall tell you some part.

This emperor Prester John is Christian and a great part of his country is Christian also, although they do not hold to all the articles of our faith as we do. . . .

And he has under him 72 provinces, and in every province there is a king. And these kings have kings under them, and all are tributaries to Prester John.

And he has in his lordships many great marvels. For in his country is the sea that men call the Gravelly Sea, that is all gravel and sand without any drop of water. And it ebbs and flows in great waves as other seas do, and it is never still. . . . And a three-day journey from that sea there are great mountains out of which flows a great flood that comes out of Paradise. And it is full of precious stones without any drop of water. . . .

He dwells usually in the city of Susa [in Persia]. And there is his principal palace, which is so rich and so noble that no one will believe the report unless he has seen it. And above the chief tower of the palace there are two round pommels of gold and in each of them are two great, large rubies that shine full brightly upon the night. And the principal gates of his palace are of a precious stone that men call sardonyxes [a type of onyx], and the frames and the bars are made of ivory. And the windows of the halls and chambers are of crystal. And the tables upon which men eat, some are made of emeralds, some of amethyst, and some of gold full of precious stones. And the legs that hold up the tables are made of the same precious stones. . . .

Source: *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour (Oxford: 1967), pp. 195–99 (language modernized from Middle English by R. C. Stacey).

Questions for Analysis

1. What does Marco Polo want his readers to know about Java, and why? What does this suggest about the interests of these intended readers?
2. What does Mandeville want his readers to know about Prester John and his domains? Why are these details so important?
3. Which of these accounts seems more trustworthy, and why? Even if we cannot accept one or both at face value, what insight do they give us into the expectations of Columbus and the other European adventurers who relied on these accounts?

Even more impressive in scope than Marco's travels are those of the Muslim adventurer Ibn Battuta (1304–1368), who left his native Morocco in 1326 to go on the sacred pilgrimage to Mecca—but then kept going. By the time he returned home in

1354, he had been to China and sub-Saharan Africa, as well as to the ends of both the Islamic and Mongolian worlds: a journey of over 75,000 miles.

The window of opportunity that made such journeys possible was relatively narrow, however. By the middle of the fourteenth century, hostilities among and within various components of the Mongol Empire were making travel along the Silk Road perilous. The Mongols of the Ilkhanate, who dominated the ancient trade routes that ran through Persia, came into conflict with the Italian merchants from Genoa, who controlled trade at the western ends of the Silk Road, especially in the transport depot of Tabriz. Mounting pressures finally forced the Genoese to abandon Tabriz, thereby breaking one of the major links in the commercial chain forged by the Mongol Peace. Then, in 1346, the Mongols of the Golden Horde besieged the Genoese colony at Caffa on the Black Sea. This event simultaneously disrupted trade while becoming a conduit for the transmission of the Black Death, whose reemergence and spread within Asia had been facilitated by these interconnected networks and by the Mongol conquests (see page 361).

Over the next few decades, the medieval economy would struggle to overcome the devastating effects of the massive depopulation caused by the plague, which made recovery from these setbacks slower and harder. In the meantime, in 1368, the last Mongol rulers of China were overthrown, and most foreigners were now denied access to its borders; the remaining Mongol warriors were restricted to cavalry service in the imperial armies of the new Ming dynasty. The conditions that had fostered an integrated trans-Eurasian cultural and commercial network were no longer sustainable. Yet the view of the world that had been fostered by Mongol rule continued to exercise a lasting influence. European memories of the Far East would be preserved and embroidered, and the dream of reestablishing close connections between Europe and China would survive to influence a new round of commercial and imperial expansion in the centuries to come.

Glossary

Genghis Khan
: (c. 1167–1227) “Oceanic Ruler,” the title adopted by the Mongol chieftain Temujin, founder of a dynasty that conquered much of southern Asia.

Marco Polo
: (1254–1324) Venetian merchant who traveled throughout Asia for twenty years and published his observations in a widely read memoir.

Pax Mongolica
: In imitation of the *Pax Romana* (“The Roman Peace”), this is the phrase used to describe the relatively peaceful century after the Mongol conquests, which enabled an intensified period of trade, travel, and communication within the Eurasian landmass.

Endnotes

- Note 1:A collective name for the kingdoms of central Vietnam.Return to reference 1
- Note 2:The major port city of Quanzhou on southeastern coast of China.Return to reference 2
- Note 3:The kingdom of the Southern Song in China, south of the Huai River. The word *mangi* (or *manzi*) means “barbarians,” which is what the northern Chinese called the people of the southern realm. When Marco Polo was in the service of the Great Khan, the Mongol conquest of the kingdom was still ongoing. It was completed in 1279.Return to reference 3

THE EXTENSION OF EUROPEAN COMMERCE AND SETTLEMENT

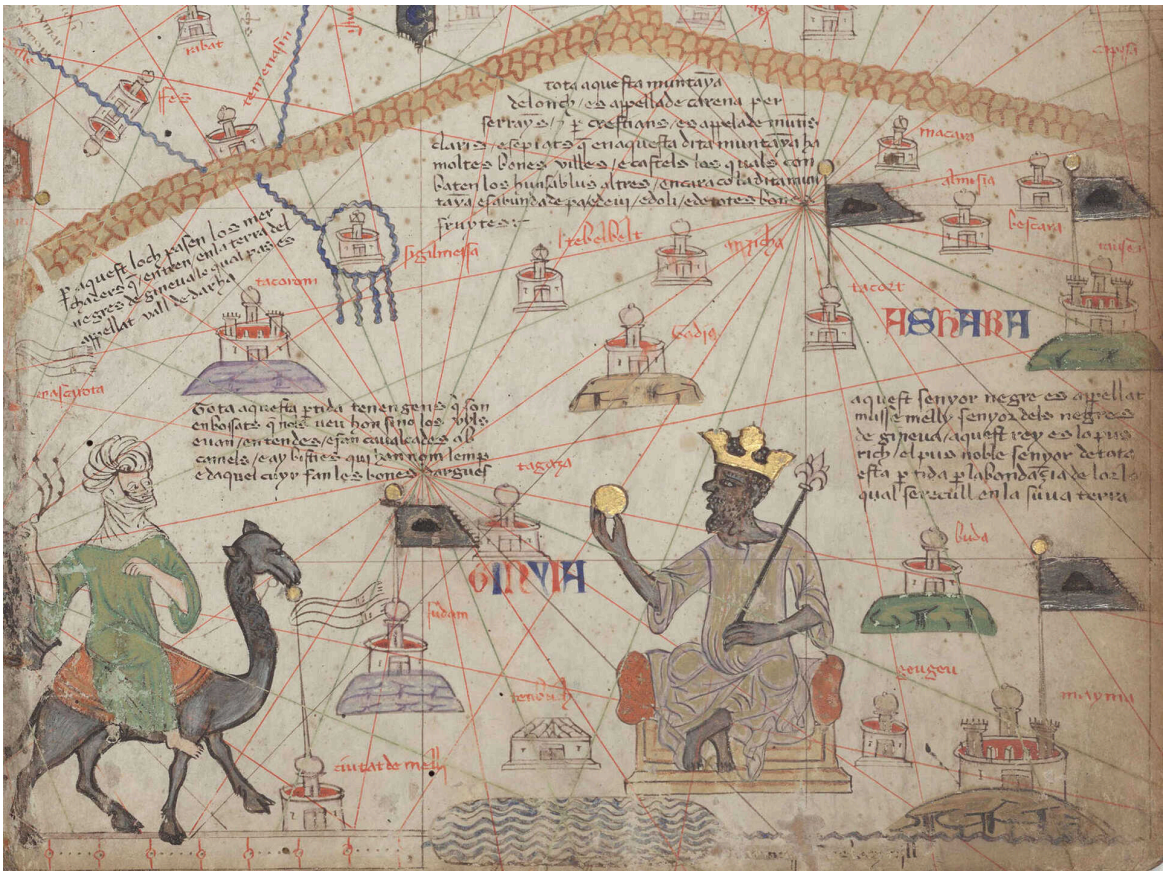
Western civilizations' increased access to the riches of the Far East during the Pax Mongolica ran parallel to a number of ventures that were extending Europeans' presence in the Mediterranean and beyond. These endeavors were both mercantile and colonial, and in many cases resulted in the control of strategic trade routes or islands by representatives of a single adventurous state.

The language of crusading, with which we have become familiar, now came to be applied to these economic and political initiatives, whose often violent methods could be justified on the grounds that they were supporting papally sanctioned Christian causes. To take one prominent example, the strategic goal of the crusades that targeted North Africa in this era was to cut the economic lifelines that supported Muslim settlements in the Holy Land. Yet the only people who stood to gain from this were the merchants who dreamed of controlling the commercial routes that ran through Egypt—those that connected North Africa to the Silk Road as well as the conduits of the sub-Saharan gold trade.

The Quest for African Gold

European commerce in African gold was not new. It had been going on for centuries, facilitated by traders whose caravans brought a steady supply from the Niger River to the North African ports of Algiers and Tunis. In the early thirteenth century, rival bands of merchants from Catalonia and Genoa had established trading colonies in Tunis to expedite this process, exchanging woolen cloth from northern Europe for both North African grain and sub-Saharan gold.

But the medieval demand for gold accelerated during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and could not be met by these established trading relationships. The luxuries coveted by Europeans were now too costly to be bought solely with bulk goods, which were, in any case, a cumbersome medium of exchange. Although precious textiles (usually silk) were a form of wealth the Mongols valued, the burgeoning economy of the medieval world demanded a reliable and abundant supply of more portable currency. For a long time, the rich silver mines of Poland and Bohemia had enabled the circulation of coinage in Europe and had furnished the means for rulers in Rus' to pay the tributes due to the Mongols. But silver production dropped markedly during the 1340s, as European engineers reached the limits of their technological capacity to extract ore from ever deeper mines; this depletion of sources of silver led to a serious cash-flow problem.



The man has a crown on his head and looks at a golden sphere he holds in one hand. He has a long stick with a flower head on the other hand. The background depicts different geographical areas with hand-painted images. A man on a camel is on the left side.

MANSA MUSA. Musa I was ruler of the wealthy West African Empire of Mali. His title, Mansa, means both “sultan” and “emperor,” capturing the breadth of his power as a conqueror, king, and religious leader. He is depicted prominently in an important cartographic manuscript known as the Catalan Atlas, created in 1375 and attributed to Cresques Abraham, a Jewish artist and “master of maps” who strove to capture the contours of the entire known world. In keeping with Mansa Musa’s reputation as the richest man on earth—at that time, and maybe for all time—he wears a crown of real gold leaf and holds up a gold coin. He is also shown enthroned and holding a scepter, just like a European monarch. ▪ ***How does this image, and the making of such an atlas, reflect the developments we are studying in this chapter?***

Gold was therefore an obvious alternative currency for large transactions, and in the thirteenth century some European rulers began minting gold coins. But Europe itself had few natural gold reserves, and so maintaining and expanding these currencies

required new sources of gold. The most obvious source was Africa, especially Mali and Ghana—which was called the "Land of Gold" by medieval geographers. The sultan and emperor of that region, Mansa Musa (d. 1337) was known as the richest man in the world—and may have been the richest person in history. His sub-Saharan realm was also famed for its salt and ivory; the tusks of African elephants were especially prized by European artists. The statue of the virgin on page 310 is made of African ivory.

Models of Mediterranean Colonization: Catalonia, Genoa, and Venice

The heightened European interest in the African gold trade, which engaged the seafaring merchants of Genoa and Catalonia in particular, coincided with these merchants' creation of entrepreneurial empires in the western Mediterranean. During the thirteenth century, Catalan adventurers conquered and colonized a series of western Mediterranean islands, including Majorca, Ibiza, Minorca, Sardinia, and Sicily. Except in Sicily, which already had a large and diverse population that included many Christians (Chapter 8), the pattern of Catalan conquest was largely the same on all these islands: expulsion or extermination of the existing population, usually Muslim; the extension of economic concessions to attract new settlers; and a heavy reliance on slave labor to produce foodstuffs and raw materials for export.

These Catalan colonial efforts were mainly carried out by private individuals or companies operating under royal charters; the state did not actively sponsor them. They therefore contrast strongly with the established colonial practices of the maritime empire controlled by **Venice**, whose strategic ventures were focused mainly on the eastern Mediterranean, where the Venetians dominated the trade in spices and silks. Venetian colonies were administered directly by the city's rulers or by their appointed colonial governors. These colonies included long-settled civilizations such as Greece, Cyprus, and the cities of the Dalmatian coast, meaning that Venetian administration laid just another layer on top of many other economic, cultural, and political structures.

The Genoese, to take yet another case, also had extensive interests in the western Mediterranean, where they traded bulk goods such as cloth, hides, grain, timber, and sugar. They too established trading colonies, but these tended to consist of family networks that were closely integrated with the peoples among whom they lived, whether in North Africa, Spain, or the on shores of the Black Sea.

The roof has long since disintegrated. It is in the middle of an empty, rocky field, on a mountainside.

THE CHURCH AT HVALSEY, GREENLAND. Located on the southern tip of Greenland, Hvalsey was originally a farmstead established in the late tenth century by the uncle of Eirik the Red, father of the explorer Leif Eiriksson. The church at Hvalsey, pictured here, was built in the twelfth century and was roofed with turf. It was the site of the last documented event in the history of Norse settlement on the island: a wedding that took place in 1408. By that time, the population had largely died out due to starvation and disease.

From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic

For centuries, European maritime commerce had been divided between this Mediterranean world and a very different northeastern Atlantic world, which encompassed northern France, the Low Countries, the British Isles, and Scandinavia. Starting around 1270, however, Italian merchants began to sail through the Straits of Gibraltar and on up to the wool-producing regions of England and the Low Countries. This was a step toward the extension of Mediterranean patterns of commerce and colonization into the Atlantic Ocean. Another step was the discovery (or possibly the

rediscovery) of the Atlantic island chains known as the Canaries and the Azores, which Genoese sailors reached in the fourteenth century.

Efforts to colonize the Canary Islands, and to convert and enslave their inhabitants, began almost immediately. Eventually, the Canaries would become the focus of a new wave of colonial settlement sponsored by the Portuguese, and the base for Portuguese voyages down the west coast of Africa. They would also be the jumping-off point from which Christopher Columbus would sail westward across the Atlantic Ocean in the hope of reaching Asia (see Chapter 12).

There was also a significant European colonial presence in the northern Atlantic—and there had been for centuries. Norse voyagers from Iceland had begun to colonize Greenland in the late tenth century and had established settlements in a place they called Vinland (the coast of Newfoundland in present-day Canada) around 1000. According to the sagas that tell the story of these explorations, written down in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a band of adventurers led by Leif Eiriksson had intended to set up a permanent colony there (see ***Analyzing Primary Sources*** on pages 344–45). Numerous expeditions resulted in the construction of houses, a fortification, and even attempts to domesticate livestock transported from Scandinavia. Yet North America did not become home to a permanent European population at this time; the sagas report that relations with indigenous peoples were fraught, and there may have been other factors hindering settlement.

However, Norse settlers did build a viable community on Greenland, which eventually formed part of the kingdom of Norway. This was facilitated by the warming of the earth's climate between 800 and 1300—the same phenomenon that partly enabled the agricultural revolution discussed in Chapter 8. For several centuries, these favorable climatic conditions made it possible to sustain some farming activities on the southern coastline of that huge island, supplemented by fishing, hunting, and foraging. But with the gradual cooling of the climate in the fourteenth century, which caused famines even in the rich farmlands of Europe, this fragile ecosystem was gradually eroded and the Greenlanders died out.

Glossary

Genoa
: Maritime city on Italy's northwestern coast. The Genoese were active in trading ventures along the Silk Road and in the establishment of trading colonies in the Mediterranean. They were also involved in the world of finance and backed the commercial ventures of other powers, especially Spain.

Catalonia
: Maritime region in northeastern Spain; during the thirteenth century, Catalan adventurers conquered and colonized a series of western Mediterranean islands.

WAYS OF KNOWING AND DESCRIBING THE WORLD

The success of European commercial and colonial expansion in this era both drove and depended on significant innovations in measuring and mapping. It also coincided with intellectual, literary, and artistic initiatives that aimed to capture and describe the workings of this wider world, and to imagine its celestial (or infernal) counterparts.

Economic Tools: Balance Sheets, Banks, Charts, and Clocks

The economic boom that resulted from the integration of European and Asian commerce called for the refinement of existing business models and accounting techniques. New forms of partnership and the development of insurance contracts helped to minimize the risks associated with long-distance trading (see ***Interpreting Visual Evidence*** on pages 346–47). Double-entry bookkeeping, widely used in Italy by the mid-fourteenth century, gave merchants a much clearer picture of their profits and losses by ensuring that both credits and debits were clearly laid out in parallel columns, a practice that facilitated the balancing of accounts. The Medici family of Florence established branches of its bank in each of the major cities of Europe and were careful that the failure of one would not bankrupt the entire firm as earlier branch-banking arrangements had done. Banks also experimented with advanced credit techniques borrowed from Muslim and Jewish financiers, allowing their clients to transfer funds without any real money changing hands—and without endangering their capital by carrying it with them. Such transfers were carried out by written receipts, the direct ancestors of the check, money order, and currency transfer.

Other late medieval technologies kept pace in different ways with the demands for increased efficiency and accuracy. Eyeglasses, first invented in the 1280s, were perfected in the fourteenth century, extending the careers of those who made a living by reading, writing, and accounting. The use of the magnetic compass helped ships sail farther away from land, making longer-distance Atlantic voyages possible for the first time. And as more and more mariners began to sail waters less familiar to them, pilots began to make and use special charts that mapped the locations of ports; called *portolani* (portolan charts), these charts also took note of prevailing winds, potential routes, good harbors, and known perils.

SCHOLAR WEARING EYEGLASSES. This fresco on the wall of a church in Treviso (northern Italy) was painted between 1351 and 1352. It shows a theologian at his desk, working on a manuscript with the aid of his newfangled spectacles.

Barely discernable lines show overlapping perpendicular grids of eight squares, with a circle drawn around them and other points on the circle attaching to various points on the grid. It looks intricate and highly geometric. Thin lines mark a coastline, with names of ports radiating out from the land.

PORTOLAN CHART. Accurate mapping was essential to the success of maritime colonial ventures in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The chart shown here is the oldest surviving example of a map used by mariners to navigate between Mediterranean ports: the word *portolan* is the term for such charts. It dates from the end of the thirteenth century, and its shape clearly indicates that it was made from an animal hide. Although parchment was extremely durable, it would slowly have worn away due to prolonged exposure to salt water and other elements—hence the rarity of this early example.

Among the many implements of modern daily life invented in this era, the most familiar are clocks. Mechanical clocks came into use shortly before 1300 and proliferated immediately thereafter. They were too large and expensive for private purchase, but towns vied with each other to install them in prominent public buildings, thus advertising municipal wealth and good governance. Mechanical timekeeping had two profound effects. One was the further stimulation of interest in complex machinery of all sorts, an interest already awakened by the widespread use of mills in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (see Chapter 8).

Another, more significant, outcome was the way that clocks regulated daily life. Until the advent of clocks, time was flexible. Although days had been *theoretically* divided into hours, minutes, and seconds since the time of the Sumerians (Chapter 1), people never had a way of mapping these temporal measurements onto an actual day. Now, clocks relentlessly divided time into exact units, giving rise to new expectations about labor and productivity. People were expected to start and end work “on time,” to make the most of the time spent at work, and even to equate time with money. Like the

improvements in bookkeeping, timekeeping made some kinds of work more efficient, but it also created new tensions and anxieties.

Knowledge of the World and of God

In the mid-thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas had constructed a theological view of the world as rational, organized, and comprehensible to the inquiring human mind (Chapter 9). But confidence in this picture began to wane during the fourteenth century, even before the Black Death posed a new challenge to it. Philosophers such as William of Ockham (d. c. 1348), an English member of the Franciscan order, denied that human reason could prove fundamental theological truths such as the existence of God. He argued that human knowledge of God—and hence, salvation—depends entirely on what God himself has chosen to reveal through scripture, and urged humans to investigate the natural world and better understand its laws—without positing any necessary connection between the observable properties of nature and the unknowable essence of divinity.

This philosophical position, known as *nominalism*, had its roots in the philosophy of Plato (see Chapter 4) and has had an enormous impact on modern thought. The nominalists' distinction between the rational comprehensibility of the real world and the spiritual incomprehensibility of God encourages investigation of nature without reference to supernatural explanations: one of the most important foundations of the modern scientific method (see Chapter 16). Nominalism also encourages empirical observation, since it posits that knowledge of the world should rest on sensory experience rather than abstract theories. The philosophical principles laid down by these observers of the medieval world are thus fundamental to modern science.

Creating God's World in Art

Just as a fascination with the natural world informed developments in medieval science, the artists of this era were paying close attention to the way plants, animals, and human beings really looked. Carvings of leaves and flowers were increasingly made from direct observation and are clearly recognizable to modern botanists as distinct species. Statues of humans also became more realistic in their portrayals of facial expressions and bodily proportions. According to a story in circulation around 1290, a sculptor working on a likeness of the German emperor allegedly made a hurried return trip to study his subject's face a second time, because he had heard that a new wrinkle had appeared on the emperor's brow.

This trend toward naturalism extended to manuscript illumination and painting as well. The latter was, to a large extent, a new art. As we saw in Chapter 1, wall paintings are among the oldest forms of artistic expression in human history, and throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages artists had decorated the walls of public and private

buildings with frescoes (paintings executed on “fresh,” wet plaster). Italian artists in the thirteenth century began to adapt the techniques used by icon painters in Byzantium, making freestanding pictures on pieces of wood or canvas using tempera (pigments mixed with water and natural gums) in addition to frescoes. Because these altarpieces, devotional images, and portraits were portable, they were also more commercial. As long as artists could afford the necessary materials, they did not have to wait for specific commissions. This meant that they had more freedom to choose their subject matter and to put an individual stamp on their work—one of the reasons that we know the names of many more artists from this era.

Analyzing Primary Sources

Vikings Encounter the Natives of North America

> *Although Norse voyagers had explored and settled the coast of Newfoundland around the year 1000, written accounts of these exploits were not made or widely circulated until the thirteenth century. The following excerpt comes from one of these narrative histories, the* Grænlendinga Saga *(Greenlanders' Saga). Its hero is Thorfinn Karlsefni, a Norwegian adventurer who arrives in Greenland and marries Gudrid, the twice-widowed sister-in-law of the explorer Leif Eiriksson. Leif had established the original colony of Vinland but had since returned to Greenland.*

There was still the same talk about Vinland voyages as before, and everyone, including [his wife] Gudrid, kept urging Karlsefni to make the voyage. In the end he decided to sail and gathered a company of sixty men and five women. He made an agreement with his crew that everyone should share equally in whatever profits the expedition might yield. They took livestock of all kinds, for they intended to make a permanent settlement there if possible.

Karlsefni asked Leif if he could have the houses in Vinland; Leif said that he was willing to lend them, but not to give them away.

They put to sea and arrived safe and sound at Leif's houses and carried their hammocks ashore. Soon they had plenty of good supplies, for a fine big rorqual[*] was driven ashore; they went down and cut it up, and so there was no shortage of food.

The livestock were put out to grass, and soon the male beasts became very frisky and difficult to manage. They had brought a bull with them.

Karlsefni ordered timber to be felled and cut into lengths for a cargo for the ship, and it was left out on a rock to season. They made use of all the natural resources of the country that were available, grapes and game of all kinds and other produce.