

*Berkshire Encyclopedia of*

# **World History**



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VOLUME **3**

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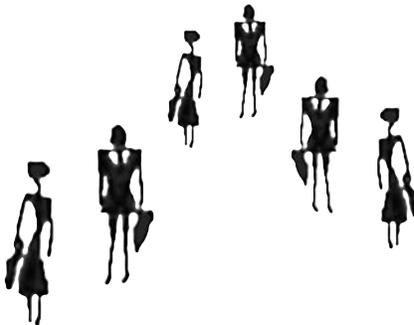
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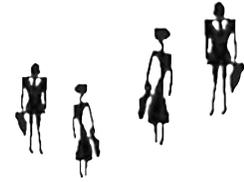
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 Equatorial and Southern Africa,  
 4000 BCE–1100 CE  
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 Indo-European Migration  
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**Periodization**

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 Fleeting World*)  
 Civilization, Barbarism, Savagery  
 Foraging (Paleolithic) Era (please  
 see *This Fleeting World*)  
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 Periodization, Conceptions of  
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**Philosophy,  
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 and Ideas**

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 Religion and War  
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## **Research Methods**

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 Childhood  
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 Dress  
 Gay and Lesbian Rights  
     Movement

Global Imperialism and  
     Gender  
 Human Rights  
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 Women's Emancipation  
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     Movements  
 Women's Suffrage Movements



# How to Spell It and How to Say It: 100 Important People, Places, and Terms in World History

Ralph Waldo Emerson once said, “A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds.” Each time Berkshire Publishing Group sets to work on creating an encyclopedia, we review our guidelines on how we will present the names and terms that have changed in the course of history or through language alterations. We strive for consistency, though not the foolish kind against which Emerson warned.

Languages and geographic terms evolve regularly, and sometimes staying current means that we can’t be completely consistent. Adding to the challenge is the fact that words in languages not based on the Latin alphabet (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Hebrew) must be transliterated—spelled in the language of another alphabet or “romanized” into English. And even within a language, transliteration systems change. Many people who grew up knowing the Wade-Giles system of Chinese romanization (with such spellings as Peking and Mao Tse-tung) had to become accustomed to seeing words using the pinyin romanization system introduced in the 1950s (with new spellings such as Beijing and Mao Zedong).

By and large, we look to *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th Edition (known as M-W 11), as our spelling authority, with *Merriam-Webster’s Biographical Dictionary* and M-W’s *Geographic Dictionary* for terms not in M-W 11. However, sometimes we overrule Merriam-Webster for a compelling reason. For example, historian Ross Dunn—who wrote the *Berkshire Ency-*

*lopedia of World History’s* article on Ibn Battuta (and who is a leading expert on Battuta)—spells the name without the final “h,” while M-W spells it “Battutah.” In another case, the West African town of Timbuktu is so well known by that spelling that we opted for it in preference to M-W’s preferred “Tomboctou.”

Finally, there is the matter of using diacritical marks—accent marks, ayns (‘) and hamzas (’), and other markings—that provide phonetic distinctions to words from other languages. The use of diacritics is always a big question for a publisher on international topics. We—and the scholars we work with—tend to prefer to use various marks, from European-language accent graves to Japanese macrons and Arabic ums and ahs. But we have found that they can distract, and even intimidate, the general reader, so our policy has generally been to minimize their use. In time, as U.S. students become more comfortable with non-English forms and as we publish for global audiences, we will be able to make greater use of these marks, which are designed to be helpful to the reader.

That said, we thought it would be useful (and fun) to provide a listing of the “Top 100” terms—suggested by our editors—that have alternate spellings and names. We’ve also listed pronunciations for non-English names and terms. (The syllable in capital letters is the accented one; note, however, that Chinese and other languages do not necessarily stress syllables as is done in English.)

**People**

<i>Preferred form</i>	<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
ALEXANDER THE GREAT		Alexander, Alexander of Macedon
ASOKA	a-SHO-ka	Ashoka
AUGUSTINE, ST.		Augustine of Hippo
AURANGZEB	or-ang-ZEB	'Alamgir
CAESAR, AUGUSTUS		Augustus Caesar, Caesar Augustus
CHIANG KAI-SHEK	chang kye-shek	Jiang Jieshi
CONFUCIUS	con-FYU-shus	Kong Fuzi, K'ung Fu-tzu
GANDHI, MOHANDAS	GHAN-dee, mo-HAN-des	Mahatma Gandhi
GALILEO GALILEI	ga-li-LAY-o ga-li-LAY	not Galilei, Galileo
GENGHIS KHAN	JEN-gis kon	Chinghis, Chinghiz, Chingiz
HAN WUDI	hon woot-see	Han Wu-ti
IBN BATTUTA	ib-un ba-TOO-ta	Ibn Battutah
IBN SINA	ib-un see-na	Avicenna
JESUS		Jesus Christ, Jesus of Nazareth
KANGXI EMPEROR	kong-hsee	K'ang-hsi
KHUBILAI KHAN	KOO-blah kon	Kublai, Qubilai
LAOZI	laud-zuh	Lao-tzu, Lao Tzu
LEONARDO DA VINCI	le-o-NAR-do da VIN-chee	da Vinci, Leonardo
MAO ZEDONG	mao zeh-DON	Mao Tse-tung
MENCIUS	MEN-chee-us	Mengzi, Meng-tzu, Meng Tzu
MOSES		Moshe
MOTECUHZOMA II	mo-tek-w-ZO-ma	Montezuma II; Moctezuma
MUHAMMAD	mo-HA-med	Mohammad, the Prophet Muhammed, Mehemet
NAPOLEON	na-POLE-eon	Napoleon Bonaparte
QIN SHI HUANGDI	chin sher hwang-dee	Ch'in Shih Huang-ti
SALADIN	SAL-a-den	Salah al-Din, Selahedin
SIDDHARTHA GAUTAMA	si-DAR-ta GAU-ta-ma	Buddha, The
SIMA QIAN	suma chee-en	Ssu-ma Ch'ien
SUI WENDI	sway wen-dee	Sui Wen-ti
SUI YANGDI	sway yahng-dee	Sui Yang-ti
SÜLEYMAN	soo-lay-MON	Süleyman the Magnificent, Süleyman I, Suleiman the Lawgiver
SUN YAT-SEN	soon yat-sen	Sun Yixian
TANG TAIZONG	tahng taizong	T'ang T'ai-tsung

**People (continued)**

<i>Preferred form</i>	<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
THOMAS AQUINAS, ST.	a-KWY-nas	not Aquinas, Thomas
TIMUR	TEE-more	Timur Lenk, Tamerlane, Tamburlaine
URBAN II	Otho	also Otto, Odo, Eudes—of Lagery
ZHENG HE	jeng huh	Cheng Ho
ZHU YUANZHANG	joo you-ahn-jahng	Chu Yüan-chang

**Places**

<i>Preferred form</i>	<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
AFRO-EURASIA		Afroeurasia; Africa, Europe, and Asia
AKSUM		Axum
BEIJING	bay-jin	Peking
BUKHARA	boo-KAR-a	Bokhara, Boukhara
CAMBODIA		Khmer Republic, Kampuchea
CHANG RIVER	chan	Yangzi, Yangtze
CZECH REPUBLIC AND SLOVAKIA	chek, slow-VA-kee-a	Czechoslovakia
EAST INDIES		Insular Southeast Asia
EGYPT		United Arab Republic
GUANGZHOU	gwang-joe	Canton
HABSBURG		Hapsburg
HUANGE RIVER	hwang	Huanghe, Yellow River
INNER ASIA		Central Asia
IRAN		Persia
IRAQ		Mesopotamia
ISTANBUL	iss-tan-BULL	Constantinople, Byzantium
KANDAHAR	KON-da-har	Qandahar
KARA-KUM	ka-ra-KOOM	Karakum
KAZAKHS	kah-zaks	Khazaks
KHWARIZM	KWA-ra-zem	Kwarezm, Khwarazm, Khuwarizm
KONGO		Congo
KUSHAN EMPIRE	koosh-an	Kushana, Kusana
MESOAMERICA		Middle America, Central America
MUGHUL		Moghol, Mogol
MUMBAI	MUM-bye	Bombay
MYANMAR	MY-AN-mar	Burma
SAMARQAND	SA-mar-kand	Samarkand

*(Continues on next page)*

**Places (continued)**

<i>Preferred form</i>	<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
SHILLA KINGDOM	shil-la	Silla kingdom
SONGHAI		Songhay
SRI LANKA	shree LAN-ka	Ceylon
THAILAND	TIE-land	Siam
TIMBUKTU	tim-BUCK-too	Timbukto, Tombouctou
USSR		Soviet Union, Soviet Empire, Russia
VIETNAM, LAOS, CAMBODIA		known collectively as Indochina
WEST INDIES		Caribbean

**Religious , Political, and Cultural Terms**

<i>Preferred form</i>	<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
AL-JAZEERA	as-jah-ZEER-a	Al Jazeera, Al-Jazeera
AL-QAEDA	al-KAY-da	Al Qaeda, al-queda
AL-RAZI	al-rah-zee	ar-Razi
ANALECTS OF CONFUCIUS		Sayings of Confucius
BHAGAVAD GITA	ba-ga-vad GEE-ta	<i>Bhagavadgita</i>
BIBLE, THE		Old and New Testaments
BRAHMA		Brahman, Brahmin
CZAR		tsar
DAOISM		Taoism
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES		primitive, native, nonindustrial
LATTER-DAY SAINTS		Mormons
MUSLIM		Moslem
NATIVE AMERICANS		Indians, American Indians
PERSIAN		Achaemenian, Achaemenid empire
QING DYNASTY	ching	Ch'ing dynasty
QURAN		Qur'an, Koran
SASANIAN		Sassanian, Sasanid, Sassanid empire
SHIA	SHEE-a	Shi'a
SHARIA	sha-REE-a	Shari'a, Islamic law
SIVA	SHEE-va	Shiva
SONG DYNASTY		Sung dynasty
TANG DYNASTY		T'ang dynasty

## Religious , Political, and Cultural Terms (continued)

<i>Preferred form</i>	<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Alternates</i>
TORAH		Five Books of Moses
VODUN	voo-DOO	Voodoo, Vodou
WORLD WAR I		First World War, The Great War
WORLD WAR II		Second World War
YIJING		<i>I-ching, Yi-jing</i>

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# Global Migration in Modern Times

Migration to nearly all parts of the world increased steadily from the early nineteenth century until 1930, with brief fluctuations due to economic depressions and World War I. The Great Depression and the establishment of national migration restrictions slowed these flows in the middle of the twentieth century, but by the 1990s migration had once again become as significant in proportion to the global population as in the years surrounding World War I. This expanding migration was part of the industrial transformation of the world, with migrants carried by faster modern transportation, drawn to jobs in factories, plantations, mines, and cities, and to distant frontiers where they provided food and resources to supply the growing industrial centers. Much of this migration was short-distance and temporary migration to nearby cities, towns, and agricultural areas. The massive long-distance and transoceanic migration over this period, however, was unprecedented in world history. The fields of Siberia and North America, the mines of South Africa and Manchuria, the rice paddies of Thailand and Hawaii, the rubber plantations of Malaysia and the Amazon, the factories of Chicago and Manchester, the canals of Panama and Suez, the entrepôts of Singapore and Shanghai, the service jobs of New York and Bombay, and the oil fields of Qatar and Venezuela have all drawn migrants as key nodes in an expanding global economy.

## Long-Distance Migration Before World War II

Migrants who traveled by ship before World War II were counted at ports and in ships' logs, thus providing excellent data for estimates of transoceanic migration. Government frontier settlement schemes such as the movement of Russians to Siberia, have also left behind some excellent data. This material allows us to better construct estimates for long-distance than for short-distance migration. But all estimates must still be treated

with caution. Even when historical statistics look relatively complete, discrepancies in numbers at ports of departure and arrival demonstrate the unreliability of some of those numbers.

The majority of long-distance migration from 1840 to 1940 can be divided into three main systems. (See table 1.) The first is migration from Europe to the Americas. The second is migration from India and the south of China into a region centered on Southeast Asia but extending across the Indian Ocean and South Pacific. Smaller flows also came from other regions, crossed these systems, and moved into and out of places at the interstices of these systems, such as Africa and western Asia. The third is migration from Russia, northern China, and Korea into the broad expanse of northern Asia stretching from the Russian steppes to Siberia, Manchuria, and Japan.

Over 65 percent of the transatlantic migrants went to the United States, with the bulk of the remainder divided between Canada, Argentina (which had the largest proportion of foreign-born residents), Brazil, and, to a lesser extent, Cuba. Over half of the emigration before the 1870s was from the British Isles, with much of the remainder from northwest Europe. After the 1880s, regions of intensive emigration spread south and east as far as Portugal, Russia, and Syria. Up to 2.5 million migrants from South and East Asia also traveled to the Americas, mostly to the frontiers of western North America or the plantations of the Caribbean, Peru, and Brazil. Half of this migration took place before 1885, after which the decline of indentured labor recruitment and the rise of anti-Asian immigration laws began to take effect.

Migration to Southeast Asia and lands around the Indian Ocean and South Pacific consisted of over 29 million Indians and over 19 million Chinese, with much smaller numbers of Japanese, Europeans, and western Asians. Most migration from India was to colonies throughout the British empire. Less than 10 percent of this migration was indentured, although much of it was undertaken with assistance from colonial authorities, or under some form of debt obligation under *kangani* labor recruitment systems. Over two million Indians also migrated as merchants or other travelers not intending to work as laborers. Migration expanded with

TABLE 1.

*Major Long-Distance Migration Flows from 1846 to 1940*

Destination	Origins	Amount	Auxiliary origins
<b>Americas</b>	Europe	55–58 million	2.5 million from India, China, Japan, Africa
<b>Southeast Asia, Indian Ocean Rim, South Pacific</b>	S. China, India	48–52 million	4 million from Africa, Middle East,
<b>Manchuria, Siberia</b>	Central Asia, Japan	46–51 million	NE Asia, Russia

Source: McKeown, A. (2004).

the increasing restriction of indentured emigration from India after 1908 and the abolishment of indenture in 1920. Nearly 4 million Indians traveled to Malaysia, over 8 million to Ceylon, over 15 million to Burma, and about a million to Africa, other parts of Southeast Asia, and islands throughout the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

The vast majority of Chinese migrants came from the southern provinces of Guangdong and Fujian. Fewer than three-quarters of a million of them signed indenture contracts with European employers, including a quarter million to Latin America and the Caribbean before 1874, a quarter million to Sumatra from the 1880s to the 1910s, and a smaller number to mines, plantations, and islands scattered throughout the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Many more Chinese worked for Chinese employers under various forms of contract and debt obligation, wage labor, and profit sharing. Up to 11 million Chinese traveled from China to the Straits Settlements, although more than a third of these transshipped to the Dutch Indies, Borneo, Burma, and places farther west. Nearly 4 million traveled directly from China to Thailand, between 2 and 3 million to French Indochina, over a million to the Dutch Indies (for a total of over 4 million if transshipments from Singapore are included), fewer than a million to the Philippines, and over half a million to Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, and other islands in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

In the north of Asia the Qing government's gradual relaxation of restrictions against movement into Manchuria after 1860 and the emancipation of serfs in Russia in 1861 set the stage for more massive migration. Both governments actively encouraged settlement with home-steading policies in the 1880s, each partly inspired by the

desire to forestall territorial encroachment by the other. Railroad construction in the 1890s further strengthened the migrant flows. Between 28 and 33 million Chinese migrated into Manchuria and Siberia, along with nearly 2 million Koreans and over a half million Japanese. Another two and a half million Koreans migrated to Japan, especially in the 1930s. At least 13 million Russians moved into Central Asia and Siberia over this period. In addition, up to a million northern Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese migrated to a diverse range of destinations, including much of the Americas, Hawaii, Southeast Asia, South Africa, and Europe.

Emigration rates tend to be uneven within particular regions, with some villages or counties sending numerous migrants while others send hardly any at all. Nonetheless, average emigration rates in all of these systems are broadly comparable. At first glance 19 million overseas emigrants from China or 29 million from India seems like a drop in the bucket compared to the several millions from much smaller countries like Italy, Norway, Ireland, and England. But if we look at regions of comparable size, the rates are very similar. Some of the peak recorded emigration rates ever were an annual average of 22 emigrants per 1,000 population in Ireland during the famine of 1845 to 1855, or 18 per 1,000 from Iceland in the 1880s. Some South Pacific and Caribbean islands probably experienced similar rates. More typical rates in periods of high overseas emigration are 10.8 per 1,000 from Italy, 8.3 per 1,000 from Norway, and 7 per 1,000 from Ireland in the first decade of the twentieth century. In comparison, the annual average overseas emigration rate from Guangdong province in the south of China, which had an area slightly larger and population slightly

*If you come to a fork in the road, take it.*

• YOGI BERRA (B. 1925)

smaller than Italy, was at least 9.6 per 1,000 in the peak years of the 1920s. Hebei and Shandong provinces (sources of migration to Manchuria) had a rate of 10 per 1,000 during that same decade.

### **Short-Distance Migration Before World War II**

The three long-distance systems described above account for only a portion of global migration. Many migrants also moved through Africa and western Asia, and within the main sending and receiving regions. The majority of global migration was probably to nearby cities, towns, and agricultural areas, often on a temporary basis. This migration is more difficult to count, but general patterns can be identified.

Africa experienced net immigration, but in much smaller numbers than other main destinations and from a wider variety of origins. The immigrants included over 3 million French and Italians into north Africa and up to a million other Europeans, Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, Indians, and Chinese throughout the continent. The end of the transatlantic slave trade led to increased movement of slaves into the western Sudan, Middle East, and areas bordering the Indian Ocean in the late nineteenth century. Labor migration to plantations and mines in southern and central Africa increased through the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as did movement to agricultural areas and coastal cities in western and eastern Africa. Millions of people took part in these movements, some of whom were coerced and many of whom went to work for European enterprises, but many of whom also found independent occupations. Projects such as the Suez Canal and development of an infrastructure for cotton cultivation in Egypt attracted large amounts of local migration, while Lebanon and Syria experienced some of the highest overseas emigration rates in the world. In a different type of migration, over 3 million people took part in the pilgrimage to Mecca from 1879 to 1938.

Western Asia and eastern Europe were areas of massive migration caused by violence and politics, a harbinger of the kinds of migration that would become increasingly

prominent over the twentieth century. The dissolution of the Ottoman empire and wars with Russia led to an exchange of 4 to 6 million people, with Muslims moving south from the Balkans, Greece, and Russia into Turkey, and Christians moving in the other direction. Around a million Armenians were expelled from Turkey to points around the world, and nearly 400,000 Jews moved to Palestine in the early twentieth century. The massive movement of refugees would extend to other parts of Europe in the wake of World War I and the Russian revolution, including the movement of 3 million Russians, Poles, and Germans out of the Soviet Union.

Migration also took place within the receiving regions of the long-distance systems. The transatlantic migrations could be extended to include over 10 million people who moved to the western frontiers of North America. This process also spurred the relocation of great numbers of Native Americans, and the migration of over 2.5 million Mexicans to the agricultural areas of the southwestern United States in the early twentieth century. The industrial centers of the northeastern U.S. also attracted over 2.5 million Canadians, and then over a million African Americans and Mexicans in the early twentieth century. In other parts of the Americas, great numbers of Andean peoples moved to coastal plantations and cities, and over 300,000 Caribbean people migrated to plantations in Central America and Cuba, to the Panama Canal Zone, and the United States. In Southeast Asia and the South Pacific, up to 500,000 Javanese traveled to plantations in Sumatra and the Southeast Asian mainland, and over 400,000 Melanesians and Micronesians worked on plantations and as seamen throughout the region.

In Europe, migrants from Ireland traveled to England for work, and those from eastern and southern Europe to industrial areas in northern Europe, especially France and Germany. In Russia, migrants moved into the growing cities and southern agricultural areas. Within India they moved to tea plantations in the south and northeast, to the mines and textile-producing regions of Bengal, and to newly irrigated lands and urban areas throughout the subcontinent. In China, they migrated to growing coastal cities, to areas of the Chang (Yangzi) basin left under-

populated by the Taiping rebellion, and to borderland areas of the northwest and southwest, including overland migration to Burma. Each of these systems involved at least 20 million journeys.

### **Historical Trends**

Prior to the nineteenth century, long-distance migration was primarily undertaken by merchants, slaves, and a comparatively small flow of settlers, agriculturists, and miners to frontiers throughout the world. The rise of a global economy centered on European, North American, and Japanese industrialization was the context for increased long-distance migration of settlers and workers. Growing cities attracted migrants, foodstuffs and resources from frontiers near and far helped supply growing industrial centers, and economic transformations disrupted old migration patterns. The decline of the transatlantic slave trade after the 1820s led to the rise of indentured Asian migration in the 1840s. Indentured labor helped to establish new migration flows, but it accounted for no more than 4 or 5 million migrants, and reached its zenith in the 1880s, then declining just as Asian migration began to boom.

Migration in each major long-distance system ebbed and flowed along with business cycles but followed the same broad pattern of gradual increase throughout the nineteenth century followed by a major burst in the early twentieth century. Total migration in the three major long-distance systems increased from about 400,000 a year in the 1840s and 1850s to a plateau of nearly 1.5 million a year in the 1880s and 1890s. It then boomed to an average of 3.2 million a year from 1906 to 1914, with transatlantic migration reaching a spectacular peak of over 2.1 million in 1913. Transatlantic migration was hit hardest by World War I, but recovered to 1.2 million migrants in 1924, after which immigration quotas in the United States severely curtailed immigration from southern and eastern Europe. Total world migration nonetheless reached new peaks of 3.3 million a year in the late 1920s, with migration to Southeast Asia peaking at 1.25 million in 1927, and migration to North Asia peaking at 1.5 million in 1929. The Depression put a stop to much

migration, with the significant exception of the command economies of Japan and the Soviet Union, where coercion, government promotion, and relatively strong economies produced rates of up to 1.8 million migrants a year into north Asia in the late 1930s.

Global migrations caused a significant shift in the distribution of the world's population. All three major destination regions experienced massive population growth, with their populations increasing by factors of 4 to 5.5 from 1850 to 1950. (See table 2.) These rates were over twice that for world population as a whole. Growth rates in the sending regions were lower than world population growth, and less than half the rates in the receiving regions. Taken together, the three main destination regions accounted for 10 percent of the world's population in 1850 and 24 percent in 1950.

### **Migration Since World War II**

International migration remained relatively low in the decades immediately following World War II, with the exception of massive refugee flows in Europe and South Asia that resulted from the new European political map after World War II, the creation of Israel, and the partition of India. Refugees have remained an important source of migration to this day, especially in Africa, Central America, and Southeast Asia. Rural-to-urban migration also grew increasingly important in Asian, African, and Latin American countries over the second half of the twentieth century. International migration to industrialized countries expanded steadily after the 1960s, due to immigration laws that provided for guest workers, family reunification, and migration from ex-colonies. Major flows have included migrants from western and southern Asia and North Africa to Europe, from Latin America and East Asia to North America, and from Asia to Australia. Migration to expanding economies in Japan, Southeast Asia, Argentina, South Africa, and especially to the oil-rich areas of the Middle East has also grown since the 1970s.

Due to the divergence of administrative categories for counting migrants, it is very difficult to make estimates of

TABLE 2.

*World Population Growth by Regions from 1850 to 1950 (in millions)*

RECEIVING			
	1850 Population	1950 Population	Average annual growth
<i>Americas</i>	59	325	1.72%
<i>North Asia</i>	22	104	1.57%
<i>SE Asia</i>	42	177	1.45%
SENDING			
	1850 Population	1950 Population	Average annual growth
<i>Europe</i>	265	515	0.67%
<i>South Asia</i>	230	445	0.66%
<i>China</i>	420	520	0.21%
<i>Africa</i>	81	205	0.93%
<i>World</i>	1200	2500	0.74%

Source: McEvedy, C., & Jones R. (1978).

global migration since World War II. Counting people of “migrant stock” in national censuses is one common way of estimating the effects of migration. (See table 3.) It is a very imperfect form of measurement, because some censuses count foreign birth, while others count only foreign residents who have not become citizens, and others merely note racial or ethnic distinctions. This system may also count people who have never moved all their lives, while international borders have moved around them.

Alternatively, a crude estimate of annual migration flows in the 1990s can be attempted. Annual migration to the European Union amounted to 1.2 million legal migrants and 400 to 500,000 illegals per year. Migration

to the United States averaged 860,000 legal migrants a year and perhaps another 300,000 illegals (still less than the highest numbers of 1912–1913). Migration into Canada, Australia, and New Zealand accounted for another 300,000 each. Over a million migrants went each year to the Persian Gulf states and Israel. Over half a million asylum applications were also made each year around the world, often not counted in migration statistics. Other major destinations included Argentina, Venezuela, South Africa, Japan, and South Korea, and large flows moved between countries in Africa, Southeast Asia, and the ex-Soviet republics. A generous estimate of 2 to 3 million migrants a year for these other destinations would

TABLE 3.

*Migrant Stock as Percentage of World Population*

Year	Foreign-born population (millions)	Percentage of world population
<b>1910</b>	35.7	2.0
<b>1930</b>	42.9	2.1
<b>1965</b>	75.2	2.3
<b>1975</b>	84.5	2.1
<b>1985</b>	105.2	2.2
<b>1990</b>	119.8	2.3
<b>2000</b>	175	2.9

Sources: International Labour Office. (1936); International Organization for Migration (2003); Zlotnik, H. (1998).



constitute an annual migration of 7 to 8 million a year. With a hypothetical return rate of 40 to 45 percent, this could account for the difference of 55 million migrants found in migrant stock estimates from 1990 to 2003.

A comparison of this number with the peak migrations of the early twentieth century shows absolute numbers that are up to three times higher than earlier migrations, but quite similar as a proportion of world population. A total of 80 million migrants in the 1990s would account for 1.5 percent of world population, while the 32 million migrants from 1906 to 1915 accounted for 1.8 percent of world population. It seems likely that the impact of long-distance migration in these two periods is quite comparable. But this may not be the best measurement of global mobility: 454 million annual tourist arrivals were counted in 1990, surely dwarfing short-term movement at the beginning of the century. The shifts of global population that have been linked to the global industrial economy since the early nineteenth century are far from over.

Adam McKeown

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## Globalization

The first step toward a clearer view of globalization is distinguishing between it as a description of a phenomenon or an existing condition and the use of “globalize” as a verb implying a process. On the former, globalization implies a thickening of the web of relationships between previously distant parts of the world and, associated with this, a quickening in the velocity of such contacts. We can say that we are becoming more globalized to the extent that consumer goods from all parts of the world are now available in the market shelves of the richest countries. Similarly, the world has become globalized in that in practically every corner of the globe one can find islands of consumption similar to that enjoyed in the rich countries. The world has also become much more globalized in that the time that these



**As part of the globalization process, beliefs from one part of the world diffuse to and are reinterpreted in other regions. This photo shows Western adherents of Hare Krishna on a pilgrimage to India.**

transactions take has been drastically reduced while the ease with which they are arranged has dramatically improved. We now can travel practically anywhere in the globe in less time that it would have taken to go from the capital to a provincial town a century ago. It is also possible to phone or obtain information on faraway regions in literally seconds.

If we use the term globalization in this way, Castells (2000) contends that we are living through a dramatic transformation into a global economy distinct from the “world” economy born in the sixteenth century. Yet, Hirst and Thompson (1999) offer evidence indicating that the current process of global interconnection is much less dramatic than what occurred in the late nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries. Whatever the specific years of its beginning, there is no question that certainly beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, and then following World War II, the world has seen an unprecedented degree of globalization, especially as we include all the new forms of noneconomic contact (e.g., tourism, the Internet).

If we prefer to use the term “globalize” as a verb, then we can speak of globalization as involving the thickening of contacts between previously isolated regions and the facilitation and institutionalization of such flows. In this way, “global” would not refer exclusively to processes involving the whole world, but the integration of known areas of possible interaction. As such, globalization has occurred in various other historical periods. Empires such as the Roman, Chinese, and Ottoman as well as the Islamic community by the fifteenth century could be perceived as engaging in a process of globalization. One could argue that the initial migration of hominids from Africa and their subsequent colonization of the earth was the first example of this process. The degree of European expansion in the fifteenth century would be another as would the creation of subsequent empires through the nineteenth century. The revolutions in communication and transportation culminating in cheap airfares and the Internet are thus merely means in the latest phase of globalization.

### **Measuring Globalization**

Precisely because it is so apparently ubiquitous, measuring the extent of globalization has not been easy. The development of international trade has been the most immediate (or most visible) phenomenon associated with it, but money, in and of itself, has come to play an arguably even larger role than does the transfer of material goods. Labor, while still subject to much greater control than capital, moves transnationally while international tourism now involves millions of people yearly. The ubiquity of American culture is already a cliché, but it is also possible to eat sushi, drink Beaujolais, and buy curry in any metropolitan center.

Perhaps the most often used figures involve the increases in the global exchange of goods and money. In the 1960s trade accounted for one quarter of the global

production of goods and services. By the twenty-first century international flows accounted for roughly half of these. Cross-border trade is so prevalent that the world actually trades more than it makes each year (accounted for by goods moving back and forth across borders during production and because of transshipments). Even more spectacular has been the growth of global finance. Foreign exchange dealings totaled US\$15 billion in 1973, but in 2001 the total was nearly one hundred times as much. Foreign direct investments tripled during the 1990s to equal nearly US\$750 billion dollars and now represent the lifeline for many economies. The United States itself finances its government and commercial deficits by relying on a global community willing and able to purchase its debts.

But contemporary globalization is different from previous epochs, precisely because it involves many other forms of contact other than exchange of goods and services. Migration, for example, obviously played a huge role in the nineteenth century, but in the twenty-first, it has become even more critical to the survival of both

sending and receiving countries. Three major networks seem to exist: from Africa and eastern Europe to western Europe, from Latin America and China to the United States, and from south and east Asia to the Persian Gulf. There are also smaller cycles in western Africa and South America, and within countries. It is difficult to measure much of the migration as it is illegal, but estimates for the 1990s include 25 million for politically induced migration and 100 million for economically or socially induced migration. Tourism is an even more recent phenomenon and one that has shifted the way many people view other countries and cultures. Estimates of tourists for 2001 are around 700 million travelers. While citizens of rich countries are obviously overrepresented in such flows, tourism has become infinitely more democratic in the past thirty years.

Culture has also become globalized, ranging from the sacred to the most banal. Starting at the bottom, popular music, movies, and television shows have now become global commodities. This began with the export of easily dubbed American action movies in the 1970s and

1980s, but now features marketing strategies of multiple premieres separated by oceans. References that once would have made no sense to those outside of a particular culture can now be understood by millions who don't even speak the original's language. To a great extent, this process has involved the "Americanization" of global culture, but in the



**So-called Asian martial arts have become a global phenomenon. This photo shows a Tae Kwon Do center in a Mexican town in central Mexico in 2003.**



**This Japanese woodcut from 1860 shows a Russian woman playing the flute and a British man holding a rifle.**

twenty-first century it appears that this will be much more of a polyglot phenomenon than many would suspect. Among the global Indian diaspora, “Bollywood” (the center of Hindi language filmmaking) is as important as its Californian counterpart. There is a broad geographical representation among the “global celebrities.” Consumer products have also become globalized; where before each country had a national cigarette, beer, soap, and sports team, the last two decades of the twentieth century saw the rise of Marlboro, Heineken, Ivory, and Michael Jordan. Music has also become less of a provincial taste with phenomena from Madonna to the “Three Tenors” on worldwide tours.

Perhaps the most important cultural development of the last quarter of the twentieth century is the ideological hegemony of markets and elections as the operating mechanism for societies. While practiced in myriad ways and never approaching theoretical perfection, capitalism and democracy have become the assumed economic and political options. Other auxiliary political cultural trends include the disappearance of social revolution as an oppositional trope and the rise of nationalist and ethnic appeals. Religion is perhaps our oldest global cultural phenomenon, but no more so than in the twenty-first century.

At least in 2004, it is not clear the extent to which a global Islamic movement has moved from organizational conspiracies to a truly social movement, but certainly the Muslim community is much more aware of itself as a global presence than in the past. Similarly the Roman Catholic Church has had to broaden its leadership as its base shifts away from western Europe. The Dalai Lama is recognizable in large parts of the world and pictures of Vishnu can be purchased in almost any city.

Over the past decade there has been a great deal of discussion of whether the phenomenon of globalization benefits or hurts the majority of the global population. On the pro side, some argue that globalization combines the greatest economies of scale and productive efficiencies to provide everything from consumer goods to medical vaccines to a broader part of humanity. Globalization has also made it more difficult for local despots to hide their crimes or for disasters to remain secret. Explicitly using the model of the market as their base, such arguments defend globalization as providing more for many in unprecedented ways. Opponents of globalization deny that the balance of benefits justifies the costs of globalization. These include the homogenization of cultures, and the loss of autonomy by smaller regions or ethnic groups. They point, for example, to the eradication of languages over the past few decades as a sign of what is to come. For the opponents of globalization the variety and number of products that it makes available have only led to the creation of a global class divide allowing a small minority of the world’s population to emulate the rich. The increase in the relevant market size and the disappearance of national borders have also made it easier for large conglomerates to create effective monopolies. This has led to a “race to the bottom” among societies where each competes to offer the cheapest labor and loosest government regulations.

Part of the argument regarding the overall benefits of globalization concerns the extent to which it is seen as inevitable. For those who judge globalization positively, it seems perfectly obvious that the functional efficiencies of this phenomenon account for its rise. The world was looking for a “better mousetrap” and globalization has

allowed us to buy it in several different colors. Attempts to resist globalization can only result in unnecessary suffering as those left in its wake will not be able to survive. Opponents of globalization do not see it as arising naturally out of the needs of global population, but as a product of the political domination of the United States following the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the preferences of multinational corporations seeking ever greater profits. Producers and sellers want to be able to operate on a global scale and look to the American policeman to protect their interests. A third group that does not necessarily take sides on the benefits associated with globalization sees it as a product of the technological developments of the past decades. Here the ubiquitous computer and that which it makes possible are responsible for creating a global web of connections that forces states, firms, and individuals to perform on a worldwide stage.

### **History and Globalization**

If we treat globalization as a process rather than a final state—as a verb rather than a noun—then much of this debate becomes irrelevant. A historical process can lead to positive or negative results depending on its context or its timing. It may benefit different groups at different times and in different ways. To judge globalization as a final state is particularly dangerous as there has been so little time to appropriately measure and analyze its characteristics and consequences. The process of globalization is also not historically universal, but can proceed in different ways at different times. What defines it is not the end state, but the process of reducing the isolation of territorially defined communities and increasing the interaction and variety of contacts between such communities. It can lead simultaneously to a broader menu of cultural, social, and political choices and to the standardization of models adopted by previously unique groups. If understood as a recurring historical cycle, globalization loses much of its mystery and becomes yet another social phenomenon subject to study and comparison.

Seen as such, globalization is certainly not unique to the end of the twentieth century. Understood broadly, the

first migrations from east Africa that led to the human conquest of the entire planet were arguably the most important globalization stage in our history. Following our discussion above, this migration both increased the variation within humans and at the same time assured that only a particular form of primate dominated the planet. The expansion of the major agricultural crops (corn, rice, and wheat) is a second example of globalization, as is that of domesticated animals, weapons, and architectural styles. The next phases of globalization were fueled by the simultaneous growth of trading markets (and the development of commodities for commerce) and the capacity of political units to expand their territorial control. To this we may add the critical role played by a “homogenizing” culture or ideology. In this way globalization has always involved goods, ideas, and institutions.

The first society we might call globalized would be first- to second-century in Eurasia, where accounts detail the availability of a broad range of luxury goods from Rome to China. A group of empires also created a political and architectural infrastructure for this exchange. The next major stage would arguably have been the expansion of Islam from the Arabian Peninsula beginning in the seventh and eighth centuries. Note that we continue to live in a world partly shaped by these globalizations. The civilizations of east and south Asia never attempted a similar global stretch and the next stage is arguably the European expansion and subsequent empires begun in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. To an extent this stage still helps to shape the contours of contemporary globalization in terms of dominant languages and ideologies, patterns of exchange, and distribution of power and wealth. The technical advances of the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries have allowed a much faster and broader expansion of globalization than ever before. The steamship and the telegraph helped shape the commodity connections that established the first stage of current globalization. The airplane and the telephone fueled the second stage after World War II. Computers and the Internet have dramatically accelerated the process over the last two decades of the twentieth century.

*We live by the Golden Rule. Those who have the gold make the rules.* • BUZZIE BAVASI

There remains considerable debate on the importance of globalization as a social phenomenon (and even about the analytical coherence of such a concept). Not surprisingly, there remains considerable debate on the extent to which the current wave of globalization will continue or be stopped (as were previous ones) by the collapse of the connections and the rise of violent conflicts between regions. Some argue that we are moving toward an ever more globalized world and that nothing can push it back. On the one hand, the dependence on complex technology and advanced engineering, however, do make the current stage susceptible to crashes of one sort or another. On the other, enough of the world's population has enjoyed at least limited benefits from globalization (at least vicariously) to make them strong advocates of the maintenance of some sort of global web of connections.

*Miguel A. Centeno*

See also International Law; International Monetary Systems; Interregional Networks; Multinational Corporations

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## Gold and Silver

Gold and silver have long been important in trade between regions of the world. Gold and silver, known as “precious metals,” are uncommon, attractive, easy to work into products, non-reactive, and avidly sought for decorative purposes. Despite being scarce in quantity, the two metals can be found in many locations around the world, and this fact has made gold and silver widely known and admired. The convenience of transporting small amounts of gold and silver, as compared to other trade goods, led to the metals becoming a universally accepted medium of exchange and standard of value for trade (money).

Gold and silver, along with copper, were the earliest metals used by people. The working and using of gold and silver are documented back to 4000 BCE. Both metals can be found in a native (pure) state or in other minerals that are processed. Gold is often washed away from its original location and deposited in streams and rivers, where it can be easily found. Such sites were the main source of gold until the 1800s. Miners also mined gold veins directly when they were discovered at the surface. Silver was initially recovered with gold in natural alloys such as electrum, but metallurgical techniques allowed the mining of silver directly from silver deposits and increased the availability of silver. The mining of silver was widespread but tended to be dominated by regions such as Greece (first millennium BCE), Spain (first millennium CE), and the Americas (1500 CE to present). Until the 1800s underground miners of gold and silver were often slaves and convicts who worked in miserable and dangerous conditions. Even during the 1800s underground mining of gold and silver remained a difficult and dangerous job. In 2004 the primary sources of gold are mines in South Africa, United States, Australia, Russia, and Canada, although gold is mined in some amount in many countries of the world. The largest silver-mining nations are Mexico, Peru, China, Australia, United States, Chile, Canada, and Poland.

## Saving Souls vs. Taking Gold

*In the following extract (c. 1530), Father Bernardino de Minaya relates his fervent desire to bring Christianity to the native peoples of the West Indies, in opposition to Pizarro's goal of taking their gold.*

We proceeded to the coast of Peru, finding deserted villages wherever the Spaniards had passed; and after travelling a few days greatly in need, we reached Pizarro...They wanted to ship the Indians assigned to their service to be sold in Panama in return for wine, vinegar and oil. When I learned of this I advised them...that His Majesty the Emperor had ordered that the Indians should not be enslaved even though they were the aggressors....I told Pizarro that ....God had made the Indies known in order that souls should be won for the Faith, and that this was the aim of the Pope and the Emperor....and that it was in order that the Indians should be brought to a knowledge of God and not be robbed and despoiled of their lands that they were given in trust to the Catholic Sovereigns, as is stated in the Bull of Pope Alexander granting the Indies to Spain. Pizarro replied that he had come from Mexico to take their gold away from the Indians, and that he would not do what I asked. And thus I bade him farewell with my companions, although he pleaded with me not to go, and offered me my share of the gold which they had obtained in the villages. I told him that I wanted no part of any illgotten gold, and that I did not wish by my presence to countenance such robbery.

Source: Williams, E. (1994). *Documents of West Indian history* (p. 136). Brooklyn, NY: A&B Books. (Original work published 1963)

Historically, when a large source of gold or silver was discovered, the discovery often created a “rush” as people desperate to become wealthier tried to find the precious metals. Gold rushes occurred in California (1848), Australia (1850), South Africa (1850s–1880s), and

Yukon Territory-Alaska (1896–1898). Silver rushes occurred in Nevada (1850s–1870s). These rushes created new communities and brought people from different parts of the world together in a surge of economic activity.

Gold and silver were originally traded by weight in various forms, but no consistency in purity and size existed. This lack of consistency led to the standardization of traded gold and silver and eventually to the creation of coins. The first known precious metal coins were made by the nation of Lydia (Turkey) around 600 BCE. Today we still speak of someone “being as rich as Croesus,” who was a king of Lydia (560 BCE). The less common gold became reserved for royalty and government use, whereas the more common silver became the main trade metal for business.

The search for gold and silver and the control of their sources have had a significant influence on human history as a motivation for exploration, trade, and conflicts. The story of Jason and the Argonauts (1200 BCE) is about Greeks exploring the Black Sea region for gold. The “golden fleece” of that story was the sheepskin that was used to catch gold in the water troughs used in the early mining process. Gold and silver were sent from Europe to China in exchange for silk and other goods over the Silk Road through central Asia (200 BCE to the late 1300s). Gold was brought through Tombouctou (Timbuktu, founded in 1100 CE) in present-day Mali, Africa, on its way north to be traded for salt on the trans-Saharan trade route. The exploration of Mexico, Central America, and South America by Europeans and their frequent conflicts with native peoples were driven by the search for gold and silver.

The commercial roles of gold and silver have been changing since the 1900s. Gold has limited use as a medium of exchange but continues as a store of value held by governments and individuals, with a significant use in jewelry. Silver has become more important for its use in industrial and photography products than in coins and decorations.

*Gary A. Campbell*

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## Grains

See Agrarian Era; Agricultural Societies; Cereals; Food

## Grand Tour

Travel for the sake of education and experience has deep roots in human culture, and evidence of it can be found from the beginnings of written language. In Europe such evidence exists from antiquity, and the practice of pilgrimage during the Middle Ages contains much that reflected the belief that extended travel brings substantial benefit both to the traveler and his or her native land.

The Grand Tour as a recognizable phenomenon began during the seventeenth century, although earlier people traveled great distances for purposes of study and experience altogether exclusive of commercial or diplomatic reasons. The English diplomat and translator Thomas Hoby during the mid-sixteenth century made two extensive trips through Europe as far as Sicily and recorded his experiences in his journal. His motives were those of most subsequent grand tourists: to learn foreign languages; to see foreign means of government, social, and religious organization and customs; to attend lectures at celebrated universities; to meet famous and powerful people; and to see the places described in ancient literature.

Wars and religious differences made the prospect of wide travel within Europe more difficult before 1650, although some people, such as Fynes Moryson (1617)

and Thomas Coryat (1611), braved the dangers and had the record of their travels printed; but thereafter the number of young men, and some women, who sought broader knowledge and horizons through travel increased, culminating in the eighteenth century. Guidebooks, such as John Raymond's *Il Mercurio italiano* (The Italian Mercury) (1648), were printed, and, travellers, such as Richard Lassels in his *Voyage of Italy* (1670), wrote of their experiences, galvanizing others to follow in their path.

The eighteenth century was the great age of the Grand Tour as it became almost required as a rite of passage between formal schooling and adult responsibility for generations of wealthy Europeans. The itinerary traditionally included the places most important in classical culture, especially Italy. Nevertheless, travellers did visit other countries, given that a young traveller's retinue needed to traverse them en route to the Italian peninsula and that they also contained points of interest. France was an integral part of the tour, as were often the German-speaking lands, and the rise of Romanticism (an artistic and intellectual movement originating in Europe and characterized by an interest in nature, emphasis on the individual's expression of emotion and imagination, departure from the attitudes and forms of classicism, and rebellion against social conventions) later in the century increased the attraction of natural scenery, such as the Alps. However, for most grand tourists, the goal was Italy, particularly the cities of Venice, Florence, Rome, and Naples.

### Celebrated Travellers

The list of celebrated travellers is long, although the benefits derived from the travel experience varied greatly from person to person. Some travellers, such as the German writer Wolfgang von Goethe or the English historian Edward Gibbon, were motivated to write great books, such as the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; others were content with having their portraits painted by fashionable artists such as Pompeo Battoni, gambling, and socializing. Many purchased books, antiquities, sculptures, and paintings from artists such as Canaletto; others bought only clothes and drink.

The usual practice was for a young man to be accompanied by a tutor, often a cleric, and an older gentleman,



known as a “bear-leader,” whose responsibility was to instruct his charge and keep him away from unhealthful pleasures. In addition, the travel party included servants brought from home, again as a means of control and of obviating the need to engage staff locally, a practice seen as dangerous because of the risks of theft and possible invitations to evil company.

The actual travel was uncomfortable, expensive, and often perilous. Bad food, filthy inns, impassable roads, brigands, disease, and political difficulties made journeys unpleasant. One needed to bribe officials—especially customs officers at borders—convert currency at excessive rates in every small country, hire often-dishonest guides or translators, and transfer funds to pay expenses, usually accompanied by outrageous fees. Furthermore, because Grand Tours regularly lasted several years, only rich families could tolerate the cost. Well-educated but poorer travellers did benefit, however; because they were the companions of the young aristocrats, their expenses were paid, and occasionally some wages were provided.

Travellers were given letters of introduction to celebrated people to facilitate the travellers’ learning. In some cases these people were expatriate fellow nationals, long resident in foreign cities; in other cases they were noted scholars, artists, or writers whose households operated as gathering places for local luminaries, or they were official national representatives, such as ambassadors or consuls, who could introduce the young men into society and protect them from the consequences of their own folly or harsh foreign laws. Men such as Sir Horace Mann, English consul in Florence, and English diplomat Joseph Smith in Venice gave hospitality to their travelling compatriots, and often the friendships made during these introductions lasted a lifetime and served as continuing connections among the natural leaders of various nations, proving useful to scholars, scientists, statesmen, and diplomats alike.

### Extended Travels

During the eighteenth century people usually did not travel much beyond the confines of western Europe; indeed, travel to Spain, Portugal, and Sicily was considered exotic. However, a number of grand tourists extend-

ed their travels. The interest in ancient culture attracted visitors to Greece, then part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. For example, the English artist James Stuart’s visit to Athens in mid-century resulted in the printing of his book *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762), which greatly affected Western architectural style and earned its author the name of “Athenian” Stuart; the journey to Asia Minor by architectural antiquaries and travellers Robert Wood and James Dawkins from 1750 to 1753 produced the equally influential books *Ruins of Palmyra* and *Ruins of Baalbek*. A remarkable woman traveller, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (d. 1762), explored Turkey, having been brought there initially as wife of the British ambassador. Her observations of the practice of vaccination against smallpox helped introduce the procedure in Europe.

The French Revolutionary War and the Napoleonic Wars caused a virtual cessation of the Grand Tour, but it was revived and extended after 1815, especially to the Ottoman East. Famous travellers, such as the English poet Lord Byron, journeyed to Greece, and several women travellers, such as Lady Jane Digby (d. 1881), went farther into Ottoman territory. Digby settled eventually in Damascus, Syria, as the wife of a Bedouin chief. Lady Hester Stanhope (d. 1839), who visited Malta, Greece, Egypt, and Syria, adopted Eastern dress and received foreign travellers at her home.

The tradition of the Grand Tour was largely over by 1850. The advent of the railroad and cheap packaged tours initiated by the English travel agent Thomas Cook made the experience of the Grand Tour available to the middle classes, reducing its currency among the aristocracy.

Kenneth Bartlett

*See also* Tourism

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*The unexamined life is not worth living.* • SOCRATES (469–399 BCE)

## Greece, Ancient

The civilization of ancient Greece twice effected important changes in world cultural balances, first when Alexander of Macedon (356–323 BCE) conquered a vast empire in western Asia, Egypt, and northwest India, spreading Greek ideas and customs far and wide, and a second time, beginning about 1400 CE, when well-to-do citizens first in Italy and then also in northwestern Europe found that ancient Greek literature provided a useful guide and enrichment for their own lives.

What made Greek patterns of civilization so attractive was that for a few generations a handful of Greek cities mobilized intense and widespread popular participation in politics and war, while also combining monumental public art with market economics. They called this unusual mix “freedom,” and the literary expressions of Greek freedom in poetry, history, and philosophy appealed to intellectually restless citizens in other times and places as both admirable and practical. Freedom continues to figure in contemporary politics, so the Greek example still echoes in our public affairs, though less strongly than it did before 1914, when the study of Greek (and Latin) literature dominated the schooling of Europe’s political leaders and many of those who supported them. Revival of the Olympic Games in 1896 was a late example of how ancient Greece continued to offer a model for Europeans to emulate, and by now Olympic competition has become worldwide.

### The Rise of Ancient Greece

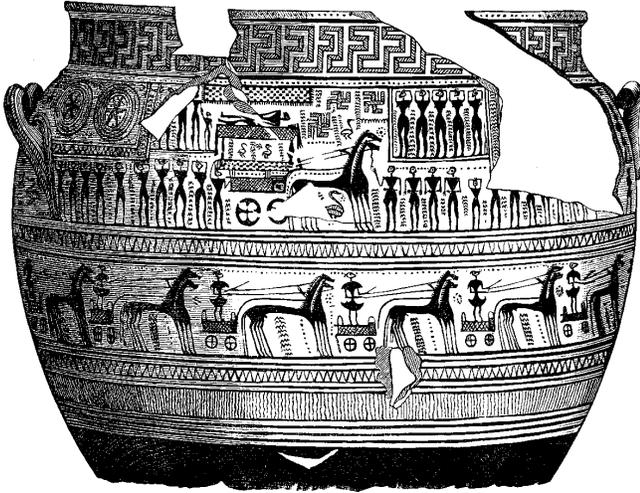
How did ancient Greece achieve its distinctive character? For more than a thousand years after 2000 BCE, when Greek-speaking invaders began to filter in from the north, changes in Greece closely paralleled what was happening elsewhere. The initial invasions, for example, were part of a general expansion of herdsman from the grassy steppes of Eurasia that brought Aryans to India, Persians to Iran, Hittites to Anatolia, and Slavs, Germans, Latins, and Celts to other parts of Europe. The newcomers had the advantage of warlike habits arising

from the necessity of protecting their flocks and herds from raiders and from attacking neighbors in retaliation. Moreover, these warrior tribesmen had a superior diet, thanks to the milk and milk products they consumed, making them bigger and stronger than the grain farmers they displaced.

Dry summers prevail in most of Greece and are bad for grass, so the invaders had to depend more on grain farming and to cut back on herding by sending flocks to high mountain pastures in summer. This brought Greek society into line with the contemporary scene in western Asia, where steppe invaders had overrun somewhat larger populations of farmers and the urban centers they supported. Accordingly, by about 1600 BCE, closer encounters with centers of civilization in Crete, Egypt, and western Asia brought familiarity with royal government, bronze weapons and armor, chariots, writing, and monumental stone construction to Greece. Mycenae became the principal seat of wealth and power, where a massive lion gate and large beehive tombs attest to the greatness of the kings for whom they were built. Rural taxpayers, sometimes conscripted for work on such buildings, together with booty from sea raids along the shores of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean sustained the kings of Mycenae and rulers of a handful of similar fortress-palaces in other parts of Greece. But chariots as well as bronze weapons and armor were scarce and expensive, so fully equipped warriors remained very few. Hence, about 1200 BCE, when a second wave of Greek-speaking invaders, known as Dorians, armed with comparatively cheap and abundant iron weapons, advanced from the north, the superior number of their fighting men overwhelmed the old order of society. The newcomers promptly destroyed and abandoned Mycenae and the other palace-fortresses of Greece.

### THE HOMERIC IDEAL OF INDIVIDUAL HEROISM

With these invasions, a ruder, more egalitarian age dawned. Writing disappeared, so did monumental building. But bards who recited their poems to the sound of



**Painting on an ancient Greek vase.**

a lyre kept memories of the Mycenaean past at least dimly alive, especially among descendants of pre-Dorian Greek-speakers, known as Ionians. Soon after 700 BCE Homer gave lasting form to this oral tradition by composing a pair of epic poems. One, the *Iliad*, described a critical episode during a sea raid that Agamemnon, King of Mycenae, perhaps (even probably), led against the city of Troy; its twin, the *Odyssey*, recounted the perilous return of Odysseus from Troy to his home in Ithaca. Homer's poems were soon written down in a new alphabetic script imported (with adjustments) from Phoenicia, and they became fundamental to subsequent Greek assumptions and ideas about how men ought to behave. Homer's heroes seek and attain glory by risking death in war, knowing ahead of time that sooner or later they will be defeated and die. Moreover, according to Homer, the gods play games with men, favoring some, defeating others whimsically; yet the very fact that the gods were immortal meant that they could not be truly heroic by risking life and limb. Instead, according to Homer, they were often merely spiteful and were ultimately subject to Fate—the nature of things—mysteriously spun out in detail by enigmatic, silent supernatural beings. Oddly, therefore, by risking everything, heroic humans surpassed the gods, at least morally, while sharing with them a common subordination to Fate.

This unusual twist diminished the power of priests and conventional religion among the ancient Greeks and opened a path to all sorts of speculation seeking to anatomize Fate and penetrate more deeply into the nature of

things, including, ere long, the nature of human society and of morals. No other ancient civilization centered so much on merely human affairs or unleashed human imagination and reasoning from sacred traditions so recklessly. That is why in later times urban populations among whom local versions of sacred doctrine had worn thin from too many encounters with persons of different religious background so often found Greek high culture powerfully attractive.

#### FROM INDIVIDUAL TO COLLECTIVE HEROISM

Greek civilization further enhanced its attractiveness when Homeric heroism was transformed from an individual, personal pursuit into collective heroism in defense of small city-states, into which Greece eventually divided. Greek city-states had their own complex development from older migratory and tribal forms of society. Ionian Greeks, fleeing from Dorian invaders across the Aegean to found new settlements on the coast of modern Turkey, led the way. Kinship ties crumbled among haphazard groups of refugees, who consequently had to improvise new ways of keeping peace and order among themselves. Elected magistrates, holding office for a limited time (usually one year) and administering laws agreed upon by an assembly of male citizens, proved maximally effective. When such self-governing communities began to thrive and, after about 750 BCE, started to found similar new cities in Sicily, southern Italy, and around the shores of the northern Aegean and Black Sea, an enlarged Greek world began to emerge, held together by shipping and trade, a more or less common language and the distinctive public institutions of the polis, to use the Greek term for a locally sovereign city-state.

In Greece proper, the polis supplanted older kinship arrangements much more slowly. In the wake of the Dorian invasions, as people settled down to farm the same fields year after year, local hereditary kings, assisted by councils of noble landowners, began to emerge. They much resembled contemporary local rulers of western Asia. Population growth soon provoked a painful process of differentiation between noble landowners and

*In peace, sons bury their fathers. In war, fathers bury their sons.* • HERODOTUS  
(484?-c. 425 BCE)

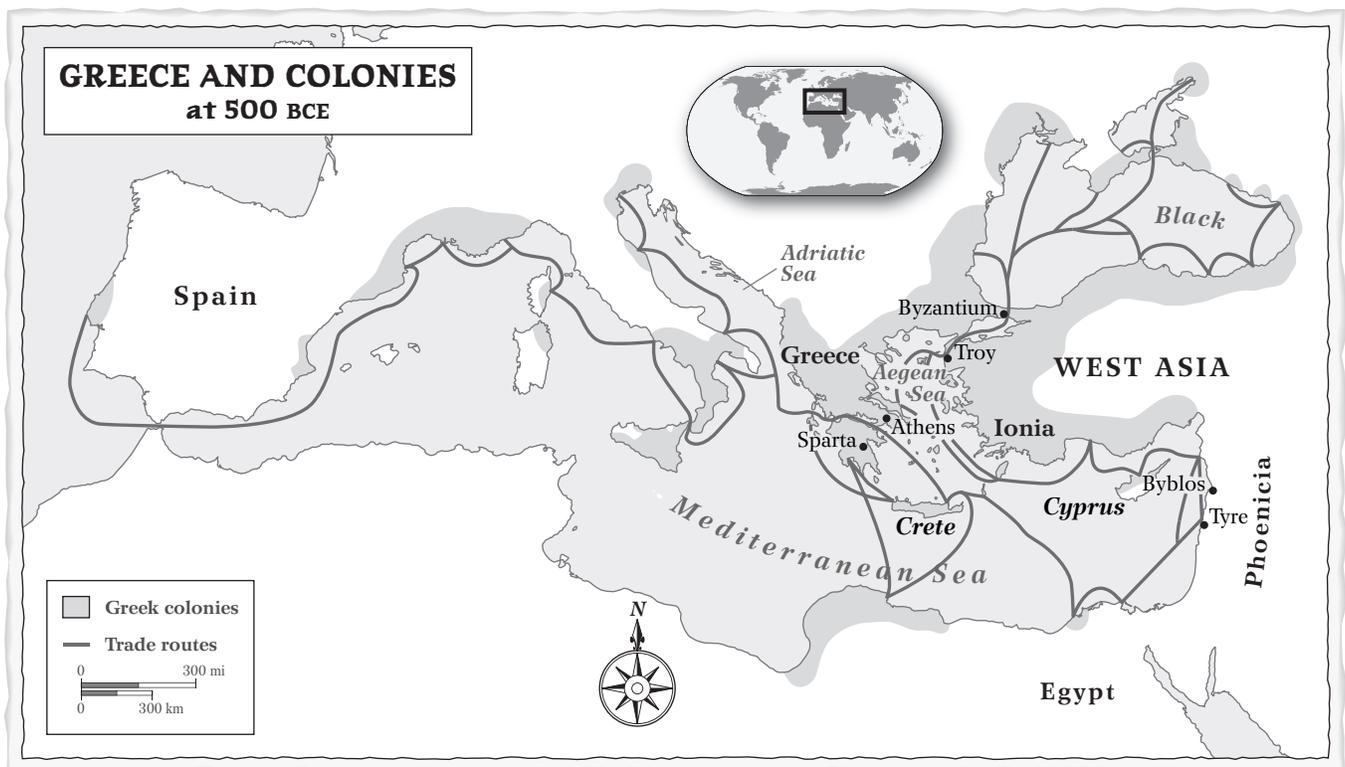
dependent rent- and tax-paying peasants. This process went unchecked in Asia and quickly led to the emergence of new empires and kingdoms, like the biblical kingdom of David. In Greece, however, for something like three hundred years, a different pattern prevailed.

## Greek Military and Economic Power

The critical difference hinged on the emergence of phalanx warfare among the Greeks. Beginning about 650 BCE, well-armored farmers, trained to keep in line so each man's shield helped to protect the man next to him, proved superior to disorganized personal combat of the sort Homer had celebrated. When such men, equipped with spears and swords, arrayed themselves six ranks deep to form what the Greeks called a phalanx, their concerted charge easily swept less disciplined and closely packed opponents before it. Once this simple tactic proved uniformly successful, every Greek city had to maintain

and if possible increase the size of its phalanx to be able to protect itself against its neighbors.

Since fighting farmers had to arm themselves for the phalanx with income from the family farm, radical steps were necessary to prevent them from losing their land by going into debt to richer landowners. In Sparta, a (perhaps mythical) lawgiver named Lycurgos (Lycurgus) was credited with setting up a system of military training that required the "equals," as Spartan citizens officially called themselves, to live in barracks between the ages of 20 and 30, practicing military skills and eating together. Family life became correspondingly marginal. Conquered helots in neighboring Messenia supplied the equals with the food they consumed, so Spartan citizens, specialized for war, became an unusual kind of upper class by exploiting the helots collectively. Prolonged military training soon made the Spartan phalanx superior to others, and by 490 BCE Spartans had compelled most other city-states of southern Greece to become their allies.





**The Acropolis with the Parthenon on its top is perhaps the best-known symbol of ancient Greece.**

Athens, the other city whose internal history mattered most in later times, never attained internal stability to compare with Sparta's under the Lycourgan constitution. In 594 BCE, for example, Solon, after being elected chief magistrate with extraordinary powers, set out to check the decay of the Athenian phalanx by canceling debts and prohibiting debt slavery. But Solon's efforts to invoke justice and "good law" did not make friction between rich and poor disappear. Half a century later a noble usurper, Peisistratus, seized power by force of arms and with popular support, then exiled his rivals so that his sons retained control until 510 BCE. Two years after their forcible overthrow, another nobleman, Cleisthenes, instituted a more democratic regime in Athens. Rivalry between democratic Athens and Sparta's mix of radical equality among a citizen elite and harsh repression of disfranchised helots became overt only after the Persian invasion (490–489 BCE), when a precarious alliance of about twenty Greek cities, led by Sparta, managed to defeat the imperial army of perhaps sixty thousand men that Xerxes I, king of Persia and ruler of the largest empire Asia had yet seen, led against them. This surprising victory proved to the historian Herodotus (d. c. 425 BCE) that free men, obedient to law, fought willingly and therefore better than unfree Persians subjected to a king. More generally, the victory gave an enormous fillip to Greek self-confidence and inaugurated what in retro-

spect seemed a golden age of creativity, concentrated especially in Athens.

At the time, however, uncertainty and divided councils prevailed and ceaseless warfare continued to disturb civil society. Those who lived through that tumult would surely be surprised to know how reverently later generations looked up to their accomplishments. For in Athens, self-government by elected magistrates and an assembly in which all citizens could vote provoked perpetual dispute, and war mobilization required ever increasing effort. New thoughts and new dilemmas distracted people in private and public life, while sculpture, architecture, drama, history and philosophy all attained what later generations recognized as classical expression.

This remarkable efflorescence of Greek, and especially of Athenian, civilization was sustained by an expanding market economy. Greek cities began to mint silver, copper, and even iron coins in small denominations, so everyone could buy and sell items of common consumption. Expanding markets, in turn, allowed specialized producers to achieve new levels of efficiency, thus enriching society at large. The most significant of these was specialized farming of olives (for oil) and of grapes (for wine). Beginning not long before 600 BCE, production of wine and oil for sale spread ever more widely through southern and central Greece, wherever climate and soil allowed. That was because olive oil and wine

commanded a ready market throughout the Mediterranean and Black Sea coastlands, where barbarian chieftains mobilized local peoples to supply grain, fish, timber, and other raw materials in exchange for the wine and oil they desired. For a long time terms of trade strongly favored the Greeks, so that the yield from an acre of land under vines or olive trees could be exchanged for far more grain than the same land in Greece could produce. As a result, throughout the classical age commercially specialized farming in Greece sustained free and more or less equal citizens far more comfortably (and in larger numbers) than could have been done by raising their own grain locally. In western Asia cities drew grain from their immediate hinterlands in the form of unrequited rents and taxes, but in Greece ships allowed cities to draw grain and other resources from far greater distances, in return for the oil and wine their farmer-citizens brought to market each year.

Export of specialized artisan products—decorated Greek vases for example—supplemented this fundamental agricultural and raw-materials pattern of exchange. Artisans, too, specialized and rapidly improved the quality and quantity of their output. Thus, for a few generations, increasing wealth and skill concentrated in a few commercial cities, of which Athens was the most active. Eventually, when farmers in other parts of the Mediterranean learned how to raise olives and vines, Greeks lost their initial advantage. Greek rural prosperity waned correspondingly, and the expansive buoyancy of the classical age, when Greek population and wealth grew steadily, soon faded away. Yet it was political contradictions inherent in polis ideals of heroism and justice that brought an abrupt end to the Greek classical age in 338 BCE, when a semibarbarian conqueror, Philip of Macedon, deprived Greek cities of their cherished freedom. Until then, Greek freedom triumphed on every front, restlessly, ruthlessly, amazingly.

### **Athens Ascendant**

Immediately after their victory over the Persians, Athens and Sparta went their separate ways. Athens had played

a conspicuously heroic part in the Persian war. When Xerxes overran their city, Athenians fled to the island of Salamis nearby and refused to surrender. Athenian triremes (the specialized Greek fighting ship that relied on rams, affixed to the ships' prows, to sink enemy ships) then helped to defeat the Persian fleet in the straits separating Salamis from the Attic mainland (480 BCE), compelling Xerxes to withdraw from Greece with most of his army before the Persian remnant suffered final defeat at Plataea the next year. Thereupon, the Athenians chose to keep their fleet in action and continued the war by sending naval expeditions to liberate Greek cities from Persian rule around the shores of the Aegean and beyond. Peace did not come until 448 BCE, by which time Athens had built an empire, first freeing cities from the Persians and then taxing them to help support the Athenian fleet that "liberated" them. Spartans at first held back, fearful of helot revolt at home and dismayed by the sudden surge of Athenian power.

Within Athens, the fleet's annual campaigns swiftly altered internal balances. Citizens whose surplus younger sons lacked enough land to be able to buy armor and serve in the phalanx now had an attractive way to make ends meet by rowing in the fleet for a small wage, supplemented every so often by hauls of booty. In winter, when the fleet went ashore and stayed home, they were free to attend meetings of the assembly, whereas farmers, scattered across Attica, only attended when an unusual crisis arose. This gave a decisive advantage to propertyless citizens and assured continuation of the aggressive overseas ventures upon which they had come to depend for a living. For a couple of generations, farmers served contentedly in the phalanx in summer when there was no work to be done in the fields, while a few wealthy aristocrats went along with the democracy, playing their own specialized part by refraining from conspicuous consumption in private life and competing instead for the honor of using their wealth for various public purposes, like equipping a trireme or financing one of the tragic performances that honored the god Dionysos (Dionysus).

*If anything in this life is certain, if history  
has taught us anything, it is that  
you can kill anyone.*  
(in *Godfather II*) • AL PACINO (B. 1940)

Despite rapid population growth, Athenian citizens remained comparatively few. War losses were substantial, and about a dozen colonies, dispatched to consolidate their emerging empire, also removed several thousand landless citizens. At the city's maximum, in 431 BCE, adult male citizens numbered somewhere between 35,000 and 50,000, of whom as many as 20,000 drew salaries from the state for rowing in the fleet and for other forms of public service, such as serving on juries in the law courts. The total population of Attica was probably between 250,000 and 350,000 persons, almost half of whom were disfranchised foreigners and slaves. So as in Sparta, many though not all Athenian citizens had become militarized "equals," disciplined to row and maneuver their triremes more swiftly and accurately than others, just as years of training allowed Spartan soldiers to prevail on land.

While the Athenian democracy thus concentrated on warfare, trade and artisan work fell mainly into the hands of resident foreigners. Slaves, too, played an important economic role as miners of newly discovered veins of silver ore in Attica. Silver from those mines financed the two hundred Athenian triremes that fought at Salamis; the mines also supplied silver for the Attic drachmae that soon became a standard currency throughout most of the Mediterranean coastlands.

Athens's combination of economic and military power, based on oil and wine exports, other far-ranging market exchanges, and the personal participation in war by farmer-soldiers in the phalanx and landless rowers in the fleet, was unmatched elsewhere. Athenian poliswide collaboration always remained somewhat precarious, but under Pericles, who dominated the city's politics between 445 and 429 BCE, the Athenians indeed converted Homeric individual heroism into collective heroism on behalf of their polis. Rich and poor alike pursued honor more than personal gain, and their willing cooperation brought unusual success.

Yet that success was profoundly ambiguous, since victorious Athenians became collective tyrants, suppressing the freedom of others. Accordingly, most Greeks (includ-

ing some Athenians) came to feel that Athenian democratic and imperial policies were profoundly unjust. Invoking the "freedom of the Greeks" against unjust tyrants, whether home grown or coming from abroad, became and remained a heartfelt protest, long after the enlarged scale of war had made the freedom of separate cities unsustainable.

### **The Peloponnesian Wars and the Coming of Philip**

Sparta, where collective heroism dated back to Lycourgos (Lycurgus), soon took the lead in challenging the emerging Athenian empire. Two bouts of war ensued. The first, waged on and off between 460 and 445 BCE, turned out to be a draw; but the next Peloponnesian war (431–404 BCE), as the Athenian historian Thucydides called it, ended in the overthrow of Athenian empire and democracy. Yet the victorious Spartans were compromised from the start, as they prevailed only after accepting Persian money to finance the creation of the mercenary fleet they needed to defeat the Athenians at sea. The scale and intensity of these struggles altered Greek society very rapidly. Fighting became professionalized and commercialized; both Athens and Sparta hired troops and sailors from outside the polis to supplement armies and navies of citizens. Within Athens, rich and poor parted company when conspirators twice (411 and 404 BCE) overthrew the democracy. To be sure, democracy was soon restored in Athens, at least in form; but the solidarity between rich and poor in pursuit of collective greatness never came back. Instead, independent farmer-citizen-soldiers gave way to mercenaries, while Athens, and Greek society everywhere, divided more and more sharply between landowners and dependent tillers of the soil.

Simultaneously, commercial prosperity subsided as the Greeks lost their primacy in producing oil and wine for overseas markets. Politics changed to match, allowing larger landed property holders to monopolize what long remained vivacious political struggles among themselves at home and with neighboring cities. After 404 BCE, the victorious Spartans quickly became even

more unpopular than Athenians had been, before meeting defeat in 371 BCE by the Thebans, who were in turn overthrown by Philip of Macedon in 338 BCE. To keep the peace, Philip made himself commander-in-chief of a Hellenic league of cities. His son, Alexander, after ruthlessly suppressing a revolt, led a combined Macedonian and Greek army against the Persians in 334 BCE. His victories brought the Persian empire to an end, and after his death in 323 BCE, Macedonian generals set up kingdoms of their own in Egypt, Asia, and Macedon. Greek cities nominally regained their freedom but in fact remained bit players in continuing great power struggles until 31 BCE, when the Romans unified the entire Mediterranean coastline and its hinterlands in a more lasting empire.

### **Ancient Greek Culture and its Legacy**

Long before then, Athenian art and literature of the classical age, 480 to 338 BCE, had become familiar to wealthy Greeks everywhere. Precisely because the freedom of the polis was slipping away from their grasp, they cherished the Athenian literary heritage for showing how free men ought to conduct their affairs and lead a good life. Later on, Romans, too, shared a similar nostalgia, for their republican liberty was also a casualty of empire. Accordingly, Roman art and literature borrowed themes and ideas from their Greek predecessors, and the resulting amalgam was what, almost fourteen hundred years later, inspired Italian and other European humanists to revive ancient glories by teaching the young to read, admire, and emulate Greek and Roman literature and art.

The power and complexity of Greek thought, and its concentration in Athens between 490 and 338 BCE, remains amazing. Reason, imagination, doubt, hope, and fear all play their part in classical Greek literary exploration of the human condition. Fate, gods, and men interact, surprisingly, often inscrutably. Above all, classical Greek writers remained in thrall to Homer, portraying human beings confronting the world's uncertainties heroically. Greek sculptors also portrayed both men and gods in heroic human form, and attained greater visual accu-

racy than art traditions of Asia or elsewhere had done before. Greek monumental architecture remained simple, featuring columnar facades and straight geometrical roof-lines. But subtle curvature and proportion please modern eyes as much as they presumably did when first constructed. In later centuries, classical Greek styles of sculpture and architecture spread widely across Europe and Asia; they still affect many of our public buildings.

### **GREEK RELIGION**

Yet there was more to the Greek cultural heritage than visual art, civic solidarity, and collective heroism. Rational argument, science, and philosophy burgeoned as well, rivaling traditional religious ritual and belief. This aspect of Greek society reflected the fact that religion in Greece had become a hodgepodge by the time written texts allow us to know anything about it. Ancient and secret fertility cults, like the one at Eleusis, promised eternal life to initiates. Such mysteries fitted awkwardly with Homer's quarrelsome gods, living on top of Mount Olympus. In addition, Greeks engaged in ecstatic worship of Dionysos (Dionysus), god of wine, sought cures from Aescclapios (Asclepius) through dreams, and inquired about the future from oracles like that at Delphi, where fumes from the earth intoxicated the Pythia, making her babble in ways that priestly experts interpreted for inquiring visitors. The Greeks also honored the gods by stripping themselves naked to compete in athletic contests at Olympia and elsewhere at special festivals. This shocked others, but became a distinctive trait of Hellenism as it spread across western Asia in the wake of Alexander's armies, rooting itself in new Greek-style cities founded by discharged veterans.

### **GREEK PHILOSOPHY**

Nothing resembling a coherent worldview emerged from such confusion, and when Greeks began to buy and sell overseas, they encountered an even greater confusion of religious ideas and practices in Egypt, Asia, and more northerly lands. Polis magistrates could and did reconcile the irreconcilable in ritual fashion by sustaining traditional rites and in some cases elaborating on



them, as happened in Athens with the development of dramatic festivals honoring Dionysos (Dionysus). Athenian playwrights used drama to explore moral and political issues, but never came near to making the world as a whole make sense. That was left to a handful of philosophers, who, beginning in Ionia with Thales of Miletus (d. c. 546 BCE), took the radical step of disregarding gods and spirits, surmising instead that just as men in the polis regulated their lives by invisible binding laws, nature too perhaps obeyed its own natural laws. Thales for example—perhaps drawing on Mesopotamian creation myths—said that everything came from water by rarification and condensation, with the difference that gods were erased, leaving water and other elements (earth, air, and fire) to behave lawfully. Others pursued this leap in the dark in different directions, proposing some notions that were destined to future significance, like the atomic theory of matter. Mathematics had special attraction for early Greek philosophers since geometrical demonstrations were logically certain and seemed universally true. Here, perhaps, was a model for natural law in general, of which polis law itself was only an instance. Pythagoras of Samos (d. c. 500 BCE) carried such ideas to an extreme. He founded a secret brotherhood that was soon forcibly dispersed, and taught that the world was made of numbers and that studying their harmonies might permit human souls to survive death through reincarnation. Only fragments remain from the sayings and writings of Pythagoras and other early Greek philosophers, so modern understanding of their efforts to make the world make sense remain very uncertain and imperfect.

Philosophical discussion turned increasingly to human affairs, with the intense controversies surrounding the rise of democracy. Not surprisingly, Athens became the principal center of debate. A school of sophists made their living by preparing young men for political careers, teaching them how to argue a case—any case—convincingly. Some sophists taught that right and wrong were merely human inventions. That in turn provoked others, of whom Socrates (d. 399 BCE) was the most influential, to argue that right and wrong, truth, beauty,

honor, justice, and all the other ideas that citizens held dear, were unchanging and rooted in the nature of things, though Socrates was more successful in refuting those who disagreed with him than in explaining his own beliefs. Socrates wrote nothing, but his pupil Plato (d. 347 BCE) pursued the same effort by writing a long series of dialogues that survive for our inspection and continuing delight. Plato wanted to believe in a world of unchanging immaterial ideas that somehow guaranteed truth; but, to judge by his later dialogues, never entirely convinced himself that such a world existed. Nevertheless, Plato's dialogues raised questions for subsequent philosophers to examine endlessly. In addition, by founding the Academy, where young men gathered for advanced study and debate, Plato set up a lasting institutional framework for ancient philosophy. His pupil, Aristotle (384–322 BCE), codified the rules of logic, and his other writings offered plausible answers to almost everything else his predecessors had argued about. Subsequent Greek and Roman philosophers continued to disagree until the Christian Emperor Justinian forcibly disbanded the Academy in 529 CE. All the same, pagan philosophers' ideas provided an educated upper class of citizens in Hellenistic and Roman times with ready answers to a wide range of personal and scientific questions, independent of any sort of religious authority.

This body of learning—secular, rational, argumentative and complex—rivalled (and also suffused) later religious worldviews. It ranks among the most significant heritages passed on from Greek antiquity, for in later centuries Greek philosophy and natural science took on new life among both Muslims and Christians, and still colors contemporary thought.

In sum, science, philosophy, art, literature, war and politics throughout the world are still influenced by our complex and tangled heritage from ancient Greece.

*William McNeill*

*See also* Alexander the Great; Aristotle; Art—Ancient Greece and Rome; Herodotus; Homer; Macedonian Empire; Plato; Thucydides; Trading Patterns, Mediterranean

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## Green or Environmental Movements

Environmental (green) movements appeared around the globe during the second half of the twentieth century as people agitated in reaction to local problems, affected the policies and organization of national governments (including the origin of environmental departments in almost every nation), and helped to create national and international laws, international bodies, and important treaties. Few other popular movements spread so far, had such complex ramifications, and lasted so long with the promise of continuing influence.

To present green or environmental movements as a recent phenomenon, arising during the years after World War II, however, would be misleading. They had their roots in the conservation movement that began a century earlier. Many voices had demanded clean water and air, parks and open space, the humane treatment of animals and the protection of bird species, the preservation of wilderness, and the provision of outdoor recreation. Communities in many places began to see their welfare as being connected with the health of their land, their forests, their waters, and their clean air. Although people did not yet use the term *environmentalism*, the actions of people to protect their valued habitats, to protest against developments that threatened to destroy them, and to search for ways to live in harmony with nature constituted an effort that has come to be known by that term.

People voiced those concerns during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries when the Industrial Revolution was polluting and otherwise harming the landscape of the Western world and colonialism was making depredations on the natural resources of the rest of the world. For example, deforestation altered small islands in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans so rapidly that European scientists who were sent out by the colonial powers noted exhaustion of timber and desiccation of climates and called for restorative action. Pierre Poivre, a French botanist, warned in 1763 that the removal of forests would cause loss of rainfall and recommended the reforestation of island colonies. Both France and Britain soon established forest reserves in their colonies, including British India. Unfortunately reserves often meant that local people were excluded from their own forests, and this exclusion produced outbreaks of resistance during the 1800s. Some European environmentalists raised their voices loudly against mistreatment of indigenous peoples. A few of these environmentalists were feminists, and some, such as the surgeon Edward Green Balfour, were willing to alarm their superiors with advocacy of not only conservation, but also anticolonialism.

The rapid sweep of resource exploitation across the North American continent aroused a few opposing



**A Greenpeace protester in a small boat near a large tanker.**

voices. The artist George Catlin in 1832 advocated that a section of the Great Plains be set aside as a national park to preserve bison herds and their native American Indian hunters. Writers William Wordsworth in England and Henry David Thoreau in the United States maintained that the authentic human self can best be realized in contact with wild nature. The American writer John Muir became an advocate for wilderness and found many people agreeing with him. The first national park, Yellowstone, was designated in the United States in 1872, starting a movement to reserve natural areas that spread around the world. Australia declared a national park outside Sydney in 1879; Canada established Banff National Park in 1885; and South Africa in 1898 set aside an area that later became Kruger National Park. Eventually more than 110 countries established 1,200 national parks.

Through the public relations provided by many writers, including Muir, the conservation movement grew rapidly and produced many organizations. Muir's group, the Sierra Club, backed nature preservation of many kinds, successfully urging the creation of national parks and providing opportunities for its members to hike and camp in them. The Audubon Society followed in 1905, gaining protection for birds and including

women leaders who convinced their peers that it was better fashion not to wear feathers in their hats. Stephen Tyng Mather, first director of the U.S. National Park Service, organized the National Parks Association in 1919 to provide support for the work of his agency. Groups appeared internationally; the World Wildlife Fund supported projects to preserve wildlife and wildlife habitats in many nations.

### **Voices for Sustainable Use**

Not all conservationists argued for keeping natural areas in a pristine state. Some, often connected with governments, pointed out the importance of keeping reserves, especially forests, as a continuing source for needed resources such as timber. France established the Administration of Water and Forests as early as 1801, and Prussia established the Forest Service not long afterward. In 1864 the U.S. ambassador to Italy, George Perkins Marsh, published *Man and Nature*, a book warning that human-caused destruction of forests, soils, and other resources threatened to impoverish societies everywhere. Marsh maintained that many of the changes that humans make in the natural environment, whether accompanied by good intentions or by disregard of the consequences, damage the environment's usefulness to humans. His influence was felt in the United States and Europe and beyond and helped to inform the movement for conservation of natural resources. In the United States that movement was exemplified by the founding of the American Forestry Association in 1875. Gifford Pinchot, who became the first chief of the U.S. Forest Service in 1905 under the conservationist president, Theodore Roosevelt, was a leading advocate of sustainable forest management. Pinchot had been informed by his study in French schools of forestry and by the work of Dietrich Brandis and the Forest Department in British India.

Conservationism during the early twentieth century was largely the work of committed individuals, energetic but relatively small organizations, and government land-management agencies in several countries. It was concerned with the preservation of forests, soils, water,

wildlife, and outstanding natural places and the prevention of pollution in local areas, particularly in urban centers. However, during the years after World War II, more ominous and more widespread environmental problems forced themselves on the notice of people around the world to such an extent that the problems represented an environmental crisis. These problems could rarely be solved by local efforts alone: the spread of fallout from nuclear weapons testing and from accidents in nuclear power facilities, air pollution that crossed national frontiers and caused acid precipitation, persistent pesticides that lost their effectiveness even as they were applied ever more widely (and were detected in the fat of Antarctic penguins), supposedly inert chemicals that proved to attack the ozone layer, and greenhouse gases generated by countless human activities that apparently raise the temperature of the Earth. In the face of these problems, and the wider public awareness that they aroused, the conservation movement was transformed into environmental movements. The constitution of the first environmental organization under United Nations auspices, the International Union for the Protection of Nature, in 1949 defined its purpose as the preservation of the entire world biotic community. This organization became the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) in 1956.

### **The Emergence of Environmentalism**

Environmentalism as a popular social movement emerged during the 1960s. It is often said to have begun in response to the American biologist Rachel Carson's 1962 book *Silent Spring*, which warned of the dangers of persistent pesticides such as DDT. That book dealt with only one environmental issue but found a wider international readership than any previous book on an environmental subject. Environmentalism was expressed in the first Earth Day (22 April 1970), an event primarily in the United States, although it later received international observance. By 2000 the membership of environmental organizations reached 14 million in the

United States, 5 million in Britain and Germany, and 1 million in the Netherlands.

The first major international conference devoted to environmental issues was held in 1972: the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, Sweden. This conference included representatives of 113 nations, 19 intergovernmental agencies, and 134 nongovernmental organizations. It marked a new awareness among nations that many environmental problems are worldwide in scope. Representatives of industrialized and developing countries attended and discussed the issues that divided those two groups. Unlike its successor conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the conference in Stockholm in 1972 was not an "Earth summit." The only heads of state present were the host, Sweden's Prime Minister Olaf Palme, and Indira Gandhi of India, who served as an articulate spokesperson for views shared by developing countries. Some representatives of developing nations noted that environmentalist views were most vocal in the industrialized world—in the very nations that had reached their economic pinnacles by using natural resources from around the Earth and producing the major proportion of the planet's pollution. Would measures for conservation of resources and reduction of pollution limit the development of poorer countries while leaving the richer countries in relative affluence? Gandhi maintained that poverty and need are the greatest polluters and that the basic conflict is not between conservation and development but rather between environment and the reckless exploitation of humankind and nature in the name of economic expansion. She insisted that discussion of environmental problems be linked to issues posed by human needs. The Stockholm conference authorized the creation of the United Nations Environment Programme, headquartered in Nairobi, Kenya, which was given the responsibility of coordinating United Nations efforts on the environment worldwide. For example, the United Nations Environment Programme took a role in facilitating negotiation of the 1987 Montreal Protocol for the protection of the Earth's ozone layer.

*You can no more win a war than you can win an earthquake.*  
 (Montana Representative Jeannette Rankin, the first woman  
 elected to Congress) • JEANNETTE RANKIN (1880–1973)

Environmental movements won legislative victories in a number of nations, creating laws to curb air and water pollution and to protect wilderness and endangered species. Most nations established governmental environmental agencies. In the United States the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 required governmental agencies and businesses to subject development plans to environmental review.

Environmentalist political movements, which often emerged in the form of “Green” parties, appeared in Europe and elsewhere beginning during the 1970s. The German party, “Die Grünen” (“The Greens”), adopted a platform emphasizing environmental values, antinuclear activism, economic rights for workers, and participatory democracy, gaining support from groups other than environmentalists and winning enough representation in Parliament to wield a critical margin between left and right and to participate in coalition governments. Similar parties in other European countries generally polled under 10 percent of the vote. In the United States the Green Party received national attention during the presidential election of 2000 when its candidate, the consumer advocate Ralph Nader, may have garnered enough popular votes in some states to deprive Democratic candidate Al Gore, a moderate environmentalist and the author of the book, *Earth in the Balance*, of the electoral margin he needed for victory against George W. Bush.

Elements of environmental movements did not content themselves with seeking reform in governmental actions or international agreements, which seemed to them to be slow and inadequate. The Environmental Justice Movement organized protests reacting to the fact that many environmental hazards, such as toxic waste dumps and polluting industries, were located in neighborhoods inhabited by the poor and racial minorities. Protesters took direct action against environmentally damaging actions such as the clear-cutting of ancient forests. In 1993, for example, Canadian citizens blocked roads being used by logging trucks of the MacMillan Bloedel Company to carry huge old-growth trees cut from the forests surrounding Clayoquot Sound on Van-

couver Island. Police arrested 932 protesters, who were convicted and fined from \$250 to \$3,000 for defying a court injunction banning demonstrations. An eventual agreement, however, won protection for a large portion of the forests. Nonetheless, clearcutting continued outside the protected areas by the Weyerhaeuser Company, MacMillan Bloedel’s successor, and was confronted by new environmental protests.

One of the most famous environmental protests was the Chipko movement, which began near Himalayan villages in north India in March 1973 when peasants stopped loggers from cutting down trees by threatening to hug (*chipko*) the trees and place their bodies in the path of the axes—civil disobedience inspired by the nonviolent methods of Indian nationalist Mohandas Gandhi. The trees were valuable to villagers for fuel, fodder, small timber, and protection against flooding. Many demonstrators were women, who are the wood gatherers there. Similar protests occurred elsewhere in India and met with some success. In Malaysia the Penan people of Sarawak carried out a series of direct actions, including blocking roads, to protest the destruction of their rainforest homeland by commercial loggers.

Those people who have demonstrated concern for the relationship of humans to nature have often suffered for that concern. Wangari Maathai, who began the Green Belt Movement in Kenya to enable the planting and caring for trees by women and children, was beaten and imprisoned. Judi Bari, a leader of the 1990 “Redwood Summer” protests against logging of giant redwood trees in California, was maimed by a bomb placed under her car seat. Chico Mendes, who organized the *seringueiros* (rubber tappers in the Amazon rainforest of Brazil) to defend the forest and their livelihood against illegal clearing, was murdered in 1988 by the agents of rich landowners whose financial interests in forest removal he threatened. The poet and playwright Ken Saro-Wiwa was executed by the dictatorship of Nigeria in 1995 for organizing a movement against oil drilling that produced air and water pollution in the lands of his Ogoni tribe without compensation.

Environmental movements in recent history have proved to be extraordinarily complex, including myriads of organizations, formal and informal. Their goals have been disparate, but they share the overall goal of making the Earth a better, safer, and cleaner place for its living inhabitants, human and nonhuman. Such movements have met with many successes and many failures, and their ultimate effects are still uncertain. However, they are certainly among the most far-reaching and intrinsically important movements of the modern world.

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## Green Revolution

William Gaud, director of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), coined the term *Green Revolution* in March 1968, and its origins help explain its contested meaning in contemporary history: Government development agencies as well as transnational chemical and biotechnology corporations and multilateral organizations such as the World Bank see the Green Revolution (GR) as a miraculous breakthrough in agricultural productivity and food security, whereas small farmers, ecologists, social scientists, indigenous peoples, and community activists see it as ruining the environment, destroying agricultural productivity, obliterating indigenous cultural and agricultural practices, and creating even greater global inequalities through excessive debt burdens for the developing world that further enrich the developed world. How did the Green Revolution give rise to such polarized reactions and assessments? Part of the answer lies in the fact that the Green Revolution, as an application of modern science and technology to agriculture, has never been about just the superiority of one agricultural technology or practice over others—it has been a political, economic, and social event from the start, and so one cannot be surprised that it has attracted controversy. Part of the answer also lies in how one assesses where and to whom the major benefits of this agricultural revolution went, that is, did they reach the intended recipients?

### Definition

The basic elements of the Green Revolution are highly mechanized and energy-intensive production methods

(e.g., the use of tractors and mechanical harvesters); a dependence on the intensive use of chemical or synthetic fertilizers, pesticides, and fungicides; a reliance on petroleum-powered machinery and petroleum by-products; the utilization of high-yielding hybrid seeds; uniform planting of one crop species over a large acreage (monoculture); double cropping (two crop seasons per year); large-scale irrigation; and a continuous supply of patented technology and inputs (seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, etc.). The goal was to increase the capacity of plants to use sunlight, water, and soil nutrients more efficiently, and the heart of this revolution in agriculture was the development of certain varieties of patented seeds that fit the requirements of Green Revolution technologies.

## **Origins**

Although its antecedents date to earlier genetic research, the Green Revolution as we know it today began with research conducted in Mexico by U.S. scientists in a wheat and maize research center sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation during the 1940s and 1950s. Their goal was to develop higher-yielding hybrid strains of corn and wheat. The most important person in initiating the Green Revolution in northwestern Mexico was the plant pathologist and geneticist Norman Borlaug. His wheat strains responded well to heavy doses of nitrogen fertilizer and water; the International Center for Wheat and Maize Improvement, established in 1966 by the Rockefeller Foundation in cooperation with the Mexican government, continued his work. With the help of money from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, and USAID, “miracle” seed spread outside Mexico after 1963 and had its greatest success in an area from Turkey to northern India. The Rockefeller Foundation also sponsored a rice research center, the International Rice Research Institute, in the Philippines in 1960. The institute created high-yield dwarf rice varieties of “miracle rice” that spread to the rice-growing areas of east and southeastern Asia. Researchers at these and private corporate research centers selectively bred high-yielding strains of staple crops, mainly wheat, maize, and rice

with sturdy stalks, which were responsive to chemical fertilizers and irrigation water, resistant to pests, and compatible with mechanical harvesting.

Chemical and seed corporations and government officials in developed and developing countries championed the Green Revolution as the solution to problems of famine and malnutrition around the world. More was involved, however: Excluding Mexico, the U.S.-sponsored enterprise encircled the Communist world from Turkey to Korea. Although fears of the spread of Communism motivated U.S. politicians and businesspeople, the idea of scientifically designed crops to improve living standards was also promoted within socialist societies from the Soviet Union to China to Cuba. In many ways the Green Revolution started as an economic wing of Cold War politics.

## **Positive Results**

The incubation of the Green Revolution occurred during the 1950s and 1960s, and it dramatically altered food production during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1970 around 15 percent of the Third World’s wheat- and rice-growing areas were cultivated with the new hybrid seeds. By 1983 the figure was more than 50 percent, and by 1991 it was 75 percent. Proponents argue that more than half of all economic benefits generated by GR technologies have gone to farmers and that plentiful harvests became commonplace in much of the world during the thirty-five years after 1960: Crop yields of wheat nearly tripled, those of rice nearly doubled, and those of corn more than doubled in ninety-three countries. Because of high-yield rice and wheat, scores of countries kept food production ahead of population growth. Learning from the mistakes of its first applications, newer GR technologies promised increased net returns and reduced chemical loads for farmers. The Green Revolution was most successful in India in increasing aggregate food production: During 1978–1979 India established a record grain output of 118 million metric tons and increased its grain yield per unit of farmland by 30 percent since 1947. India has not had a famine since 1965–1966. However, no other country that attempted the Green Revolution

matched India's success or the number of jobs in auxiliary facilities such as chemical factories and hydroelectric power stations.

Proponents such as Martina McGloughlin point out that GR technologies create more food for sale, increase foreign exchange and national income, and generate a steady income source for successful growers as well as new nonagricultural jobs. Proponents do not believe that the adoption of biotechnology crops is creating genetic uniformity or inducing vulnerability to new strains of pathogens. They assert that GR technologies are size neutral and can promote sustainable agriculture centered on small farmers in developing countries. Despite such claims, the Green Revolution has promoted monoculture worldwide because each hybrid seed crop has specific fertilizer and pesticide requirements for maximum growth: Farmers save money by buying seed, fertilizer, and pesticide in bulk and by planting and tending the same crop uniformly on their land.

### **Negative Outcomes**

The picture is not all rosy, however. Despite claims by proponents, monoculture did make crops more susceptible to infestations and damage by a single pest. When farmers turned to heavier doses of petroleum-based pesticides, the more-resistant pests survived, and their offspring returned the next year to cause even greater losses. Famous cases of such resistance are the southern corn leaf blight in 1970–1971 in the United States; the brown planthopper, which attacked the various strains of “miracle rice” during the 1970s and 1980s in the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Solomon Islands, Thailand, India, Indonesia, and Malaysia and in Thailand, Malaysia, and Bangladesh again in 1990; and the recent potato blight in the Andes. Millions of people, mostly agricultural workers, suffer from acute pesticide poisoning, and tens of thousands die every year from it. The horrific explosion at Union Carbide's Bhopal, India, plant on 2 December 1984 killed an estimated 3,000 people and injured 200,000 more. The chemical Sevin manufactured at Bhopal was essential for India's Green Revolution. In addition, ever-rising doses of pesticides have meant that they ended up

in water supplies, animal and human tissues, and soil with often unforeseen consequences. Along the Costa Rican coast 90 percent of the coral reefs are dead due to pesticide run off from plantations that monocrop bananas for export and that have ruined 80,000 hectares of former banana plantation land with copper residues from pesticides so that the land can no longer be used to grow food for either domestic consumption or export. Costa Rica now imports basic staple grains: beans, corn, and rice.

The irrigation required by the Green Revolution has led to massive dam-building projects in China, India, Mexico and elsewhere, displaced tens of thousands of indigenous peoples, and submerged their farmland. The frequent result of massive irrigation has been the creation of soil with a high salt content that even large doses of fertilizer cannot repair. Critics have documented the reduction in species diversity that followed the Green Revolution. Rice, wheat, and maize have come to dominate global agriculture: They supply 66 percent of the world's entire seed crop. They have edged out leafy vegetables and other food crops that do not respond to nitrogen- and water-rich farming regimes. Critics note that human beings cultivated more than three thousand plant species as food sources before the Green Revolution, whereas today fifteen species (among them rice, corn, wheat, potato, cassava, the common bean, soybean, peanut, coconut, and banana) provide more than 85 percent of all human nutrition.

The energy requirements for this agriculture are high: In what Southern Illinois University professor of anthropology Ernest Schusky has dubbed the “neo-caloric revolution” GR agriculture is one-half as energy efficient as ox-and-plow agriculture and one-quarter as energy efficient as hoe agriculture. The model of GR agriculture, U.S. grain farming, is remarkably energy inefficient: It consumes eight calories of energy for every one calorie it produces. For critics thirty years of the Green Revolution have left a legacy of environmental degradation, unsustainable agricultural practices, social disruption, homeless farmers, ruined farmland, crushing international debt burdens for developing countries, and the export of needed food to meet loan payments.

### **A Mixed Legacy**

Opponents and proponents alike admit that the benefits of the Green Revolution are unevenly spread. Wealthier farmers with dependable access to water and credit prospered, whereas those farmers who skimmed on fertilizer and irrigation because of the extra costs did not do well, and their yields were no greater than before. Agrochemical industries, banks, large petrochemical companies, manufacturers of agricultural machinery, dam builders and large landowners have been major beneficiaries. The social results in the United States and elsewhere have been a reduction in the number of small family farms, the concentration of agricultural wealth in fewer hands, growing social inequality, and migration to cities. In the case of Taiwan, South Korea, and Indonesia, producing more food with fewer people and the exodus of people to cities

helped fuel industrialization. In other countries it merely increased the urban slum-dwelling poor. Internationally, South Korea, China, India, and Mexico reduced or eliminated food dependence, and India became a net food exporter. Other nations did not fare so well: Until 1981 the developing world was a net exporter of food; after 1981 it was a net importer.

Although India is the Green Revolution success story, its Punjab region has experienced all of the revolution's negative ecological and social consequences, and Indian children are suffering from a vitamin A deficiency that is causing blindness in forty thousand children a year. Enthusiasts of the new "Gene Revolution" report that scientists are genetically altering rice so that it contains beta-carotene, which enzymes in the intestine convert to vitamin A when needed. Critics argue that vitamin A deficiency is



**Graffiti on a wall in Venice, Italy, in 2003 attacking biotech food.**

best seen as a symptom of broader dietary deficiencies caused by a change from diverse cropping systems to rice monoculture: Indian children have vitamin A deficiency because their diet has been reduced to rice and little else. Under a mixed agricultural regime, Indian farmers grew *brathua*, a traditional plant rich in Vitamin A, along with their wheat, but in GR monocultures *brathua* is regarded as a pest and is destroyed with herbicides.

In reaction to the myriad problems caused by the Green Revolution, an alternative agriculture called “LISA” (low-input sustainable agriculture) emerged in the United States, Cuba, western Europe, and elsewhere during the last thirty years. It seeks to promote ecological sustainability in farm production by replacing dependence on heavy farm machinery and chemical inputs with animal traction, crop and pasture rotations, soil conservation, organic soil amendments, biological pest control, and microbial biofertilizers and biopesticides that are not toxic to humans. A carefully watched experiment with LISA is occurring in Cuba, where the end of Soviet pesticide and petroleum subsidies in 1991 led to the collapse of GR-based food production and near famine from 1991 to 1995. In 1993 the Cuban government began breaking up large state farms, changed land tenure toward cooperatives (now 70 percent of all agricultural land), and replaced the Soviet Green Revolution model with the LISA model on a national scale. By 1995 food shortages were overcome. During the 1996–1997 growing season Cuba recorded its highest-ever production levels for ten of the thirteen basic food items in the Cuban diet, and the results keep improving.

## Implications and Directions

The Green Revolution has fervent admirers and detractors. Admirers who wish to mitigate its worst effects are promoting the Gene Revolution, which combines specific genes (and their desirable traits) among unrelated species to yield plants with novel traits that cannot be produced by farmers practicing traditional breeding. The result is the engineering of “transgenic” crops such as rice with beta-carotene or plants that produce pesticides to protect

themselves or vaccines against malaria and cholera. Those people who promote LISA endorse agroecology, which entails grassroots efforts by small farmers and scientists to meld traditional and modern farming methods, to reduce pesticide and chemical fertilizer use, to select natural seed varieties suited to different soils and climates, to end monoculture and export orientation, and to use science to enhance natural ecological systems of agricultural production and protection. The choices that people make during the next twenty years will shape not only the kinds and amounts of foods that people will have available to eat but also the ecological health of the planet itself.

Alexander M. Zukas

See also Agricultural Societies

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## Gregory VII

(c. 1020–1085)

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPE AND SAINT

Pope Gregory VII, whose baptized name was Hildebrand, is considered to be one of the most influential popes in the history of the Roman Catholic Church and in European history.

Although his early life remains a mystery, his origins were quite humble. At a very young age, Hildebrand was sent to be educated at a Cluniac monastery in Rome. As a Benedictine monk, he entered the service of the future pope Gregory VI and later served as his chaplain. Prior to his own selection as pope, Hildebrand served six different pontiffs, rising in power and prestige during this time. His remarkable talents as administrator would later define his role as head of the Roman Catholic Church. Two central themes dominate Hildebrand's theological mind-set: the superiority of church to state, and all significant church matters of dispute were to be resolved by the papacy. In light of these positions, his papacy was dominated by conflict from both within and without the church.

After the death of Pope Alexander II (1073), Hildebrand was acclaimed the new pontiff. Consecrated in 1073 as Gregory VII Hildebrand honored the memory

and legacy of his earliest patron, Gregory VI. Gregory VII took the helm of the Catholic Church at a time when it was undergoing one of its most devastating periods of moral decay. His resolve of moral character allowed him to attempt reforms within the church and battle its most significant problems: the buying and selling of sacred offices (simony), clerical incontinency, and lay investiture. Another issue of concern for the reforming pontiff was an effort to free the eastern Christians from the Seljuk Turks. In response to a letter (1073) to the pope from Byzantine Emperor Michael VII (reigned 1068–1078), Gregory VII wrote to the European monarchs and princes urging them to rally support for the defense of the Christian East. This call, however, met with indifference and opposition.

In his efforts to reform the church and restore its integrity, the pontiff deposed (1074) a number of bishops who had bought their offices. That same year he issued a papal encyclical that absolved people from their obedience to local bishops who allowed their clergy to marry. In 1075 he ordered the abolishment of lay investitures. Finally, he affirmed Gregory VI's spiritual sovereignty over monarchs. In his efforts to reform the church, Gregory VII was met with a storm of opposition. He was opposed not only by laymen but by the clergy, especially by the bishops. Eventually, Gregory VII waged a fierce battle against his chief rival, Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV (1050–1106).

The conflict between the pope and emperor, known as the Investiture Controversy (1075–1122), was primarily a dispute over whether the imperial or the papal power was to be supreme in Christian Europe. The current phase of the controversy culminated in both Henry IV and Gregory VII excommunicating each other. During Gregory VII's trip to Augsburg to depose Henry IV and select a new emperor, he was met at the Castle of Canossa by Henry IV, who supposedly stood barefoot in the snow for three days begging the pope's forgiveness. Although the matter was resolved temporarily, subsequent disputes between the two leaders would lead Henry IV to march on Rome and force the pope to flee and take refuge.

Pope Gregory VII died at Salerno on 25 May 1085. Prior to death, Gregory VII absolved all whom he had excommunicated with the exception of Henry IV and the antipope Guibert. According to religious history accounts, the pontiff's final words were "I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." His body was interred in the Church of Saint Matthew in Salerno. Hildebrand was beatified in 1584, and canonized as Pope Saint Gregory VII by Pope Benedict XIII in 1728.

*H. Micheal Tarver and Carlos E. Márquez*

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## Guevara, Che

(1928–1967)

LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY

Ernesto "Che" Guevara's image is known worldwide, appropriated globally by people identifying with his sense of social justice, idealism, and rebellion. An Argentine who fought for independence in Cuba, the Congo, and Bolivia, Guevara represents a stateless "new man" committed to international socialism. His published critiques of capitalism and imperialism reflected an understanding that both the problems and solutions of the twentieth century were global in scope.

Born in Rosario, Argentina in 1928, Guevara was homeschooled until he was nine years old due to severe asthma. All his life Guevara read voraciously and by adulthood was knowledgeable on subjects that included literature, Latin American and Spanish poetry, French existentialist philosophy, Marxism-Leninism, psychol-

## Che Guevara, Socialism and Man in Cuba I

It is not a matter of how many kilograms of meat one has to eat, nor of how many times a year someone can go to the beach, nor how many pretty things from abroad you might be able to buy with present-day wages. It is a matter of making the individual feel more complete, with much more internal richness and much more responsibility.

Che Guevara (1928–1967)

ogy, and archaeology. In December 1952, Guevara took an eight-month break from medical school to travel to South America with a friend. He witnessed the general condition of indigenous peoples throughout South America and was particularly moved by the working conditions of copper miners in Chile. He attributed Latin America's economic problems to heavy penetration by foreign corporations.

After graduating in 1953, Guevara continued traveling, winding up in Guatemala City where President Jacobo Arbenz was challenging the U.S.-owned United Fruit Company's claim to Guatemala's fertile land. Here Guevara met Hilda Gadea, a Peruvian activist who introduced Guevara to the ideas of Mao Zedong. Together they watched the 1954 CIA-sponsored coup overthrow Arbenz, plunging Guatemala into more than four decades of political violence. The coup solidified Guevara's belief that Latin America's major problem in the 1950s was "Yankee imperialism," which he understood as the combined political, military, and economic power that U.S. policy makers and corporations and their local collaborators held over the region's economy. It also persuaded him that armed revolution would be required to fix the problem in most of Latin America.

Guevara and Gadea parted ways, seeking the protection of their respective national embassies; by coincidence, they reunited in Mexico City and married. It was here that Guevara met Fidel Castro (b. 1926), who had led a failed effort in Cuba to overthrow the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in 1953. After serving less than two years in prison, Castro and other Cuban exiles

## Che Guevara, Socialism and Man in Cuba 2

At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality. Perhaps it is one of the great dramas of the leader that he must combine a passionate spirit with a cold intelligence and make painful decisions without flinching. Our vanguard revolutionaries must make an ideal of this love of the people, of the most sacred causes, and make it one and indivisible. They cannot descend, with small doses of daily affection, to the level where ordinary men put their love into practice.

Che Guevara (1928–1967)

were regrouping in Mexico City. Castro and Guevara connected immediately. The Cubans shared Guevara's concern for the power wielded over Latin America by the United States and planned to do something about it. On 25 November 1956 eighty-one Cubans and Guevara launched their invasion of Cuba.

Originally the group's doctor, Guevara proved an excellent guerrilla fighter, earning the highest rank among the rebels, and it was his column's January 1958 entry into Havana that marks the victory of the Cuban revolutionary forces. During the war, Guevara established a school for teaching guerrilla fighters to read, a printing press, and a radio station. He also met Aleida March, who became his second wife. He later published the first official history of the Cuban Revolution and popularized the *foco* theory of guerrilla war, which argued that small groups of committed individuals could create the conditions for revolution on a wider scale.

After the war, Guevara served as minister of industry and head of the national bank. However, it was Guevara's numerous publications, speeches, and worldwide role as the Cuban Revolution's public face that made him a celebrity both hated and loved. The prototype for the "new man," Guevara was motivated by moral incentives and hoped to eventually eliminate money. Encouraging international cooperation to establish socialist societies,

Guevara represented a humanist Marxism, offering new possibilities for communists opposed to Stalinism.

Although a diligent bureaucrat, the position did not suit him. In 1965, Guevara "disappeared" from Cuba, quietly organizing a disastrous guerrilla war for independence in the Congo. Despite renouncing his Cuban citizenship in a farewell letter to Castro, Guevara returned to Cuba in March 1966. Determined to remain no longer than necessary, Guevara launched his final guerrilla campaign that fall, hoping to inspire a peasant revolution in Bolivia. His guerrillas fought their last battle on 8 October 1967 against Bolivian army rangers working with the CIA. Guevara was captured and executed the next day.

Controversy surrounds Guevara's legacy and revolutionary methods, but his analysis of imperialism as a way of understanding the past and present offers insight into world history from the perspective of an internationalist, rather than one committed to a nation-state. His ideas and martyrdom continue to inspire social justice movements. While Guevara's place in world history as a global revolutionary is secure, his contribution as a social and political thinker continues to unfold.

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*See also* Revolution—Cuba; Revolutions, Communist; Warfare—Post-Columbian Latin America

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## Guilds

Guilds, in both the Middle Ages and the modern age, may be understood as those associations, particularly typical of Western Europe, formed by artisans, merchants, and other workers who perform the same job and have to submit to certain rules. They have been known as *corporazioni* or *arti* in Italy, *Zunft*, *Gilden*, or *Handwerke* in Germany, *métiers* or *corps* in France, *gremios* in Spain, and *gilde* in those countries overlooking the Baltic Sea.

Their origins are old: In the ancient Greek cities there were associations with religious and charitable purposes. They arose in Egypt, too, and in ancient Rome from the third century BCE as free associations (*collegia*, *corpora*, or *artes*) controlled by the state. Following the decline of the Roman empire, the barbarian invasions, and the decline of cities, these associations disappeared, then revived after the year 1000 all over Western Europe, although the link between these associations and the previous ones is not very well established. In contrast, the derivation of the Byzantine guilds from the Roman ones has been proved. In Japan, by comparison, guilds arose much later than in other countries: It was only between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that town merchants (or *chonin*) united in privileged associations, in order to oppose the feudal landowner. As regards Arabian towns, we do not know anything about artisan or commercial guilds before the fifteenth century. In India guilds developed under the Mughal empire, in the seventeenth century, bringing together mostly traders, but they were controlled by the state; in Constantinople the government used to name the guilds' heads directly, as guilds had the function of supplying the city with food. The same thing happened in the Ottoman empire, while in China guilds were weak or did not exist at all, due to the predominance of foreign merchants. In England the existence of guilds can first be proved in 1087.

Guilds in Europe could be professional communities that were very narrow (ropemakers, woolcarders) or quite wide (cloth makers). A famous skilled guild arose in Spain: The *mesta*, which united the sheep breeders, was established in 1273 by Alphonso X of Castile. Some-

times guilds were connected with ethnic minorities. For example, in Tudela, Spain, in the late thirteenth century, Moors had a monopoly on iron and leather working. However this was the only such case in Spain, and it did not recur elsewhere because in nearly the whole of Europe, ethnic minorities were often excluded from guilds. Even more complete was the formal exclusion of the Jews, who were usually prevented from organizing their own guilds, at least until the seventeenth century, with the exception of concessions and derogations. Thus a turning point was marked with the 1648 royal decree by Habsburg monarch Ferdinand III of Hungary, who allowed the Jews of Prague to carry on with all kinds of jobs.

As their legal powers grew, guilds regulated production, fixed rules for apprenticeship, restrained competition, and opposed foreign competition with precise ordinances. Internally, they designated their officials, and their membership was subdivided into masters and apprentices (*maestri* and *garzoni* in Italian; *maîtres apprendistes* and *garçons* in French; and *Meister* [master], *Geselle* [journeyman], and *Schelinger* [apprentice] in German). Each guild formed a special jurisdiction: The heads of the guild judged controversies between its members and technical disputes about the trade. From the twelfth century onward, guilds appeared in towns as separate entities with their own legal status.

In many countries, as time went by, there developed a politically significant distinction between major and minor guilds: The former were usually constituted of merchants (e.g., the *six corps marchands* in Paris; the *Herrenzunft* in Basel; and the *arti maggiori* in Florence, where they seized power in 1293), while the latter were mostly constituted by artisans. As regards the guilds' organization, it is necessary to distinguish between those areas—Venice, Sicily, France, Aragon and Catalonia, some parts of the German empire, the Mughal empire in India—where the central power was able to keep its own privileges and those where it had to share these privileges with class interests. Thus in large independent cities, such as Milan, Florence, Siena, Bologna, those of Flanders, and some German cities, guilds played a political role in government. Nevertheless with the creation of great nations, guilds lost their power and became more and more closed, monopolistic circles.

## Regulations of the Weavers' Guild in Stendal, Germany (1233)

The Consuls of Stendal . . . wish it to be known that we have taken the advice of our leading citizens and officials, and have passed the following decree:

1. If any of our burgesses should wish to practice the craft of weaving he ought to have one spindle or as many as two, and he should place them in his house, and for every spindle he should pay three solidi on entry into the fraternity. But if he should not pay the denarii within the said time and he afterwards cease to be of the craft he cannot regain it except with twenty-three solidi.

2. Whoever is not of the fraternity is altogether forbidden to make cloth.

3. But if any brother should make cloth against the institutions of the brethren, and of their decrees, which he ought on the advice of the consuls to observe, he will present to the consuls by way of emendation one talent for each offense or he will lose his craft for a year.

4. But if any one be caught with false cloth, his cloth will be burned publicly, and verily, the author of the crime will amend according to justice.

5. Should any foreigner wish to practice this craft he will first acquire citizenship and will afterwards enter into fraternity with the brethren with twenty-three solidi.

6. But if the heir of any craftsman cease to exercise his father's craft, he will pay three solidi on entrance.

7. Also we decree that every brother will dry his cloth where he can.

8. We concede also that if any one have this craft and cannot set up his implements by any chance, let him prepare and make his cloth on the spindle of another.

9. If any one should marry a widow whose husband was of the craft, he will enter the fraternity with three solidi.

10. And every one who would be of this craft will receive it in the presence of the consuls.

11. Whatever is collected in fines and received in entrance fees will be put to the use of the city, and be presented to the consuls. . . .

Source: Keutgen, F. (Ed.). (1901). *Urkunden zur Städtischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (p. 357). Berlin, Germany: Emil Felber.

With the appearance of the eighteenth-century doctrines of the Enlightenment and English liberalism, and with growing economic deregulation, guilds were seen as an obstacle to progress. The guild system was abolished for the first time in Europe in 1770 by Leopold II of Tuscany, then in 1791 by the French National Assembly and, finally, during the Napoleonic era, at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, almost all over Europe and the world.

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See also Labor Union Movements

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## Gum Arabic

Gum arabic is one of the oldest and the most versatile of the Afro-Eurasian regional trade goods. A tasteless, viscous, light-colored, saplike product of several varieties of acacia trees that grow along the edges of the Saharan and Arabian Deserts, gum arabic exudes naturally when the acacia bark splits under the force of desiccating desert winds. Harvesters can also artificially induce the exudation by making knife cuts in the bark.

In ancient Egypt artisans used gum arabic in making inks and in the process of mummification. In the desert societies of the Sahara and Arabia, it was used as a food-stuff, a thickener for drinks and glue, a glaze for mud-walled construction, a cosmetic hair treatment, a base for painting on wood, and a medicine for diarrhea. It found many additional uses in neighboring societies, including in papermaking and in cloth finishing.

Until the middle of the second millennium CE, gum arabic reached Mediterranean and southwest Asian markets principally from Arabia and northern Africa. After the fifteenth-century maritime revolution, European mariners discovered an abundant source of gum arabic along the southern coast of the western Sahara. Gum arabic exports from this region, however, remained modest until the eighteenth century, when manufacturers extended techniques for the use of gum arabic in the production of silk cloth to the manufacture of cotton cloth. Thereafter, the importance of gum arabic increased, and the “gum coast” became an arena of international contestation.

The principal markets for the seasonal purchase of gum arabic were located along the Saharan coast of Mauritania and at river ports along the lower Senegal River. The Arabo-Berber tribes who controlled the gum harvest sent their slaves to do the arduous work of scrapping the gum into leather sacks that later would be loaded on to draft oxen and carried to market. European merchants along the Saharan coast bought the gum from desert caravanners and took it on board their ships. Afro-European merchants bought the larger volume of gum arabic at the river markets from desert merchants and bulked it in warehouses in Saint-Louis du Sénégal at the mouth of the Senegal River before it was transferred to ocean-going ships.

During the Seven Years War (1756–1763), Thomas Cumming, a U.S.-born gum arabic trader based in London, led a small expedition of British naval vessels in a successful attack upon the French colony of Saint-Louis du Sénégal. The British seizure of Saint-Louis in 1758 marked the beginning of the first of two periods of British colonial rule in northern Senegambia (1758–

1779). The British also briefly gained control of Saint-Louis during the Napoleonic Wars.

During the 1820s and 1830s the volume of gum arabic exports doubled. The gum arabic trade became the overwhelming focus of European, Euro-African, and Arabo-Berber merchants and the Arabo-Berber warrior groups along the southern shore of the Sahara who participated in the Atlantic sector. Terms of trade moved heavily in favor of the Arabo-Berbers, and large volumes of the principal import, an indigo-impregnated cloth known as the “guinée,” flooded into the region. The desert merchants, adept at exploiting their market position, created intensely competitive conditions among the European and Euro-African gum arabic traders at Saint-Louis who sought their trade. The desert warriors exploited their ability to extort tax payments from the gum arabic traders. During the 1830s and 1840s many of these Euro-African traders fell into ruinous debt. This crisis in the gum arabic trade provoked the French conquest of the lower Senegal River valley during the early 1850s; it was in part an effort to break the power of desert warrior groups and to reorganize the gum arabic trade. This conquest was the first inland territorial conquest by the French in sub-Saharan Africa.

Thereafter, import-export commercial firms at Saint-Louis imposed their control over trade in gum arabic, and gum arabic remained the principal export from the Senegal River valley throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. The value of gum arabic declined sharply, however, as new industrial products and processes reduced the importance of the natural exudate. New sources were developed in the Sudan, and these managed groves of acacia emerged during the twentieth century as the principal source of the world’s supply of gum arabic.

Thus, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, gum arabic returned to its earlier role as a natural product with only an exceedingly modest importance in world trade. Today gum arabic continues to find a wide variety of uses in lithography and in the production of cosmetics, confections, and beverages.

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Hammurabi  
Han Wudi  
Hanseatic League  
Harappan State and Indus Civilization  
Harun al-Rashid  
Hatshepsut  
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Human Evolution—Overview  
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## Hammurabi

(D. 1750 BCE)  
BABYLONIAN KING

**H**ammurabi (or Hammurapi), who reigned 1792–1750 BCE according to the most widely accepted chronology of ancient Mesopotamia, was the sixth and most prominent king of the first dynasty of Babylon (1894–1595 BCE). Ethnically, the rulers of the first dynasty were a family of Amorites, a mostly rural group, some of whom nevertheless became rulers of city-states in Babylonia and Syria just after the beginning of the second millennium BCE. When the earliest member of the first dynasty, Hammurabi's ancestor Sumu-abum, began to rule (1894 BCE), Babylon was a relatively small and unimportant town. By the time of Hammurabi's father, Sin-muballit (reigned 1812–1793 BCE), Babylon had grown somewhat in size, and its authority extended to several nearby towns, so that Hammurabi inherited a fair-sized state, estimated to have been roughly 10,000 square kilometers.

Hammurabi proved to be both a skilled military commander and a clever and patient politician. He joined coalitions with rulers of similarly sized city-states to defeat common enemies, and, when the opportunity presented itself, changed allegiances or attacked former allies to enlarge his own territory. When he defeated the long-reigning king Rim-Sin (reigned 1822–1763 BCE) of the powerful city of Larsa, capital of the state of Emutbal to the south, he added most of southern Mesopotamia to his realm in one stroke. Two years later, in his thirty-



second year on the throne, he conquered a former ally, the city of Mari some 400 kilometers up the Euphrates River, making Babylon the preeminent power in Mesopotamia, vying in extent and might only with the Syrian kingdom of Yamhad and its capital Aleppo. Little archaeological or textual material remains from Babylon itself during this period, because the rising water table has made excavation difficult. There is, however, an abundance of evidence from nearby cities that were under Babylon's hegemony, so that we are well informed about the social structure, economy, and political intrigue of the period. The textual evidence includes many royal (dedicatory) inscriptions and vast numbers of legal documents and letters. Many of the letters are from Hammurabi himself (undoubtedly dictated to a scribe), addressed to his viziers in the major cities, commanding them, for example, to restore to a farmer a field illicitly taken from him, or to dredge the local canal, or to collect certain taxes; he

clearly involved himself in the smallest details of administering his large realm. Much of our knowledge of Hammurabi's military expansion derives from how the years of his reign were designated—in this period in southern Mesopotamia, years were designated by a significant royal event or activity, such as “(the year) he defeated Emutbal and its ruler Rim-Sin.”

In addition to his involvement in the kingdom's day-to-day administration, Hammurabi carried out other traditional duties of a Babylonian ruler, such as building or rebuilding temples in many of the cities under his control, fortifying city walls, and serving as the prime dispenser of justice. Hammurabi seemed particularly keen to portray himself as a “King of Justice” (the name he gave to a statue of himself, after which his twenty-second year was named). And, indeed, Hammurabi is best known for the large stele of polished black diorite on which, near the end of his reign, he had some 282 laws inscribed. The “Code of Hammurabi,” as it is commonly, though imprecisely, called, is the longest text extant from the first dynasty. The text includes not only the laws, but also a prologue, in which the gods call upon Hammurabi “to proclaim justice in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, that the strong may not oppress the weak” (author's translation) and a lengthy epilogue of curses on anyone who destroyed the stele and blessings on anyone who refurbished it properly.

The laws do not constitute a code in the strict sense (i.e., a comprehensive and systematically arranged set of laws), but are rather a collection of individual cases. An example is No. 193: “If a son has struck his father, his hand will be cut off.” Among the topics covered in the

## From the Prologue to the Code of Hammurabi

Anu (King of Anunaki) and Bel (Lord of Heaven and Earth) called by name me Hammurabi, the exalted prince...to bring about the rule of righteousness in the land to destroy the wicked and the evil doers so that the strong should not harm the weak so that I should rule over the black headed people like Shamash and enlighten the land to further the well being of mankind.

*Politics are about power; we cannot evade that truth or its consequences.*

*We dream of a better world but it is in Utopia—that is, nowhere.*

DENIS WILLIAM BROGAN (1900–1974)

laws are trials, theft and kidnapping, land tenure, commerce (regulation of merchants, financial transactions, debt), the family (women, marriage, inheritance, adoption), assault, professional fees and rates of hire, and slave holding. Although it is not the earliest such collection of laws in Mesopotamia, it is by far the most comprehensive. The interesting fact has been noted by scholars that Hammurabi's "Code" is almost never referred to in the many legal texts attested from the period. Hammurabi and his code, however, remain of historic import because of the massive nature of the code—both as a physical monument and as the first such extensive collection of laws discovered.

*John Huehnergard*

See also Babylon; Mesopotamia

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## Han Wudi

(156–87 BCE)

CHINESE EMPEROR

**H**an Wudi, the fifth emperor of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), was one of the most influential emperors in Chinese history. He consolidated the authority of the central government and expanded the territory of the dynasty. He named Confucianism the state ideology; it has influenced Chinese government and society ever since. His principles of recruiting government officials based on Confucian learning and on virtue and merit remained in use until the end of the imperial dynasties during the early twentieth century. He forged alliances,

conducted diplomatic and military activities in central Asia, established relationships with more than thirty kingdoms or tribes, and was instrumental in establishment of a new trade route, the Silk Road, which connected China with the West. Until the advent of overseas travel during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Silk Road connected East and West and facilitated the diffusion of commodities, food, culture, and technology.

Han Wudi's birth name was "Liu Che." He was the fourth son of Emperor Jing, and his mother was a consort. In 150 BCE Jing named Han Wudi's mother, Lady Wang, empress and named Han Wudi his heir. At age sixteen Han Wudi ascended to the throne, but his grandmother, Empress Dowager Dou, conducted the affairs of state. Empress Dowager Dou favored the early Han practice of Huang Lao, named after the legendary Huang Di (Yellow Emperor) and Laozi (Lao-tzu, Lao Tsu), author of the Daoist work *Daodejing* (Classic of the Way of Power). Huang Lao was characterized by frugality in government spending, light taxation, laissez-fair (a doctrine opposing government interference in economic affairs), and appeasement in foreign relations. After the death of Empress Dowager Dou in 135 BCE Han Wudi ruled and changed the course of government.

Han Wudi was a vigorous emperor who aspired to a strong dynasty and sought capable officials to assist him. He gave special exams on governance and personally read examinees' essays. He recruited gifted officials, including Dong Zhongshu and Gong Sunhong. The former became the spokesman for Han Confucianism, and the latter became chief minister and persuaded Wudi to establish an imperial university of Confucian learning.

Ironically scholars often call the emperor who made Confucianism the state ideology a "legalist." Legalism had been the ideology of the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE). Legalists advocated strong rulers, a strong empire, and harsh punishment. Legalism was still viable in the early Han dynasty, and Wudi was influenced by it. He eliminated the power of China's princedoms and was relentless in executing officials, including chief ministers who broke the law or failed in their work. He also pursued a vigorous



foreign policy and employed officials who favored harsh punishment. However, the early Han intellectual world was synthetic. Han Wudi substantially followed Confucian practices. He observed Confucian ritual and music, promoted the Confucian virtue of filial piety (obedience to parents), and sent officials to assist people who were old, widowed, ill, or disabled. Moreover, despite initiating military campaigns, he did not increase taxes on the farming population. In his edicts he frequently revered Yao, the legendary Confucian sage ruler whom the Han emperors claimed as their ancestor. In addition, although Wudi was stern, he was fair. He accepted frank criticism and revered Jian, an outspoken Confucian-Daoist minister.

Wudi was strong and resolute but constrained by Confucianism and the Mandate of Heaven, which held that an emperor's rule is based on the blessing of heaven and that if an emperor rules unwisely, heaven will retract the mandate. They were devoted to Confucian ethical norms and a government for the people. Confucianism advocated a benevolent ruler, and Confucian officials were not unconditionally loyal to an emperor. Moreover, Han Confucianism (Confucianism of the Han dynasty which also absorbed non-Confucian elements) considered natural disasters to be warnings from heaven about flaws of the emperor and used such warnings to persuade emperors to reform.

In 124 BCE Han Wudi established an imperial university of Confucian learning, with fifty students studying from five learned Confucians, each specializing on a different Confucian classic. The university was designed to train Confucian officials, but it was based on merit. Graduates were required to pass a written exam before being admitted to a pool of officials-in-waiting. By the later Han dynasty the university had 300,000 students.

Han Wudi also promoted Confucian virtues in domestic affairs. Beginning in 134 BCE he ordered senior officials to recommend candidates who were known for their filial piety and integrity. The officials were responsible for their recommendations, and candidates were tested for qualification. Because Confucian learning and Confucian virtue were the avenues to officialdom, the most desirable career path in the empire, Confucian ideas took root in

society. During the early Han dynasty the book, *The Classic of Filial Piety*, also appeared. Filial piety remains an important cultural value in China.

Wudi's predecessors had left him a large treasury from their frugal rule. However, Wudi's military campaigns soon emptied the treasury, and he tried various ways to raise money, including confiscating the lands of nobles and selling offices and titles. However, under the influence of Sang Hongyang, a merchant's son, Wudi increased state revenue by directly involving the government in business. The government monopolized the production of money (coins), iron, salt, and liquor, thus bringing in revenue. Wudi also directed the government to buy grain in regions with full harvests and to sell grain in regions with a shortage. This policy turned a profit for the state, balanced the price of grain, and relieved famine. The state also profited from a heavy tax on merchants. In addition to taxing commodities, Han Wudi taxed carts and boats.

The influence of Han Wudi's state monopoly was far reaching; later Chinese emperors often resorted to the monopoly to meet extreme fiscal difficulties, bringing in revenue without increasing taxes. The monopoly, however, was not without opposition. In 81 BCE, shortly after the death of Wudi, a group of people criticized the state monopoly in a court debate. Wudi's fiscal policies were in sharp contrast with those of the previous sixty years of the early Han dynasty, but in the debate the government's views prevailed.

Han Wudi made many other innovations, such as proclaiming a new calendar. However, his economic policies were most innovative and, to some extent, were comparable with modern state enterprises (in some countries) on vital industrial resources such as electricity and petroleum.

About 200 BCE the Xiongnu, a nomadic Turkish-speaking people under the rule of Maodun, had established a large federation from the Aral Sea to the Yellow Sea, just north of Han territory. Unable to confront Maodun, the early Han rulers had sent him gifts and married a Han Princess to him; but they had not always been able to prevent Maodun or his successor from pillaging

northern China. In order to confront the Xiongnu, Han Wudi in 139 BCE sent an envoy, Zhang Qian, to central Asia to seek an alliance with the Yuezhi people, who earlier had been expelled from their homeland by the Xiongnu. Zhang Qian was captured by the Xiongnu and lived there for ten years before finally reaching the Yuezhi. However, by then the Yuezhi were no longer interested in forming an alliance to fight the Xiongnu. Zhang Qian, however, brought back information about new regions and a possible route to India. Subsequently Wudi first sent envoys and later troops, leading to eventual establishment of the Silk Road.

Beginning in 133 BCE Wudi took the offensive against the Xiongnu. The wars were long and costly, but the Han army was victorious. Wudi's generals expelled the Xiongnu from Ordos, Inner Mongolia, Kansu, and Chinese Turkistan and greatly expanded Han territory. Wudi established military colonies and instituted a system whereby native rulers were allowed to retain their autonomy but became vassals. This arrangement became common in Chinese foreign relations until the mid-nineteenth century. Wudi's army also incorporated northern Korea and northern Vietnam. Indeed, most of his reign was marked by military campaigns. He died at age sixty-nine and was buried in Maoling near modern Xi'an. After his death he was known as "Wudi, the martial emperor," although he never led an army; he instead employed gifted generals.

Han Wudi laid the foundation of a strong empire for his Han dynasty posterity. His establishment of a Confucian bureaucracy with merit-based recruitment (a combination of recommendation and examination) began a system of responsible rulers and officials that has lasted for more than two thousand years. His promotion of Confucian virtue and learning made Confucianism a prevailing influence in China and in other east Asian states. Through his military campaigns against the Xiongnu he opened a connection between East and West, facilitating trade and cultural diffusion.

*Lily Hua*

*See also* China; Confucianism

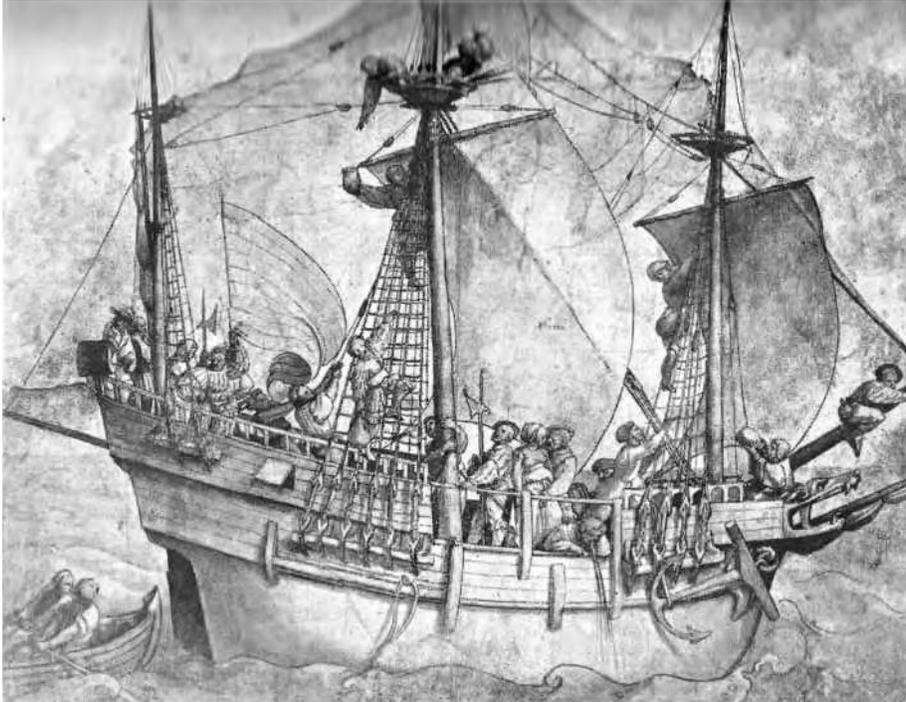
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## Hanseatic League

The Hanseatic League was a federation of merchant cities that formed in northern Germany during the middle of the twelfth century and dominated trade in northern Europe for the next two centuries with its economic policies. The league derived its name from the German word *hansa*, an association or group of merchants who specialized in trade with foreign cities or countries. The unstable and dangerous nature of mercantile life in the late medieval period, combined with the lack of organized protection provided to merchants by their own government, encouraged traders to work together for safety. These alliances, which originally started out between merchants from the same town, soon grew into larger associations and leagues between neighboring towns.

In antiquity, the most cost effective way to transport commercial goods was over water, and cities located on rivers or the coast had a natural advantage over interior



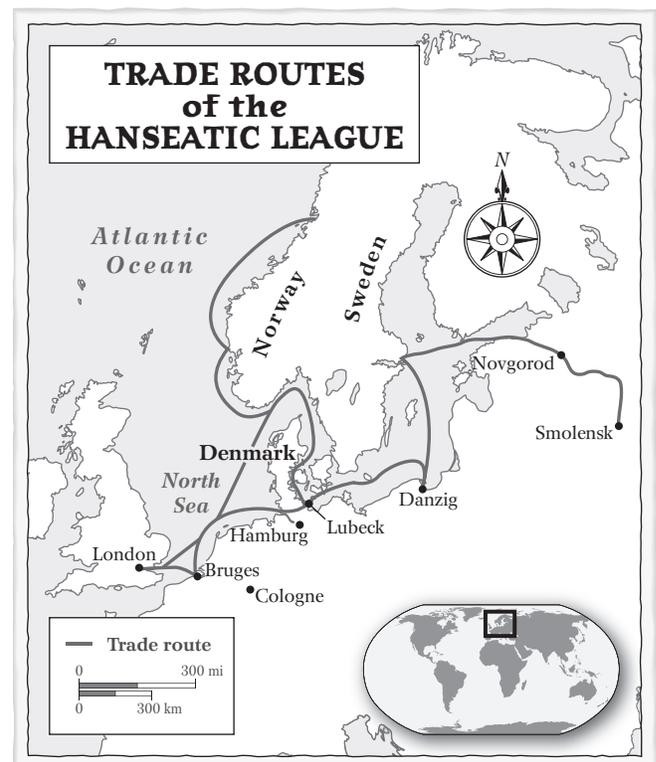
**A painting of a Hansa trading ship by Hans Holbein.**

demand for its fish in central Europe. Hamburg was essential to Lübeck's fishing industry, since it provided Lübeck with the salt needed for salting and drying of the herring, which allowed it to be safely transported without spoiling. To facilitate this trade between their cities they constructed a canal that connected the two cities. To protect this trade, they further reinforced their economic ties with the treaty.

This initial association between Lübeck and Hamburg slowly grew into a larger league as other cities

cities. In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, cities in northern Germany became important commercial centers due to their position on trade network routes that allowed them to serve as conduits for commercial goods traveling to and from southern Europe over the North and Baltic Seas. This trading network soon increased in scope to include goods moving west to England and east into Russia. The weak and decentralized government of Germany during the eleventh and twelfth centuries was able to provide little assistance or protection for its traders, and this lack of governmental support forced individual merchants and commercial cities to create their own ties and associations for mutual protection.

In 1241 Lübeck and Hamburg strengthened the existing commercial ties linking the two cities with a treaty designed to protect their mutual commercial traffic. Lübeck's chief industry in the twelfth century was the exportation of herring caught at nearby fisheries. Due to existing religious dietary restrictions on eating meat on certain days, fish had become an integral part of the Christian diet, and Lübeck had capitalized on a growing





joined. While the majority of the league's members were from northern Germany, it did include cities in Holland and Poland. At the height of its power, the federation consisted of over 165 member cities. The league originally functioned only to facilitate common commercial ventures, not for political or religious purposes. Each member city's merchant association could send delegates, if it wished, to the league's formal meetings (diets), which were held at Lübeck to discuss economic policies. The attending delegates took the diet's economic decisions back to their city for their local merchant association to accept or reject. The Hanseatic League's economic strategy was designed to protect the trading privileges of its members, to open new markets for exploitation, and to create monopolies wherever possible. The economic success of the league's members soon led it into political conflict with the king of Denmark, Valdemar IV, over control of local herring fisheries. After an initial setback, the league defeated the king and forced him to sign the Treaty of Stralsund in 1370. This treaty made sweeping economic concessions to the Hanseatic League and gave the member cities privileged trading rights, including free

trade in Denmark. This control over trade in northern Europe continued into the fifteenth century until an unsuccessful war with Holland forced the Hanseatic League to sign the Peace of Copenhagen in 1441, breaking the league's hold on the Baltic Sea.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the league had begun a slow decline in both its power and membership. The disappearance of the local herring fisheries and the growth of the English and Dutch merchant marines resulted in increased competition, which the league was unable to overcome, and soon led to the loss of exclusive trading markets for Hanseatic members. While the league was never formally dissolved, its last official meeting was held in 1669.

*R. Scott Moore*

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*In the great books of India, an empire spoke to us, nothing small or unworthy, but large, serene, consistent, the voice of an old intelligence, which in another age and climate had pondered and thus disposed of the questions that exercise us.*

• RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803–1882)

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## Harappan State and Indus Civilization

The earliest civilization of South Asia is called the Indus, or Harappan, civilization. This ancient culture arose on the plains and in the mountains of the greater Indus Valley of Pakistan and northwestern India in the middle of the third millennium BCE (c. 2500–1900 BCE). The Indus civilization takes its place in world history as the first of ancient India's cities; its cities were contemporaneous with those of the Bronze Age peoples of Sumer, dynastic Egypt, and China.

The Indus peoples were for the most part farmers, herders, craftsmen, and traders. They inhabited at least five cities, the best known of which are Mohenjo Daro and Harappa but which also include Dholavira, Ganweriwala, and Rakhigarhi. Mohenjo Daro and Harappa are the largest of the cities, each being about 100 hectares. (The other cities are slightly smaller; between 65 and 80 hectares.) Archaeologists believe that Mohenjo Daro and Harappa each had a population of about twenty thousand people.

The Indus civilization was by far the largest of the Bronze Age civilizations of Asia. It covered about a million square kilometers, extending from the present-day Pakistan-Iran border in the west to the coast of southern Gujarat in the east. The northern limit for the principal habitations is the Siwalik Range of the Punjab, although there is an outlying Indus site (Shortughai) in northern Afghanistan, on the Amu Dar'ya River. In an effort to deal with the cultural geography of the Indus civilization, scholars have divided their territory into domains (geo-

graphical and cultural subregions) that may possibly have political significance.

### Early Harappan Period and the Urban Transformation

The beginnings of the Indus Civilization are still not well understood. There was an early Harappan period (c. 3200–2600 BCE) during which there were four roughly contemporaneous archaeological cultures (Kot Dijian, Amri-Nal, Damb Sadaat, and Sothi-Siswal) without large settlements or strong signs of social stratification. There was not a marked degree of craft specialization during this period. At about 2600–2500 BCE there was a transitional stage between the early Harappan and Indus civilization, during which most of the complex sociocultural institutions of the Indus civilization came together.

The urbanization that characterizes these peoples developed rather suddenly, over a period of about a hundred years. After a long period of gradual growth and change, the peoples of the greater Indus Valley created cities, a writing system, and a class-stratified society. Of course, some parts of older traditions of the greater Indus region survived. It is clear that there was little change in subsistence and the sociocultural, economic, and political balance between farmers and pastoralists, for example. This was also the time during which the Indus ideology, or world view, began to emerge. It had a rather strong sense of nihilism to it. There is a sense that the nihilism of the Indus civilization was in many ways a new beginning for its peoples, with the implication that they had turned aside many of their roots. While nihilism can be quite a negative philosophy, often associated with violence, this is not necessarily the case, and I think that the Indus civilization can be said to represent a renaissance of sorts. More is said of this important theme in Indus archaeology in Possehl (2002, 55–61). Water and cleanliness were powerful forces in the Indus ideology, such that the society valued both the physical property of water to remove dirt and oils from the skin but also the symbolic act of washing and generalized purity as well.

The ancient cities of the Indus were built in riverine settings: on the lower Indus River (Mohenjo Daro), the



**Brick alters in modern India once used for sacrifices that trace their origins to the beginnings of Hinduism in the ancient Indus Valley.**

Ravi River in the Punjab (Harappa), and the Ghaggar-Hakra River (Ganweriwala and Rakhigarhi). Dholavira may be an exception to this; today it is on an island in what is called the Rann of Kachchh, a large salt marsh above the Gulf of Kachchh. We do not know if the shallow Rann of today was an arm of the sea in the third millennium, but the Rann most certainly would have been fed in part by the waters of the Indus, so in a sense Dholavira too can be said to have a riverine setting.

The land was quite different in the third millennium, when the now dry Ghaggar-Hakra was larger and the rolling uplands between the rivers of the Punjab were unirrigated scrub grasslands. Tree and grass cover were also probably better. But there were also constants; the summer monsoon, for example. The wheat and barley crops of the Punjab, Sind, and Baluchistan benefited from the winter rainfall coming across the Iranian Plateau from the Mediterranean, just as they do today.

## **The Cities of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa**

Mohenjo Daro is a splendidly preserved ancient city. It was planned from the start, and was, at least for the most part, built in the middle centuries of the third millennium. It is constructed of baked brick, which is why it has survived so well. There are two parts to the city. A small,

elevated artificial mound was situated on the west. This is now called the Mound of the Great Bath, because of the presence of a ritual bathing tank in just about its geographical center. The Lower Town, where most of the people lived and worked, was laid out in a grid, with major thoroughfares running north-south and east-west. Multiroom buildings that were probably also multistoried lined these streets. The private

houses were generally provided with bathing facilities that were connected to a civic drainage system. These were specifically bathing facilities; they were not privies.

Harappa is located in the West Punjab, in Pakistan, on the southern bank of the Ravi River 650 kilometers northeast of Mohenjo Daro. Harappa is the name of the modern village adjacent to the mounds, and is not the city's ancient name. Unlike Mohenjo Daro, Harappa was a well-established settlement before the advent of the Indus civilization. There were villages there as early as 4000–3200 BCE as well as during the early Harappan period. Harappa is also a place where the transition from early Harappan to mature Harappan civilization can be documented, so it is a very important site for archaeologists. There is also a small post-Indus settlement and cemetery there, of the so-called Cemetery H culture.

Harappa has been divided into several areas. The AB Mound, also called the High Mound, is somewhat like the Mound of the Great Bath at Mohenjo Daro, but lacks a bath, as far as archaeologists can tell. Mound F to the north has a large building that may well be a warehouse. It is near threshing and husking facilities for the processing of food grains. The southern part of the site is known as Mound E, with the adjacent ET area, an area of habitation and craft activities. Harappa also has the largest of the cemeteries known from the Indus civilization.

## Indus Technologies and Lifeways

The Indus peoples had a writing system, which was rendered in pictographic form on a range of objects. The best known of these are the Indus stamp seals with writing and an animal device. The Indus script remains undeciphered, in spite of many claims to the contrary.

Farming and herding were important occupations for the Indus peoples. The principal food grains were barley and wheat. They also cultivated at least two forms of leguminous seed (the chickpea and the field pea), mustard, sesame, cotton, grapes, and dates. The evidence for the cultivation of rice during the Indus civilization is ambiguous, but it is possible that rice was cultivated. The peoples of the Indus civilization were cattle keepers, and the remains of the zebu, the humped Indian breed, are consistently above 50 percent of the bones found in an archaeological excavation. Cattle imagery is also prominent; it is clear that cattle were the most important animals in their culture and probably their principal form of wealth. The Indus also kept water buffalo, sheep, goats, and pigs. Fish, both marine and freshwater, were traded over wide areas.

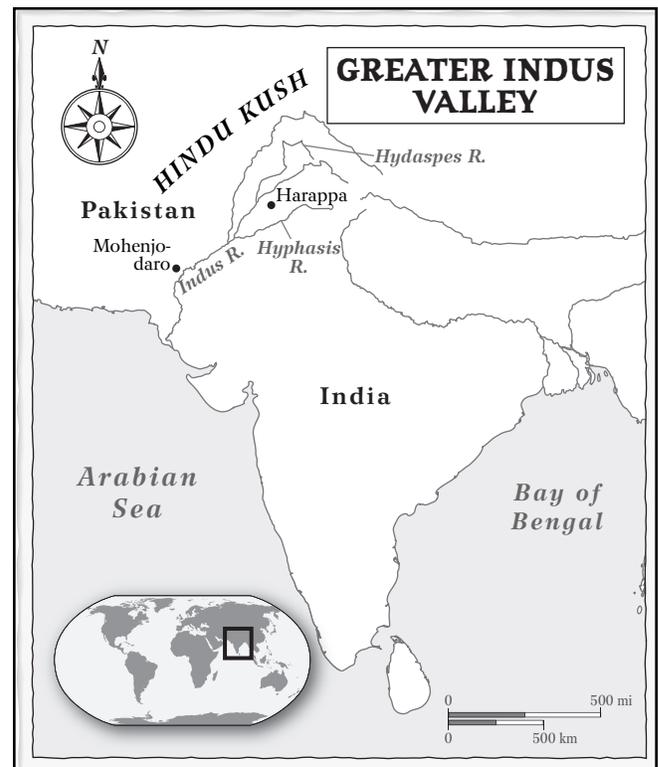
The Indus peoples were skilled craftsmen and applied themselves to their trades with great vigor. They were technological innovators, inventing processes that allowed them to etch and drill long, hard stones such as carnelian, to make stoneware and ceramics, and to smelt, refine, and process a variety of metals. Their pottery was fashioned using a number of forming techniques, often in multiple parts that were welded together prior to firing. They were skilled at bead making, with their long, barrel-shaped carnelian beads a specialty. Shells, especially the maritime conch, were made into bangles, ladles, and other objects, and were inlaid in objects for decoration.

## Cultural Interaction across Afro-Eurasia

World history has been enriched by the Indus peoples, who participated in what has come to be called the Third Millennium Middle Asian Interaction Sphere, a sphere that linked peoples from the Indus to the Mediterranean and

from Central Asia to the Arabian Gulf in an important trading network. This interaction has deep historical roots and began much earlier than the Indus civilization, but was at its peak during the second half of the third millennium. Sea trade with Mesopotamia through the Arabian Gulf was a part of this network and can be documented in both written documents and archaeologically. According to Mesopotamian cuneiform texts, the products that the Indus peoples supplied to Mesopotamia were carnelian, lapis lazuli, pearls, various exotic woods, fresh dates, one kind of bird, a dog, cats, copper, and gold. Not clearly documented are the products traded to the Indus, but they may have been perishables such as food products, oils, cloth, and the like.

There are two themes that appear on Indus seals that have parallels in Sumerian mythology. The first is shown on a seal from Mohenjo Daro with a half-human female, half-bull, monster attacking a horned tiger. This is widely interpreted as portraying the story of the Mesopotamian



goddess Aruru, who created the monster to do combat with the hero Gilgamesh, though the monster ultimately became Gilgamesh's ally and fought with Gilgamesh against wild animals. The second motif is a well-documented Mesopotamian combat scene, with Gilgamesh fighting off rampant animals on either side.

A male deity, usually shown with bull or water buffalo horns, is central in Indus religion. He is paired with a number of different female images. The plant and animal imagery of the Indus civilization can be seen as representing specific aspects of this great heaven-earth, male-female duality. There are many portrayals of composite animals, some with three heads on one body, human torsos on four legged bodies, men with bull's heads (like the Minoan Minotaur), tigers with horns, unicorns with elephant trunks, and unicorns growing out of trees. There is no good evidence for fire worship, as seen in later Vedic India.

A seal from the Indus site of Chanhudaro, just south of Mohenjo Daro, has a representation of a bull sexually ravishing a prostrate human female. The archaeologist F. R. Allchin interprets this as representing the duality of heaven (the bull) and earth (the female), a theme that can

be understood by reference to the creation myths found in the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda. This is perhaps our best evidence for a connection between the Indus civilization and later, historical, India.

## The Transformation of Indus Civilization

What happened to the ancient cities and peoples of the Indus? Mohenjo Daro was largely abandoned by 1900 BCE. The same is true for the other four Indus cities, although a small settlement remained at Harappa—the so-called Cemetery H people. Older theories that hold that the cities and civilization were destroyed by invading Aryan tribes, as depicted in the Rig Veda, make very little sense, since there is no evidence for the sacking of any of the Indus settlements. There is also a lack of agreement in the date of the transformation of the Indus civilization around 2100–1900 BCE and the date of the Vedic texts (c. 1000 BCE). The proposition that a natural dam formed across the Indus River in Sind and flooded out the civilization has been widely critiqued and is not a viable proposition.

TABLE 1.

### *Indus Civilization and Indus Post-Urban Civilization*

REGION/Period	Site Count	Average Site Size (in hectares)	Settled Area (in hectares)
<b>SIND</b>			
Indus civilization	86	8.0	688
Post-urban	6	5.6	34
<b>CHOLISTAN</b>			
Indus civilization	174	5.6	974
Post-urban	41	5.1	209
<b>BALUCHISTAN</b>			
Kulli-Quetta /Indus	129	5.8	748
Post-urban	0	0	0
<b>SAURASHTRA</b>			
Sorath Indus	310	5.4	1,674
Post-urban	198	4.3	815
<b>EAST</b>			
Indus civilization	218	13.5	2,943
Post-urban	853	3.5	2,985



It is apparent from the urban centers as well as from regional surveys that in Sind and Baluchistan there was widespread abandonment of Indus settlements at the opening of the second millennium. A summary table of the substantive data comparing Indus civilization and the period following the transformation, generally called the Indus post-urban civilization, is given by regions in table 1.

The figures in table 1 would seem to indicate that it may hold to speak of the “eclipse of the Indus civilization” in Sind and Baluchistan, but in other regions, notably in the East and to a lesser degree in Saurashtra (present-day Gujarat), the history of the culture change was different. In these areas there were strong lines of continuity through the early centuries of the second millennium with little, if any, of the trauma that affected Sind and Baluchistan. The stark image one has for Baluchistan in the second millennium represents a clear challenge for field archaeology, because it would not seem reasonable to presume that the entire area was deserted at that time.

It has been proposed that the process responsible for transforming this once grand civilization involved changes in the Indus ideology, possibly its abandonment. For example, one of the clearer loci of culture change was in the cities, those settlements and institutions most closely associated with sociocultural complexity. There, craftsmen’s technological virtuosity was severely compromised, and the obvious traces of the symbolic uses of water disappear. But, as mentioned above, in some places the transformation of Indus civilization was not a traumatic event. Scholars speculate on the reasons for this possible abandonment of Indus ideology, but no consensus has yet been reached.

Urban life in the Subcontinent begins with the Indus civilization, and this is its most obvious contribution to world history. There is a strong sense of some continuities between the Indus civilization and later historical times there, but these are not yet well defined. The famous “Proto-Shiva” seal from Mohenjo Daro shows us that the beginnings of yoga, or ritual discipline, has its roots in the Indus. There is also strong continuity in farming and herding, and the seasonal pattern of life. It is

clear that the special, and important, role of cattle in ancient Indian society has its roots there too. The Indus civilization also brought with it the beginnings of large scale inter-regional trade, be both land and sea. The Indus peoples in that sense anticipated the later Silk Road with the Third Millennium Middle Asian Interaction Sphere.

Gregory L. Possehl

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## Harun al-Rashid

(766?–809 CE)

FIFTH CALIPH OF THE ABBASID DYNASTY

**H**arun al-Rashid ibn Muhammad al-Mahdi ibn al-Mansur al-‘Abbasi reigned as “al-Rashid,” the fifth caliph of the Abbasid dynasty, from 786 to 809 CE. His reign was pivotal in the administrative and institutional development of the caliphate, marking in many senses the zenith which presaged its decline. His contacts with the Latin West and his relationship to the *One Thousand and One Nights* have made him a famous, if overly romanticized, figure.

Harun was likely born in al-Rayy (modern Shahr-e-Rey in Iran) in February 766 CE, the third son of the caliph al-Mahdi (reigned 775–785 CE) by a slave from Yemen named al-Khayzurun. Although he grew up in the luxury of the increasingly decadent caliphal court, young Harun gained military and administrative experience, at

least nominally, in expeditions against Byzantium and as governor of the western provinces. His candidature for caliph was stage-managed by his mother and Yahya ibn Khalid (d. 805 CE), a scion of the powerful Barmakid family. He suffered under the rule of his brother al-Hadi (reigned 785–786 CE), whose death under suspicious circumstances left the way clear for Harun's succession. As caliph he assumed the honorific al-Rashid ("the Rightly Guided").

The Barmakids remained the real power behind the throne until 803, by which time al-Rashid had established an independent administrative regime based on palace slaves and clients who owed their loyalty to him alone—a pattern that was to be followed in future caliphates. Under al-Rashid's rule, the caliphate was torn by forces of decentralization, characterized by the loss or impending loss of Africa, Khorasan (present-day northeastern Iran), and Yemen. Much of this was due to factors beyond the ruler's control, although some of his policies, including dividing his realms among his chief heirs, hastened the subsequent decline.

The period comprising his rule was culturally dynamic, marked by important developments in Islamic jurisprudence (including the development of Malikism, one of the four main schools of jurisprudence), philosophy (with the continued translation of Greek works), literature (with the integration of Persian influences) and personal piety (with the emergence of early Sufism).

Al-Rashid's relationship with the Eastern Roman empire, or Byzantium, was characterized by a mixture of military aggression and pragmatic diplomacy. Byzantium made a suitable object for the regular raiding that a caliph was ideally expected to carry out against the non-Muslim world, and al-Rashid himself led many such missions. Although these did not result in permanent territorial gains, they forced the Empress Irene (reigned 780–802 CE), under pressure from the Bulgarians, to seek a peace treaty. Al-Rashid was compelled to accept given the threat of the Khazars, Turkic tribal allies of Byzantium who controlled European Russia.

In 798 Charlemagne (742?–814 CE), the Frankish king and aspirant to the title of Holy Roman Emperor, sent an embassy to Baghdad, proposing an alliance against Irene.

In 801 al-Rashid reciprocated, sending an embassy to Aachen under the direction of a Jewish merchant named Isaac and bearing a number of notable gifts, including a water-clock and an elephant. No practicable alliance resulted, but certain general accords were reached concerning trade and travel. In 806, however, a spectacular Abbasid military victory against Irene's usurper, Nicephorus, forced Byzantium into humiliating submission.

Al-Rashid's rival in the far west, the Umayyad emirate of al-Andalus (on the Iberian Peninsula), also benefited from contacts with the Abbasid caliphate, primarily in matters of culture and technology. Al-Rashid's patronage of the musical innovator Ziryab prompted envy in the Ziryab's master, the head court musician Ishaq al-Mawsili, who orchestrated Ziryab's exile. In 821 CE Ziryab arrived in Cordoba, where he rapidly became a favorite of the emir and an arbiter of taste among the Andalusi aristocracy, single-handedly revolutionizing western Mediterranean cooking, poetry, music, and dress habits.

The Abbasids had long-standing trade and diplomatic relations with China, both via the Indian Ocean and overland, through the mediation of Jewish merchants, the Radhans. From the mid-eighth century, China and the caliphate were political rivals in Transoxiana (northeast of Khorasan), and Muslims began to intervene occasionally in Chinese internal power struggles. A regular series of diplomatic missions had been sent to the Tang emperors since the early 700s; this was continued under al-Rashid.

*The Thousand and One Nights*, a collection of folktales and parables drawn from Arabic, Persian, and Indian traditions, several of which feature al-Rashid as a leading character, are the primary source of the caliph's image in the modern West. The first European-language version appeared in French in 1704 and was eventually followed by Richard Burton's *The Arabian Nights* (1885–1888). Thanks largely to this, al-Rashid enjoys a reputation as a cultured, wise, and effective ruler, an assessment which does not necessarily conform to the historical evidence.

Brian A. Catlos

See also Islamic World

*God has made different religions to suit different aspirations, times and countries . . . one can reach God if one follows any of the paths with wholehearted devotion.* • RAMAKRISHNA (1836–1886)

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# Hatshepsut

(REIGNED C. 1503–C. 1482 BCE)

QUEEN OF EGYPT

Hatshepsut was queen of ancient Egypt during the Eighteenth dynasty (c. 1540–c. 1307 BCE). She was the daughter of pharaoh Thutmose I, half sister and wife of Thutmose II and stepmother of Thutmose III, with whom she ruled over Egypt for a period of about twenty years. Although the precise nature and circumstances of her rule and subsequent demise are unclear, she is one of the most outstanding and controversial figures in the long history of pharaonic Egypt.

With only few female examples to follow, she ascended the throne of Egypt, first as regent on behalf of her young stepson Thutmose III, the official successor to Thutmose II, and subsequently had herself crowned as ruler of Egypt with all necessary royal titles and regalia. This she was able to legitimize in two ways. First, there was her pure royal bloodline and fine genealogy, which are well expressed in her original queenly titles before she assumed kingship: “daughter of the king,” “sister of the king,” “the god’s wife,” “great royal wife,” and “mistress of the Two Lands” (Seipel 1977, 1045; Bryan 2000, 238). Second, she presented herself as the explicitly designated heir to her father Thutmose I, a political claim that was theologically reinforced by the story of her divine conception and birth to the god Amun, artistically depicted on the walls of her funerary temple in Deir el-Bahari (western Thebes).

The political success of her otherwise conservative and traditional reign can be measured by a relatively stable foreign policy, active interaction with Egypt’s neighbors Nubia (present-day northern Sudan and southern Egypt) and the Levant (present-day Syria and Lebanon), and her seemingly uninhibited access to natural and human resources, which allowed her to engage in a substantial building program throughout Egypt. The great temple to her divine father Amun at Karnak received particularly generous additions in form of chapels, shrines, obelisks, and a monumental gateway (the Eighth Pylon). Her own funerary temple at Deir el-Bahari has been described as “the most complete statement in material form of her reign” (Bryan 2000, 241) and is one of the finest examples of ancient Egyptian architecture, combining elements of previous periods with unique artistic representations of her time. Famous is the detailed depiction of her naval expedition to the land of Punt in East Africa, which brought back such exotic goods as wild animals and live incense trees. Also represented is the transport of two monumental obelisks from the granite quarries in Aswan to the temple at Karnak on a large barge, which even by today’s standards represents a major engineering feat, given their estimated weight of about 144 metric tons each. Her court obviously enjoyed a rule of affluence and generous economic support from their queen, which is reflected in an increase in wealthy and richly decorated private tombs of officials and the large number of private statues of such individuals produced during her reign.

Interestingly, numerous art representations of her time document how she slowly abandoned her feminine features in favor of more male—that is, kingly—attributes, including beard, bare and masculine upper torso, and kilt, which has often been interpreted by some scholars as a desperate attempt for political acceptance as ruler. That her rule may not have been fully endorsed by her contemporaries is supported by her successor Thutmose III’s deliberate destruction of her monuments and radical efforts to erase her from public memory, although this evidently happened only decades after her death. Other evidence that her rule may not have been fully endorsed includes inscriptions from her funerary

temple, in which she expressly requests her officials' loyalty and support.

There is no record of the causes and circumstances of Hatshepsut's death and no royal mummy has as yet been attributed to her, which could provide forensic evidence for the nature of her death. There is also considerable scholarly confusion over the place of her burial, as there exist at least three sarcophagi and two tombs, one in the Valley of the Queens (probably made during her time as wife of Thutmose II), the other in the Valley of the Kings near Luxor.

Hatshepsut was one of the very few female rulers of Egypt, and her historical significance has been widely debated by scholars. She has traditionally been viewed as a schemer who usurped the throne and had a disastrous reign. More recent scholarship views her as a "remarkable woman" (Tyldesley 1996, 1), acknowledging the complex difficulties she would have faced as a female ruler some 3,500 years ago.

Just as she might have been subjected to the prejudices of a predominantly male royal court culture during and after her lifetime, Hatshepsut's historiography has equally suffered from the tangible, underlying gender biases expressed in nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship, which may make any historiographical assertions about her rule more revealing of the prejudices afflicting scholarship at different points in time than of the actual nature and significance of Hatshepsut's rule on the throne of the pharaohs.

*E. Christiana Köhler*

*See also* Egypt, Ancient

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## Hausa States

Today the Hausa people live in northwestern Nigeria and southern Niger, as well as in parts of Ghana and Togo. In twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, a number of Hausa city-states wielded power in the local region and interacted with other regional powers, such as the Mali empire in the Upper and Middle Niger River area and the Bornu state in the Lake Chad basin area.

### Early History

The foundation myth of the Hausa states says that the seven "true" Hausa states founded by the seven sons of Bayajidda, who had come from the east (some say from Baghdad) to the state of Daura (in present-day northern Nigeria). Bayajidda had won the hand of the queen of Daura in marriage by slaying an evil serpent; she was the mother of the seven sons. The seven states these sons founded were Kano, Zazzau (Zaria), Gobir, Katsina, Rano, Daura, and Biram. Legend also has it that Bayajidda had other sons by a concubine; these sons are the supposed founders of the "illegitimate" Hausa states of Zamfara, Kebbik, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri, Yoruba, and Kororofa.

Archaeologists and historians believe that the Hausa states emerged between the late 900s CE and the early 1200s. Hausa towns are known for their walls, which enclose not only houses but farmland as well. This custom of building walls was maintained as the size of the enclosed settlement grew.

By the eleventh century, these walled city states were flourishing centers of trade. Kano, Katsina, and Gobir, for example, had developed their caravan trade and services. Each state also had certain specialties—Kano specialized

## Key Events in the History of African States

8TH CENTURY BCE	Cush (in southern Egypt and northern Sudan) invades and conquers Egypt; Shabaka of Cush establishes Egypt's twenty-fifth dynasty.
6TH CENTURY BCE	Meroe becomes the capital of Cush.
1ST MILLEN- NIUM CE	Wagadu (Ghana) empire flourishes.
1ST-3RD CENTURY CE	Kingdom of Cush flourishes, engages in trade with Rome.
MID-3RD CENTURY CE	Aksum replaces Cush as principal supplier of goods to Rome.
EARLY 6TH CENTURY CE	Aksum loses its Nile Valley and southern Arabian provinces.
6TH CENTURY	Nubian kingdoms (Nobadia, Makuria, and Alodia) flourish.
8TH CENTURY	City of Aksum abandoned.
9TH-14TH CENTURY	Centralization of political power in central Africa leads to the formation of the kingdom of Kongo.
10TH-12TH CENTURY	Hausa states emerge.
c. 1150-EARLY 14TH CENTURY	Saifawa dynasty rules in Kanem, in the Lake Chad basin.
EARLY 13TH CENTURY	Wagadu reduced to a tribute-paying vassal of Soso and Mali.
13TH CENTURY	Nubian kingdom of Alodia begins to disintegrate.
13TH-14TH CENTURY	Loose alliance among the seven Hausa states.
MID-13TH- MID-15TH CENTURY	Mali empire flourishes on the Upper Niger River.
1290-1450	Great Zimbabwe flourishes in southern Africa.
15TH CENTURY	Empire of Songhai is expanding.
15TH CENTURY	The East African island of Kilwa is a leading trading center.
1591	Songhai loses its independence to invaders from Morocco.
17TH-18TH CENTURY	Bornu, in the Lake Chad basin, is one of the largest states in Africa.
1808-1903	Sokoto caliphate flourishes in West Africa.
1818-1879	Zulu kingdom flourishes.

in leather goods and weaving, for example, while Zazzau specialized in the slave trade. In addition, they drew on the wealth of their rural areas, which produced millet, sorghum, sugarcane, and cotton. Cattle were also plentiful. However, their prosperity put them under steady stress from Songhai and Kanem-Borno, their neighbors to the west and east. The Hausa States paid tribute to the latter empire, and, in turn, fought with their other neighbors, conducting slave raids and open warfare with the Jukun and Yoruba states.

### Islam and the Hausa States

Although Islam was known in the Hausa states by the eleventh century, tradition credits its introduction to an Islamic missionary who came from Bornu in the fifteenth century. The elite accepted the new religion first, practicing it while continuing to adhere to older religious traditions. Islam offered the elite a means for organizing an efficient state and promoting education. It also tied the

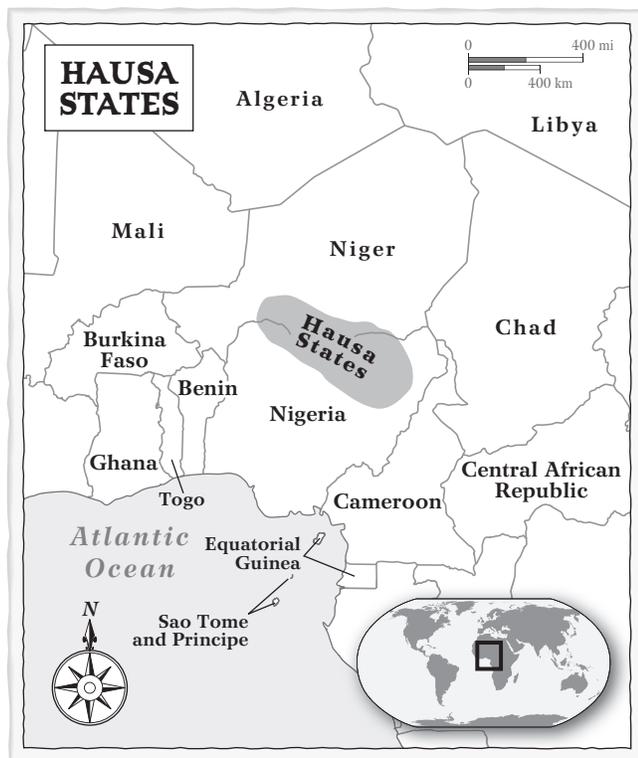
rulers and those who received an Islamic education into a vast Islamic trading network and gave them a language used in the network, Arabic. The Islamic connection strengthened ties with North Africa that already existed through trade (the Hausa states were a southern terminus of the trans-Saharan trade route). These ties were also supported by pilgrimages to Mecca.

At about the same time that Islam fully penetrated the ruling class, Fulani pastoralists came to Hausaland. Muslim Fulani, who had adopted Islam in the area now known as Senegal, settled in Hausa cities in the thirteenth century and began to intermarry with Hausa. These Hausa-Fulani became an educated religious elite, crucial to Hausa rulers because of their knowledge of government, law, and education.

### Later History

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there was a loose alliance of the seven Hausa states, based on the Hausa language and common customs as well as the modified Islam practiced by the ruling class. The ruler of each state, the emir or sarki, collected taxes from the various guilds within the state. These commercial guilds were self-regulating and loyal to the emir, who offered them protection. The guilds' members were commoners, both men and women depending upon the craft. Slaves maintained the cities' walls and grew the food.

From the early sixteenth century, the Bornu state in the Lake Chad basin area grew increasingly powerful; it brought the Hausa states under its control, and they remained subject to Bornu through the eighteenth century. Then at the dawn of the nineteenth century, Bornu's control was overthrown when the Fulani religious leader Usman dan Fodio (1754–1817) waged jihad among the Hausa states, seeking to convert the common people to Islam and to purify the practice of the faith among the elite. Usman dan Fodio's Sokoto caliphate, established around 1808, included the Hausa states, who remained part of Sokoto until Sokoto was defeated by the British in 1903. The high levels of education, accomplishments in crafts and trade, and civil organization that characterized the Hausa states left a lasting legacy,



*He took his first step when he was twenty-five years old and built himself a modest house on the southern tip of Portugal, where he could stand with Europe at his back, Africa before him, and the Unknown crashing against the boundaries in between.* • JEAN FRITZ (B. 1915)

however, and the Hausa are active in the politics of present-day Nigeria.

*Frank A. Salamone*

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# Henry "the Navigator"

(1394–1460)

PORTUGUESE PRINCE

Henry "the Navigator" was one of the earliest and most vigorous proponents of European overseas expansion and exploration. Prince Henry (Dom Henrique) was the third son of King João I of Portugal and his queen, Philippa of Lancaster, of England's house of Plantagenet. Often credited with founding a school of navigation at Sagres in southwest Portugal, in point of fact Henry was not a mariner—he probably never sailed farther than northern Morocco—and he had no school at Sagres or anywhere else. A strong advocate of the church militant, in 1415 he took part in the capture of the Moroccan port of Ceuta, a place of little economic or strategic significance that proved costly to maintain but

impossible to surrender without loss of face. A subsequent attack on Tangier failed, and Henry eventually turned to more commercial pursuits that took his caravels into the archipelagoes of the eastern Atlantic and along the Guinea coast of West Africa. Although the chief impetus for these voyages was commercial, Henry was also motivated by an abiding belief in the medieval concepts of just war and crusade, and an obligation to preach the true faith to heathens and crusade against heretics and Muslims.

Henry's overseas interests began when he was made donatory (lord-proprietor) of Madeira in 1433, whereupon he began to organize the colonization and exploitation of the islands for lumber, wine, and sugar. He likewise began the settlement of the Azores in 1439. Henry's interest in the coast of Africa derived from his failed efforts to establish Portuguese control of the Canary Islands, which were claimed by Castile. In the 1420s, Henry began sponsoring a series of voyages down the west coast of Africa in the hope of establishing a kingdom rich in slaves, gold, and the produce of the coastal fisheries. By 1434, the Portuguese knew the coast of Africa as far south as Cape Bojador, in the latitude of the Canaries—widely believed to be the southern limit of safe navigation. By 1445, a large expedition (reportedly numbering 26 ships) sailed for Río de Oro, and a few vessels reached the Senegal River and Cape Verde even farther south. Three years later a fort was built on the island of Arguin (in Mauritania), from which the Portuguese conducted a lucrative trade in ivory, gold, and slaves. By Henry's death twelve years later, the Portuguese had explored about 4,000 kilometers of the coast of West Africa, including expeditions up the Senegal, Gambia, and other rivers, and they had discovered the Cape Verde Islands.

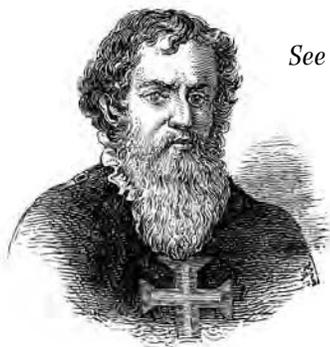
Henry's sponsorship of these voyages was predicated on returns, and he set clear objectives for his captains, regulating the distances to be covered and ensuring that details about the navigation and geography of the coast, trade goods, and local languages were collected. One result of these African voyages was the discovery of a route to India, but neither Henry nor any of his contemporaries had any such end in mind. However they did believe they could reach the lands of Prester John, the

Ethiopian Christian king of medieval legend and a potential ally in any prospective crusade against Islam. The route there was thought to be via the Sinus Aethiopicus, an African gulf first described in the fourteenth century, from the head of which Ethiopia was thought to be a short march overland. The possibility that a sea route around Africa to the Indies might exist took hold only after the Portuguese had passed Cape Verde and turned east into the Gulf of Guinea.

Although the economic development of the Madeira and the Azores held more immediate benefits for him and for Portugal as a whole, Henry is best remembered for his sponsorship of the African voyages, thanks especially to the flattering chronicle of his contemporary, Gomes Eanes de Zurara. More reliable is the account by the Venetian Alvise Cadamosto, who made two voyages under Henry's auspices in 1455 and 1456. On the strength of Henry's Plantagenet ancestry, Samuel Purchas also claimed that he was the "true foundation of Greatnesse, not of Portugall alone, but . . . especially of these Heroike endeavours of the English" (Russell 2001, 1). The more extravagant epithet, "Navigator," was not bestowed until the nineteenth century. Another more immediate legacy is the indirect connection between Henry and Christopher Columbus. In 1446, Henry assigned the administration of Porto Santo in the Madeiras to Bartolomeu Perestrelo, who had grown up in Henry's household and who probably advised him on the subject of Atlantic navigation. Perestrelo's daughter Felipa Muniz married Columbus, who thereby received her father's maps and papers.

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*See also Portuguese Empire*



**Prince Henry the Navigator**

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## Herodotus

(c. 484–425 BCE)

ANCIENT GREEK HISTORIAN

Herodotus was the founder of the Greek historiographic (relating to the writing of history) tradition. Although earlier writers may have written books dealing with historical topics, Herodotus was the first to write in Greek a long prose work that had the purpose of narrating and explaining a complex historical event. The tradition of historical writing that began with the publication of Herodotus's work during the late fifth century BCE extended to the end of antiquity and provides the principal source of information for the history of the Mediterranean Sea basin from the sixth century BCE to the seventh century CE.

No ancient biography of Herodotus survives. The only sources for his life are his work and an article in a tenth-century CE Byzantine encyclopedia entitled the *Suda*. These sources suggest that he was born in the southwest Anatolian city of Halicarnassus (in modern Turkey) and died in the south Italian city of Thurii. The presence of both Greek and Carian (relating to a region of Anatolia) names in his family indicates that he was probably of mixed Greek and Carian ancestry. Except for his being exiled after an unsuccessful attempt to oust the tyrant of Halicarnassus and his death at Thurii, the only known events of Herodotus's life are the travels he mentions in his work. These were extensive and included visits to Athens, Egypt, north Africa, south Italy, and the Black Sea.

## Herodotus on the Defeat of the Persians

*In the extract below, Herodotus describes how the Athenians charged the Persians at Marathon, 490 BCE.*

So when the army was set in array, and the sacrifices were favourable, instantly the Athenians, so soon as they were let go, charged the barbarians at a run. Now the distance between the two armies was little short of a mile. The Persians, therefore, when they saw the Greeks coming on at speed, made ready to receive them, although it seemed to them that the Athenians were bereft of their senses, and bent upon their own destruction; for they saw a mere handful of men coming on at a run without either horsemen or archers. Such was the opinion of the barbarians; but the Athenians in close array fell upon them, and fought in a manner worthy of being recorded. They were the first of the Greeks, so far as I know, who introduced the custom of charging the enemy at a run, and they were likewise the first who dared to look upon the Median garb, and to face men clad in that fashion. Until this time the very name of the Medes had been a terror to the Greeks to hear.

Source: Rawlinson, G. (1860). *The history of Herodotus* (Book 6, pp. 408ff). New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Herodotus is known to have written only one book: the *Histories*. When it was published in the 420s BCE, it was probably one of the longest, if not the longest, and most complex prose works that had been written in Greek to that time. Herodotus stated his purpose in the first sentence of the *Histories*: to preserve the memory of the great deeds of the Greeks and barbarians and to explain the reason they fought with each other.

Herodotus achieved his purpose by tracing in the first four books of the *Histories* the rise of the Persian Empire from its foundation in the mid-sixth century BCE to the outbreak of the Ionian Revolt in 499 BCE. Accounts of the history and culture of the various peoples conquered by the Persians interspersed throughout the narrative provided a panoramic view of the world known to the

Greeks. In the final five books he then narrated in detail the conflict between the Greeks and Persians from the Ionian Revolt to the failure of the Persian king Xerxes' great invasion of Greece in 480–479 BCE. Uniting his account was the idea that the conflict represented a struggle between Europe and Asia and freedom and slavery as represented by the leading peoples of each continent: the Greeks and the Persians.

Herodotus's work immediately became the standard Greek account of the Persian Wars. Thucydides and other Greek historians continued his work, but none tried to redo it. Already in antiquity, however, Herodotus's status as a historian was controversial, as evidenced by the tendency to refer to him not only as the "Father of History" but also as the "Father of Lies" because of the numerous fantastic stories in his work. The rehabilitation of Herodotus's reputation as a historian began during the Age of Discovery with the recognition of numerous parallels between his work and European explorers' accounts of the Americas. Further evidence of his reliability was provided by archaeological discoveries confirming the accuracy of many of his descriptions of non-Greek monuments and burial practices. Finally, recent scholarship has demonstrated close parallels between Herodotus's methods as described in the *Histories* and traditional oral historians in Africa and elsewhere, thereby vindicating his claim that his work was primarily based on two sources: his personal observations and critical evaluation of what people told him during his travels.

Herodotus's position as the founder of the Greek historiographic tradition is secure, as is his contribution to world history. That contribution was threefold. He was the first to use the criterion of reliable evidence to distinguish historical time. He also introduced the idea of the succession of empires that provided the basic framework for European world histories until the nineteenth century CE. Most important, however, he recognized that all peoples have their own independent histories and established the principle that historians should rely on native sources to write the history of any people. Although Herodotus's practice was not always equal to his principles, and although his most important

## Herodotus on Battle Dress

*In Book 7 of his History, Herodotus colorfully describes the way in which soldiers of various lands prepared to do battle.*

The Indians wore cotton dresses, and carried bows of cane, and arrows also of cane with iron at the point. . . . The Caspians were clad in cloaks of skin, and carried the cane bow of their country and the scymitar . . . The Sarangians had dyed garments which showed brightly, and buskins which reached to the knee: they bore Median bows, and lances. . . . The Arabians wore the zeira, or long cloak, fastened about them with a girdle; and carried at their right side long bows, which when unstrung bent backwards. . . . The Ethiopians were clothed in the skins of leopards and lions, and had long bows made of the stem of the palm-leaf, not less than four cubits in length. On these they laid short arrows made of reed, and armed at the tip, not with iron, but with a piece of stone, sharpened to a point, of the kind used in engraving seals. They carried likewise spears, the head of which was the sharpened horn of an antelope; and in addition they had knotted clubs. When they went into battle they painted their bodies, half with chalk, and half with vermilion.

Source: Rawlinson, G. (1860). *The history of Herodotus* (Book 7). New York: D. Appleton & Co.

successor, Thucydides, narrowed the scope of mainstream Greek historiography to contemporary war and politics, the *Histories* continued to provide a model and fundamental source for world histories throughout antiquity.

*Stanley M. Burstein*

See also Greece, Ancient; Engines of History; Writing World History

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## Hinduism

English scholars in the early nineteenth century coined the term *Hinduism* as a collective name for the indigenous religions of India. They added *-ism* to the designation *Hindu*, which goes back several thousand years to the Persians and the Greeks, who had so named the people living beyond the Indus River. It may be impossible to define Hinduism as one religion, but it makes perfect sense to speak of a Hindu culture and Hindu civilization. Over thousands of years there grew on the Indian subcontinent a distinctive culture embracing all spheres of human activity. From India it was carried to large parts of Southeast Asia, including Sri Lanka, Myanmar (Burma), Indonesia, and the Philippines. Claims have been made for Hindu connections to Mexican and Mesoamerican pyramid temples. Ships coming from India via the Philippines may well have reached Central America centuries before Columbus. Today the various streams comprising Hinduism claim more than 900 million followers worldwide.

### Origins

Hindus call their own tradition *Vaidika dharma*, “the Vedic dispensation.” Its original heartland was the Sapta Sindhava—the area watered by the seven great rivers flowing into the Indus. Later this region came to be called the Punjab, the Five-River Country, after one river had dried out and another had changed its course. *Iti-hasa Purana*, a vast ancient narrative literature that is the repository for ancient Indian history, contains tales of the beginnings of humankind and of Hindu civilization, including long lists of dynasties going back several thousand years.

## When and Where World Religions Began

4000–2500 BCE	Hinduism	South Asia
1300–1200 BCE	Judaism	West Asia
500–400 BCE	Buddhism	South Asia
	Confucianism	China
	Zoroastrianism	West Asia
	Jainism	South Asia
400–221 BCE	Daoism	China
1st century CE	Christianity	West Asia, Europe
3rd century CE	Manichaeism	West Asia
6th century CE	Shinto	Japan
7th century CE	Islam	West Asia
11th century	Orthodoxy	West Asia
15th–16th century	Sikhism	South Asia
16th century	Protestantism	Europe
19th century	Latter-day Saints	North America
	Babi and Baha'i	West Asia
19th–20th century	Pentecostalism	North America

To account for the close affinity of many European and Indian languages, around 1860 British scholars invented the Aryan invasion theory. Not supported by literary or archaeological evidence but based purely on linguistic speculation, they asserted that a warrior people, coming from the West, invaded India and imposed their culture, their language, and their social structure on the indigenous population. The supporters of this theory equated this invading people with the Aryans mentioned in the Vedas, India's ancient liturgical literature (c. 1500–1200 BCE). Such an invasion would have been quite a feat, considering that the indigenous population of India at that time is estimated to have been around 23 million. When in the 1920s the first major remnants of the Indus Valley civilizations were unearthed—ruins of large, ancient, well laid-out cities—these were first identified with the fortified places described in the Vedas as having

*God has made different religions to suit different aspirations, times and countries . . . one can reach God if one follows any of the paths with wholehearted devotion.* • RAMAKRISHNA (1836–1886)

been destroyed by the Aryans' warrior-god Indra. It later emerged that these cities were not destroyed by foreign invaders but abandoned by 1750 BCE, probably because of drastic climate changes. The Sarasvati River, described in the Rig Veda as a mighty river, had completely dried out by 1900 BCE.

There is growing agreement today that the Vedic civilization originated around 4000 BCE or earlier in northern India itself (and not in the West) and that the Indus civilization (c. 2500–1750 BCE) now called the Sindhu-Sarasvati civilization, was part of it. When the settlements in Sapta Sindhava had to be abandoned, most of the inhabitants moved east into the densely wooded region of the land between the Yamuna and Ganges Rivers (called the Yamuna-Ganges Doab), which became the new center of Vedic civilization. Archaeologists affirm that there is no cultural break between the earlier and the later civilizations in North India.

### The Hindu Holy Land

Hindu civilization was from the very beginning closely tied to the land that is present-day India. "The Motherland" has a unique emotional appeal for Indians: The physical features of the country are associated with the gods and goddesses, the religious practices, and the eschatological expectations of the Hindus. The Ganges (or, in Sanskrit and Hindi, Ganga), the Yamuna, the Narmada, the Kaveri are not only reservoirs of water and transportation ways, but also sources of inspiration and ritual purification: They are divinities to be worshipped. The towns and cities along their banks—Varanasi, Mathura, Nasik, Prayaga (Allahabad), and so on—are places where pilgrims congregate to obtain supernatural blessings and from which one can reach liberation. The Himalayas, the Vindhya, the Ghats, and the Nilgiri Hills are the abodes of gods, sanctified by thousands of *rishis* (visionaries or sages) and *sannyasins* (renunciates) since ages immemorial. Ancient and medieval India was dotted with numerous sacred groves—large uninhabited areas in which the gods dwelled and where nobody could harm an animal or a tree with impunity. Countless temples embellish India's landscape, visibly transforming

## Selection from the *Bhagavad Gita*

*The best-known of the Hindu religious texts, the Bhagavad Gita has profound significance in Hinduism. In the extract below, Sanjaya, the charioteer, relates the words of Arjuna, a warrior.*

*Sanjaya said:*

20 Then, O Lord of the Earth! the son of Pandu (Arjuna), whose ensign was the monkey, seeing Dhritarashtra's army arrayed and the throwing of weapons about to begin, raised his bow and spoke the following words to Krishna:

*Arjuna said:*

21–23 O Achyuta (changeless, Krishna), place my chariot between the two armies desirous of battle, so that I may see with whom I have to fight in this outbreak of war, for I desire to observe those who are assembled here for battle wishing to please the evil-minded son of Dhritarashtra by taking his side.

*Sanjaya said:*

24–25 O King! Requested thus by Gudakesha (Arjuna), Krishna, having placed the war chariot between the two armies in front of Bhishma, Drona and all the rulers of the earth, spoke thus: O son of Pritha (Arjuna), behold all the Kuru forces gathered together.

26 Then Partha (Arjuna) saw there in both armies arrayed grandfathers, fathers-in-law, uncles, brothers and cousins, his own sons and their sons and grandsons, comrades, teachers and friends.

27 Then he, the son of Kunti (Arjuna), seeing all his kinsmen stationed in their ranks, spoke thus sorrowfully, overwhelmed with deep compassion:

*Arjuna said:*

28 Krishna, seeing these my kinsmen, gathered here desirous to fight, my limbs fail me, my mouth is parched;

29 My body shivers, my hand stands on end, my Gandiva (bow) slips from my hand, my skin is burning.

30 O Keshava (Krishna, the slayer of Keshi), I am not able to stand upright, my mind is in a whirl and I see adverse omens.

31 O Krishna, neither do I see any good in slaying my own people in this strife. I desire neither victory, nor kingdom, nor pleasures.

32–34 Teachers, uncles, sons and grandsons, grandfathers, fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law, besides other kinsmen, for whose sake empire, enjoyment and

the country into a holy land, where gods dwell among humans.

### Scriptures

Hindu scriptures have come down through the ages in two major streams: the Vedas and the Agamas. The Vedas are the literature of the religious professionals, to be memorized and recited by Brahmans only. They comprise the four Samhitas (collections of hymns: Rig Veda, Sama Veda, Yajur Veda, and Atharva Veda), a large number of Brahmanas (ritual texts), the Aranyakas (forest treatises) and Upanishads (mystical writings). The Agamas are the sacred literature of the people at large. The great epics—the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*—are

also important sources of Hindu religion: many Hindus consider the *Bhagavad Gita*, a section of the *Mahabharata*, to be an epitome of their religion. The Puranas, which are Bible-like sacred books, are widely read by Hindus from all classes. Texts such as the Vaisnava Samhitas, Saiva Agamas, and Shakta Tantras are considered to be divinely revealed by the followers of specific worship traditions. They contain creation narratives, genealogies of kings and patriarchs, myths of gods and goddesses, edifying stories, and eschatological lore. Based on these texts, poets and playwrights such as Kalidasa (flourished fifth century CE) and Bana (seventh century CE) produced dramatic literature of a high order in Sanskrit. Poet-saints such as Tulasidasa and Kambha

pleasures are desired, they themselves stand here in battle, forsaking life and wealth. What avail, then, is kingdom, enjoyment, or even life, O Govinda (Krishna)?

35 These warriors I do not wish to kill, even though I am killed by them, not even for the dominion over the three worlds, how much less for the sake of this earth, O slayer of Madhu.

36 O Janardana (giver of prosperity and salvation, Krishna), what pleasure could there be for us by killing the sons of Dhritarashtra? Sin alone would take possession of us by slaying these evil doers.

37 Therefore we ought not to kill these sons of Dhritarashtra who are our relations; for how can we, O Madhava (Krishna), obtain happiness by destroying our own kinsmen?

38 Although these (my enemies), their understanding being overpowered by greed, see no evil from extinction of families and no sin in hostility to friends.

39 But, O Janardana, why should not we turn away from this sin, seeing clearly the evil in destruction of family?

40 From the destruction of a family the immemorial religious rites of that family perish. Spiritual-

ity being destroyed, that whole family is overpowered by unrighteousness.

41 O Krishna, from the predominance of unrighteousness the women of that family become corrupt; and women being corrupted, there arises intermingling of castes.

42 This intermingling of castes leads the destroyers of the family to hell, as also the family itself; for their ancestors fall, being deprived of the offerings of rice-ball and water.

43 By these misdeeds of the slayers of the family, bringing about confusion of caste, the immemorial religious rites of family and castes are destroyed.

44 O Janardana, we have heard that for such men, whose household religious rites have been destroyed, the dwelling in hell is inevitable.

45 Alas! what a great sin we are resolved to incur, being prepared to slay our kinsmen, actuated by greed of kingdom and pleasure.

46 Verily, it would be better for me if the sons of Dhritarashtra, weapons in hand, should slay me in the battle, unresisting and unarmed.

Source: Paramananda, S. (Trans.) (1913). *Srimad Bhagavad Gita, or the Blessed Lord's song*. Boston: The Vedanta Center.

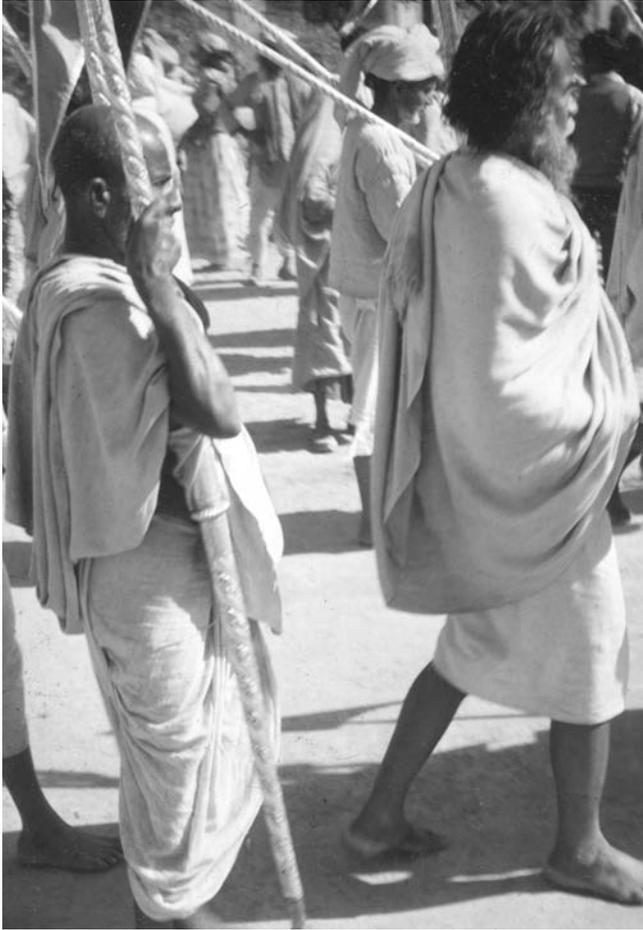
(sixteenth century) created popular vernacular versions of the classics, performed in plays and (since the advent of film) dramatized on screen to this very day.

The language of the most ancient literary documents of Hinduism, Vedic, is an archaic form of Sanskrit, the refined language standardized around 400 BCE by Panini. Sanskrit was called *deva vani*, the “language of the gods,” a sacred language. It became the language of Hindu scholarship as well as Hindu religious literature.

## Rituals

Domestic and public rituals were a prominent feature of early Vedic culture, considered indispensable for the well-being of society and individuals. The praxis and the the-

ory of *yajna* (sacrifice) can justly be called a science: Hundreds of intricate and interrelated rules had to be memorized and observed. The construction of the altars required the solution of difficult arithmetic and geometric problems. The altars were built with special bricks arranged in a prescribed geometric pattern, and were conceived of as symbols of the human body as well as of the universe: The 360 bricks of an altar represented the 360 days of the year and the 360 bones in the human body. Additionally, astronomical knowledge of a fairly high order was required to determine the right time for the performance of Vedic sacrifices, and ancient text explained how to determine the positions of celestial bodies at different times of the year.



### **Hindu Sadhus (Holy Men) walking in a procession.**

food to the image of a deity or, in the evening, rotating a plate with burning pieces of camphor before the image, is still very widespread in India.

Music is an important part of Hindu rituals. Vedic hymns are recited according to a definite pattern of pitches. Instrumental and vocal music, together with ritual dance, are indispensable ingredients in temple worship.

### **Societal Hierarchy and Government**

Traditional Hindu society functioned on the assumption that humans are not born equal and that their birth in different *varnas* (classes) defines their specific rights and duties. Brahmans, born from the Great Being's mouth, were the custodians of the Veda, the highest in rank. Kshatriyas, born from the chest, were rulers and warriors. Vaishyas, born from the belly—businesspeople, artisans, farmers, and clerks—had to provide the necessities of life for society at large. Sudras, originating from the feet, were to serve the upper three classes. Ati-sudras, the people below the Sudras, are known in English as untouchables. They were outside the pale of Hindu society proper and were relegated to work that was considered ritually polluting, such as skinning carcasses, cleaning latrines, and disposing of the dead. They were not allowed to dwell in the village proper and were not entitled to using amenities reserved for caste people. Today, in spite of legislation forbidding discrimination, they are still often exposed to disadvantage and mistreatment. Each of the four classes comprise of hundreds of *jatis* (subcastes) that also observe ranking among each other.

Duties varied not only according to *varnas*, but also with respect to one's stage in life. Men of the upper three *varnas* were to spend the first twelve years after their initiation with a reputable teacher. They then had to marry and to produce children. After the children had grown up they were to live lives of simplicity and meditation, and finally they were to become renunciates and as homeless pilgrims were to visit holy places till death relieved them of the burden of their bodies. In reality, relatively few men actually ended their lives as homeless pilgrims.

An important element of the Hindu tradition was the

The routine of fixed, or obligatory, rituals structured the course of the year and the lifecycle, creating a framework supporting communities and families. The change of seasons was accompanied by rituals, as were the stages in the development of persons: Public offerings ensured the fertility of fields and domestic animals; home-rituals accompanied birth, adolescence, marriage, and death. Occasional, nonobligatory, rituals were available to give spiritual support in special circumstances and additional comfort to individuals. In later centuries, when *puja*, the worship of great gods like Vishnu and Siva associated with images and temples, became the predominant form of religion, the old Vedic rituals were not given up. Besides the *pujas* the performance of Vedic rites continues to this very day: Brahmans recite Vedic hymns at initiations, marriages, and last rites.

Many Hindus participate in daily temple *pujas* and partake of consecrated food. Major temple festivals are great public events for every village and town. The performance of numerous domestic rituals, such as offering

theory and practice of government. Kings were usually Kshatriyas, but Brahmans had great influence as advisers and ministers. One of the aims of the Hindu awakening that began in the early twentieth century was to reestablish Hindu dominion after centuries of rule by non-Hindus. The Hindu Mahasabha, the first modern Hindu political party, proclaimed in its manifesto: "Hindus have a right to live in peace as Hindus, to legislate, to rule themselves in accordance with Hindu genius and ideals and establish by all lawful and legal means a Hindu State, based on Hindu culture and tradition, so that Hindu ideology and way of life would have a homeland of its own" (Pattabhiram 1967, 217).

The Indian struggle for independence from the British in the twentieth century was fought by many for the purpose of reviving Hindu civilization. Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), the first prime minister of India (1947–1964), advocated secular socialism and state-promoted industrialization, calling steel mills and hydroelectric dams the "temples of the new India," but under his successors the revitalization of Hindu culture became a major issue.

In former centuries Hindu rulers built temples and supported religious endowments. Today government-appointed temple boards oversee the activities and budgets of most large temples. Businesspeople and industrialists, together with the followers of famous gurus, found new



**Although Hinduism is often associated with monumental architecture and intricate carvings and sculpture, many Hindus worship in small temples like this roadside one in Chennai (Madras).**



temples all over India. Since independence in 1947, more new Hindu temples have been built in India than in the five hundred years before, amongst them the well-known Birla Temple in New Delhi. Today more than 25 million Hindus live outside India. In Southeast Asia, Europe, North America, Africa, Australia, and Oceania hundreds of Hindu temples have been built, often replicas of famous Indian temples, with Hindu priests performing Hindu ceremonies. The Vishva Hindu Parishad, or World Association of Hindus, founded in 1964 in Mumbai, is active in India and among overseas Hindus protecting and promoting Hindu culture.

### **The Transmission of Tradition**

Vedic religion was family based: Specific branches of the Veda were preserved in individual families. The home was also a center for religious practices: The sacred hearth fire was not allowed to die out. Husband and wife together had to perform the domestic rituals. Families were responsible for the lifecycle rituals. Young boys moved into the families of gurus, to be taught. The role of the guru reached great prominence when specific worship communities developed under the leadership of charismatic personalities, who often claimed to be the embodiment of a deity. These religious leaders helped to shape mainstream Hinduism and still exercise great influence on Hindus at large. They regulate the lives of their followers and reinterpret scriptures and traditional teachings. Their writings—especially the commentaries on the Upanishads, *Bhagavad Gita*, and the Brahma sutras—are the main texts for students of Hindu theology. In some circles Vedic tradition has remained intact—in others, it has not. Instead of leaving home with a guru, many boys in big cities receive the sacred thread at the appropriate age and begin being taught traditional ethics and lore by a senior relative or a Brahmin who is a family friend.

Pluralism was a hallmark of Hindu religion from its very beginning: Many gods and goddesses are invoked in Vedic hymns, and Hindus continue to worship a great variety of deities in their temples. There is no creed to which all Hindus subscribe and no one doctrine or prac-

tice that is common to all Hindus, except perhaps the nominal acceptance of the Vedas as revealed scripture and the belief in karma and rebirth.

### **Education**

The initiation ceremony at which the sacred thread was given to a young boy (now increasingly again to young girls) was the “second birth” which entitled someone to receiving instruction. It was given to the three higher *varnas*: Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas. Sudras and Atisudras were excluded. Traditionally, education was a high priority for Brahmans, whose early life was devoted to study and for whom life-long education was a duty. In addition to learning from a guru in his home, a student could attend a school attached to an ashram or temple. The well-organized, publicly and privately sponsored ancient Indian universities, such as Taksasila (now Taxila, established c. 700 BCE) in the Punjab, and Nalanda (traditionally dated to the sixth or fifth century BCE, though archaeological evidence points to establishment around the fifth century CE) and Vikramasila (established c. 800 CE) in Bihar, had thousands of teachers and tens of thousands of students. They taught not only the Vedas, but also the “eighteen sciences,” later supplemented by the “sixty-four arts.” The basic curriculum included linguistics, arts and crafts, medicine, logic and dialectics, and spirituality.

High ethical standards were expected both from students and teachers. Students not only had to pass stringent examinations to prove their aptitude, they also had to live an austere and pure life. Hindus believed in a balance of values, however, as expressed in the four “aims of life”: It was legitimate to acquire wealth and to enjoy life, but one also had to practice morality and religion and to seek final emancipation from the bonds of this existence in order to lead a fulfilled life.

### **Ayurvedic Medicine**

Ayurvedic medicine, whose principles derive from the Vedas, was cultivated systematically from early on. It was mainly oriented towards preventing diseases and healing through herbal remedies. Good health was not only considered generally desirable, but also a precondition for

*We don't see things as they are, we see them as we are.* • ANAIS NIN (1903–1977)

reaching spiritual fulfillment. The practice of medicine as a form of charity was widely recommended and supported by Hindu rulers. It was considered a charitable act to provide medicine to the sick free of charge, and it was one of the activities in which monks were encouraged to participate. Two Indian medical handbooks, the result of centuries of development, became famous in the ancient world far beyond India: the *Caraka samhita* (dating from 200 BCE to 300 CE) and the *Sushruta samhita*. Ayurveda was also applied to animals and plants; there is an ancient handbook for professional gardeners and a text for cattle-veterinarians. Other texts deal with veterinary medicine relating to horses and elephants. Ancient India also had veterinary hospitals as well as animal clinics. *Goshalas*, places in which elderly cattle are provided for, are still popular in some parts of India. The scientific value of Ayurvedic pharmacology is being recognized today by major Western pharmaceutical companies, who apply for worldwide patents on medicinal plants discovered and described in ancient Indian texts.

## Philosophy

India does not know the division between philosophy and theology that characterizes much of modern Western intellectual history. It is natural for Hindus with an enquiring mind to analyze and investigate the teachings of their traditions, and professional philosophers with a Hindu background deal also with religious issues in a philosophically meaningful way. Hindu philosophical systems are not mere abstract constructs, but paths for the realization of the highest purpose of life. Among the qualifications required for beginning philosophical study is the earnest desire to find liberation from the sufferings of the cycles of rebirth and death, which are caused by ignorance of the true nature of reality.

Among the six orthodox systems of philosophy (*darsanas*) is Samkhya, which teaches a general theory of evolution based on the interactive polarity of nature and matter on the one hand with spirit and soul on the other. All reality is subsumed under five-times-five principles that originate from one substratum. The twenty-five categories to which Samkhya reduces the manifold world became widely accepted in Hindu thought. A second

*darsana*, the Yoga system of Patanjali, which dates to around 200 BCE, is wholly based on it.

Vaisesika, the third of the six *darsanas*, offers a theory of atomism that is possibly more ancient than that of the Greek philosopher Democritus (c. 460–c. 370 BCE), as well as a detailed analysis of qualities and differences. It also developed the notion of impetus.

Adhyatma vidya (the term refers to spirituality in general—not a specific system), the spiritual or inner sciences, which relate to Brahma, the supreme reality, was considered the highest: It employed personal experience, a coherent epistemology, and the exegesis of revealed utterances. The Upanishads mention thirty-two *vidyas*, paths leading to the goal of all science. The knowledge aimed at through these was of a particular kind, involving a transformation of the student. The ideas of the Upanishads were further developed into the system of Vedanta philosophy laid down mainly in commentaries on the Brahma sutras ascribed to Badarayana (first centuries CE). Beginning with Shankara (eighth century CE) and continuing with Ramanuja (c. 1017–1137) and Madhava (1296?–1386?), the greatest spiritual minds of India have endeavored to cultivate that science of the eternal reality of the spirit.

## Hinduism in World History

Membership in the Hindu community was for many centuries restricted to those who were born from Hindu parents and who had undergone the various sacraments that made a Hindu a full member of the Hindu community both here and in the beyond. Hinduism was always a “world religion” due to the fact that India has always been a densely populated, large country and thus home of a considerable part of humankind. In its heyday (prior to the Muslim invasion which began in the eighth century CE) India attracted students and pilgrims from all over Asia who studied at the large indigenous universities or visited holy places associated with such figures as the Buddha.

During the first half of the first millennium Hinduism also spread into most of Southeast Asia, as mentioned earlier. This period was followed by a prohibition to cross “the black seas” under threat of loss of caste. This prohibition

*The forces of a capitalist society, if left unchecked, tend to make the rich richer and the poorer.* • JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (1889–1964)

was most likely a move to protect the Hindu community from erosion after the Muslims had invaded India and pressured Hindus to convert to Islam. Hindu thought and culture, however, were adopted by many foreigners who came into contact with India during this time. With the establishment of British rule in India in the eighteenth century and the advent of Christian missions, Hindus' interest in spreading their religion abroad was awakened: The much-celebrated presentations of Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902) at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago 1893 and his subsequent journey through the United States and Great Britain resulted in the establishment of Vedanta centers in many places and a fairly widespread interest in Hinduism. The coming of ever more Hindu swamis and gurus to the West since the 1960s familiarized thousands with sectarian Hinduism and attracted many Westerners to Hindu religious communities. It was no longer deemed necessary to have been born a Hindu, one could become a Hindu by accepting Hindu doctrines and ritual practices and by receiving initiation from a qualified Hindu guru.

By now millions of Hindus have settled all over the world and have brought Hinduism as their inherited faith to the places where they now live. Scientists with a Hindu background often endeavor to integrate their scientific specialties with Hindu traditional thought and thus consciously promote Hinduism as a modern faith. New Age literature, popular among the educated all over the Western world, is replete with Hindu ideas and images, which it presents as having anticipated modern scientific discoveries and insights. Both by virtue of the large number of adherents and the sophistication of its culture and philosophy, Hinduism is bound to be a major influence on the global civilization of the future.

*Klaus K. Klostermaier*

See also Harappan State and Indus Civilization

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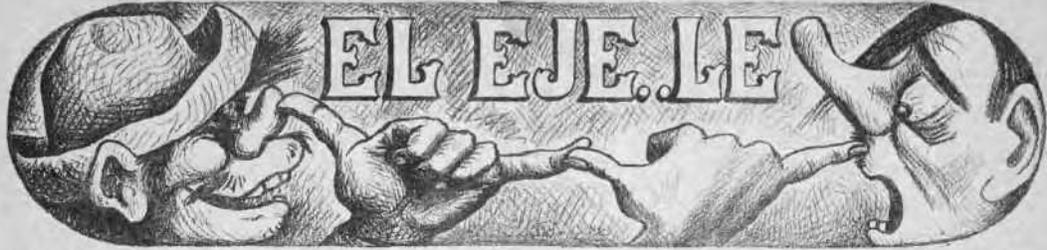
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## Hitler, Adolf

(1889–1945)

NAZI GERMAN DICTATOR

Adolf Hitler is best known as the ultimate fascist dictator. After World War I he guided his National Socialist German Workers Party, popularly known as the “Nazi Party,” into prominence in Germany’s Weimar Republic and in 1933 imposed a one-party dictatorship that steered Germany into World War II. Antidemocratic, antiforeign, anti-intellectual, anti-Bolshevik, and anti-Semitic, he was nevertheless charismatic, led an effective economic recovery, and, with help from propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945), developed powerful emotional and political control over most



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El pueblo nunca puede emparejarse, con esto de las rentas altas y los bajos salarios.

Resulta que la mejor parte de las ganancias de la gente que trabaja se va en pagar la casa.

¡Y qué casual! Las mismas vicinidades del tiempo de Don Porfirio, sucias, destartadas, apestosas, amontonando en el menor espacio posible el mayor número posible de jacquinos. Son como vacas lecheras que siguen produciendo a través de los años, llueva o truene, bajo el aguijón del cobrador. Y algo semejante pasa ya con las modernas casas de departamentos, que por el tamaño de las piezas más parecen anaqueles de botica. "Esta es la salita..." le dicen a uno, y son dos metros cuadrados en el vano de una escalera. "Este es el bañito..." ¡y no cabe ni el gatol! En cuanto al sol, el aire y la luz, son hijos de ricos.

Las composturas que se hacen necesarias en las vicinidades-chiqueros y en los departamentos para enanos, tardan más en llegar a la tierra que la luz de una estrella lejana; pero en cambio ¡qué rápida, qué puntual, qué inflexible es siempre la llegada del recibol!

Buena culpa de la situación difícil del pueblo trabajador la tienen las rentas altas. Cada peso que se paga de más por la vivienda significa menos comida, menos ropa, menos medicinas, menos instrucción para los hijos...

Esto no quita que, SI LOS DEJAMOS, los pobrecitos dueños de casas suban otro poco las rentas EN VISTA DE LA GUERRA. ¡Dos pesos más en Peralvillo por la toma de Singapur! ¡Quince pesos más en Bolívar por la próxima caída de Smolensk! Puez los propietarios, como los tenderos, siempre están muy bien enterados de lo que pasa en el mundo.

Al fin y al cabo habrá que "amendarlos" en corto, pues como dijo el otro, "BUENA ES LA LIBERTAD, PERO NO ENSUCIAR EL GORRO"...



No le ajusta... el tacuchito



Dijo el indito: Nones...Pancha



—¿Qué le dijo una de la vida alegre a Hitler?  
—Yo también hago MI LUCHA...

ESTA HOJA POPULAR APARECERA QUINCENALMENTE

A el "ARIO CRIOLLO" le han caído tan mal las ocurrencias de EL EJE...LE, que le hemos visto recorriendo esquinas y arrancando a dentelladas, con los pedazos de esta publicación, la cal y hasta trozos de piedras de las fachadas.

(Lo curioso es que los dueños de casa no protestan, porque se trata del "ario criollo")

Pero recordéndo todos:

Arrancar la cara importa, que el espejo no hay que.



A cartoon from a Mexican publication ridiculing Hitler.

*Battle not with monsters lest ye become one; for when you look into the Abyss,  
the Abyss looks into you.* • FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844–1900)

Germans by the late 1930s. Most historians consider Hitler to have been the key person who caused World War II and the Holocaust. In consequence, his very name is associated with evil.

Adolf Hitler was born in Braunau, a provincial Austrian town near Germany, to a minor customs official of uncertain parentage. The Hitler household was not happy, and Hitler was an undisciplined schoolboy who envisaged grand goals for himself as a loosely defined artist, perhaps as architect, set designer, or music critic, but his accomplishments fell far short of reality. Reduced to vagrancy, Hitler found relief from his frustrations in extreme German nationalism, rabble-rousing politics, and growing anti-Semitism. Only Europe's call to arms in 1914 "saved" him. He joined a Bavarian regiment, preferring to render military service to Germany. Soldiering became his first real job.

A rarity among 1914 volunteers, Hitler survived four years of trench warfare, winning the German Iron Cross as a lowly corporal-runner (he was not considered officer material). This decoration allowed him to campaign freely in postwar German politics. The wounded veteran Hitler returned to Munich in 1919, working undercover to assess the myriad political movements that had emerged after Germany's defeat amid revolutionary turmoil. Hitler casually entered politics by joining one of the obscure parties to which the army had assigned him for surveillance.

From its outset Germany's Weimar Republic reeled under the harsh conditions imposed by the Versailles Treaty, especially its reparations clauses. Numerous extremist political parties arose, among them Hitler's Bavarian movement, which in 1921 took the name "National Socialist German Workers Party" with Hitler as its spokesman. The party adapted its unwieldy name to everyday usage by shortening the word *National* to *Nazi*, and Hitler personally chose the swastika, a hooked cross that became the movement's central icon. Yet, demagoguery won Hitler his central role. Prewar passions and prejudices that had existed in embryonic form within him came to the fore. An animated and indefati-

gable speaker (and reader), Hitler discovered at age thirty that he could rivet people's attention, be it in a beer hall or in a salon. Recognizing the emotional power of the spoken word over the printed word, he pioneered in using new electronic media such as the microphone, radio, and film.

Hitler's formula for political success was as potent as it was lacking in subtlety. The very name that he chose for his party was indicative. The National Socialist German Workers Party was ultranationalistic ("National . . . German") but also spoke for "the little guy" ("Socialist . . . Workers"). Ergo, the Nazis were Germans first, but they came from the same bedrock class of little people whose unrecognized talents had made their nation great, that is, they were just like Hitler. He played masterfully on the public's fears and resentments, which were numerous after Germany's defeat. Hitler's message was built on absolutes: Those who oppose us are traitors; those who support us are patriots.

Armed with this self-assuring message, Hitler dominated his own party, whose unruly members were compelled to recognize his charisma. Outside events also helped him to build his political base. The Weimar Republic's first blow came in 1923 when French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr industrial area of Germany. Industry came to a standstill, and rampant inflation impoverished the nation overnight. Opportunistically, Hitler struck at what he thought was the right moment, but his Beer Hall Putsch of 9 November 1923, ended in his arrest, trial, and a five-year jail sentence.

Phoenix-like, Hitler turned his trial into a political forum and gained national recognition. During his reduced sentence of one-year fortress arrest, he wrote his memoir-cum-political statement, *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle). In turgid prose Hitler envisaged a rejuvenated Germany that would expand into an empire comprised of pure Aryan Germans, one in which Jews, Slavs, and other unwanted peoples would be banished. Fortunately for him, few people outside his party took his statement seriously. Upon his release Hitler reasserted control over his unruly following and plotted future campaigns.

## Hitler on the Use of Propaganda

*Before Adolf Hitler rose to power in Nazi Germany, he served as head of propaganda for the Nazi Party. This excerpt from his book *Mein Kampf* spells out how he felt leaders should use propaganda.*

All propaganda has to be popular and has to adapt its spiritual level to the perception of the least intelligent of those towards whom it intends to direct itself. Therefore its spiritual level has to be screwed the lower, the greater the mass of people which one wants to attract. But if the problem involved, like the propaganda for carrying on a war, is to include an entire people in its field of action, the caution in avoiding too high spiritual assumptions cannot be too great.

The more modest, then, its scientific ballast is, and the more it exclusively considers the feeling of the masses, the more striking will be its success. This, however, is the best proof whether a particular piece of propaganda is right or wrong, and not the success-

ful satisfaction of a few scholars or "aesthetic" language monkeys.

This is just the art of propaganda that it, understanding the great masses' world of ideas and feelings, finds, by a correct psychological form, the way to the attention, and further to the heart, of the great masses. That our super-clever heads never understand this proves only their mental inertia or their conceit.[ . . . ]

It is wrong to wish to give propaganda the versatility of perhaps scientific teaching.

The great masses' receptive ability is only very limited, their understanding is small, but their forgetfulness is great. As a consequence of these facts, all effective propaganda has to limit itself only to a very few points and to use them as slogans until even the very last man is able to imagine what is intended by such a word. As soon as one sacrifices this basic principle and tries to become versatile, the effect will fritter away, as the masses are neither able to digest the material nor to retain it. Thus the result is weakened and finally eliminated.

Source: Hitler, A. (1939). *Mein Kampf* (pp. 332–333). New York: Reynal & Hitchcock.

As long as the Weimar Republic experienced economic stability from 1924 to 1929, aided by private U.S. loans, it could pay off its reparations. Prosperity also deadened the appeal of political extremists, Nazis included. However, the stock market crash of October 1929 struck Germany's export economy with particular severity. The nation's conservative business and political leaders could not stem massive unemployment, and the Nazis and Communists successfully gridlocked government. The crisis deepened, and gradually moderate voters drifted rightward into the ranks of the Nazis. Finally, on 30 January 1933, the conservative leaders elevated Hitler to the chancellorship of a coalition government. They assumed that they could use him as a figurehead.

Hitler proved them wrong. Once in power he undermined democracy, deliberately fostering panic after an arsonist burned the Reichstag (Parliament) building. The Nazis herded thousands of Communists and other

opponents into hastily erected concentration camps. In March 1933 Hitler forced passage of an enabling act that granted him dictatorial powers and emasculated the Weimar constitution. Weimar's last election gave the Nazis only 43.9 percent of the vote, but that plurality enabled Hitler to wield complete power. Soon he suppressed all other political parties, absorbed the trade union movement, and instituted *Gleichschaltung* (leveling), the co-opting of all political, social, and professional associations into his party apparatus. Germans were compelled to greet each other daily with the words "Heil Hitler!" and an outstretched right arm. That greeting powerfully reinforced political conformity.

Shunning orthodox economic advice, Hitler began construction of expressways and public housing, programs that he had blocked while in opposition. Quietly he also initiated massive rearmament programs. Within months the economy improved, unemployment ebbed, and Hitler's popularity soared. Renewed prosperity plus

the use of terror even within his own party—as happened in June 1934 when he purged his Sturm Abteilung (Storm Troopers) in the so-called Night of the Long Knives—created a “Hitler myth”: Germany’s all-knowing Führer (leader) was forging unity at home and rebuilding prestige abroad. Propaganda minister Goebbels powerfully reinforced Hitler’s image as an infallible Führer.

Hitler instituted a profound social revolution in Germany, one that affected citizens’ daily lives and attitudes, but it was highly exclusionary. Only Germans could participate because in Hitler’s mind-set Jews and other foreigners were inferior to Aryans. By stages he isolated Germany’s Jewish citizens, first with business boycotts and purges of the civil service in 1933, then with his Nuremberg Laws of 1935, which denied Jews citizenship or the right to marry Aryans. Ominously, a vast pogrom (massacre) on 9 November 1938, unleashed violence against Jews and led to their resettlement in ghettos. Finally, in January 1942 at the secret Wannsee Conference, members of Hitler’s inner circle, including Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942), leader of the paramilitary Schutzstaffel (Protective Echelon), settled upon their “Final Solution,” the Nazis’ euphemism for the mass murder of all Jews. Hitler never issued written orders, but his subordinates knew his wishes and hastened to carry them out.

From the outset Hitler knew that his policies would incite fear abroad. Anticipating this, he masqueraded as a defender of peace. In retrospect his actions showed him to be a master of deceit who played on Europe’s war weariness in order to win concessions. Between 1935 and 1939 he repeatedly caught other nations, especially Britain and France, off guard. Their leaders hoped to appease him with timely compromises. Hitler scrapped the Versailles Treaty, openly rearming in 1935, remilitarizing the Rhineland a year later, annexing Austria, then the Czech Sudetenland in 1938, and finally the rest of Czechoslovakia a few months later. Simultaneously, he outspent France and Britain on rearmaments six times over, transforming Germany into a military superpower by the time he invaded Poland on

1 September 1939, beginning World War II. Opportunistically, Hitler shared his Polish conquest with the Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), a diplomatic marriage of convenience that lasted scarcely twenty months.

Initially Hitler’s armies ran rampant, defeating all opponents and forcing Britain’s expeditionary forces back into their home islands. By June 1941, along with his Axis (Germany, Italy, Japan) partner, the Italian Premier Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), Hitler held sway from Norway to North Africa. However, at this time Hitler’s character flaws surfaced. His ultimate goal, Lebensraum (living space), required that he conquer the vast eastern territories occupied by Slavic peoples in order to achieve his fantasy of a greater German *Reich* (empire) that would last a thousand years. He was also convinced that he alone could accomplish such a feat. Pessimistic about his own longevity, Hitler was determined to finalize his conquests within his lifetime.

In July 1940, after Germany’s victories in the West, Hitler ordered the preparation of Operation Barbarossa, his plan for conquering the Soviet Union. Accordingly, 3 million soldiers attacked eastward on 22 June 1941. At first his Wehrmacht (armed forces) attained easy victories over the surprised Soviets. However, enough defenders survived over the vast expanses and deteriorating weather conditions to halt the invaders before Moscow in December 1941. Soviet reserves launched fierce counterattacks that threw the astonished Germans back. Hitler’s hopes of rapid victory proved illusory. He had embroiled his country in a lengthy war of attrition. Amazingly, Hitler compounded his error by declaring war on the United States four days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, turning the conflict into a world war.

Total war revealed severe weaknesses in Hitler’s governmental structure. Ever since his youth Hitler had held social Darwinist notions of life as an eternal struggle. The title of his book, *Mein Kampf*, implied as much. These notions manifested themselves in the way that Hitler created agencies with overlapping authority in

*All of our greatness was born of liberty, even our commercialism was rocked in the cradle of democracy, and we cannot strangle the mother without destroying her children.* • JOHN PETER ALTGELD (1847–1902)

order to foster tension among competing officials. Ultimately all threads led back to him so that he could control his minions amid their institutional infighting. As a result, Germany's administration and armed forces suffered from duplications of effort and muddled lines of authority. Hitler's personality was unsuited to the administrative drudgery that might have blunted such chaos. In consequence, strategic decisions were delayed or never resolved. Scientists and technicians received contradictory orders for weapons development and other war-related activities (many of Germany's best scientists were in exile). Industrialists never geared up properly for a long war; thus, production remained static until too late. Hitler's disdain for women precluded their effective mobilization for the war effort. Occupied European nations discovered that their conquerors behaved like thugs and stole production, services, capital, artworks, and people in the form of forced labor. Genuine cooperation ceased, and the occupiers acquired only a fraction of the support they needed. Hitler's hatred of "inferior" peoples such as Jews and Slavs turned the war in the East into a racial war; thus, the captive populations, many of whom despised Communism and its cruel master, Joseph Stalin, never coalesced as a labor pool for Germany.

Ultimately Hitler's role as commander-in-chief defeated him. After the victories of 1939–1941 he convinced himself that he was military genius. In his youth his intuition had told him that he was a great artist. Now, in wartime, his intuition convinced him that he was a great captain on the order of King Alexander of Macedonia, the Carthaginian general Hannibal, or the French Emperor Napoleon. In reality he was an amateur. Hitler alone ordered the invasion of the Soviet Union without adequate intelligence. He bobbled his army groups in the opening campaign of 1941 while issuing his cruel Commissar Order for the indiscriminate killing of Soviet leaders (and by implication the entire Russian intelligentsia). Most fateful was his decision a year later to steer his soldiers into the Battle of Stalingrad, where an entire German army was annihilated. Neither Hitler,

nor his once-adoring public, nor his armies recovered from that blow as the Allies (France, England, China, Russia, and the United States) closed in from east and west. For that eventuality, Hitler and his generals had no solution despite the smoke and mirrors that he and his propaganda minister threw up about exotic new "vengeance" weapons, an "impenetrable" Atlantic Wall, or the German people's "fanatical" will to resist.

Too late small numbers of Germans concluded that Hitler was leading their nation over the abyss, and on 20 July 1944, they nearly assassinated him. Nevertheless, the attempt failed, and Hitler remained in control until, surrounded by Soviet forces in Berlin, he committed suicide on 30 April 1945. Even as his ultimate fate approached, he refused to accept blame or express remorse for any of his decisions. In February 1945 he had issued his notorious "Nero" order calling for the destruction of Germany's basic infrastructure. Had his followers carried out his scorched earth policy, millions of Germans would have died from malnourishment, exposure, and disease. Fortunately, recipients of his order, such as his chief technocrat, Albert Speer (1899–1979), balked. The pity is that they had not disobeyed him sooner.

Before Hitler committed suicide, he prepared his last will and testament. Far from an apology, it was yet another mumbling diatribe against the Jews and an indictment of his own people for failing him in executing his hate-filled schemes. His will became part of the historical record and helps explain why the name "Hitler" is synonymous with "evil."

*James F. Tent*

*See also* Genocide; Holocaust; Interwar Years (1918–1939); World War II

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*You will kill 10 of our men, and we will kill 1  
of yours, and in the end it will be you who  
tire of it.* • HO CHI MINH (1890–1969)

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## Ho Chi Minh

(1890–1969)

PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

Ho Chi Minh was the most prominent leader of the Vietnamese nationalist movements against French colonialism. Ho Chi Minh epitomized the will of colonized peoples to obtain independence from Western imperialism, but also embodied the paradoxical convergence of two apparently conflicting ideologies: nationalism and Marxism.

Born Nguyen Sinh Cung in the village of Kim Lien, in Nghe An province, he assumed multiple aliases during his years as a revolutionary, but was best known as Ho Chi Minh, which means “He Who Enlightens.” Ho Chi Minh grew up in a poor family of Confucian scholars. His father, despite being a scholar-official, preferred to remain in the village to teach rather than serve an imperial court he considered corrupt. At the time, Vietnam had been broken up into three fragments (Tonkin, Annam, and Cochinchina) under the colonial control of France. The Vietnamese royal court, centered at Hue, the imperial capital, and under the nominal rule of the Nguyen dynasty, answered to the French. Ho Chi Minh was thus steeped early on in an atmosphere of fervent nationalism. In 1911, after pursuing an education at the National School in Hue, Ho Chi Minh decided to travel

to the West to search for ways to liberate his country, which had been colonized by the French since 1862. Ho Chi Minh's travels were to last him thirty years, but in 1917 he alighted in Paris, a fertile ground for revolutionaries. He joined the French Socialist Party, frequented Vietnamese nationalist milieus, and published anti-colonial articles in his journal, *The Pariah*, under the alias Nguyen Ai Quoc (“Nguyen Who Loves His Country”). World War I ended in 1918, and in 1919 came the peace conference at Versailles. Ho Chi Minh used the conference as an opportunity to present a list of reforms to the delegations present; when he was turned away, Ho Chi Minh, who had already been involved in French socialist activities, became even more deeply committed to Marxism. In 1920 he became one of the founding members of the French Communist Party, where he advocated for Vietnamese independence.

In 1923 he traveled to Moscow for further Marxist training, and from 1924 he traveled and worked as a Communist revolutionary in various parts of Asia. What drove him foremost was his mission to liberate Vietnam from French rule, at whatever cost. Jailed, tortured, sentenced to death, and surviving years of hardship, Ho Chi Minh emerged the undisputed leader of the Vietnamese Communist movement when he founded the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) in 1930 in Hong Kong.

The French colonial government was at its weakest during the Japanese wartime occupation of Vietnam, and it was in 1941, during the occupation, that Ho Chi Minh returned to Vietnam and established the Viet Minh Front, or the League for the Independence of Vietnam. The surrender of Japan on 16 August 1945 gave the Viet Minh the opportunity to launch its nationwide August Revolution and to seize power. On 2 September 1945, in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh, by then an emaciated, wizened man, read the Declaration of Independence, declaring the formation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV).

The French were determined to regain their colonial possessions, but the First Indochina War (1946–1954) concluded with the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954. The Geneva Accords, signed in July 1954,

*That was only the beginning—where one burns books, one will finally also burn people.* • HEINRICH HEINE (1797–1856)

temporarily separated the warring parties on either side of the seventeenth parallel until elections scheduled for 1956. In the north was the DRV under President Ho; in the south were the French, from which emerged the Republic of Vietnam under Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963). In the north was the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) under President Ho; in the south emerged the Republic of Vietnam (RVN), inaugurated on 23 October, 1955, under Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963) who refused to hold the 1956 reunification elections as stipulated by the Geneva Accords. With the United States' intervention, the Second Indochina War (1960–1973) plunged Vietnam deeper into bloody and destructive conflict. The Communist forces continued the combat with the U.S.-sponsored southern regime, which the DRV considered illegitimate. Until his death on 2 September 1969, Ho Chi Minh was able to keep the DRV focused on carrying on the struggle. His stature acquired legendary proportions, and he became known as Bac Ho or “Uncle Ho” among supporters. Ho Chi Minh came to symbolize the Vietnamese determination to resist, and his name was chanted repeatedly in antiwar marches in the 1960s and 1970s in the West and in Third World countries. Ho Chi Minh was deft in steering the DRV through the shoals of Communist rivalry that pitted the Soviet Union against China during the Sino-Soviet crisis while managing to obtain vital economic, financial, and military aid from both. His final wishes were that his ashes be deposited in the three regions of Vietnam, but he was embalmed and remains in state at the Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum in Hanoi.

*Nguyen Thi Dieu*

See also French Empire; Revolutions, Communist

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# Holocaust

Prior to the mass slaughter of European Jews by the Nazis during World War II, commonly known as the Holocaust, German dictator Adolf Hitler made no secret of his intentions. Writing in prison in 1924, he laid out his anti-Semitic views in the book *Mein Kampf*, and he began to act on them after coming to power in 1933. Though great effort was ultimately devoted to concealing the murder of Jews in concentration camps, Hitler repeatedly spoke publicly about his plans, predicting in January 1939, for example, the “extermination of the Jewish race in Europe” in the event of war.

Despite Hitler’s openness about his objective, few people inside or outside Germany took his words seriously. After all, Germany was regarded as one of the world’s most civilized nations, and Jews were among its most prominent citizens. It therefore came as a shock when a boycott against Jewish businesses was initiated early in 1933.

Gradually, the persecution of Jews in Germany escalated, culminating in the adoption of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935. These laws excluded Jews from all public business life and denied them the right to vote or hold public office. Later, professionals such as doctors were stripped of their licenses. The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor prohibited the marriage of Jews to non-Jews. Other bans prevented Jews from using the same facilities as non-Jews. In 1937, the Nazis began to confiscate Jews’ possessions. Jewish children were expelled from school, Jews were banned from cultural and sporting events, and limits were placed on what Jews could do in public.

The prohibitions were devised, implemented, and enforced by a bureaucracy devoted to the “Jewish question.” Virtually every government institution contributed to the Nazi anti-Jewish policies. Among the most important were the Press and Propaganda Ministry, which fed the German people a steady stream of anti-Semitic propaganda. The result was the dehumanization of Jews to the point where ordinary citizens were willing to persecute

## The Nuremberg Trial Proceedings Vol. 1 Indictment ...

*The following text concerning the Holocaust is an extract from the record of the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal following the German defeat in World War II.*

... Implementing their "master race" policy, the conspirators joined in a program of relentless persecution of the Jews, designed to exterminate them. Annihilation of the Jews became an official State policy, carried out both by official action and by incitements to mob and individual violence. The conspirators openly avowed their purpose. For example, the Defendant Rosenberg stated: "Anti-Semitism is the unifying element of the reconstruction of Germany." On another occasion he also stated: "Germany will regard the Jewish question as solved only after the very last Jew has left the greater German living space... Europe will have its Jewish question solved only after the very last Jew has left the Continent." The Defendant Ley declared: "We swear we are not going to abandon the struggle until the last Jew in Europe has been exterminated and is actually dead. It is not enough to isolate the Jewish enemy of mankind—the Jew has got to be exterminated." On another occasion he also declared: "The second

German secret weapon is anti-Semitism because if it is consistently pursued by Germany, it will become a universal problem which all nations will be forced to consider." The Defendant Streicher declared: "The sun will not shine on the nations of the earth until the last Jew is dead." These avowals and incitements were typical of the declarations of the Nazi conspirators throughout the course of their conspiracy. The program of action against the Jews included disfranchisement, stigmatization, denial of civil rights, subjecting their persons and property to violence, deportation, enslavement, enforced labor, starvation, murder, and mass extermination. The extent to which the conspirators succeeded in their purpose can only be estimated, but the annihilation was substantially complete in many localities of Europe. Of the 9,600,000 Jews who lived in the parts of Europe under Nazi domination, it is conservatively estimated that 5,700,000 have disappeared, most of them deliberately put to death by the Nazi conspirators. Only remnants of the Jewish population of Europe remain.

or even murder Jews while others watched silently. While it may be an overstatement to say, as some scholars have, that Germans were predisposed to anti-Semitism, few Germans were prepared to raise any objections to Hitler's policies.

### **The Danger Rises**

The discriminatory measures adopted in Germany did not initially pose a physical threat to the Jews. This began to change on 9-10 November 1938, when the government organized attacks by mobs that destroyed 191 synagogues and looted 7,500 shops. At least ninety-one Jews were killed in what became known as the Night of Broken Glass, or *Kristallnacht*.

The authorities' clear role in the attacks convinced many Jews the time had come to flee. The question, for those with the courage and the means to leave their homes, was where to go. Just four months earlier, delegates from thirty-two countries had met at Evian, France, to discuss what to do about the growing number of

refugees trying to flee Europe. The United States, which had initially proposed the conference, showed so little interest in solving the problem that other countries felt no need to open their doors to fleeing Jews. In the end, the Dominican Republic was the only country that welcomed Jews.

The situation grew increasingly ominous for the Jews when more than 26,000 Jewish men were imprisoned in concentration camps at Dachau, Buchenwald, and Sachsenhausen. The first of these camps, Dachau, was established in June 1933 for non-Jewish opponents of the Nazi regime and other criminals, but Dachau, along with the others, gradually became prisons primarily for Jews.

### **World War II Begins**

Germany's invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939, marked the unofficial start of World War II. One of the reasons Hitler said he went to war was to make room—*Lebensraum*, or "living space"—for Germans. He believed that eastern Europe had to be conquered to create a vast

*Humanity has advanced, when it has advanced, not because it has been sober, responsible, and cautious, but because it has been playful, rebellious, and immature.* • TOM ROBBINS, (B. 1936)

German empire with a greater population and new territory to supply food and raw materials.

The conquest of Poland, however, brought another 2 million Jews under German authority. These people needed to be removed to create the German living space. Toward that end, Heinrich Himmler, the head of all German police forces, created special task forces within the elite SS, called *Einsatzgruppen*, which were charged with liquidating all political enemies of the Third Reich.

The *Einsatzgruppen* killed approximately 1.4 million Jews in actions that involved little more than lining men, women, and children up in front of ditches and machine-gunning them. Ultimately, however, the mass shooting of Polish Jews was not practical, so while the Nazis planned the creation of special camps for the efficient extermination of the Jews, they decided to isolate them in ghettos.

## Ghettoization

The Polish ghettos were enclosed areas—barbed wire at Lodz, a brick wall in Warsaw and Cracow—guarded by German soldiers. The Jews tried to live as normally as possible, but conditions in the ghettos were horrible. Malnutrition was widespread and death by starvation and disease was a daily occurrence.

Each ghetto was administered by a Jewish council (*Judenrat*) composed of influential members of the Jewish community who had to decide whether to help the Nazis or risk being murdered for their refusal. While the *Judenrats* hoped to improve the plight of Jews in the ghettos, they were often forced to choose who would be deported to the death camps. Ultimately, their cooperation did not save them from suffering the same fate as the other Jews. In 1942, Hitler decided to liquidate the ghettos and, within eighteen months, had the more than 2 million Jews deported to death camps.

## The Final Solution

The first people Hitler systematically began to murder were not Jews. In September 1939, he gave an order authorizing doctors to grant “the incurably ill a merciful death.” The program was based in Berlin at No. 4 Tiergartenstrasse and became known afterward as the T-4

program. Patients from hospitals all over the Reich who were considered senile, insane, or in some way “mentally defective” were marked for death. Initially people were killed by starvation, then by injections of lethal doses of sedatives, and ultimately by gas. The gas chambers, disguised as showers, were first developed for use in the T-4 program, and corpses were cremated, as those of Jews would later be in the camps.

Hitler’s extermination campaign was already nearly three years old when Reinhard Heydrich, head of the SS Reich Security Main Office, arranged for a conference in the Berlin suburb of Wannsee on 20 January 1942. The German army had overrun most of Europe, and the Nazis recognized that it would require greater coordination among their various institutions and officials to accomplish the goal of a “final solution” to the Jewish question, namely the extermination of the 11 million Jews Hitler believed to be living in Europe.

From that point until the surrender of Germany, the Nazis followed the course laid out at Wannsee and murdered approximately 6 million Jews as well as an almost equal number of non-Jews. The killing continued unabated even when the tide of war turned against Germany. When every German was needed to fight, and when food, oil, and transportation were in short supply, resources continued to be diverted to the killing of Jews rather than to military use.

The Germans were determined to find practical ways to kill as many people as quickly as possible. They built six camps—Chelmno, Treblinka, Sobibor, Belzec, Majdanek, and Auschwitz/Birkenau—specifically for murdering Jews. In Auschwitz alone, more than a million people were murdered, mostly in gas chambers.

## The Last Stop

Jews deported from their homes or ghettos were usually told they were being transferred to another area or sent to work; they had no idea what to expect when they were packed like animals into boxcars and shipped to their final destination. Before they knew what was happening, their possessions were seized and they were confronted by snarling dogs, armed soldiers, and officials barking orders at them. Those taken directly from the trains to the

*The fools among the people will say: What has turned them from their qiblah which they had? Say: The East and the West belong only to Allah; He guides whom He likes to the right path. • QURAN 2.142*

gas chambers did not realize they were headed to their deaths, and it did not occur to them to resist.

The numbers of bodies being buried eventually grew so large that the mass graves were overflowing. Ovens were installed in some camps to cremate the dead. After the Jews were killed, camp inmates were forced to extract gold from the teeth of the corpses, as well as confiscate money, jewelry, and anything else of value, which was then delivered to the German Reichsbank. Other personal items, such as clocks, wallets, and clothes, were cleaned and delivered to German troops. The best of the loot was reserved for SS officers.

Jews who were not immediately killed were segregated by sex, their personal possessions taken away, and their heads shaved. They were issued prison uniforms and, at Auschwitz (after 1941), had numbers tattooed on their arms. Prisoners were fed starvation rations and brutalized by guards.

Because the Germans believed Jews were inferior and essentially subhuman, they felt no hesitation about using them for cruel experiments. At Auschwitz, the Germans experimented with sterilization techniques. At other camps, the Nazis broke bones over and over again to see how many times it could be done before the bone would no longer heal. Prisoners were exposed to extreme heat and cold to determine the maximum and minimum temperatures at which people could survive, and experiments were conducted to determine the effects of atmospheric pressure on the body.

Jews were not only murdered in concentration camps. At the entrance to camps such as Auschwitz, a sign read, *Arbeit Macht Frei*, or “Labor wins freedom.” Thousands of prisoners were literally worked to death. Others died working in German industrial factories owned by large companies such as IG Farben (which produced synthetic rubber and fuel) and Krupp (which produced fuses).

## **Survival and Resistance**

It took luck and determination to survive in the camps or in hiding. People lived underground in caves for years, escaped through latrines, and hid inside monasteries, pretending to be non-Jews. Prisoners in the camps had to stay healthy enough to work, and that often required

stealing or trading food and clothing. The very young and old had little chance of survival; more than a million children were murdered in the Holocaust. Women were more likely to be killed than men, because they were less able to perform hard labor and because they could not be allowed to live and produce more Jews.

Despite the overwhelming odds, lack of training and weapons, and their usually weak physical condition, Jews did engage in acts of resistance, such as joining armed partisan groups, participating in the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto, attempting to escape from Sobibor, and blowing up the crematorium at Auschwitz. Prisoners who refused to give in to the dehumanization of the camps displayed a different type of resistance, secretly organizing religious services or classes.

## **The Failure to Act**

Many reports of what was happening to the Jews appeared in media abroad, but they were often buried deep in the newspaper and written in a way that detracted from their credibility. Most people could not believe that hundreds of thousands of people could be murdered in a single place.

The US government knew what was happening to the Jews in Germany throughout the 1930s and learned about the Final Solution by 1942. Roosevelt was urged to use the military to slow down or try to stop Hitler’s killing machine, but defense officials rejected suggestions to bomb the concentration camps. Roosevelt believed the best way to save the Jews was to devote all the nation’s resources to winning the war. Undoubtedly, the Allied victory saved Europe and millions of lives, but 6 million Jewish lives were still lost in part because U.S. officials made it difficult and sometimes impossible for Jews—except those who were famous or could help the war effort—to enter the country to escape Hitler. Late in the war, Roosevelt created the War Refugee Board, which took modest measures to rescue Jews, but it was too little too late.

## **Rescuers**

The Holocaust was only possible because of the complicity of ordinary citizens. Besides the perpetrators and bystanders, however, thousands of people acted coura-



geously and morally, risking their lives to save others. These “righteous persons” did everything from providing shelter to food to documents to Jews in danger. A few diplomats, such as Sweden’s Raoul Wallenberg and Japan’s Chiune Sugihara, helped Jews escape by giving them visas. In the case of Le Chambon, France, a whole town shielded Jews from their tormentors. Denmark was the only occupied country that actively resisted the Nazi regime’s attempts to deport its citizens and saved almost its entire Jewish population.

## War Crimes

Hitler and several of his top aides committed suicide at the end of the war to avoid arrest and prosecution. The twenty-two highest-ranking surviving officials were tried for war crimes at Nuremberg, Germany, and hundreds of other trials were held for camp guards and others who committed atrocities. Low-ranking officials claimed they were “only following orders” and should not be held responsible for their actions, but the judges rejected this excuse. Both those who gave orders to commit atrocities and those who pulled the triggers were found guilty.

Many Nazis were executed for their crimes, but most had their sentences reduced or commuted. Others were never tried and escaped to countries in Latin America and elsewhere, where they lived quiet lives under assumed names. The United States actively recruited some Nazis to help in intelligence operations against the Soviet Union. A number of Nazi hunters pursued Nazis who escaped justice. The most dramatic case was that of Adolf Eichmann, one of the architects of the Final Solution, who escaped to Argentina and was found and abducted by Israeli agents who took him to Israel, where he was tried, convicted, and executed for his crimes against humanity. By the start of the twenty-first century war criminals were still being found and tried.

*Mitchell G. Bard*

See also Genocide; Hitler, Adolf; Judaism; World War II

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# Homer

(9TH–8TH? CENTURY BCE)

GREEK POET

Homer is the Greek poet credited with the composition of the epics the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. There is little evidence for a historical figure called Homer. The earliest written mentions of him date from the seventh century BCE, but these are not in agreement. A number of Greek cities claim Homer for their own, most of them in Ionia in Asia Minor (modern Turkey). Textual and linguistic analysis suggests that Homer was from Euboea, a large island that hugs the east flank of mainland Greece opposite Ionia, and that he lived in the early 800s BCE.

Although the background to both epics is the Trojan War (c. 13th century BCE) fought at Ilium (Troy) in

modern Turkey, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* deal with distinct themes. The *Iliad* relates the rage of the hero Achilles who, insulted by the Greek leader Agamemnon, refuses to fight and urges his mother, Thetis, to have the gods turn the tide of battle against his comrades. His anger turns to grief when his friend Patroclus is killed by Hector while wearing Achilles' armor. Achilles returns to battle and kills Hector, threatening to defile his corpse until Hector's father, Priam, asks him to surrender the body for a proper funeral, which he does. The action of the book takes place over a few days in the last year of the war, but Homer also recounts the origins of the conflict and much of the story of the previous nine years.

The *Odyssey* relates the return home of the Greek hero Odysseus after the war. Although it is regarded as more of a folktale in which the hero makes excursions to fantastic lands and the underworld, the geography of the *Odyssey* is clearly modeled on the experience of eighth-century Greece, which was then beginning its westward expansion. His homecoming takes ten years because of the obstacles put in his way by Poseidon, god of the sea. In addition to telling of Odysseus's wanderings and tribulations, the *Odyssey* also tells of the efforts of his son, Telemachus, to rid his house of the many suitors who have descended in hopes of marrying his mother, Penelope. In the end, father and son are reunited, they kill the suitors, and Odysseus resumes his place as lord of Ithaca.

Thanks to their exploration of human (and divine) motive, their narrative force, and the sheer beauty of the language, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have been regarded as cornerstones of the Western literary tradition since antiquity. More recent evaluations of Homer have established an important historical place for him. At the end of the nineteenth century, the German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann discovered the site of ancient Troy, which is believed to have burned in about 1250 BCE. This discovery suggested that the story of the *Iliad* had a factual basis. If the stories originated in the thirteenth century BCE, they underwent a contextual metamorphosis so that by the time they were written down, apart from a few intentional archaisms, many of the poem's details reflect the reality of eighth-century Greece, then emerging from

a centuries-long dark age, not that of the more prosperous Mycenaean age.

The Homeric poems are also among the oldest—if not the oldest—works of written Greek and their transcription marks a crucial transition in the development of writing. The West Semitic alphabet upon which Greek is based has only consonants. Greek, on the other hand, contains both consonants and vowels, which are essential for rendering the metrical rhythm of Greek poetry, and one theory holds that the scribe who first set down the Homeric epics was bilingual and forced to introduce vowels to accommodate the Greek. Homer's use of dactylic hexameter was widely imitated in antiquity, most notably in Virgil's epic of the founding of Rome by the Trojan refugee Aeneas. The first half of the *Aeneid* recounts Aeneas's voyage to Italy, on the model of the *Odyssey*, while the second half has the more martial spirit of the *Iliad*.

As important as the epics are as a foundation of the "Western" literary tradition, many of the plots and themes derive from older Near Eastern antecedents, the best known of which is the Epic of Gilgamesh. As well as being a standard reading in survey courses of Western literature, Homer's legacy is seen in the design of James Joyce's mock-heroic epic novel *Ulysses* (the Latin name for Odysseus), which Joyce divided into the Telemachiad, the Wanderings of Ulysses, and the *Nostos* (homecoming).

Lincoln P. Paine

See also Greece, Ancient

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## Homosexuality

See Gay and Lesbian Rights Movement; Sex and Sexuality

*Buying is a profound pleasure.*

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR

(1908–1986)

## Hong Merchants

Since the early days of the Sino-Western trade in Guangzhou (Canton), China, Chinese merchants who were licensed by ruling Qing dynasty (1644–1912) to trade with foreign merchants were known as hong merchants. The term came from the name of the trading guild, Cohong, established in 1720, to which they all belonged. As their number was highly restricted to about a dozen or less at any one time, and as the trade volume grew to very substantial size by around 1775, many hong merchants became some of the most prominent and wealthy merchants in China. During the early nineteenth century, the most powerful hong merchant was Houqua (d. 1843). The full extent of his wealth is not known, for besides running extensive business enterprises in China, Houqua also formed joint ventures and partnerships with Russell & Company, a U.S. firm that did business in China. He consigned specific shipments of goods to it for sale overseas without the knowledge of the Chinese State. He also invested directly in the United States, including in stocks in the transcontinental railroad. From what can be gleaned from various accounts, Houqua appears to have been worth several million U.S. dollars, and thus may well have been the richest man in the world at that time.

Not all hong merchants were as successful. Indeed, there were many who, for a variety of reasons—highly speculative ventures, poor management, unduly heavy pressure from government officials, conspicuous consumption, simple bad luck, among others—had to declare bankruptcy. These failures became so prevalent in some years that, by 1775, the Cohong decided to establish a kind of self-insurance fund, called the Consoo Fund, to cover the debts left behind by their bankrupt members. The fund was officially recognized in 1780. Each member paid 10 percent of his previous year's profit to the fund annually. In 1789, in order to ensure that no debts would be owed to foreign merchants, the Qing authorities imposed a 3 percent levy on foreign imports that went to augment the fund.

While the main functions of the hong merchants were the buying and selling of goods for the foreign merchants

that congregated at Guangzhou, the only Chinese port opened to foreign trade from 1759 to 1842, they were also charged to secure the port, collect all the port charges and papers for each arriving or departing foreign vessel, and guarantee the good behavior of individual foreign merchants. With respect to the goods they sold to foreigners, hong merchants also stood behind quality and authenticity thereof, and if goods were returned, then the hong merchants were obligated to replace them without charge. They also gave advice to supercargoes (officers on merchant ships who were in charge of the voyage's commercial concerns) and to private traders. Indeed, many life-long friendships were struck between Western and hong merchants, and their advice often extended from the professional to the social and personal. These friendly relationships, however, did not result in greater mutual understanding of each other's culture. Because Chinese officials refused to have direct dealings with European and U.S. merchants, hong merchants had to serve as intermediaries. Thus, in addition to handling business matters, they also took care of foreign merchants' personal needs, such as petitioning grievances, finding living quarters and household servants, and getting official permits to leave their living compounds for occasional outings in the countryside. These official functions, together with the considerable customs fees that they collected for the Imperial Household Bureau—for all taxes levied from foreign trade went directly into the emperor's private purse—gave them access to senior officials and opportunities to receive official commendations. Several second- or third-generation hong merchants were scholars who had passed the state examinations and were therefore treated as social equals by the local officials. As a group, they occupied a rather unique place among the Chinese merchant class. The hong merchants' exclusive trading privileges with foreigners and their position as intermediaries between foreign merchants and Chinese officials came to an end in 1842 with Great Britain's victory over China in the first Opium War. The hong merchants and their Cohong guild were disbanded, and they came to be regarded as relics of a period when the Chinese world and the Western world came together without much

mutual understanding. The Chinese government did not recognize foreign trading as a private citizen's right. According to normative Confucian values, trading with foreigners was an element of diplomacy and therefore ought to be highly controlled and limited in scope. Nevertheless, it was not a matter of sufficient importance to involve the state directly, and hence, any communication between Chinese officials and foreign merchants was channeled through hong merchants. On the other hand, both the Chinese and the foreign merchants worked successfully together, for they shared a similar set of values about private enterprise and profit motives. After 1842, many of the hong merchants, joined by newcomers, continued to engage in foreign trade in the form of compradors (Chinese agents in the employ of foreign firms). The Chinese worldview itself remained fractured, and it would take another generation or two before the Chinese state gave proper recognition to international trade and the critical role played by the hong merchants.

Wellington K. K. Chan

See also Trading Patterns, China Seas

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## Horticultural Societies

Between six and twelve thousand years ago, societies scattered around the world began to manage and cultivate local plants for food, containers, fibers, and medicines. The main food crops were wheat and barley in the Near East; rice in Thailand and China; sorghum,

*A physicist is the atom's way of thinking about atoms.*

ANONYMOUS

millet, and yams in Africa; yams and taro in New Guinea; gourds, squash, beans, and maize along with managed crops such as maguey and sunflower in Central America; manioc (cassava) and sweet potatoes in lowland South America; and in highland South America the same cultigens as in Central America plus potatoes, quinoa, chili peppers, and coca. In North America the main food crops were a suite of local starchy and oily seeded plants including marsh elder/sumpweed, chenopods, squashes, and sunflowers. Over the millennia more than three hundred different plants were domesticated, of which about twenty-five are considered staples today.

So significant was this worldwide transition to farming that it came to be viewed by most anthropologists as the foundation of civilization. However, the revolution in the way people fed themselves did not happen quickly, and centuries passed before the transition from foraging to farming was complete. This transitional period is the nexus in which horticultural societies first emerged.

### Horticulture and Agriculture

The term “horticulture” comes from the Latin *hortus*, which puts emphasis on the plants, while the term “agriculture,” from the Latin *ager*, places emphasis on the land. This may appear to be only a semantic difference. However, in horticultural systems the land is cultivated for fewer years than it is allowed to lie fallow. The most common method of land clearance involves slash-and-burn techniques in which a plot of land is cleared and the cut vegetation is allowed to dry. At the beginning of the rainy season the dried vegetation is burned to release nutrients into the soil. Next, a wide variety of cultigens are planted, and these are harvested according to their different rates of growth. The garden is replanted and reused for four or five years and is then abandoned and allowed to lie fallow for up to twenty years during which secondary forest growth covers the plot. The result is an “extensive” form of cultivation in which new lands are brought under cultivation while other areas remain fallow for a long time. In effect, little effort is expended in preparing the land and more effort is focused on the plants.

## Iban Swidden Horticulture

*Like many indigenous peoples of Southeast Asia, the Iban of Sarawak practiced swidden or slash-and-burn horticulture. The following ethnographic account by Derek Freeman details the advantage of exploiting virgin land for gardens.*

Despite the fact that Iban have been living in the valley of the Sut for something like fifty years, virgin jungle (kampong) was still being felled at Rumah Nyala in 1949–50, and I was fortunate in being able to witness many different types of land usage. Before beginning our survey there are several preliminary points which should be made. Iban methods of land usage are complex.

There is however, one general feature of especial significance: a marked tendency (particularly when working virgin forest) to farm land for two years in succession, before letting it revert to secondary jungle. [...]

Every land usage cycle begins with the felling of virgin jungle. During the past hundred years, many thousands of acres of primeval forest in the Rejang basin have been felled by Iban axes, and in the Baleh (and other similar pioneer areas) this onslaught is

still going on. From the historical survey (presented in Part II of this report) of the Iban occupation of the Batang Rejang and its tributary rivers and streams, it emerges clearly that the Iban are a virile and resourceful people with an insatiable appetite for virgin land. The motives which prompt this appetite are many. Foremost is the knowledge that, given good weather, two and more crops of exceptional abundance may be harvested from an umai kampong. In their prayers (sampi) at the time of pemanggal, the Iban ask for:

“Land that is fat, fat in deep layers,  
Luxuriant land, land that is fruitful,  
Soil soft and fecund, land richly fertile;”

and they know that this is most likely to be found in tracts of kampong, on untouched slopes and terraces, where the humus of centuries lies thickly. The labour expended on an umai kampong is heavy, but it holds high promise of a surplus—a surplus that leads to property and prestige and all the other things most desired by Iban hearts.

Source: Freeman, D. (1955). *Iban agriculture: a report on the shifting cultivation of hill rice by the Iban of Sarawak* (pp. 114–115). London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

In contrast, agricultural systems make use of permanently cultivated fields, and only one or a few cultigens are planted. These plots are typically cultivated for longer periods than they are left fallow, and various methods for soil enrichment, such as the addition of mulch and fertilizers, are employed. Agriculture often involves a combined use in which domesticated animals contribute to soil fertility (for example, manure) and consume the nitrogen-fixing fallow plants that are cultivated to enrich the soil. Gardens are not returned to secondary growth and in many cases they are specially constructed. Such constructions include raised and ridged fields, mounding, *chinampas* (the floating gardens of Aztec Mexico), pond gardens, and irrigation works. In agriculture, greater efforts are placed on modifying the land and adding to its fertility.

Because horticulture lies at the interface between a complete reliance on wild foods (“foraging”) and complete reliance on domesticated foods (“agriculture”), hor-

ticultural economies contain elements of both. Most anthropologists believe that human groups first practiced an economy based on foraging; in some cases these groups harvested natural stands of plants that bore edible seeds. Many of these plants were pioneer species that grew in areas where the climax, forest vegetation, had been disturbed. From the outset people disturbed habitats by clearing land for settlements; by cutting trees for house construction, boats, and other uses; by using fire to hunt game; and by dumping their trash and other waste near their settlements, and many edible plants thrive in these disturbed, human-created spaces.

The next step involved encouraging the growth of useful plants—for example, in the eastern United States people may have removed particular trees to increase the output of hickory nuts. Finally, seeds and cuttings were planted in specially prepared gardens where they were tended throughout their growth cycle. Such tending and management involved activities such as land clearance,

weeding, fertilizing, and pest control. The use of such techniques increased over the years in a process that anthropologist Clifford Geertz called “agricultural involution.” Greater outputs of plant foods were obtained by applying more labor to gardening processes.

Horticulture is still practiced today in most societies. In some societies it is a way of life, although it is typically a supplement to more intensive forms of agriculture. People cultivate small gardens close to their homes in which a variety of vegetables, fruits, herbs, medicinal plants, and flowers are grown for household use.

### Contemporary Societies

Today most horticultural societies live in the tropics. There are several reasons for this. First, the climate allows for the cultivation of food crops year round, unlike temperate regions in which farming is limited to particular seasons. Second, it is possible to grow a wide variety of

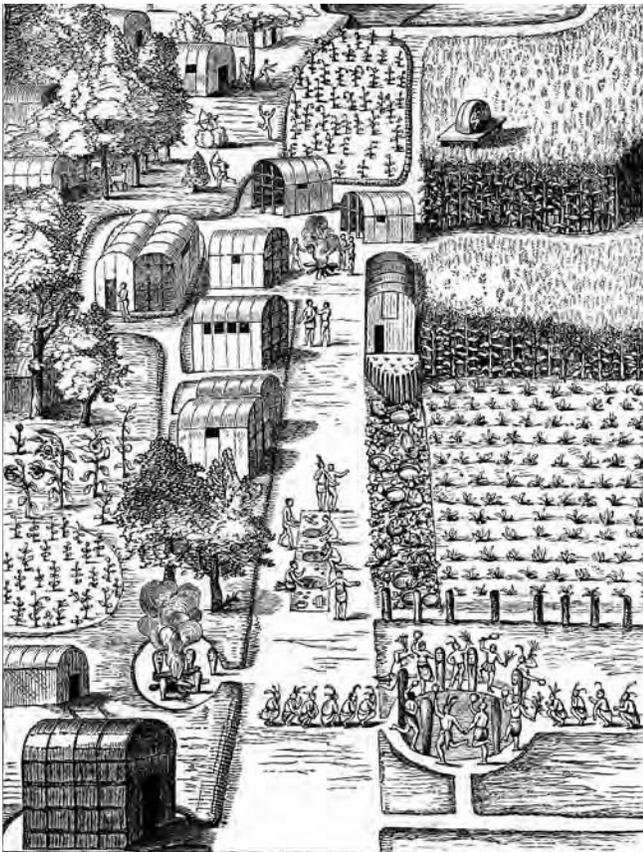
plants in a single garden because these plants mature at different rates. Thus, a single garden can contain root crops, maize, legumes, fruit trees, and other food plants. Third, because most of the nutrients in the tropics are bound up in the vegetation itself, nutrients can be released by simply burning the vegetation before planting. However, the nutrients released by burning provide only a few years of soil fertility, which means that a garden must be abandoned before it can be planted again.

Finally, tropical soils tend to be extremely fragile. When Western agricultural economists first started to study tropical gardens they concluded that this type of farming was inefficient. However, when they introduced large, open fields with a single cultigen there was a high rate of soil erosion during the rainy season and the soils were baked by the sun into unproductive hardpans within a few years. It turned out that horticulture was well suited to the climate and soil characteristics of the tropics. Small fields covered with plants protect the soil from heavy rains and insolation and provide a continuous supply of food throughout the year.

Farming is only one part of horticultural economies. Tropical cultigens tend to be rich in starch but lacking in protein so meat or fish must also be obtained to provide an adequate diet. Some horticulturalists keep domesticated animals as a source of protein (for example, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, or guinea pigs), but they tend to rely more heavily on hunting or fishing as the main source. They also collect a variety of wild foods from the forest—for instance, fruits, nuts, honey, and grubs. In sum, this is a truly mixed economy that combines farming, hunting, fishing, gathering, and collecting.

The requirements of these different strategies place certain constraints on the organization of horticultural societies. Although they vary according to the particulars of their area, they share certain cultural practices.

**A highly stylized drawing of a native American village in Virginia in the late 1500s. The drawing shows a mix of crops typical of horticultural societies including corn, squash, and tobacco.**





These constraints have important implications with regard to village size and distribution, division of labor, social organization, and political complexity.

Villages tend to be small, numbering fewer than two hundred people, and they are often widely dispersed across the landscape. In some regions the entire village is relocated frequently. One reason is the need to continuously plant new gardens. For example, a village of two hundred people composed of thirty families will consume about thirty hectares of forest for their gardens (that is, one hectare per family). Gardens remain productive for only four to five years, so every five years they must clear an additional thirty hectares. Eventually the time it takes to walk to the garden becomes a high cost to pay. In addition, wild animals in the vicinity of a village rapidly decline due to hunting pressure and hunters must venture farther and farther from the village. Finally, after the pole and thatch houses in which villagers live become infested with vermin, their inhabitants are compelled to abandon them and build new ones. Large spacing between villages promotes better access to wild game, and villages are typically moved a relatively short distance to facilitate the recycling of materials from the old village (for example, house posts) and to allow villagers to continue to harvest foods from the old gardens, especially fruits.

There tends to be a strong gender division of labor among horticultural groups. Men clear and burn the new gardens, contribute to some of the more tedious tasks (such as weeding), and are responsible for hunting and fishing. Women provide a complementary contribution to the economy. They often plant and tend the fields, harvest foods for daily consumption, prepare the meals, and oversee basic domestic activities. Child care tends to restrict their activities to the vicinity of the village. There is often substantial leisure time, and domestic activities are carried out at a slow pace and in a social context. Even during repetitious tasks, such as weeding the garden or preparing meals, the activities involve several people who chat and gossip.

Because men are often away from the village on hunting and fishing expeditions, horticultural societies tend to be organized around a core of related females. In such

cases group and clan membership is determined by tracing descent through the female line. Matrilineal descent recognizes that the members of the clan are all related through their mothers to a real or mythical ancestress who lived sometime in the remote past. Maintaining a core of related women requires that women stay in their natal village and that their husbands move to live with them. This creates a residence pattern that anthropologists call matrilocality. In some cases, men are so peripheral to the group that they live in a separate men's house and not in the house of their wife.

Because horticultural societies have relatively few members, there is usually little need for formal leadership; however, as the size of the group increases, it is common for one individual to emerge as the village leader or headman. Even though related women are the core around which the domestic group is formed, men still fulfill the major leadership roles, especially as these relate to external relations. Such leaders tend to rule by example and through consensus. Because they lack the authority to enforce their will, they must exhort their fellow villagers to recognize the wisdom of their ideas and to agree to follow their lead.

A major issue that confronts village leaders is the decision to move the village. This decision is complicated by the fact that every family has its own needs and goals. For example, one family may have just cleared a new garden so would prefer to stay, while others are ready to abandon old gardens and move on. Moreover, as a village grows in size through the birth of new members there will come a point at which the group must fission into separate villages in order to maintain their standard of living. Fissioning is never an easy task and involves conflicting allegiances to family, friends, and relations through marriage. Nevertheless, because a horticultural economy can support only a limited number of people in one village, groups must eventually split up to maintain an acceptable population density.

Individual villages are not, however, isolated units. Relations must be maintained with other villages to obtain spouses and mitigate risks, and these intervillage alliances are often sealed through marriages. Although



**The traditional subsistence system of the Tohono O'odham (Papago) of southern Arizona was based on a mix of farming and foraging. This drawing shows a woman and man planting corn with a digging stick.**

men often move to live in their wife's village, they frequently return to their clan's village to participate in clan activities. Intervillage solidarity is maintained through visiting and through periodic feasts.

### **Contemporary Horticulture**

The transition to farming was a long-term process. At first, the use of local plants involved relatively simple methods of land preparation directed toward encouraging their productivity, and these plants made a relatively minor contribution to the overall diet. Construction of villages, midden deposits, selective land clearance, fire, and other activities provided the disturbed spaces in which pioneering seed-bearing species thrived. Over time, new methods were introduced to increase the productivity of those plants that benefited from human interventions. In addition, animals were domesticated and this freed some groups from the need to obtain protein by hunting wild game.

In regions with a restricted growing season, farming focused on a relatively small suite of highly productive cultigens that could be grown in relatively permanent fields and then stored for later use. Horticulture continued in the form of house gardens where herbs, vegetables, medicinal plants, flowers, and other useful plants were grown for household use. However, in the tropics where food crops could be grown year round, complex systems of horticulture emerged that are still in use.

These horticultural societies found a system of cultivation that was well suited to the vagaries of climate and soil fertility that constrained the intensification of production. Moreover, many of these regions lacked animals that could be easily domesticated or maintained in large herds, so they had to rely on hunting and fishing as a major source of protein. The result was a mixed economy based on horticulture, hunting, fishing, gathering, and collecting, which molded social practices. Today horticulture remains a viable way of life for many people, especially those living in the tropics. They share similar social and political organizations and enjoy rich cultural lives. Although Western agricultural economists once characterized their way of life as wasteful, these societies have, in fact, found efficient ways of making a living in a challenging environment.

*William F. Keegan*

*See also* Agrarian Era; Agricultural Societies

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## Hudson's Bay Company

The Hudson's Bay Company was a significant British trading company, leading in fur trade, exploring and developing the Canadian wilderness, and holding the biggest territory of any company in the history of the world from its foundation in 1670 till the forced sale of its landholdings in 1869. Since the land sales it has remained a significant actor in Canadian business till present times.

The Hudson's Bay Company was founded as a monopoly by a royal charter given by King Charles II (1630–1685) in concession to Prince Rupert (1619–1682), the king's cousin, and his syndicate was subscribed to by royal courtiers. Originally, and until 1970, headquarters were in London while the main area of activities was located in the Hudson's Bay area of what is now eastern Canada and northeastern United States. From its beginning the company antagonized the French, especially those of Montreal, who had already established trading interests in the Hudson's Bay area. However, temporary political affinity prevented active hostilities between the company and the French until 1689, when relations between England and France soured as William III (1650–1702) and Mary (1662–1694) ascended to the throne of England and joined the Netherlands in the League of Augsburg against France. As the political climate opened for hostilities, the conflicts of interests between French Canadians and the Hudson's Bay Company led to continued fighting for nearly a century, in

which the loyalties of the Native Americans were eagerly pursued by both sides both as fighting and as trading partners.

The main products of the sparsely populated Hudson's Bay region were furs and pelts, especially highly profitable beaver pelts, which were much valued in Europe where, manufactured into felt, they were used for a range of hats, including the triangle hat that was in common use in the eighteenth century. Many of the beaver pelts were acquired through trade with the Native Americans, who through their choice of trading partners came to be allied with either the French Canadians or the Hudson's Bay Company. Originally the company offered standard European manufactured products, such as metal tools like scissors and hatchets, and vanity items in exchange for the beaver pelts traded with the natives. The exchange rate was fixed with the beaver pelt as the main currency: a "made beaver" could be precisely measured in value against European manufactured goods and the furs of other Canadian game, and tokens were even minted by the company to match the value of a pelt, with values from one-fifth to one whole beaver. In 1780, the company introduced a new product, the point blanket, which was a durable woolen blanket that won favor with European Canadians as well as Native Americans, who started to accept the blanket as one of the main goods of trade, as they found it useful both as clothing and as a standard blanket.

Contention about land arose in connection with the American Revolution, as the Hudson's Bay Company and the new states tried to claim the same territory in the border region around the Great Lakes. The dispute was settled, largely in favor of the United States, by the Treaty of Paris (1783), in which Britain acknowledged the new republic and its national borders.

The Hudson's Bay Company was in charge of enormous landholdings, at its height estimated at about one-twelfth of the solid surface of the earth, and through its explorations into the chartered territory it provided a great contribution to the knowledge of the area. Through most of its early existence, the company was almost all male, governors as well as associated employees usually

## Life in the Northwest Territories

*The following is taken from an account of Duncan Pryde's experiences in the Northwest Territories of the Canadian Arctic as an employee of the Hudson Bay Company. Pryde describes the barter system used in the fur trade and offers a glimpse into life in the Northwest Territories of Canada during the period 1958-1970.*

When I taught Ian how to trade with the Eskimos, I followed the same barter system I had learned in Baker Lake under Sandy Lunan and used later at places like Spence Bay, Gjoa Haven and Perry Island. From the beginning the Company had used aluminum coins or tokens to get around the rather haphazard way Eskimos had of counting. For example, almost any Eskimo would correctly count up to three caribou,

but any more frequently just became 'many'. An Eskimo might say, 'I saw a bunch of caribou and killed some.' Ask him how many were 'some', and if it had been more than three he would probably say 'many'.

A square token represented one white fox. The round token, about an inch in diameter with an HBC 'one' stamped in the middle (to represent one dollar) was followed in size by smaller tokens representing smaller amounts. The tokens provided a visual form of counting for the Eskimos that they quickly understood.

For example, if a hunter brought in ten white fox pelts, the prime economic unit in the fur trading world of the North, we would lay out one square

living as singles as the cold Canadian climate was considered particularly unsuitable for white women.

In 1869 the British North America Act was passed, creating Canada as a self-governing dominion of the British empire. A condition for the formation of the new state was the sale of the chartered area and the end of the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company. Given no choice but to sell, the company was handsomely paid for giving up its land and rights. After the land sale and breakup of the monopoly, the company turned increasingly to retail, fur auctioning, and, after 1929, oil and gas, remaining an important factor in Canadian business and a contributor to the allied efforts in both the First World War and the Second World War. In 1970 a supplemental royal charter turned the company into a Canadian company, and headquarters were moved from London to Winnipeg. Today (2004), the Hudson's Bay Company is Canada's biggest company in general retail and one of its five biggest employers.

*Martha A. Ebbesen*

*See also* Fur Trade

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## Human Evolution —Overview

One important way world historians have expanded their perspectives on humanity's past is through the integration of hominid evolution with their customary consideration of events covering the last 5,000 years. To understand hominid evolution, they have turned to the findings of paleoanthropologists, who rely primarily on fossil evidence rather than written records to recon-

token for each white fox. Suppose that that year the price of fox was twenty dollars each; we would take up one square token and replace it with twenty round one-dollar tokens. Whenever an Eskimo bought something, the tokens representing the value of his purchase were removed and the change was made in smaller tokens. The biggest trouble with these thin aluminum tokens was that all our trading was done in an unheated store, and the tokens were too thin to pick up without the trader taking off his mitts. When fingers were bared, the tokens froze nicely to the skin.

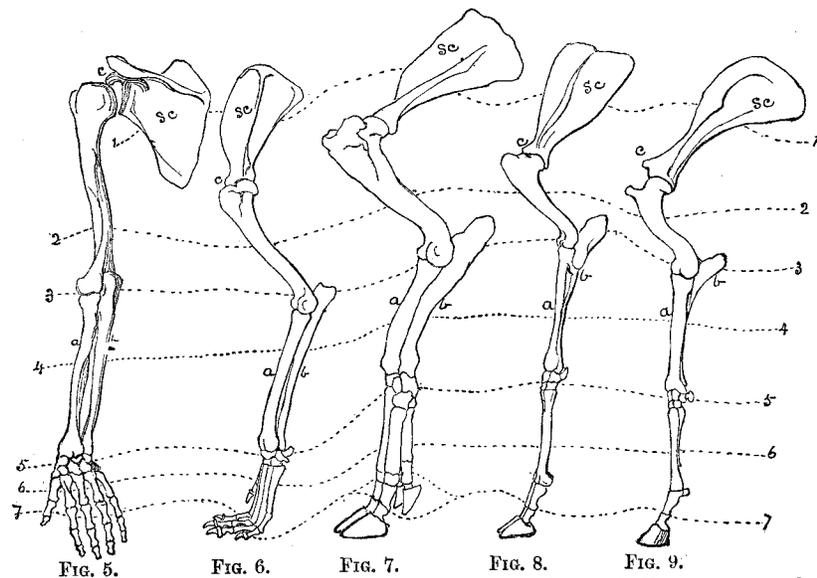
Source: Pryde, D. (1972). *Nunaga: my land, my country*. Edmonton, Canada: M.G. Hurtig Ltd.

struct the patterns of prehistory that stretch back 5 to 7 million years, when our earliest direct ancestors in the family of hominids, an amazing variety of distinct species, notably the australopithecines, or southern apes, diverged onto their own evolutionary line. Seventy million years of primate evolution set the parameters and determined the possibilities for the origins and development of hominids. From their primate heritage, human beings have derived a unique combination of physical attributes, including large brains relative to body size, eyes capable of binocular vision, nimble hands, smaller canine teeth, and a skeleton designed for upright walking. Human evolution

**In this early work on human evolution, this drawing compares human bones to those of other animals. This focus on comparative anatomy was an early interest in the study of human evolution.**

also rested on long-standing trends in primate behavior, including social learning and cooperation, toolmaking, and group organization.

Before discussing human evolution in more detail, however, a word about the evidence used in paleoanthropology and the types of disputes that tend to arise is in order. Given the paucity of evidence available to paleoanthropologists, the immense gaps in existing knowledge, and the number of recent archeological finds that call into question prevailing views, world historians should not be surprised to find the experts constantly disagreeing among themselves about the variables of hominid evolution. They utilize detailed site surveys, stratigraphic observations, chronometric methods of dating, and precise forms of climatological, biomolecular, and comparative anatomical analysis to begin to interpret what they have found. They have increasingly emphasized the diversity rather than the uniformity of early hominids and the possibility that early hominids lived widely throughout sub-Saharan Africa, but have remained divided over how to distinguish one species or genus from another, and hence over the use of proper nomenclature. Such fundamental aspects of human



FIGS. 5-9.—5. Fore-limb of man. 6. Dog. 7. Hog. 8. Sheep. 9. Horse. *sc*, scapula; *c*, coracoid; *a, b*, two bones of fore-arm. (Taken from various sources and grouped.)

*Observe constantly that all things take place by change, and accustom thyself to consider that the nature of the Universe loves nothing so much as to change the things that are, and to make new things like them.* • MARCUS AURELIUS (121–180 CE)

evolution as the development of walking, speaking, and the hunting-gathering adaptation remain subjects of significant debate.

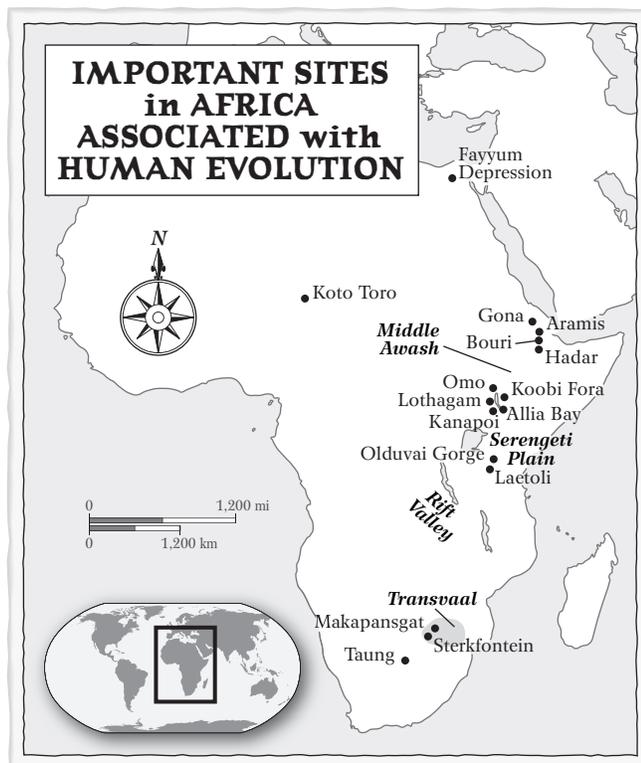
## Earliest Hominids

Despite unresolved disagreements and uncertainties, and evidence for the development of a discernibly upright posture in primate evolution, paleoanthropologists have focused on bipedal locomotion, the peculiar human capacity to walk efficiently on two legs with a fully erect posture, as the key to understanding what separated our oldest forebears from other hominoids. Indisputably, Australopithecines living in eastern and southern Africa had ape bodies adapted to permit upright balance and a striding gait. Bipedalism represented a beneficial adaptive response to Africa's expanding open woodlands and savanna environments. Compelled to traverse the considerable distances between shrinking wooded areas as they foraged for sustenance or sought a refuge as nightfall approached, our distant forebears must have recog-

nized the cooling effects of upright posture, the advantages of a panoramic view, especially when striding through tall grass, and the convenience of carrying food, artifacts, or children with free hands. The occasional bipedalism that natural selection steadily reinforced as australopithecines adapted to their special niche set the stage for the subsequent evolution of every other fundamental feature that separates us from our hominoid cousins. It probably contributed to such physical modifications as progressive hair loss, improved sweat glands, and the refinement of the human hand. By indirectly encouraging tool use and heightened levels of social interaction, it may even have served as a fountainhead for the development of cultural behavior.

For several decades after the discovery of *Australopithecus afarensis* in 1974, paleoanthropologists devoted considerable attention to the fossil evidence for this relatively small, gracile species known as *Australopithecus afarensis*, which lived in East Africa between 4 and 3 million years ago. Still viewed by most investigators as the common ancestor of all subsequent hominid forms, *afarensis* possessed an almost humanlike skeleton below the neck, but a braincase only about one-third that of the modern average. In the mid-1990s, archaeologists discovered the remains of two other previously unknown hominids, *Australopithecus amanensis*, an apelike creature that apparently lived in the dense forests of East Africa at least 4 million years ago, and what researchers originally called *Australopithecus ramidus*, another East African species remarkably similar to chimpanzees.

*Ramidus* inhabited flat, forested regions as many as 5.8 million years ago, and apparently did walk upright, at least on occasion, although doubts about its capacity for bipedalism have led some investigators to conclude that it should be treated as a distinct genus, *Ardipithecus ramidus*. If that judgment is sustained, then only *amanensis* will be viewed as a direct precursor of *Australopithecus africanus*, which itself completely died out 2.5 million years ago, but not before giving rise to other varieties of australopithecines as well as to the most ancient members of our genus almost 3 million years ago. One of these species, *Australopithecus africanus*, lived in south-



*The world began without man, and it will complete itself without him.* • CLAUDE LEVI-STRAUSS, (B.1908)

ern Africa between 3 and 2.5 million years ago, giving way to a robust group that included *Australopithecus aethiopicus* and then *Australopithecus boisei* in East Africa and *Australopithecus robustus* in the far south. (Some paleoanthropologists classify *aethiopicus*, *boisei*, and *robustus* as members of the genus *Paranthropus*, which gives some impression of the degree of debate in the field.) *Robustus* died out about 1.5 million years ago, while *boisei* endured for another 500,000 years, at last succumbing to less burly creatures with larger brains relative to body size and greater dependence on tool use. The earliest forms of our genus, *Homo*, collectively known as *Homo habilis* or “handy man,” were indisputably present in East Africa somewhat more than 2 million years ago, coexisting with *Australopithecus boisei* for at least a million years and with *robustus* in South Africa for a much shorter period.

## Appearance of the Genus *Homo*

What paleoanthropologists have lumped together as habilines may actually have been several closely related species. At a minimum, some experts insist on differentiating *Homo rudolfensis* from *Homo habilis*. Others explain substantial variations in terms of a pronounced sexual dimorphism (that is, pronounced differences in the physical appearance of the sexes). But all agree that an abrupt species transition apparently did take place about 2.6 million years ago, and that the brain size of habilines jumped appreciably around 600,000 years later. But beyond enlarged cranial capacity, *Homo habilis* remained remarkably apelike. Paleoanthropologists have used the earliest evidence for systematic tool manufacturing—a momentous accomplishment that gave birth to the development of culture as a primary adaptive mechanism for humankind—as the means for differentiating habilines from australopithecines.

No later than 2.4 million years ago, East African hominids who may have been the immediate precursors of *Homo habilis* rather suddenly started to modify water-smoothed pebbles and rocks gathered in river beds, fashioning them into rudimentary stone artifacts suitably

shaped to fit immediate needs. Soon after 1.9 million years ago, habilines had at their disposal an array of simple but clearly recognizable choppers, scrappers, burins, and hammerstones, all made in set patterns created by striking a core with a smaller stone to chip off a few sharp-edged flakes. Known as the Oldowan industry, this basic technique eventually spread throughout much of Africa and Eurasia, continuing to be practiced in isolated areas as recently as 200,000 years ago. Intentionally designed Oldowan tools enabled habilines to broaden their subsistence strategies through increased dependence on meat. While the bulk of their diet still consisted of vegetable foods, habilines probably turned with growing frequency to opportunistic scavenging of predator kills and expert tracking of small game animals. Although their hunting activities remained limited, they were beginning to define the basic contours of the gathering and hunting adaptation.

As the social organization of their bands became more complicated, the demands placed on individuals in their relationships with others may have contributed to the development of the brain. Manual dexterity, bipedalism, and tool use simultaneously showed signs of improvement, all evolving together with enhanced mental capacity. What made the hominid brain truly distinctive was its division into two asymmetrically structured hemispheres, each containing identifiable areas designed to control particular mental and behavioral functions. Among other consequences now vital to our existence, habilines may have possessed a feature of the cerebral cortex known as Broca’s area, a region connected with speech in modern humans. Despite an immature larynx, which would have limited the range of sounds they uttered, habilines may have articulated a combination of vowels and consonants adequate for the exchange of some genuinely complex ideas.

## Significance of *Homo Erectus*

As ever more elaborate cultural innovations augmented biological changes, the pace of hominid evolution quickened, starting with the appearance of *Homo erectus*, a

species that apparently evolved from habilines in East Africa between 1.9 and 1.6 million years ago. Erectines were more humanlike in their anatomical features and behavior patterns than any of their hominid predecessors. What made them such a milestone in the biological evolution of our kind, however, was their impressive cranial capacity. The brain of *Homo erectus* was not simply bigger, but it was distinctly less symmetrical, since each part expanded at a different rate and was designed to perform specific functions.

Better control over the hand as well as the unprecedented ingenuity made possible by an increased brain-to-body ratio enabled erectines to become more sophisticated toolmakers and to create what paleoanthropologists call the Acheulian tradition. Beginning about 1.6 million years ago, they gradually learned to devise a more patterned and versatile stone artifact known as the hand axe. Erectines discovered how to remove flakes from both sides, or faces, of a shaped stone core, producing two straight, sharp edges that converged at a point. Erectines made another important technological innovation when they introduced the cleaver, and they turned to other materials, such as volcanic rock and flint. No later than a million years ago they possessed a standardized tool kit containing at least eighteen types of highly effective implements, each proportioned in accordance with its intended purpose.

Nearly 1.5 million years ago, *Homo erectus* took definite steps toward the controlled use of fire, the next great cultural advance after the fashioning of stone artifacts. The domestication of fire, for which archeologists have evidence dating back 400,000 years, gave hominids their first real command over a powerful force of nature. Still unable to ignite a fire on their own initiative, they nonetheless taught themselves to collect flaming debris from volcanic eruptions and lightning strikes and actively keep it burning in small hearths. Fires provided warmth as well as protection against dangerous animals. Erectines may have intermittently exploited fire for cooking as early as 700,000 years ago. As opportunities arose, they certainly drove game in a desired direction and opened up their hunting grounds with fire. Drawing on it in their

toolmaking, they hardened green wood and occasionally bone or antler in the heat of their hearths. Along with warmth, fire provided light, permitting *Homo erectus* to lengthen the day.

Erectines learned how to turn animal skins into clothing, and at least 400,000 years ago started to build substantial, oval-shaped huts. Such attainments, taken together, underscore the extent to which they had become dependent on cultural rather than biological adaptations in comparison with their hominid predecessors. Until roughly a million years ago, the evolution of every living thing had unfolded largely in response to challenges emanating out of the natural environment. Then, uniquely with *Homo erectus*, shared understandings and norms of conduct, painstakingly learned and transmitted to the next generation, began to override behavior dictated strictly by genetic inheritance, more and more setting the context for everyday existence.

Given the size and complexity of their brains, erectines probably became more adept at sharing their thoughts through speech. Their nearly human linguistic potential enabled them to become active and perhaps even habitual hunters. Coming together in groups to improve their chances for successful expeditions aimed at big game strengthened and multiplied the patterns of interdependence between erectines, making their social structures more complex, tight-knit, and recognizably human than any network of relations that may have prevailed among habilines. They probably took a full million years to forge the enduring characteristics of the gathering and hunting adaptation, a lifeway at once highly flexible and extraordinarily stable.

*Homo erectus* was the first hominid to spread far beyond the African continent. Successive waves of a grand migration out of Africa may have started a million and a half years ago, but the first well-documented expansion into the frost-free zones of Eurasia occurred about 500,000 years later. Erectines funneled through the Near East, fanning out into southern Asia, where they encountered woodlands and savanna environments similar to those they had left behind. They simultaneously moved westward into parts of Europe without ever estab-



lishing an appreciable presence there. Reacting to mounting population pressures, tiny parties of the sole surviving hominid species dispersed by means of repeated budding—the splitting away of a small group from an existing band—in a continuous process which enabled them to reach southern China at least 800,000 years ago by way of India and Southeast Asia.

The tempo of evolutionary change again accelerated about 400,000 years ago. In what must have been a mutually supportive feedback process, erectines in Africa and Europe abruptly showed signs of perceptible cranial expansion at a time when they were mastering the deliberate ignition of fires and developing bona fide strategies for hunting large game animals. Just 200,000 years later, *Homo erectus* had virtually disappeared, having succumbed to competition from the most recent hominid species—*Homo sapiens*, or “wise man.” Isolated erectines did survive in Java until *Homo sapiens* intruded into the region between fifty and sixty thousand years ago.

### **Emergence of *Homo Sapiens***

Although gaps in the archaeological record have kept scholars from acquiring a clear understanding of how the emergence of anatomically modern humans actually unfolded, archaic *Homo sapiens* seem to have appeared first in north central and East Africa, but by 200,000 years ago, they had colonized much of Africa, and settled into the temperate latitudes of Eurasia. Always more populous in Africa than elsewhere, bands of archaic humans migrating out of that continent apparently displaced *Homo erectus* in one location after another, and subsequently diversified into many distinctive regional types without ever branching into more than a single species. From a cultural perspective, archaic *Homo sapiens* made few innovations beyond the sphere of stone toolmaking. About 200,000 years ago, however, an indisputable advance in stoneworking appeared in tropical Africa, and subsequently spread to Europe, most likely through cultural contacts. This more sophisticated technique, known as Levallois, relied on stone (typically flint) cores pre-shaped into set patterns, which allowed craftsmen to

determine with reasonable consistency the dimensions of their flakes. The Levallois tool kit featured specialized scrapers and rough-hewn projectile points attached to wooden shafts among its more than fifty kinds of purposely designed implements.

The first signs of a cultural takeoff appeared with Neanderthals, or *Homo neanderthalensis*, which evolved in Europe and western Asia sometime after 250,000 years ago. Whether they constituted a distinct species or represented a subspecies of *Homo sapiens* continues to be another source of disagreement among the experts. In any case, learning to adapt to intensely cold climates, they extended the range of hominid settlement far beyond frost-free ecological zones, penetrating the great Siberian forests and unforgiving Arctic tundra. Neanderthals showed themselves to be outstanding toolmakers; they reinforced the trend toward smaller, lighter stone artifacts by improving the prepared-core techniques of the Levallois tradition. Never exploiting the possibilities of bone, antler, or ivory, they did utilize wood in assembling what could have been the first composite tools. Striving to increase the number of specialized devices, they developed the disc-core method to yield thin flakes easily trimmed at their sharp edges. With this approach, Neanderthals maintained a tool kit of more than sixty separate types of finely crafted implements, including haftable spearheads as well as delicate little saws and borers.

By 120,000 years ago, techniques characteristic of what paleoanthropologists call the Mousterian industry had spread to Africa, probably from southern France. Exploiting nature like no hominids before them, Neanderthals pushed into habitats as diverse as the Russian steppes and the immense mountain ranges of Asia. Their propensity for wearing animal furs for clothing, erecting skin-covered tents and hutlike structures made from bones and tree branches, constructing snares with sinews, and maintaining hearths within which to start encampment fires enabled them to gather in settlements as far north as the Arctic Ocean. Armed with heavy spears and a rudimentary spoken language more complex than whatever *Homo erectus* had produced, Neanderthals became magnificent big-game hunters. Still lacking the

cognitive capacity essential for modern speech, they nonetheless began to bury their dead in simple but clearly self-conscious ceremonies no later than 75,000 years ago. Experts have presumed that their ritualized treatment of death reflected at least an elementary awareness of mortality, a need to think about dying, and even belief in an afterlife. Somewhat later, Neanderthals created the first known ceremonial pieces and decorative objects out of pebbles, and the teeth and bones of animals. Personal ornamentation, whether accomplished with jewelry or body paint, presumably allowed them to express a hint of individuality and offered a means of declaring whatever social status they enjoyed. They could also unequivocally assert their kinship ties, thereby regularizing interactions within and between bands. However, none of these accomplishments meant that Neanderthals could match the overall cultural levels attained by anatomically modern humans, and thus make the behavioral adjustments that could have delayed, if not prevented, their extinction.

### **Anatomically Modern Humans**

Experts who have advocated a multiregional interpretation of human origins envision distinct populations of archaic *Homo sapiens* undergoing similar evolutionary alterations in different areas of the Eastern Hemisphere more or less simultaneously. Yet the preponderance of current archaeological, genetic, and fossil evidence seems to indicate that *Homo sapiens sapiens*—beings with a physiological and behavioral potential virtually indistinguishable from humans currently inhabiting Earth—first evolved from African ancestors beginning about 200,000 years ago. Between 130,000 and 30,000 years ago, *Homo sapiens sapiens* appeared throughout most of the Eastern Hemisphere, gradually replacing the various populations of their archaic forebears. No later than 30,000 years ago, they had become the sole surviving hominid type, and the anatomical attributes as well as the cultural capabilities that have subsequently characterized our kind were fully formed.

The hallmark features of *Homo sapiens sapiens* were located from the neck up. They had delicately configured, vertical faces with high foreheads, small brow ridges and teeth, reduced jaws, and prominent chins. Their modified vocal tracts made room for an enlarged pharynx and for the rearrangement of vocal cords, larynx, and tongue that together permitted them to make more varied sounds—in particular vowel sounds. The ability to speak fluently was interrelated with a further enlargement and internal reorganization of the human brain, now encased in a higher, rounder skull. Amazingly, the diverse facets of our mental potential are products of the brain's structural complexity. While nearly four-fifths of the cortex remains uncommitted to particular operations, leaving substantial areas free to apply previous experience to immediate circumstances or forge links between seemingly unrelated ideas, certain parts of the brain perform highly specialized functions, the left hemisphere being organized for such tasks as sequential thinking and language, the right hemisphere for abstract and intuitive reflection.

*Homo sapiens sapiens* possess a unique ability to create symbols, and through symboling to infuse objects and ideas with discretionary meanings that transcend whatever may have been derived from sense experience. Symboling attained its ultimate expression in language, perhaps the most revealing outgrowth of our intelligence. Along with language came the earliest manifestations of culture based upon the symbolic expression of shared understandings. The capacity to create meaning and value and to infuse meanings and values into objects and events made it possible for human culture to reach full expression as a marvelously flexible, quickly modified, and endlessly cumulative adaptive mechanism that has almost replaced biological evolution as the primary determinant of our long-term survival.

### **Upper Paleolithic Takeoff**

Beginning about 40,000 years ago, anatomically modern humans were already approaching the threshold of a cultural breakthrough that would mark a profound watershed in the human experience. Armed with spoken

languages that improved the transmission of information, and probably driven for the first time by population pressures, they added to their cumulative heritage at an accelerated rate. Our Upper Paleolithic ancestors thus stood on the brink of making their culture—learned systems of behavior based on their symboling capacities—a complete way of life. Their intensified creativity peaked at the height of the last ice age 18,000 years ago, and lost momentum roughly 11,000 years ago. In crossing this Upper Paleolithic watershed, humans fundamentally transformed their social structures, making their gathering and hunting adaptations far more elaborate, diverse, and specialized than ever before. No later than 15,000 years ago, clusters of bands in regions with unusual population densities were organizing themselves into larger tribal units that could number up to eight hundred people.

As networks of interaction became more extensive, the growing need for a formal expression of beliefs that could help them preserve values, heighten social coherence, and overcome tension and uncertainty in their lives surely contributed to the relatively swift development of human aesthetic sensibilities. Artistic creativity rapidly assumed an incredible variety of forms. Rock engravings date back more than 35,000 years, while large quantities of sophisticated ornaments made of carved wood, bone, antler, ivory, shells, and stone date back at least that far. These ornaments include personal objects such as necklaces, pendants, and bracelets as well as tools and weapons used for ceremonial or decorative purposes. Archaeologists have unearthed artifacts more than 30,000 years old with patterned markings that may be lunar calendars and systems of mathematical notation. They have discovered remarkably beautiful cave paintings in France and Spain, sculpted figurines nearly as ancient, and the remains of musical instruments as varied as bone flutes, whistles, rattles, and drums. In addition Upper Paleolithic peoples apparently expressed themselves through the rhythmic flow of poetry, dance, and song, although experts have little empirical evidence verifying such activities.

These arts derived their social potency from supernatural beliefs nearly as old as *Homo sapiens sapiens* themselves. Yet another manifestation of abstract thinking, human spirituality and religious responses to the world soon permeated every facet of daily existence. *Homo sapiens sapiens* discovered a means of comprehending perceived phenomena in terms of ubiquitous spirits, all instrumental in determining what happened in the world through activities almost everyone could understand. Through a holistic formulation of mythic concepts that embodied the actions of these spirits, they elaborated on what little they knew about the world from direct experience with visions that inserted humankind into a single, all-encompassing order of existence.

Like the spectacular burst of innovations in art and religion, radical advances in Upper Paleolithic toolmaking beginning roughly 35,000 years ago reflected the newly enhanced symbolizing capacity of modern humans. Suddenly craftsmen were devising a wide range of more specialized, durable, and efficient implements. Along with at least 130 identifiable devices, the tailored clothing, control of fire, and insulated shelters that anatomically modern humans developed helped them expand throughout Earth's habitable regions during the Upper Paleolithic.

## **Peopling of the Planet**

Waves of migrations out of Africa, where populations were heaviest, began modestly around 100,000 years ago, exploded 40,000 years later, and by the start of the Holocene epoch 10,000 years ago gave to humankind a virtually global range. Pushed forward by frequent band splitting, *Homo sapiens sapiens* soon traversed the open grasslands of a Sahara region somewhat cooler and wetter than it is today and moved into the Near Eastern corridor. A progressively arid climate then drove excess populations into the steppe lands and tundra of southern Europe and western Asia. Anatomically modern humans appeared in East Asia 70,000 years ago at the very latest, reaching the heart of what is today China perhaps 30,000 years ago, not too long

after Cro-Magnons (a particular population of anatomically modern humans) had established themselves in Europe and at approximately the same time that pioneers were starting to adapt to Arctic latitudes in earnest. By moving along the southern shores of Asia, humans reached Australia some 40,000 years ago and perhaps as much as 20,000 years earlier.

Although experts hold various theories about the peopling of the Americas, they agree that it happened at a relatively late date, and most likely involved a land bridge across the Bering Strait, known as Beringia, which appeared and vanished as ocean levels rose and fell. Although the earliest evidence for possible human settlement in the Americas has been problematic at best, isolated bands may have reached central Alaska as many as 40,000 years ago. Archaeologists have recently verified a site of human habitation at Monte Verde, located roughly 800 kilometers south of Santiago, Chile, that was certainly occupied 12,500 years ago and may date back more than 30,000 years. What experts have concluded with confidence is that between 14,000 and 12,000 years ago, scattered Paleo-Indian settlements with tool kits, languages, and cultural traditions resembling those common on the other side of the strait expanded throughout eastern Beringia and south of the retreating glaciers onto the Great Plains. Shortly after 12,000 years ago, the Paleo-Indian population suddenly exploded, pushing human beings to continuously occupy much of the Americas within several millennia.

By the end of the most recent ice age, *Homo sapiens sapiens* had established themselves as the most numerous and widely scattered mammals on the planet, a dominant species culturally equipped to manipulate the natural environment in a manner potentially beneficial to their well-being, but simultaneously disruptive of the ecosphere's sensitive balances. Although world population had probably reached 10 million in the aftermath of the Upper Paleolithic watershed, the gathering and hunting adaptation continued to prevail everywhere *Homo sapiens sapiens* resided. The attributes that now distinguish us as human beings had emerged at different stages in a prolonged and complicated evolutionary process as

yet not fully explained, despite recent scientific advances. Although the relatively hospitable savannas of sub-Saharan Africa invariably provided the setting for our emergence, we cannot readily designate a precise period in world history when our behavior became truly human, unless it would be the tremendous evolutionary leap that occurred during the Upper Paleolithic.

John A. Mears

See also Paleoanthropology; Universe, Origins of

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## Human Geography

See Cartography; Cultural and Geographic Areas; Geographic Constructions

## Human Rights

Human rights have emerged as a major subject of international law during the past sixty years. Before World War II, the international community gave little attention to how a country treated its own citizens within its own borders. This reluctance ended after the world witnessed the horrors committed by Germany against its own citizens during World War II, as well as by Germany and Japan against the citizens of the countries they occupied. After the war, those building a new international legal structure understood that protecting the human rights of all people was central to avoiding future global conflagrations. In the second half of the twentieth century, the spread of democracy and the recognition of the worth of each individual further boosted the priority of global human rights issues.

### Historical Background

The focus on individual rights in Europe evolved over centuries as monarchies began loosening their grip on absolute power and recognized the political and economic rights of at least some individuals. In England, the Magna Carta in 1215 and events in subsequent centuries gradually gave wealthy male property-owners some rights that they could assert against the crown. The

American Declaration of Independence in 1776 declared that “all men are created equal,” but all of the original thirteen states in fact granted rights only to white males, and many only to male property-holders; African slaves, Native Americans, and women were granted no rights to participate in political decision-making. Slavery was not eliminated until almost nine decades after the United States declared its independence; women were not given the vote until 1920; and Native Americans were not finally accepted as U.S. citizens until 1924.

Like the American Revolution, the French Revolution in 1789 was based on concepts of individual liberty, and some European writers of the time articulated the watershed idea of a government, based on the consent of the governed, that would protect the worth of each individual. France and the other European nations moved slowly, however, in the direction of any real recognition of individual equality.

### Laws of War

During the nineteenth century, international tribunals were occasionally established to protect the rights of aliens who were discriminated against or exploited by the countries in which they resided. Although these tribunals were generally a product of power politics, some of their decisions included a clear recognition of the rights of the individual.

Western nations also made efforts in the nineteenth century to reduce the destructive effects of warfare by distinguishing between combatants and noncombatants and by protecting those captured in battle. In the United States, President Abraham Lincoln asked Francis Lieber to draft a code to govern military conduct during the U.S. Civil War (1860–1865). The laws of armed conflict were further developed by international treaties such as those promulgated at the 1899 and 1907 Hague Conferences, which attempted to protect civilians from the scourge of war and focused on prohibiting the use of weapons that caused unnecessary suffering without providing a significant military advantage.

The Geneva Conventions of 1929 provided a comprehensive and widely ratified set of treaties designed to

protect captives and civilians in warfare. These treaties were revised in the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and were further updated through two protocols adopted in 1977.

These early efforts were important in providing some recognition of individual rights, but the real impetus to protect human rights at the international level did not begin until after World War II. The postwar trials of German and Japanese war criminals held in Nuremberg and Tokyo were defining moments in reinforcing the culpability of human rights abuses. Although criticized at the time as “victors’ justice,” i.e., punishment of the losers of the war by the winners, the careful and dramatic evidentiary documentation of government planning and implementation of systematic wartime atrocities made clear the need to work toward a world where such depravities would occur, in the phrase popular at the time, “never again.”

### **International Human Rights Law in the Postwar Era**

The most important event in the development of contemporary international human rights standards was the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. The United Nations Charter contains two key articles recognizing the importance of protecting the human rights of all individuals: Articles 55 and 56 state that the United Nations and its members shall promote “universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.”

Pursuant to this mandate, delegates representing the founding members of the United Nations, led by former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt of the United States, drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which listed the fundamental rights of individuals. This text was promulgated by the U.N. General Assembly in 1948, the same year the Genocide Convention was offered for ratification (the latter came into force in 1951). The Universal Declaration has come to be respected as an authoritative listing of rights, and its provisions are now widely regarded as customary international law.

Many U.N. delegates wanted a formal treaty to give the rights listed in the Universal Declaration even more force. The ensuing process of treaty drafting took eighteen more years, complicated by differing national perspectives on human rights. The United States and others viewed human rights as primarily civil and political rights, designed to allow individuals to participate in political decision-making and to protect them against government abuses. But other countries stressed the additional importance of economic, social, and cultural rights, arguing that food and shelter, for instance, were more basic and more important for those in the developing world than the more abstract civil and political rights. These different categories of rights require different mechanisms of enforcement, because economic rights can be protected only through the expenditure of money; thus, the enforcement of economic rights is commonly regarded as best undertaken by legislative bodies balancing competing priorities, rather than by courts with no budgetary responsibility.

Because of differences such as these, it was decided to prepare two separate treaties, and in 1966 the U.N. General Assembly promulgated both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.

In the first treaty, the fundamental civil and political rights include the right to life; the right to freedom from torture and cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment; the right to freedom from slavery; the right to freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention; the right to equal treatment without regard to race or sex; the right to participate in political decision-making, directly or through chosen representatives; the rights to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; the rights to freedom of opinion, expression, association, and assembly; the right to privacy; the right to freedom of movement; and the right to fair procedures in criminal, civil, and administrative matters.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights is overseen by the Human Rights Committee, an eighteen-member body based in Geneva, Switzerland, with members elected by the countries that have ratified the treaty. Ratifying nations provide regular reports regarding their human rights record to the committee, and individuals

can bring complaints against their own government, if the government has also ratified the Optional Protocol to the Covenant. The opinions issued by the committee are influential in clarifying the rights in the treaty and can be used by the complaining parties in their national courts. Complaints can also be filed by one country against another under Article 41 of the covenant.

The fundamental economic, social, and cultural rights in the second treaty include rights to free choice of employment and to form and join trade unions; rights to education, food, housing, and health care; the right to rest and leisure; and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. Again, ratifying countries are expected to prepare reports regarding their protection of these rights, and the committee established to review these reports issues opinions to provide guidance to the ratifying countries.

Groups of people also have human rights recognized under international law: Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights recognizes the right of members of ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities to enjoy their own culture, practice their religion, and use their own language. Indigenous people who are not self-governing also have the right to self-determination. Other rights generally recognized as important, but whose specific content and means of enforcement continue to evolve, include the right to a clean and healthful environment, the right to economic development, and the right to peace.

In addition to these global covenants, many specialized treaties addressing specific human rights areas have been promulgated by the international community including the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (and its 1967 Protocol), the 1966 International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the 1984 Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the 1989 International Labor Organization Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries. Also of

substantial importance are the three regional human rights treaties: the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the American Convention on Human Rights, and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.

The European Court of Human Rights issues opinions binding on the European nations, and it has evolved into a court of last resort on a wide range of important and controversial issues. In the 2003 case of *Lawrence v. Texas*, the U.S. Supreme Court cited some of these European cases to provide support for a ruling that declared a Georgia law banning sodomy unconstitutional. The American Convention on Human Rights is overseen by a seven-member commission and a seven-member court, both based in San Jose, Costa Rica. Although this convention has not yet attained the near-universal ratification of the European Convention, the Inter-American Human Rights Commission and Court have issued numerous important opinions bringing clarity to human rights principles applicable in the Western Hemisphere.

Also helping to identify and protect human rights is the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, a body that reports to the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The Human Rights Commission consists of 53 government representatives elected by ECOSOC for three-year terms. It meets in Geneva for six weeks each spring to discuss specific human rights violations, initiate studies and fact-finding missions, and draft conventions and declarations.

## **Universal Jurisdiction**

Because international and regional enforcement mechanisms (with the exception of the European Court of Human Rights) remain somewhat primitive and inadequate, some human rights victims have attempted to utilize national courts to bring claims against human rights abusers. These cases have been brought under the theory of "universal jurisdiction," which allows those who violate the most fundamental human rights to be sued and prosecuted in any jurisdiction where they are found.

U.S. federal courts have adjudicated a number of universal jurisdiction claims, utilizing jurisdiction provided

by the Alien Tort Claims Act, which was enacted by the First Federal Congress in 1789, and the Torture Victim Protection Act, enacted in 1992. A claim was brought in 1986 in the federal court in Hawaii, for example, by a class of 9,500 victims of torture, murder, and disappearance in the Philippines during the dictatorial regime of Ferdinand Marcos, which lasted from 1972 to 1986. A U.S. federal jury determined that Marcos was personally liable for these atrocities, and awarded the class members \$775 million in compensatory damages and \$1.2 billion in exemplary or punitive damages. Efforts to collect this judgment have been frustrated, but are continuing.

Other countries, including Spain and Belgium in particular, have also utilized universal jurisdiction to bring human rights abusers to justice. In late 1998, after former Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet arrived in London for a herniated disc operation, a Spanish judge asked the United Kingdom to extradite him to Spain for prosecution for torture and murder during his seventeen-year rule from 1973 to 1990. The British House of Lords ruled that Pinochet did not have any immunity from such prosecution and that he should be extradited, but the transfer never took place because of Pinochet's declining health.

In the 1990s, the U.N. Security Council established criminal tribunals to prosecute those who had committed war crimes, crimes against humanity, or genocide during the civil war in the former Yugoslavia and the ethnic slaughter in Rwanda. More recently, tribunals utilizing both local and international judges have been established to prosecute those who engaged in criminal behavior in Sierra Leone and East Timor, and efforts are continuing to establish a similar tribunal in Cambodia.

To establish a permanent court to deal with future systematic abuses, the countries of the world met in Rome in the summer of 1998 to draft a treaty creating an International Criminal Court. The treaty needed sixty ratifications, which were obtained relatively rapidly, and the court came into existence in March 2003, when its eighteen judges from all over the world were sworn in. The International Criminal Court has jurisdiction over war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide, and it

will gain jurisdiction over the crime of aggression, after that term is defined in further detail. Although some important nations, including the United States, remain reluctant to ratify the court's statute, its establishment stands as a landmark achievement in the quest to protect human rights globally.

## Human Rights in the Twenty-First Century

Although nations continue to disagree about the universality of certain human rights, a clear global consensus has emerged about the necessity of protecting the fundamental rights of every individual. The nations of the world have made enormous strides in defining these rights during the past sixty years. Although the mechanisms for protecting human rights are still evolving, the mix of national, regional, and international tribunals currently being employed to prosecute wrongdoers and provide compensation for victims is beginning to show promise. The dream of having a world where every individual's rights are protected has not yet been attained, but progress toward that goal is continuing.

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*See also* Gay and Lesbian Rights Movement; Genocide; Indigenous Peoples Movements; Labor Union Movements; Race and Racism; Roosevelt, Eleanor; Social Welfare; United Nations; Women's Emancipation Movements; Women's Reproductive Rights Movements; Women's Suffrage Movements

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## Hunting and Gathering

See Foraging (Paleolithic) Era; Foraging Societies, Contemporary; Human Evolution—Overview; Indigenous Peoples; Movements; Paleoanthropology



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## Iberian Trading Companies

The first great European merchant empires that established global commercial networks during the early modern era were those of the Iberian peninsula. Spain and Portugal first began to form these connections during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Those systems provided substantial revenue for both countries and galvanized rival European powers to tap into lucrative markets in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Because the Iberian powers had the initial advantage in establishing these economic structures, Spanish and Portuguese trading companies appeared later than, and in response to, those of their European rivals, especially the Dutch and the English. Because the Iberian powers had the advantage in first establishing these economic structures, having few other European rivals in these global markets, Iberian companies were not necessary, at least initially. Spanish and Portuguese trading companies patterned along lines similar to the companies of their Dutch and English rivals appeared during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

### Exploration and Trade Expansion

The chance to profit from commercial opportunities drove both the Portuguese and the Spanish in their exploratory voyages, which were outgrowths of those conducted during the Middle Ages. Two such voyages were the redis-



covery of the Canary Islands in the mid-1300s by Genoese sailors in service to Portugal and the 1291 voyage of Ugolino and Vadino di Vivaldi, who disappeared near Safi, Morocco, due to their attempt to circumnavigate Africa.

Beginning in the early fifteenth century, the Portuguese extended their influence in the Atlantic Ocean through a series of journeys down the West African coast. In exchange for Iberian agricultural products, the Portuguese received gold, fish, and slaves from North Africa. Establishing colonies and sugar plantations in places such as the Azores and Madeira islands permitted the Portuguese to obtain a geographic advantage in their further exploration of economic opportunities in Africa.

The foundation of fortified trading posts was significant for the development of Portugal's economic empire. São Jorge de Mina, located in modern Ghana, was one such post, where the Portuguese traded European horses, leather, textiles, and metal products for luxury goods such as gold, slaves, pepper, and Sudanese ivory. Profits received from this trade helped the Portuguese to fund further explorations down the coast. These posts, established soon after the first Portuguese incursions were made into new areas, were designed to control trading routes. Through the supposed military superiority of their ships and cannons, the Portuguese sought to force other merchant vessels to dock at these posts and pay duties. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese had more than fifty such fortified entrepôts, extending from West Africa to East Asia. However, thanks to the strength of Muslim, Indian, and Malay merchants, combined with the dearth of Portuguese vessels,

Portuguese dominance of the Indian Ocean shipping lanes was never a foregone conclusion.

Spain, though it maintained a distinct economic presence in the Far East, focused its mercantile attentions largely toward the Americas. Spain founded an empire based on land rather than setting up a string of trading ports as did the Portuguese. The 1545 discovery of enormous deposits of silver in Potosí, located in modern Bolivia, was a watershed event for Spain's imperial history. Mining became a singularly important industry within Spanish American territories, and the silver galleons that sailed the seas from Acapulco to Manila were crucial to Spain's political and mercantile empire. Demand for silver, the principal currency of the Chinese economy, was very high within Asian markets. Between 1570 and 1780 CE anywhere from 4,000 to 5,000 tons of silver crossed the Pacific Ocean. Because the Spanish crown received a fifth of the bullion, the trade in gold and silver across both oceans was quite lucrative.

### **Trading Companies**

Though Portuguese and Spanish trading companies are not as well known as their English or Dutch counterparts, such as the English East India Company or the Dutch United East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*), privileged Iberian trading companies nonetheless played a substantial role in the early modern era. In 1685, the Portuguese founded a company for the purchase of slaves, one of the more profitable aspects of their transatlantic trade. It was not until the eighteenth century that the Spanish formally chartered several companies for their trade in the Indies. The

## King Ferdinand I on Shipments to the Indies

*As indicated by the following item in an ordinance issued by Ferdinand I, King of Spain in 1511, all sorts of matters related to trade—even clothes shipments—came under imperial authority.*

Item: With regard to the cargo of clothes going to the Indies, I command that the pertinent ordinance of the House be obeyed; and besides, it is my will that anyone taking clothes to the Indies without first registering in the House whatever he carries, will lose them, and whoever discovers it will receive one-third of it, the remaining two-thirds being for the expenses of the House; and that in the Indies everything which has not been registered in the House of Seville is to be confiscated, the proceeds being distributed as prescribed.

Source: Williams, E. (1994). *Documents of West Indian history* (p. 180). Brooklyn, NY: A&B Books. (Original work published 1963)

1728 founding of the Royal Guipuzocan Company of Caracas linked Venezuela with the Basque country in Spain and monopolized the cacao market until 1780. Additional Spanish companies included the Royal Company of Havana, founded in 1749 and designed to spur interest in Cuban agriculture and trade; the 1747 Royal Company of San Fernando of Seville, which focused on parts of the South American trade that were not covered by other companies; and the Royal Company of Barcelona, founded in 1765, which covered trade with the islands of Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, and Margarita. These companies, designed to revive Spanish fleets and drive out foreign merchants, did not monopolize trade in the Caribbean for long. The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) saw the Spanish government open trade to Spanish ports left out of official companies' trading partnerships. In 1778, the government allowed partial foreign shipping into the Indies and restrictions on free trade were lifted completely in 1789.

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*See also* Spanish Empire

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## Ibn Battuta

(1304–1368/1369)

ARAB SCHOLAR AND TRAVELER

Among travelers of premodern times who have left any record of their adventures, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Lawati at-Tanji ibn Battuta is unrivaled for distance covered and sights seen. The account of his journeys in Eurasia and Africa between 1325 and 1354 is one of the most absorbing and historically valuable documents to come down to us from

## Ibn Battuta on the Maldives

The inhabitants of the Maldives are all Muslims, pious and upright. The islands are divided into twelve districts, each under a governor whom they call the *Kardui*. The district of Mahal, which has given its name to the whole archipelago, is the residence of their sultans. There is no agriculture at all on any of the islands, except that a cereal resembling millet is grown in one district and carried thence to Mahal. The inhabitants live on a fish called *qulb-al-mas*, which has red flesh and no grease and smells like mutton. On catching it they cut it in four, cook it lightly, then smoke it in palm leaf baskets. When it is quite dry, they eat it. Some of these fish are exported to India, China, and Yemen. Most of the trees on those islands are coco-palms, which with the fish mentioned above provide food for the inhabitants. The coco-palm is an extraordinary tree; it bears twelve bunches a year, one in each month. Some are small, some large, some dry and some green, never changing. They make milk, oil, and honey from it, as we have already related.

Source: Gibb, H. A. R. (Trans.). (1929). *Travels in Asia and Africa: 1325–1354*, by Ibn Battuta. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd.

the medieval era. His *Rihla* strikingly reveals both the far-flung cosmopolitanism of Muslim civilization in the fourteenth century and the dense networks of communication and exchange that linked together nearly all parts of the Eastern Hemisphere at that time.

Born in Tangier, Morocco, in the time of the Marinid dynasty, Ibn Battuta grew up in a family known for careers in legal scholarship. He received an education in the religious sciences, literature, and law befitting a young Arab gentleman. In 1324, he left Morocco to perform the holy pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca in western Arabia. Initially, he may have intended to study Islamic law in Cairo or one of the other Muslim university centers, then return home to a respectable career in jurisprudence. Instead, he set forth on a remarkable twenty-nine year odyssey that took him from what is now Tanzania to Kaza-

khstan and from the South China Sea to tropical West Africa. He traveled by donkey, horse, camel, wagon, and ship, covering in all 116,000–120,000 kilometers. His account of his adventures includes numerous delights, tribulations, and brushes with death. He was shipwrecked off the coast of Sri Lanka, lost in a mountain blizzard in Anatolia, captured by Indian bandits, attacked by pirates off the Malabar Coast, nearly executed by the Sultan of Delhi, infected with disease, and drawn into a plot to overthrow the government of the Maldivian Islands. He also married and divorced several times, bought and sold slaves, fathered children, and sat in audience with Mongol monarchs.

Everything we know about Ibn Battuta's routes and destinations is to be found in the narrative he produced at the end of his traveling career. The itinerary and chronology as he reports them are complex and often puzzling, but despite numerous uncertainties, we may with some confidence group the travels into ten major periods:

- 1325–1326. Tangier to Mecca by way of Cairo and Damascus.
- 1326–1327. Mecca to Iraq, western Iran, and back to Mecca.
- 1328–1330. Mecca to Yemen, East Africa, South Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and back to Mecca.
- 1330–1333. Mecca to Syria, Anatolia, the Pontic-Caspian steppes, Byzantium, the Volga River valley, Transoxiana (in present-day Uzbekistan), Afghanistan, and North India.
- 1333–1341. Residence in the Sultanate of Delhi and travels in North India.
- 1341–1345. Delhi to Gujarat, Malabar, the Maldivian Islands, Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka), and Bengal.
- 1345–1347. Bengal to Indochina, Sumatra, and southern China.
- 1347–1349. Southern China to Sumatra, Malabar, the Persian Gulf, western Iran, Syria, Egypt, Mecca, Tunis, and Morocco.
- 1349–1351. Travels in Morocco and southern Spain, including visits to Fez, Tangier, Gibraltar, Granada, Salé, and Marrakech.

*A traveller must have the back of an ass to bear all, a tongue like the tail of a dog to flatter all, the mouth of a hog to eat what is set before him, the ear of a merchant to hear all and say nothing.* • THOMAS NASHE (1567–1601)

- 1351–1354. Sijilmasa on the northern fringe of the Moroccan Sahara to the West African Sudan, and back to Fez.

The relatively stable political conditions that prevailed in many parts of Afro-Eurasia in the second quarter of the fourteenth century no doubt facilitated Ibn Battuta's prodigious journeys. This was the twilight of the age of Mongol dominance. When he began his traveling career, four great Mongol states, three of them Muslim, ruled the greater part of Eurasia. Among other large and flourishing states were the Mamluk empire in Egypt and Syria, the Sultanate of Delhi in North India, and the Mali empire in West Africa—all Muslim. Typically, the rulers of these states encouraged long-distance trade and provided security for the interurban journeys of Muslim diplomats, preachers, and scholars, including Ibn Battuta.

Ibn Battuta's motives for travel were many. First, he journeyed as a religious pilgrim. He took part in the rituals of the *hajj* in Mecca six or seven times during his career, and indeed the Holy City became the central hub of his peregrinations. Second, he traveled to pursue advanced studies in Islamic law, though he attended lectures, as far as we know, only in Damascus and Mecca. Third, he traveled as a devotee of Sufism, the mystical dimension of Islam. He visited a number of cities and Sufi lodges specifically to pay his respects to living scholar-saints or to the tombs of deceased ones, thus sharing in the aura of divine grace associated with them. Fourth, he journeyed to seek employment. In Delhi, he received generous salaries and honors for serving the Muslim Turkic government as both a judge and a royal mausoleum administrator. For several months he held a judgeship in the Maldivian Islands. We must also accept that his motive for visiting some places, tropical East Africa, for example, was simply that these were parts of the Muslim world he had not yet seen.

According to the scant references to him that appear in other Arabic texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he died in 1368 or 1369, after serving in his later years as a judge in an unidentified Moroccan town. A tomb where tradition says he is buried still stands in the

heart of Tangier. The Moroccan scholar Abelhadi al-Tazi has recently reported documentary evidence suggesting that the traveler's bones may rest in Anfa, a port town that today lies beneath modern Casablanca.

Ibn Battuta identified himself with the Muslim learned class (*ulama*), and that status, which he displayed in piety, dress, social manners, and religious knowledge, gained him entry to the homes and princely courts of the powerful and rich. We have no evidence, however, that he was an especially accomplished intellectual. When he ended his traveling career in Fez, he wrote the account of his adventures in collaboration with Muhammad Ibn Juzayy (1321–1356 or 1358), a young Moroccan scholar, who had skills Ibn Battuta did not possess to compose the travels in proper literary form.

Formally titled "A Gift to the Observers Concerning the Curiosities of the Cities and the Marvels Encountered in Travels," the *Rihla* circulated in manuscript form among educated North Africans in the fourteenth century and in West Africa, Egypt, and possibly Syria in subsequent centuries. In the mid-nineteenth century, French scholars discovered manuscript copies of the *Rihla* in Algeria and prepared both a printed Arabic text and a French translation. Since then, the account has been translated into English, Spanish, German, Persian, and several other languages. In recent years, Ibn Battuta has become more widely known in Western countries owing to publication of popular articles about him and to his inclusion in most encyclopedias and world history textbooks.

The *Rihla* is of immense documentary value, partly because it illuminates the values, customs, and cosmopolitanism of educated Muslims in the late Mongol era and partly because Ibn Battuta recorded observations of nearly every conceivable facet of life in Muslim and in some measure non-Muslim societies. His subjects of lively and sometimes critical commentary include religion, education, state politics, royal ceremony, law, warfare, gender relations, slavery, trade, agriculture, cuisine, manufacturing, geography, transport, and the achievements and failings of numerous jurists, theologians, monarchs, and governors. The *Rihla* is the only surviving eyewitness account from the fourteenth century of



the Maldivian Islands, Sudanic West Africa, and several other regions.

The book belongs to the genre of literature known as *rihla*, that is, an account of journeys usually centered on a pilgrimage to Mecca. This genre flowered in North Africa and Muslim Spain between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, and Ibn Battuta's text is the most ambitious representation of it. Scholars agree on the authenticity and reliability of the *Rihla* in general, and independent sources have corroborated many of the traveler's detailed observations. Even so, the itinerary and chronology present numerous inconsistencies and conundrums, and the journeyer's statements are sometimes inaccurate. Parts of the descriptions of Syria, Iraq, and Arabia are copied, usually without attestation, from at least two other earlier travel accounts, though we cannot be sure how much responsibility for this borrowing might lie with Ibn Juzayy or later copyists. Scholars have also concluded that the accounts of journeys to Bulghar on the upper Volga River, to the city of Sanaa in Yemen, and to northern China are almost certainly fabrications. Moreover, debate continues regarding the trustworthiness of Ibn Battuta's claim to have visited any part of China. Nevertheless, the *Rihla* is a preeminent source for fourteenth-century world history, and because its author reveals so much about his own personality, attitudes, and opinions (far more than does his near contemporary Marco Polo), the narrative continues to captivate modern readers.

Ross E. Dunn

See also Islamic World

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## Ibn Khaldun

(1332–1406)

ARAB HISTORIAN

Ibn Khaldun (or Abu Zayd 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Khaldun) is widely regarded as the greatest Arab-Muslim historian and sociological thinker of the pre-modern period. His writings have been compared to those of intellectual giants such as Aristotle, Thucydides, Ibn Rushd (Averroes), Machiavelli, and Vico, as well as to world historians of the twentieth century. While Ibn Khaldun's fame is largely a result of his historical and sociological thought, he also led a career as a well-traveled statesman, which included the kind of cross-cultural encounters normally associated with the great premodern travelers Marco Polo (1254–1324) and Ibn Battuta (1304–1368/69).

Ibn Khaldun's family came to Spain during the Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. During their four centuries in Spain, they served under the Umayyad, Almoravid, and Almohad dynasties, holding high positions in administrative and military affairs. His family fled Spain in 1248, immediately before the Christian reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula, and settled in North Africa.

Ibn Khaldun was born in Tunis. His father, himself a scholar, ensured that Ibn Khaldun received a thorough education, rooted in the study of the Quran, Arabic grammar, and jurisprudence. Ibn Khaldun took particular interest in his teachers, chronicling their lives and the subjects that they taught. But in 1349, the seventeen-year-old Ibn Khaldun lost his great mentors and parents to the Black Death, the great plague that ravaged Afro-Eurasia in the fourteenth century. Ibn Khaldun later came to recognize the Black Death as a contributing factor to the political instability of Muslim regimes in Spain and North Africa during the fourteenth century.

In 1350 Ibn Khaldun began a chaotic odyssey through North Africa and Muslim Spain. From 1350 to 1375, he served numerous masters as secretary, ambassador, and chamberlain, was imprisoned, and even lived among the Bedouin tribes of Algeria. In 1362 he crossed into Granada, entering into the service of the sultan of Granada as an ambassador to the Christian king of Castille, Pedro the Cruel. Ibn Khaldun's mission went so well that he was offered a position in Pedro's service. Although he declined to serve in Christian Castille, Ibn Khaldun's experience in Christian Spain offers historians an illuminating, non-European view of the Christian expansion into Muslim Spain.

After an intense quarter-century of political life, Ibn Khaldun retired to the castle of Qal'at ibn Salama (near present-day Frenda, Algeria) in 1375. He began writing his massive seven-volume historical work, *Kitabal-'ibar* (Universal History), which includes his masterpiece, the *Muqaddimah* (Prolegomena to History). The *Kitab al-'ibar* also contains a definitive history of North Africa as well as a candid autobiography, detailing his numerous political and academic appointments. He continued his scholarship until his departure for a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1382, which led him to a new career in Cairo.

In 1382, Ibn Khaldun met the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, Barquq, who appointed him as a lecturer at al-Azhar University as well as the chief *qadi* (judge) of the Maliki school of Sunni Islamic jurisprudence. In 1400, Ibn Khaldun accompanied the sultan as an emissary to the conqueror Timur (Tamerlane, 1336-1405), who was in

## Ibn Khaldun on Taxes

In the early stages of the state, taxes are light in their incidence, but fetch in a large revenue . . . As time passes and kings succeed each other, they lose their tribal habits in favor of more civilized ones. Their needs and exigencies grow . . . owing to the luxury in which they have been brought up. Hence they impose fresh taxes on their subjects . . . [and] sharply raise the rate of old taxes to increase their yield . . . But the effects on business of this rise in taxation make themselves felt. For business men are soon discouraged by the comparison of their profits with the burden of their taxes . . . Consequently production falls off, and with it the yield of taxation.

the process of laying siege to Damascus. Ibn Khaldun's encounter with Timur illustrates the decline of Arab power in the face of Central Asian invaders, yet it also underscores the unity of an Islamic civilization that connected Muslim Spain, Mamluk Egypt, and Turkic-Mongol Central Asia.

In the *Muqaddimah* Ibn Khaldun explored religious, economic, and geographical determinants of social organization. However, the most important element of his science of social organization is *asabiyah* (social solidarity). He reasoned that small, rural societies have the strongest social cohesion and the potential to become great empires, while large, urbanized states tend to become corrupted by luxury. This weakening of social solidarity led, he theorized, to economic and social decay, which ultimately caused societies to fall prey to a stronger conqueror. Thus, Ibn Khaldun's astonishingly modern philosophy of history and social organization articulated universal cycles of cultural change and the rise and fall of civilizations.

Although Ibn Khaldun lived and wrote in the fourteenth century, his approach to history foreshadowed that of twentieth-century world historians such as Arnold Toynbee and Oswald Spengler. Like today's world historians, Ibn Khaldun was concerned with cross-cultural interactions, large-scale comparisons between empires, and patterns of history that affect empires and cultures. Therefore, Ibn Khaldun's work is likely to become more

*Belief in truth begins with doubting all that has hitherto been believed true.* • FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844–1900)

widely recognized as the field of world history continues to grow.

Michael C. Low

See also Writing World History

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# Ibn Sina

(980–1037)

ISLAMIC SCIENTIST AND PHILOSOPHER

Ibn Sina was a physician, scientist, philosopher, and mathematician whose *Qanun* (Canon of Medicine) was the standard medical reference in Europe and the Middle East until the seventeenth century. Ibn Sina was born to middle-class Persian (Iranian) parents in the village of Afshana, near Bukhara, Uzbekistan. A precocious child whose Arabic name is “Abu al-Husayn ibn Sina,” ibn Sina (widely known as “Avicenna” in the West) mastered the Quran and available Arabic and Greek classics as a teenager.

By age seventeen Ibn Sina turned his energy and intellect to the study of medicine, the field in which he made his most significant contributions. Like those of many great historical scholars and artists, Ibn Sina's life and career were closely tied to the political climate of his day. Ibn Sina lived during a period of great political insta-

bility during the Samanid dynasty (864–999 CE), the first native dynasty to arise in Iran. Ibn Sina's renown in medicine led him to be summoned to cure the Samanid king, Nuh ibn Masur (reigned 976–997 CE). Having been given a cure that had eluded more experienced physicians, the king offered ibn Sina handsome rewards. However, the young physician is said to have requested permission only to use the Royal Library of the Samanids, access to which was vital to Ibn Sina's scholarship.

By age twenty-one Ibn Sina had established a thriving medical practice in Ray, near modern Tehran, Iran, before political instability forced him to relocate to Hamadan, also in present Iran. He then turned to writing and wrote more than one hundred titles on mathematics, medicine, and the use of medicinal drugs, physics, and metaphysics. Most of these works were written in both his native Persian and Arabic.

His two most important works are *Kitab al-Shifa'* (Book of Healing) and his *Qanun*. *Kitab al-Shifa'* was an enormous undertaking that covered topics such as logic, the natural sciences, psychology (Ibn Sina studied in great detail the physiology of human emotions), Euclidian geometry, astronomy, mathematics, and even music as a branch of math based on musical intervals (the distance between notes on a chord) and rhythmic patterns. Although this work attracted considerable attention from his contemporaries, Ibn Sina's *Qanun* secured his place in world history.

With well more than one million words, the *Qanun* has been called the most important single work in the history of medicine, even if its influence today has waned. It was the standard medical reference in Europe and the Middle East until the seventeenth century. The *Qanun* is divided into five books. The first covers general principles; the second deals with medicinal drugs (a field of Ibn Sina's expertise that attracted Western doctors for centuries), the third with particular organs of the body, the fourth with diseases, and the fifth with compound medicines (i.e., medicines made from various substances).

The Arabic text of the *Qanun* was published in Rome in 1593, making it one of the earliest Arabic books to

be printed (as opposed to transcribed by hand). The *Qanun* became the preeminent medical encyclopedia of the Western world, eclipsing the works of other famous physicians such as Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariya' al-Razi (known as "al-Razi") (c. 865–c. 925 CE). By the end of the sixteenth century, only seven years after its first printing, the *Qanun* passed through fifteen Latin editions and was also translated into Hebrew. By the end of the twentieth century the *Qanun* had finally been translated into English.

Western history has not been particularly kind to Ibn Sina, whose contributions to medicine have largely been ignored and forgotten. At least two tributes remain: His portrait hangs in the Hall of the Faculty of Medicine in the University of Paris, and the British Museum has several manuscript of Ibn Sina's treatise on cardiac medicine and drugs. By contrast, the historical museum in Bukhara displays many of his writings, surgical instruments from the period when he practiced medicine, and paintings of patients undergoing treatment. An impressive monument to the life and works of the man who became known as the Islamic "doctor of doctors" and changed the face of medicine for centuries still stands outside the museum's central grounds.

*Benjamin S. Kerschberg*

See also Science—Overview

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## A Monarch's Misrule Can Bring on Calamities

"Those who are wronged are sighing and crying and they deeply affect the harmonious atmosphere. When the harmonious atmosphere is in disorder, the living will be subject to epidemics and flood and drought will come next. . . . Recently the dry weather has extended beyond its time, and there are clouds but no rain. The farmers lay down their implements, looking forward without hope and clamoring. Would they not blame Your Majesty, who though She is sagely virtuous does not bestow kindness upon the people? Now if the drought extends through the spring and makes the seasonal sowing impossible, there must be a great loss in this year's harvest. Should Your Majesty not respectfully follow the will of Heaven and pity the people with Your kindness?"

The Chinese believed that a monarch's wise acts and merciful rule kept heaven, earth, and humans in harmony. Natural calamities were regarded as heaven's warning to a monarch for his moral lapses or misrule, and unless the monarch changed his ways and made amends, heaven will inflict further punishments or end its mandate. This memorial in the paragraph above was presented by a minister to Empress Wu (684-705) to protest her policy of inflicting severe punishments on critics and offenders. The point made here was her improperly severe policy had angered heaven and brought calamity on her people. She did not accept the advice; historians have judged her actions as wrong.

Source: Ch'u T'ung-tsu. (1961). *Law and society in traditional China* (p. 216). Paris: Mouton and Co.

## Imperialism

Although many governments and political bodies have been labeled "empires" throughout world history, the related term *imperialism* today refers to a set of ideological principles whereby one group sets out to

impose its belief systems on another. This imposition is most often political but can also be cultural, religious, economic, or even ecological. At its core imperialism is defined by power relationships and the ability of one group to assert some form of power or control over another. Historians who examine imperialism tend to study either one aspect of this power or one concrete

example, such as a particular empire or the spread of a particular system. Most commonly, *imperialism* refers to the particular type of political organization that emerged during the nineteenth century, the “New Imperialism” by which Europe established empires in Africa, Asia, and Oceania (islands of the central and south Pacific).

The major impact of imperialism was the spread of ideas among different peoples, particularly in highly cosmopolitan empires. Empires operate on two key principles: acquisition of wealth, whether in money or in other resources, and the spread of belief systems to other peoples in order to establish unity under one imperial structure. This structure comes with an attendant worldview on religious, social, cultural, and political matters that subjects of the empire are expected to accept or at least accommodate. Internal conflicts within empires usually come as a result of resistance to the imperial worldview by subject peoples. Modern empires built upon these foundations and added more sophisticated bureaucratic structures and explicit drives for religious conversion, particularly Islam and Christianity. Improved means of transportation, particularly sailing and later steam vessels, and the discovery of the New World added opportunities for overseas expansion and more diverse empires.

### **Origins (Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries)**

The discovery of the New World opened up new paths for exploitation on many levels. After the initial pillage of the Aztec and Inca empires by the Spanish conquistadors, silver mines in Bolivia and Mexico gave the Spanish Empire tremendous revenue. This revenue helped finance the wars of the Habsburg (a European ruling house) against European rivals such as the Dutch, English, and Ottoman Turks. Spain was ultimately overextended by these wars, and the Habsburg emperors found such a large empire difficult to manage effectively. Spain’s rivals also set about exploiting the New World and pushed into the Indian Ocean and the Pacific as well. The biological consequences of the conquest were much more profound in the long run than was silver. Old World diseases decimated up to 90 percent of the native population, leading to the importation of African slaves to labor on the new sugar, cotton, and tobacco plantations. New crops, such as maize and the potato, were exported to the Old World, allowing for diversified agriculture and large population growth. This package of crops would also allow Europeans to establish themselves in areas with similar climates, opening up areas of

settlement in the Americas, South Africa, and Australia. The increase in population and resources promoted increased trade as demand went up and new opportunities for trade were opened.



**The pond in the principle compound of the Emperor’s Summer Palace, in Beijing. Around this pond is where the Emperor and his court would live during Beijing’s sweltering summer.**

## Rudyard Kipling, *The White Man's Burden* (1899)

*In February 1899, British novelist and poet Rudyard Kipling wrote a poem entitled "The White Man's Burden: The United States and The Philippine Islands." In this poem, Kipling urged the United States to take up the "burden" of building an empire, as had Britain and other European nations. Published in the February 1899 issue of McClure's Magazine, the poem coincided with the U.S. Senate's ratification of the treaty that placed Puerto Rico, Guam, Cuba, and the Philippines under American control. The racist notion of the "White Man's Burden" became a euphemism for imperialism, and many anti-imperialists couched their opposition in reaction to the phrase.*

Take up the White Man's burden—  
Send forth the best ye breed—  
Go bind your sons to exile  
To serve your captives' need;  
To wait in heavy harness,  
On fluttered folk and wild—  
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,  
Half-devil and half-child.  
Take up the White Man's burden—  
In patience to abide,

To veil the threat of terror  
And check the show of pride;  
By open speech and simple,  
An hundred times made plain  
To seek another's profit,  
And work another's gain.  
Take up the White Man's burden—  
The savage wars of peace—  
Fill full the mouth of Famine  
And bid the sickness cease;  
And when your goal is nearest  
The end for others sought,  
Watch sloth and heathen Folly  
Bring all your hopes to nought.  
Take up the White Man's burden—  
No tawdry rule of kings,  
But toil of serf and sweeper—  
The tale of common things.  
The ports ye shall not enter,  
The roads ye shall not tread,  
Go mark them with your living,  
And mark them with your dead.  
Take up the White Man's burden—  
And reap his old reward:

Increasingly, European wars took on a global dimension as conflicts in Europe were fought on the high seas around the world and by small groups of European soldiers and their native proxies in locations as far apart as Canada and India, with the Seven Years War (1756–1763) being the best example. Settlements were initially seen as less important than trading posts, and they were certainly less lucrative. British, French, and Dutch East India Companies were established and were given extraordinary powers to administer territory, raise armies and fleets, and wage wars to promote and manage trade.

Europeans settled areas that had a climate similar to Europe's and that had few natives to put up resistance (largely due to diseases introduced by Europeans). Such areas were largely seen as a useful outlet for excess or discontented populations in Europe and were given a large degree of autonomy in exchange for sending back resources for the home country. This practice was referred

to as "mercantilism" and became a source of discontent in colonies as their economies developed. Until the American Revolution, the British were the major success story of the eighteenth century, supplanting the Dutch as the dominant naval power and winning a series of wars. These victories gave Britain a dominant position in the Caribbean and North America and made Britain the dominant European power in India.

British involvement in India would be crucial for the development of imperialism in both theory and practice during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Previously European empires had been trade oriented, establishing trading posts to facilitate exchange, or colonial, taking advantage of favorable circumstances to transplant populations and essentially replicate themselves abroad. The New Imperialism was a shift in philosophy whereby European powers attempted to impose their political, economic, and cultural systems upon subject peoples.

The blame of those ye better,  
 The hate of those ye guard—  
 The cry of hosts ye humour  
 (Ah, slowly!) toward the light:—  
 “Why brought he us from bondage,  
 Our loved Egyptian night?”  
 Take up the White Man’s burden—  
 Ye dare not stoop to less—  
 Nor call too loud on Freedom  
 To cloke your weariness;  
 By all ye cry or whisper,  
 By all ye leave or do,  
 The silent, sullen peoples  
 Shall weigh your gods and you.  
 Take up the White Man’s burden—  
 Have done with childish days—  
 The lightly proffered laurel,  
 The easy, ungrudged praise.  
 Comes now, to search your manhood  
 Through all the thankless years  
 Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,  
 The judgment of your peers!

Source: Kipling, R. (1899). The white man’s burden. Retrieved from <http://www.online-literature.com/kipling/922/>

## Britain and India

Britain had become the dominant power in India through a series of wars with both local powers and the French. The British East India Company (EIC) had been chartered to solidify the British trade position in Asia, particularly in the tea trade. Increasingly as a result of military conquests and political maneuvers, the EIC became a governing body over large sections of India, particularly in Bengal, by the end of the eighteenth century. The mission of the company was heavily questioned in the aftermath of corruption scandals that attracted parliamentary investigation. The British government was also under pressure to allow more missionary activity, something resisted by the EIC for fear that such activity would anger the Hindu and Muslim populations in India.

Through the first half of the nineteenth century the EIC expanded its political control over India through

conquest and legal seizure of princely states when the heirs died without a successor. By the mid-1800s the British were in control of almost all of India, through either direct rule or “indirect rule” whereby princes retained their states, but the company directed foreign and trade policies. This gradual conquest led to questions over the purpose of British involvement in India. People raised moral questions as the missionary movement wanted to make more attempts at conversion, and some people objected to the increasing exportation of opium grown in India to China, an exportation that led to the Anglo-Chinese Opium War. This war dramatically demonstrated the technological superiority of Europeans and helped lead to an important strain of thought in modern imperialism: that technological superiority implies cultural and eventually racial superiority.

The outbreak of the Great Mutiny in India in 1857 led people to reassess the goals of imperialism. The EIC was removed as the governing power, and India was placed under Crown rule. With trade no longer the top priority, the concept of a civilizing mission took over, whereby the British would bring the benefits of their technology, government, and culture to India while still exploiting India’s resources. This shift was crucial for the New Imperialism because now the “civilizing” aspects of imperialism would be the prime justification for conquest.

## The Scramble for Africa

The slave trade led Europeans to hold a number of concepts about Africans. The first of these concepts was that Africans were an inferior race, thus justifying the practice of slavery. The second was that Africa was an uncivilized “dark continent” waiting for exploration and exploitation. The primary obstacle to greater European penetration of Africa was the tropical disease belt that took a heavy toll on European settlers, traders, and missionaries. Advances in medicine, particularly the discovery of quinine, which gave a resistance to malaria, allowed for greater European activity in central Africa during the 1860s. Dr. David Livingstone was perhaps the most important of the new explorers. Livingstone was a Scottish

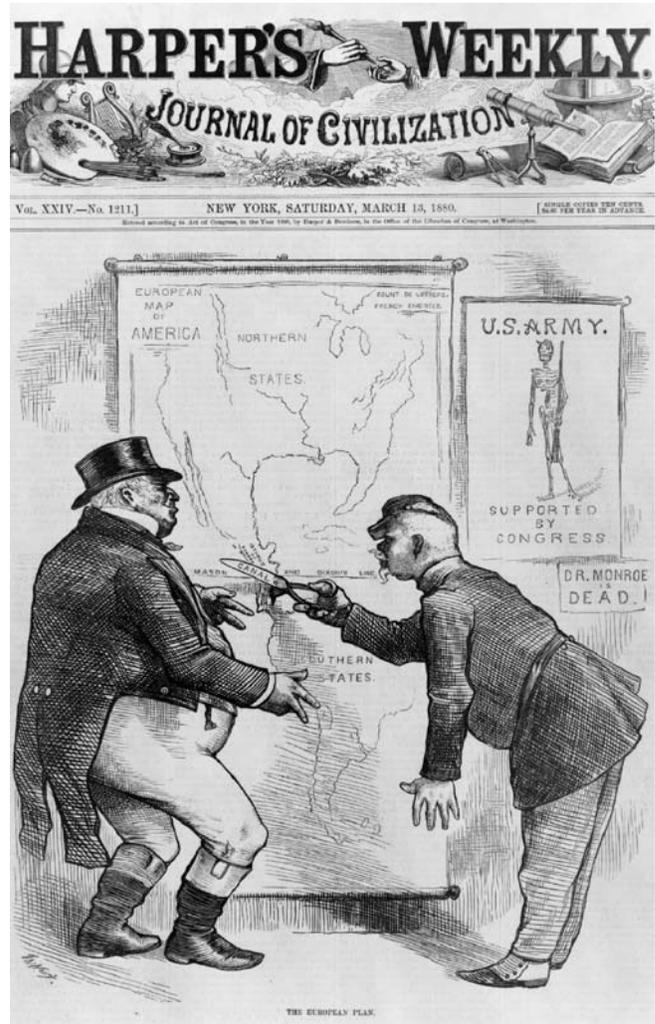
**In this cartoon by Thomas Nast from 1880, France is shown to object to American and British imperialist ambitions for control of the Panama Canal.**

missionary and explorer, and his accounts of Africa and the search for him conducted by another explorer, Henry Morton Stanley of England, captured the public imagination. Lurid accounts of the slave trade and living conditions in Africa increased calls for intervention.

Although European powers had previously established colonies in north and south Africa, the late nineteenth century brought a remarkably swift conquest of the rest of Africa. The Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 divided Africa among European powers, with no input from the natives, creating arbitrary divisions with no account for tribal and ethnic groupings. Europeans justified their rule on the basis of the civilizing mission, ending the slave trade and bringing Europe's superior way of life to Africa. The reality was much different because the conquest was marked by significant brutality and exploitation. Natural resources were a major factor as gold, diamonds, ivory, and rubber were extracted, frequently with forced native labor. Resistance was largely futile, although the Italians failed to conquer Ethiopia at the turn of the century (although they would conquer Ethiopia under Fascist leader Benito Mussolini in 1936), and Britain suffered early setbacks in South Africa against the Zulu and the Boers and in the Sudan against the Mahdists.

## Ideologies of Imperialism

The Enlightenment (a philosophic movement of the eighteenth century marked by a rejection of traditional social, religious, and political ideas and an emphasis on rationalism) had given the minds of Europe a drive to order things by the use of reason and deduction. Scientific advancement and orderly societies were the measuring posts by which the Europeans ordered the world. Other peoples were encountered and measured by these measuring posts, and imperialism was justified when peoples came up wanting. Bringing the benefits of progress, science, and reason to the benighted people of the Earth was the positive drive of imperialism. In reality, this drive became more of a drive for “God, gold, and glory” at the expense of the people who were told that all was done



for their benefit. The economic benefits of imperialism were mixed, with some colonies that had extensive natural resources yielding vast profits but others being financial drains on the home country. Critics of imperialism, such as the English economist John Hobson, saw colonies as an unnecessary financial burden that hindered free trade, whereas Russian Communist leader Vladimir Ilich Lenin saw colonies as the last stage of capitalism before the inevitable worldwide proletarian revolution that the German political philosopher Karl Marx had predicted. Imperialism was therefore to some extent irrational because informal empires of economic dominance were more logical from a business standpoint than the expense of direct military and political control.

However, business and scientific curiosity blended with a romantic sense of adventure, and the general pub-



lic who followed the accounts of Stanley and Livingstone avidly consumed serial stories and novels with imperial themes. The English writers Rudyard Kipling, H. Rider Haggard, and their counterparts outside Britain gave readers an exciting version of the imperial mission: that even if most people could not take part, readers could feel part of a greater project. Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden" was aimed at a U.S. audience, calling on people to "send forth the best ye breed" to govern Filipinos "half-devil and half-child" (Kipling 1899). Adventure appealed to men who were increasingly desk bound and out of touch with nature after the emergence of the white-collar middle class after the Industrial Revolution. Imperialism was a chance to reorder the world in a way that made sense, creating a world in which men were active and women were subordinated. However, women also found opportunities to fight for equality, using the treatment of women by colonized peoples as a way of equating women's rights with greater civilization.

The English naturalist Charles Darwin's ideas lent credence to philosophies of competitive social hierarchies that weed out the weak and reward the strong. Social Darwinism justified imperialism by twisting Darwin's theories of adaptation and natural selection to human societies. By this logic European nation-states competed with one another for colonies, and subject peoples were the victims of natural selection, not fit to govern themselves. Some of the more horrific brutalities inflicted in Africa were justified by this logic, leading to massacres and forced labor on a massive scale. Nationalism and race were increasingly blended, and the idea of races as Darwinian species competing with one another took hold, driving Europe to more aggressive militarism before World War I.

## **Anticolonial Movements**

Although resistance to imperialism had existed from the beginning, a more articulate version emerged during the twentieth century. People had fought wars against imperialism during the late nineteenth century, but European

military superiority made these wars largely futile gestures. Millennial movements (apocalyptic antimodernist religious movements) were in part a reaction to this superiority, with visions of religious faith triumphing over technology, guiding movements among the Sioux in the United States, the Boxers in China, and the Mahdi's jihad (holy war) in the Sudan. Although these movements were failures in the short term, they did lead to moral questions about the imperial mission, and the vast number of natives massacred by European firepower was soon mirrored in the mud of Flanders in northern Europe as a generation of young European men died in the trenches of World War I.

Large numbers of colonial native troops were used by the Allies in World War I, with many serving in France. The horror of war and the squalid conditions that the troops served in led many people to question the supposed superiority of Western society. Movements such as the Indian National Congress had emerged before the war but now took on new urgency. Indian nationalist Mohandas Gandhi's campaign for Indian self-rule, *Hind Suaraj*, was based on the perception that although Britain may claim noble goals, in essence racism defeats these goals. Gandhi's genius lay in passive resistance and the realization that the West's own values could be turned against imperialism. In India and elsewhere claims to self-rule, freedom of expression, and racial equality became stronger as the ideals that Europeans professed took hold.

If World War I rattled the structure of imperialism, World War II was a finishing blow. A war fought against the ultimate form of racial nationalism in the name of freedom led to the overwhelming desire for independence. India was the first to achieve independence, although with traumatic consequences for those people caught on the wrong side in the division between Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan. Similar results and consequences came with decolonization in other parts of the world as tribal, ethnic, and religious tensions reemerged amid frequently bloody struggles for independence against colonial powers. These struggles merged with the

Cold War as Communism championed itself as a liberator from the capitalist structure of imperialism. The arbitrary dividing lines of colonies fed civil and national wars in Africa and Asia and led to a sense of bitterness and resentment that is still felt today.

Jeremy H. Neill

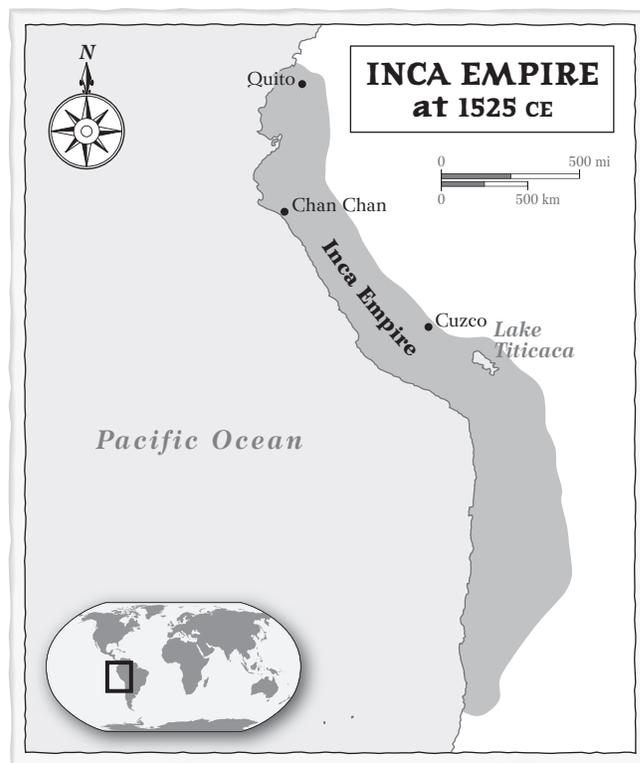
See also Colonialism; Empire

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## Inca Empire

By the middle of the fifteenth century CE, the Inca empire was the largest pre-Hispanic state ever known in the Americas. The empire covered almost a million square kilometers and stretched over the Andes for more than 4,000 kilometers. Running in a band from what is now the northern border of Ecuador to the Chilean capital of Santiago, the realm encompassed coastal deserts,



*I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilized tribes.  
The moral effect should be good . . . and it would spread a lively terror . . .*

• WINSTON CHURCHILL (1874–1965)

rugged mountains, and verdant forests. From the imperial capital of Cuzco (located southeast of present-day Lima, Peru), the emperor, known as the Sapa Inca (Unique Inca), held sway over 10 million subjects from myriad ethnic groups that spoke different languages, followed different subsistence strategies, supported different political structures, and worshipped different gods.

The Incas called their empire Tawantinsuyu, “the land of the inextricably linked four quarters.” The four quarters, Collasuyo, Antisuyu, Cuntisuyu, and Chinchasuyu, were political provinces defined by imaginary lines emanating from the capital. The name Tawantinsuyu reflected more a desire than a reality—the union of these quarters, and the people that lived within them, remained tenuous throughout the state’s short life span. When the empire was about one hundred years old, a band of 168 Spanish adventurers led by Francisco Pizarro (c. 1475–1541) helped bring an end to Tawantinsuyu in 1533. Since there was no indigenous system of writing in the Andes, our understanding of the empire is gleaned from archaeology, early Spanish documents, and a handful of native accounts. These sources often disagree, and there remain many gaps in our understanding of Inca life.

## **The Rise and Fall of an Empire**

According to their oral histories, the Inca civilization began when four brothers and four sisters emerged from a cave at the site of Pacariqtambo (The Inn of Dawn) near Cuzco. The siblings, led by Manco Capac and his sister/wife Mama Oqlla, went on a quest to find a place to settle. At the end of this search, Manco Capac founded Cuzco and became the first Inca king. The Incas were just one of many small, warring, ethnic groups that populated the mountains of central Peru until the beginning decades of the fifteenth century. At this time, the eighth ruler, Viracocha Inca, was preparing to give the throne to one of his sons. Before a transfer of power could occur, a rival group, the Chancas, invaded and surrounded the village of Cuzco.

Viracocha Inca and his heir fled the city, and another son, Cusi Inca Yupanqui, was left to defend Cuzco

against overwhelming odds. As he and the forces under his command awaited certain death at the hands of the Chanca, Cusi Inca Yupanqui had a vision. The creator god told him that if he spread the true religion, he would be a great ruler and conqueror. Inspired by his vision, Cusi Inca Yupanqui broke the siege and then went on to rout the Chanca. He was crowned ruler and took on the name of Pachakuti—“Cataclysm” or “He Who Remakes the World.” Over the space of fifty years, Pachakuti (reigned 1438–1471) and his son Tupac Yupanqui (reigned 1471–1493) conquered almost all of what would become the Inca empire. The remaining portions of the empire, Ecuador and the chiefdom of Chachapoyas in northern Peru, were captured by the succeeding king, Huayna Capac (reigned 1493–1526).

The Incas legitimized their expansion as a means to spread the true religion. The true religion entailed two things—reshuffling existing gods and practices to fit within a “proper” imperial pantheon and the placing of the Inca sun god, Inti, at the second position in that hierarchy (Viracocha, the creator god, held the highest position). As long as a conquered group agreed to both acquiesce to the god’s position in this hierarchy and worship Inti, local religions could remain intact. In this way, the Inca were able to fulfill their divine mandate for expansion without seriously challenging local beliefs.

The Incas conquered through a mixture of diplomacy and force. Resisting the empire often had terrible consequences; after defeating the Collas of the Lake Titicaca Basin, for example, the Sapa Inca destroyed many villages, killed many of the inhabitants, and cut off the heads of all of the Colla lords. Those that acquiesced to Inca rule, however, were offered sumptuous gifts and given a privileged position in the new imperial hierarchy.

By the end of Huayna Capac’s reign, the strain of keeping the massive empire together was beginning to show. The Sapa Inca was faced with unrest along both the northern and southern frontiers of the empire. Rebelions within the realm, although a problem throughout the empire’s existence, may have become more frequent. The groups that populated the semitropical forests along much of the regime’s eastern border were nuisances that



**This engraving from the eighteenth century shows the Inca leader Atahualpa being taken by the Spanish in 1533.**

that preceded the Spanish invaders, accelerated civil unrest and caused a war of succession between his two sons, Huascar and Atahualpa (c.1502–1533). Atahualpa finally defeated his brother, but this event was overshadowed a few days later by Atahualpa's capture on 16 November 1532 by Pizarro. By the following November, Atahualpa and Huascar were dead and the Spaniards controlled Cuzco. In 1572, the last vestiges of Inca resistance ended with the capture of the jungle redoubt of Vilcabamba.

At the time of the Inca conquest, it appears that the empire was overextended. By the reign of Huayna Capac, the pace of imperial expansion had significantly slowed and the emperor spent much of his time quelling rebellions in different parts of the empire. This strain in keeping the empire together, as mentioned above, increased with the wars of succession between Huascar and Atahualpa.

proved impossible to defeat for a number of reasons. They were small, mobile, and politically acephalous. Inca military tactics did not work well in tropical forests, and tropical peoples often used guerrilla tactics and did not mass their troops. There were the risks of disease, especially Chagas' disease. There was also little of value obtained in the Inca's expeditions into the eastern lowlands. The exotic animals, honey, feathers, and a bit of gold that they captured were not worth the effort. Huayna Capac's swift death, by an epidemic of smallpox

Huascar was the designated successor to Huayna Capac and was supported by the royal lineages in Cuzco. Atahualpa, who controlled the bulk of the seasoned army in Quito, at first acknowledged Huascar as the rightful heir but refused to visit his half-brother (different mothers) in Cuzco. Huascar suspected treason (perhaps rightfully so, it does appear that Atahualpa was making plans to stake his claim to the throne) and began the war of succession by sending an immense but undisciplined force in a failed attempt to capture Quito. For the

*For man, when perfected, is the best of animals, but, when separated from law and justice, he is the worst of all.* • ARISTOTLE (384–322 BCE)

next six years, there were a number of battles and diplomatic overtures between the forces of the brothers with little concrete results. Finally, Huascar was captured in battle when a small contingent of soldiers led the emperor into a trap. Atahualpa was in the midst of his triumphant march to take over Cuzco when Pizzaro captured him.

While the Inca account of the later years of the empire may be largely accurate, archaeological evidence contradicts aspects of their rise to power. For example, research suggests that the Incas were important regional players who controlled many valleys around Cuzco during the preceding Late Intermediate Period (1000–1438). While the Chancas attack may have occurred, the Incas possessed a powerful state when the attack occurred. In another example, recent radiocarbon dates place the expansion of the empire twenty-five to fifty years earlier than the dates provided by written sources.

## The Heartland

When the Spaniards entered Cuzco in 1533, the capital housed more than 100,000 people and was the largest city in South America. The city, located in the same place as modern Cuzco, stood in a fertile mountain valley in central Peru at an elevation of 3,395 meters. At the time of the Inca expansion, Cuzco was probably a typical mountain town of thatched huts that contained several ethnic groups living in distinct districts. Around 1463, Pachakuti returned to the village from his conquests and removed all non-Inca ethnic groups from the city's core and resettled the groups into fringe enclaves. The Sapa Inca then rebuilt Cuzco as his capital.

The city's center was divided into upper and lower sectors that abutted a large plaza divided into two parts. In the middle of the plaza, a pointed stone covered in gold was the focal point for many state ceremonies. The large halls surrounding these plazas were likely temples, palaces, and houses for women who served the emperor. The city core may have been shaped in the form of a puma, with the megalithic terraces of Saqsawaman forming its head. Builders fitted together the massive fine-cut

stone blocks used in Saqsawaman without the use of mortar. This type of masonry was used in many of the important buildings of Cuzco; architectural embellishments included trapezoidal niches and double (and even triple) jamb doors. Most Inca buildings in both the heartland and the provinces, however, were made of fieldstones or mud bricks (or both).

Crowned from among the members of at least ten royal kin groups (called *panacas*), the Inca emperor was an absolute ruler. The Sapa Inca was divine—the descendent of the creator god Viracocha, and the son of the sun god Inti. When the emperor died, all of his possessions were kept by his descendents. His mummy was worshipped and continued to eat (burnt offerings), visit friends (other mummies), and attend ceremonies. This system made it necessary for each successive ruler to build his own palaces, estates, and terraced fields. Through split inheritance, a new *panaca* was formed each time a new emperor was crowned. The *panaca* of the previous emperor maintained his holdings, but each new emperor needed to build his own estates because his new *panaca* had no previous holdings. Royal estates, usually made up of agricultural lands surrounding a cluster of well-made residences, halls, and shrines, controlled much of the land around Cuzco. Machu Picchu, the well-preserved ridgetop site located by Hiram Bingham in 1911, was perhaps one of the estates built by Pachakuti.

Besides the creator and the sun, the Inca pantheon included gods that symbolized other celestial bodies and forces of nature, such as the moon, lightning, thunder, and the rainbow. The Incas also worshipped several hundred sacred sites—often springs, rocks, lakes, and mountains—that were called *huacas*, as well as ancestor mummies housed in aboveground sepulchers. Supplicants offered gold, silver, cloth, ceramics, corn beer, llamas, alpacas, and, more rarely, humans to these divine beings, and many rituals were tied into a sacred calendar of twelve lunar months. Around Cuzco, the *huacas* were organized on a network of forty or forty-one lines radiating from the Coricancha, Cuzco's sun temple. Called the *ceque* system, each line was assigned to a particular

*For it is a peculiarity of humans, in contrast to the other animals, to have perception of good and bad, just and unjust, and the like; and community in these things makes a household and a city.* • ARISTOTLE (384–322 BCE)

social group that was responsible for the ceremonies at each *huaca*.

## The Provinces

There were at least eighty provinces divided among the four quarters of Tawantinsuyu. While ethnic Incas usually controlled the most important political and religious positions in these provinces, local lords retained a significant degree of control over local affairs. In general, the Inca encouraged a degree of autonomy to decrease administrative costs and hinder groups from uniting, and strove to maintain local religions, dress, and languages. Nonetheless, the empire was still a disruptive force. The empire claimed ownership over all natural resources, divided land into tracts for the Incas, the state religion, and the local communities, bought colonists, called *mitmaq-kuna*, into new areas, and moved settlements into more productive growing areas. In addition, the empire tore down or built up political systems according to its interests and organized local populations into units of one hundred, five hundred, a thousand, five thousand, and ten thousand households to facilitate census taking and labor recruitment.

The Inca economic system was neither a market nor a tribute system. No coinage was used in the realm, and, strictly speaking, the empire demanded no goods in kind from its subjects. Instead, the mainstay of the imperial economy was a labor tax that was couched in an ethos of reciprocity. Every household was required to provide some kind of service, such as farming, herding, construction, mining, or military service, to the state. In return, the state sponsored large feasts for its subjects at which enormous amounts of food and drink were consumed. The state also maintained a number of specialists that worked full-time for the state, such as artists, household servants, and temple workers. The most famous of these specialists were the *aqllakuna*, young women who brewed corn beer and wove cloth at state centers. Kept under close guard, the Sapa Inca often married these women to Inca and local elites in order to strengthen his political power.

The Incas built provincial administrative centers across the empire. These centers served as local hubs for administration, religious ceremonies, military actions, and labor

recruitment. Most importantly, the Inca accumulated the fruits of the labor tax at these sites. The largest of these centers, such as Willkawaman, Pumpu, Cajamarca, and Huánuco Pampo, contained hundreds of storehouses. *Quipus*, mnemonic devices made by hanging knotted strings from a main cord, were used to record the contents of the storehouses. Census data, ritual calendars, astronomical observations, and even histories may have also been recorded on the *quipus*. While many products were consumed locally at the provincial centers, caravans of humans and llamas transported many of the goods across the 30,000 kilometers of Inca roads. The roads, an engineering marvel in the rugged terrain of the Andes, also served to facilitate the movement of troops. A system of runners allowed messages and small items to be carried quickly on these roads over long distances.

## The Incas and the World

The opportunity to learn from the Incas was almost completely squandered after the Spanish conquest. The Spanish success, helped by the Inca war of succession, the willingness of subjected groups to rebel, and, most importantly, the diseases that the adventurers carried with them, nearly obliterated Andean civilization. Epidemics, civil wars, and forced labor over the first fifty years of Spanish rule wiped out over half of the population. Entire villages were abandoned, languages were lost, and rituals forgotten. Outside of the Andes, the most lasting legacy of the encounter between the Incas and the Spanish may be the potato. The daily fare of Inca commoners and elites, the potato has now become an important staple crop in countries around the world. It is an unlikely reminder of a mighty empire that lived for only a short time.

*Justin Jennings*

*See also* Andean States

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*A people without history is like wind on the buffalo grass.* • SIOUX PROVERB

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## Indigenous Peoples

All peoples are in a sense indigenous peoples, since they come from somewhere. The term indigenous peoples has referred to those people who have become minorities within their own territories as a result of the expansion of technologically more advanced peoples. This process of creating indigenous peoples accelerated in the past five centuries, though it is a process as old as the advent of agricultural societies. Today, the major groups of indigenous peoples are the Amerindians of the Americas, the aborigines of Australia and Oceania (including peoples in Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, and Hawaii), the Eskimo and Siberian peoples in the far northern hemisphere, the Taiwanese, and the Ainu in Japan. It is possible that soon other peoples, such as Tibetan and Turkic peoples in China, will be considered indigenous peoples, but they will not be treated here.

Although the diversity of indigenous peoples, ranging from tiny groups in the tropical Amazon, millions in high-

land Guatemala, thousands on Pacific islands, to small villages on the tundra, is extremely large, they all share similar characteristics. The similarities are important; in most cases these groups have been displaced over the past centuries from their original territory or other peoples have moved in and conquered the aboriginal inhabitants. Indigenous peoples by definition do not have separate states, though they may define themselves as “nations” (in fact, in many areas such as Canada indigenous peoples are formally known as “First Nations”) and have considerable autonomy, as is the case with the Inuit in Canada. Indigenous peoples also change status as regions are decolonized, and move from aboriginals to citizens of nation-states where they are the majority and wield most political power.

### Periodization

In a sense, there always has been a conquest of aboriginal peoples that goes back before the dawn of history; it might for example explain the disappearance of Neanderthal man. However, it is possible to define four principal periods in the history of indigenous peoples throughout the world. The first period is one of slow progression of the domination over indigenous peoples through conquest and colonization. This process began with the formation of agricultural societies and the creation of the first states, about 7,000 years ago. Agricultural societies, because of the food surplus they were able to generate compared to foraging and nomadic societies, slowly but surely replaced these indigenous peoples at a relatively constant pace. At times, nomadic peoples invaded agricultural societies but were eventually absorbed, for example in the Aryan invasions of India in the 1200s BCE or the Mongol invasions of Russia, the Middle East, and China in the 1200s CE. However, eventually agricultural societies won out and were most frequently the aggressors, illustrated by the slow expansion of the Cossacks at the expense of Siberian peoples beginning in the 1400s CE or the colonization of southern Africa by Bantu agriculturalists from the first century C.E. to the 1500s.

The process accelerated considerably in the 1500s with the conquest of the Americas and the Philippines by

*All the peoples of the world are men. . . . All have understanding and volition, all have the five exterior senses and the four interior senses, and are moved by the objects of these, all take satisfaction in goodness and feel pleasure with happy and delicious things, all regret and abhor evil.* • BARTOLOME DE LAS CASAS (1474–1566)

the Spanish and the Portuguese, beginning the second phase in the creation and subjection of indigenous peoples. The people who would be known as “Indians,” such as the Maya, Aztecs, and Incas, were in the majority agriculturalists as well, thus changing the older dynamic of mostly agrarian versus foraging societies. The Amerindians suffered a process of conquest and absorption by European states and their successors that only ended in the twentieth century, following the colonization of the Amazon. The term “Indian” is of course a misnomer; Christopher Columbus thought he had reached India and therefore called the inhabitants “indios.” Indigenous peoples, who were very diverse and did not have much in common, accepted the idea that they were “Indians” only after the Spanish set up legislation favoring Indians a generation after the conquest. It was to the Indians’ advantage to accept this designation, as it helped prevent some abuses.

The third phase began in the late eighteenth century, when the European powers conquered the peoples of the Pacific islands and Australia, and accelerated in the nineteenth century when western European countries divided up Africa and parts of Asia. In this phase, peoples who had industrialized conquered mostly agriculturalists and made them into “indigenous people.”

The last period began in the mid-twentieth century as indigenous peoples fought against the colonial powers and were able to create independent nation-states in Africa, Asia, and Oceania. The process continued and accelerated again in the 1990s as the fall of the Soviet Union and the creation of independent nations in its stead converted indigenous groups into national societies. Likewise, indigenous groups within nation-states such as in the Americas and the Pacific islands have organized and gained increasing autonomy and political power where societies have become more democratic and accepted their pluriethnic character.

## **The Making of Native Americans**

The most intense period of the creation of indigenous peoples started in the 1450s CE, with the expansion of

western Europeans into the rest of the world. The systems of the major European colonial powers varied significantly, though in all cases the Europeans took away lands, exploited labor, and killed those who rebelled. Interactions between Europeans and indigenous groups also varied according to the types of indigenous societies. For example, the Spanish found small-scale societies in the Caribbean in the sixteenth century that were difficult to subdue. Later, Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro led small groups of Spanish into the Aztec and Inca empires respectively, conquering them in alliance with dissident indigenous groups. The groups in Brazil were too loosely organized for the relatively weak Portuguese to conquer all at once. Likewise, on the eastern seaboard of North America, the English settlers found themselves in the seventeenth century confronted with loosely federated but militarily powerful peoples who could not be easily subdued. It took European diseases and many decades for the Portuguese and English to dominate the aboriginal peoples and gain a secure foothold. Thereafter, the Spanish attempted to maintain some land and legal rights for the Indians while regulating the exploitation of their labor, whereas the Portuguese settlers (especially around São Paulo, Brazil) were more interested in enslaving indigenous peoples for the sugar plantations in the Northeast. The English found little use for the indigenous and took away their lands, while the small number of French clustered in northern and central parts of North America tried to ally themselves with powerful indigenous groups as a means of gaining access to the fur trade.

## **The Making of Indigenous in Central Asia and Pacific**

The seventeenth century also saw the subjugation of peoples in Siberia by the Russians. The Buryats were Mongol pastoralists who increasingly came under the rule of Russian traders as the Russian state pushed eastward, across the Ural Mountains. The Russian state also gained some tenuous control over other groups such as the Tuvans, Kalmyks, Kazakhs, and Tajiks through their settlers, greater organization, and access to better weapons than the natives. In a similar pattern, the Han Chinese,

## Columbus on the Indigenous People of Cuba

*From the 24 December 1492 entry of the Journal of the First Voyage of Christopher Columbus, 1492–1493:*

A better race there cannot be, and both the people and the lands are in such quantity that I know not how to write it. I have spoken in the superlative degree of the country and people of Juana, which they call Cuba, but there is as much difference between them and this island and people as between day and night. I believe that no one who should see them could say less than I have said, and I repeat that the things and the great villages of this island of Espanola, which they call Bohio, are wonderful. All here have a loving manner and gentle speech, unlike the others, who seem to be menacing when they speak. Both men and women are of good stature, and not black. It is true that they all paint, some with black, others with other colours, but most with red. I know that they are tanned by the sun, but this does not affect them much. Their houses and villages are pretty, each with a chief, who acts as their judge, and who is obeyed by them. All these lords use few words, and have excellent manners. Most of their orders are given by a sign with the hand, which is understood with surprising quickness . . .

Bourne, E. G. (Ed.). (1906). *The northmen, Columbus and Cabot, 985–1503: The voyages of the northmen* (p. 203). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

especially during the Qing dynasty (1644–1912 CE; ironically, the Qing emperors themselves were non-Han Manchurians), extended their control westward, subjugating some of the same Mongol and Turkish peoples in what is the Xianjiang region in northwestern China.

In the eighteenth century it was the turn of the peoples in the Pacific. Although the Muslim and Buddhist peoples of Java and the other main islands of the Indonesian archipelago slowly but surely dominated peoples from islands toward the east, turning them into “indigenous,” the British took over Australia and New Zealand. The Australian colony, founded in the mid-eighteenth century

as Botany Bay, mistreated the foraging Australian aborigines by taking away their land and often simply killing them. In turn, the British competed with the French for New Zealand. The native peoples there, called Maori, were better organized and had access to muskets as part of the trade that had begun in the late eighteenth century. The British signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 with many Maori chiefs, converting the Maori into British subjects. The Maori conceptions of land tenure were very different from that of the English; for the Maori land sales signified the payment for temporary use rather than permanent loss. As European settlers began to overwhelm the Maori, they rebelled in a series of wars in the 1860s, but the Maori lost. Thereafter, the British acquired lands with impunity and there was little the Maori could do.

In the Japanese archipelago, the far northern island of Hokkaido is populated by a people called Ainu, who are ethnically distinct from the rest of Japan. As the Japanese state expanded, it gained control over this population by the fourteenth century CE. During the Edo or Tokugawa period (1600/1603–1868), the state favored the Japanese over the Ainu. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, things only got worse for the Ainu. In the name of progress and because of population pressures, the state sent Japanese to Hokkaido, turning the Ainu into a minority in their own lands. The Ainu were forced to learn Japanese and abandon their own customs, though many families continued to speak their own language and maintain their culture clandestinely.

## The Nation-State and the Indigenous in the Americas

By the early nineteenth century, most of the former European colonies in North America had become independent, but the situation of indigenous peoples worsened uniformly. In North America, the United States and Canada killed the Indians in their way or forced them into reservations far from their home territory or on economically marginal lands. In nineteenth-century Brazil, the Brazilian imperial troops likewise saw Indians as people who had to be absorbed into general society or exterminated if they opposed assimilation. In the former

## Rewriting History

*One component of indigenous people's movements is a reexamination and rewriting of their histories, written by outsiders. The following is an example of the revisionist history of the Mohawk, an Iroquois nation in New York State and Canada.*

### **The Position Papers: The Iroquois History of the Western World**

The Iroquois revisionist history is comprised of several elements. First, it refers to various historical puzzles found in scholarly writings on Indians. For example, Iroquois traditionalists reject the Bering Strait land bridge theory, asserting the in situ creation of North American indigenous peoples (Akwasasne Notes 1978:1). A second example is their rejection of the widely-accepted view among academic historians that the Oneidas sided with the Americans in the Revolutionary War, the position papers, and numerous other writings, insisting the Oneidas were continuously neutral, along with the rest of the League (Akwasasne Notes 978:105). A third example is the claim by some traditionalists that the Iroquois League was founded in 1390, not two hundred years later, as some scholars estimate. A fourth example is the argument that the seventeenth-century Iroquois destroyed the Huron peoples not because of fur-trade rivalries, but because the Hurons were pawns of the

Jesuits (Akwasasne Notes 1980 calendar, March 16). Finally, traditionalists say that Mohawks founded Kahnawake and later Akwasasne not as mission settlements, but as repopulations of lands that were part of the ancient Mohawk territory. In this way native historians have constructed a counter version of Iroquois history partly by responding point by point to the scholarly and popular representations of their past.

A second element in the construction of the traditionalist narrative of world history is the occasional use of a few scholarly sources that support key polemical positions in traditionalism. They often cite Morgan (1851) because he portrays the fully-functioning, idealized League. They often cite Parker's version of the "Code of Handsome Lake and the Constitution" (Parker 1968), usually ignoring the critique of Parker's sources by Fenton (Fenton 1968). In *Basic Call to Consciousness* they cite Francis Jennings's "The Invasion of America" (1975) because his demystification (America was "invaded" not "discovered") concurs with the Indians' perspective. Ironically, the position papers in *Basic Call to Consciousness* open with a copy of a line drawing of the Iroquois cosmology by William Fenton. The native version of history, therefore, sometimes depends on rather than reacts to academic sources and anthropological constructions.

Source: Ciborski, S. (1990). *Culture and power: The emergence and politics of Akwasasne Mohawk traditionalism* (p. 99–100). Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International.

Spanish colonies, the Indians were initially given full citizenship rights after independence, but these were slowly taken away as the elites, mainly descendants of Europeans, fortified the state and adopted scientific racism and social Darwinism as justifications for taking away the lands and political rights of the Indians. As a result, indigenous peoples were increasingly impoverished during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Combined with the increasing marginalization of the indigenous peoples under state rule, in the late nineteenth century the national states invaded the territories of indigenous groups not yet under their domination, such as the Pampas and Patagonia.

## **Indigenous Peoples in Central Asia**

Most people defined as indigenous in Asia come from its central parts. Their experience in the twentieth century, with few exceptions, has been a horrific one. The Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union, although it paid lip service to the rights of ethnic minorities, was murderous in its actual policies. Central Asian peoples suffered tremendously. The Buryats, for example, tried to establish a Mongolian republic independent of both Russia and China in the early twentieth century. When Stalin incorporated the Buryat region into the Soviet Union, many independence leaders fled. However, Stalin demanded their return and

when they did so, they were summarily executed in 1929. Stalin's actions halved the Buryat population. The Tuva also resisted collectivization in the 1930s, but the Terror of 1937 led to the murder of the nationalists. The declaration of the Tuva region as an autonomous province in 1944 did not help. The Tuva were put into boarding schools and "Russianized," while Stalin encouraged Russian colonists to diminish the population of indigenous peoples.

Only the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 has improved the political situation of some of the indigenous peoples of Siberia and Central Asia. In Central Asia, some of the previously indigenous people saw themselves transformed almost overnight into national groups, such as in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Unfortunately, many of these new nations are still ruled by autocrats, often old Communist apparatchiks from the pre-independence era.

The Chinese Communist state instituted similar policies to the Soviet Union in Xianjiang after 1949 and Tibet after the 1950 invasion. The process of "Sinification" of the western borders of China appears to have accelerated in the last few decades of the twentieth century as increasing prosperity and overpopulation in the eastern sections brings more Han Chinese westward. The Chinese state has defined any resistance by ethnic minorities especially in the West as "terrorism," thus providing for a police or even military response. The fate of indigenous peoples in China has only worsened over the past century.

### **Indigenous Movements in Pacific and the Americas**

Indigenous peoples in the Pacific and Latin America fared somewhat better in the second half of the twentieth century as they got better organized. In the early twentieth century the Maori established a Young Maori Party, which triumphed in the 1935 elections allied with the Labour Party. In 1980 New Zealand established the Waitangi Tribunal to examine land claims dating from the nineteenth century onward. Finally, in 1995 Queen Elizabeth apologized publicly for the wrongs committed against the Maori.



**In this photo from the early twentieth century, an Aymara Native American in Bolivia poses in traditional dress. Such depictions of indigenous peoples were quite common during this time period.**

In 1997, the Japanese Diet finally passed a law that encouraged Ainu culture. The 1899 law, which encouraged Ainu to cultivate land, and policies favorable to the Ainu in the 1960s had not brought an end to discrimination. The Ainu are still the poorest population within Japan and now the Ainu are asking for compensation to right past wrongs.

Crucial to the successes of indigenous peoples especially in Latin America has been International Labor Organization Convention 169, which recognizes indigenous

## Selection from the Latest Version of the Draft United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 1993

### ANNEX I

#### DRAFT DECLARATION AS AGREED UPON BY THE MEMBERS OF THE WORKING GROUP AT ITS ELEVENTH SESSION

AFFIRMING that indigenous peoples are equal in dignity and rights to all other peoples, while recognizing the right of all peoples to be different, to consider themselves different, and to be respected as such,

AFFIRMING ALSO that all peoples contribute to the diversity and richness of civilizations and cultures, which constitute the common heritage of humankind,

AFFIRMING FURTHER that all doctrines, policies and practices based on or advocating superiority of peoples or individuals on the basis of national origin, racial, religious, ethnic or cultural differences are racist, scientifically false, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust,

REAFFIRMING also that indigenous peoples, in the exercise of their rights, should be free from discrimination of any kind,

CONCERNED that indigenous peoples have been deprived of their human rights and fundamental freedoms, resulting, *inter alia*, in their colonization and dispossession of their lands, territories and resources, thus preventing them from exercising, in particular, their right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests,

RECOGNIZING the urgent need to respect and promote the inherent rights and characteristics of indigenous peoples, especially their rights to their lands, territories and resources, which derive from their political, economic and social structures and

from their cultures, spiritual traditions, histories and philosophies,

WELCOMING the fact that indigenous peoples are organizing themselves for political, economic, social and cultural enhancement and in order to bring an end to all forms of discrimination and oppression wherever they occur,

CONVINCED that control by indigenous peoples over developments affecting them and their lands, territories and resources will enable them to maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions, and to promote their development in accordance with their aspirations and needs,

RECOGNIZING ALSO that respect for indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices contributes to sustainable and equitable development and proper management of the environment,

EMPHASIZING the need for demilitarization of the lands and territories of indigenous peoples, which will contribute to peace, economic and social progress and development, understanding and friendly relations among nations and peoples of the world,

RECOGNIZING in particular the right of indigenous families and communities to retain shared responsibility for the upbringing, training, education and well-being of their children,

RECOGNIZING ALSO that indigenous peoples have the right freely to determine their relationships with States in a spirit of coexistence, mutual benefit and full respect,

CONSIDERING that treaties, agreements and other arrangements between States and indigenous peoples

rights in terms of land, culture, and political organization. A number of Latin American governments have accepted ILO Convention 169 as part of their constitutions, including Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina, and Costa Rica.

As Latin America democratized beginning in the 1980s, indigenous groups organized and gained some

voice. This was especially the case after 1992, when the indigenous reacted to the quincentennial celebrations of the Columbus voyage. The most vociferous were the Ecuadorian Indians, who had earlier formed CONAIE (Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador — Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador),

are properly matters of international concern and responsibility,

ACKNOWLEDGING that the Charter of the United Nations, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights affirm the fundamental importance of the right of self-determination of all peoples, by virtue of which they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development,

BEARING IN MIND that nothing in this Declaration may be used to deny any peoples their right of self-determination,

ENCOURAGING States to comply with and effectively implement all international instruments, in particular those related to human rights, as they apply to indigenous peoples, in consultation and cooperation with the peoples concerned,

EMPHASIZING that the United Nations has an important and continuing role to play in promoting and protecting the rights of indigenous peoples,

BELIEVING that this Declaration is a further important step forward for the recognition, promotion and protection of the rights and freedoms of indigenous peoples and in the development of relevant activities of the United Nations system in this field,

SOLEMNLY PROCLAIMS the following United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples:

Source: Commission on Human Rights, Economic and Social Council, United Nations. Retrieved December 26, 2002, from Center for World Indigenous Studies, <http://www.cwis.org>

an indigenous confederation that encompassed lowland jungle dwellers as well as highland peasants. Huge demonstrations in 1990, 1992, and 1994 strengthened CONAIE's ability to influence policy.

Indigenous groups have gained great power in the early twenty-first century, bringing down governments

and helping elect their allies. The heavily indigenous Zapatista Army in southern Mexico erupted in 1994 to protest the inclusion of that country into the North American Free Trade Area. Although a military stalemate quickly developed between government forces and the Zapatistas, the image that it was possible to resist the ruling Revolutionary Institutional Party, which had been in power over seven decades, helped lead to the election of opposition National Action Party leader Vicente Fox as president in 2000. In the same year, the Ecuadoran Indians, in alliance with members of the army, overthrew the president. Since then, they helped elect one of the conspirators, General Lucio Gutiérrez, to the presidency but since have split with him. In Bolivia, an Aymara Indian organization had become one of the most important opposition forces to a military dictatorship in the 1970s. Although it never received many votes under democracy, the Aymaras' ability to choke off the roads leading to the capital gave it great power. In 2004, they helped unseat President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada after riots led to the death of a number of demonstrators.

In other Latin American countries where there is a large indigenous presence, progress has not been as great. In Guatemala, Maya groups continue to fear right-wing death squads, whereas in Peru a brutal civil war with Maoist guerrillas in the last two decades of the twentieth century hindered the development of indigenous political organizations. In Chile, whereas the Mapuche gained some political representation in the 1960s and 1970s, the brutal Pinochet dictatorship (1973–1990) destroyed indigenous organizations. In Brazil, despite a relatively benign government policy toward indigenous peoples, deforestation, gold mining, and the large-scale migration of non-Indians into the Amazon have overwhelmed the government's capacity to protect indigenous groups.

Canada has made great strides in providing political and territorial rights to the Inuits (commonly known as Eskimos) in its territory. Since 1975, the Canadian government and the Inuits signed a number of land claim agreements. The largest and most innovative was for Nunavut, a huge territory in the northern stretches of former Northwest Territories. The Inuit there gained a great



**Protection of the indigenous rights is a major issue for indigenous peoples around the world. This barrier keeps outsiders away from the kiva, an underground religious chamber at Taos Pueblo in New Mexico.**

degree of self-government and were also paid over 1 billion Canadian dollars for the use of their resources.

## Outlook

All in all, the situation for indigenous groups is improving, though many will disappear anyway. Those that are strong enough have allies either in the country or outside it and, where there is democracy, have a chance of surviving and even maintaining their culture as they change with the times. In any case, the issue of indigenous rights will not go away.

*Erick D. Langer*

See also Foraging Societies, Contemporary; Indigenous Peoples Movements

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# Indigenous Peoples Movements

Since the advent of humanity movements by indigenous peoples have strived to have their rights recognized or their language preserved and defended their land against usurpation by a dominant ethnic group. The term *indigenous peoples* refers to those people who have become ethnically distinct minorities within their own territories as a result of the expansion of technologically more advanced peoples—a process that began when some people adopted herding and agriculture whereas others remained hunters and gatherers. Later, agricultural peoples dominated each other, creating indigenous peoples among the dominated.

We often have difficulty distinguishing indigenous movements from peasant revolts or millenarian uprisings



(movements in which people wanted to go back to an idealized past) because of the potential broadness of the definition of *indigenous movements*. We therefore should restrict the definition to apply after the advent of the nation-state, when presumably one linguistic or ethnic group dominated and a new sensibility of the national citizen evolved regardless of race, ethnic background, or religion. Indigenous peoples in this context are those people who see themselves as Aboriginal peoples who do not accept the cultural, linguistic, or religious conformity that the nation-state presumes of its citizens. In many cases these peoples' territory spans more than one modern state. In this sense Aboriginal peoples as diverse as the Uyghur of western China, the Maya of Mesoamerica (the region of southern North America that during pre-Columbian times was occupied by peoples with shared cultural features), the San of southern Africa, and the Inuit of North America are typical. Of course, some peoples who are confined to just one nation-state, such as the Aborigines of Australia and the Maori of New Zealand, have important indigenous movements.

### **Periodization**

If one accepts that true indigenous peoples movements did not exist until the formation of the nation-state, then the periodization of these movements becomes clearer. Indigenous peoples movements existed since the formation of nation-states, from the eighteenth century onward, although most movements expressed their demands mainly through violence because of their members' subordination and inability to have a voice in the national political arena. This situation continued patterns from the earlier period, during which many independent states were still colonies. Thus, the leader of the Túpac Amaru rebellion (1780–1784) in the central Andes Mountains of South America, for example, posited the return of the Inca empire. An associated movement, by the Kataris farther south, advocated the extermination of all Spaniards and their descendants. Later indigenous movements in Peru and Bolivia during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries expressed themselves as rebellions because indigenous people were barred as actors from formal

politics. Most important in this respect was the Caste War of the Yucatán (1848–1902), which pitted the Maya against the local white elites, who were divided among conservative, liberal, and autonomist views of how to constitute the Mexican state.

Only one exception exists: the Maori in New Zealand, where a national indigenous peoples movement emerged before the change from British colony to nation. This exception shows that when elites were willing to permit indigenous organization in national politics, indigenous groups generally remained part of the formal process. In 1840 a British representative and many Maori chiefs signed the Waitangi Treaty, which gave full citizenship rights to the latter but also required them to sell land to the British. Much of the Maori land was alienated from the natives, and in the 1860s rebellions broke out in the colony. However, the Maori were able to participate in formal politics and formed the Young Maori Party during the early twentieth century. They won the 1935 elections in alliance with the Labour Party, marking the beginning of a successful process in asserting territorial claims and cultural rights. Elsewhere, during the 1920s members of the Mapuche people were elected to Congress in Chile, although after that the political power of the Mapuche waned until the 1970s.

During much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, indigenous peoples under domination of Europeans or descendants of Europeans (in the Americas, Australia, and Africa) generally lost whatever rights they may have possessed. Under the conceptions of social Darwinism, which posits that Europeans are the superior race and that other groups, especially conquered native peoples, are inferior, indigenous peoples were seen as incapable of equal participation in the political arena. By the 1920s some elite groups in Latin America challenged those conceptions by advocating *indigenismo* (indigenism). That paternalistic movement exalted the ancient, and presumably wise, peoples such as the Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas but looked down upon the contemporary natives as degenerate specimens of their race.

From the 1930s onward ethnicity and race took a back seat to class, and, as a result, indigenous peoples movements—with some exceptions, such as in New Zealand

## Selection from: Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO No. 169)

### Article 2

1. Governments shall have the responsibility for developing, with the participation of the peoples concerned, co-ordinated and systematic action to protect the rights of these peoples and to guarantee respect for their integrity.

2. Such action shall include measures for:

(a) Ensuring that members of these peoples benefit on an equal footing from the rights and opportunities which national laws and regulations grant to other members of the population;

(b) Promoting the full realisation of the social, economic and cultural rights of these peoples with respect for their social and cultural identity, their customs and traditions and their institutions;

(c) Assisting the members of the peoples concerned to eliminate socio-economic gaps that may exist between indigenous and other members of the national community, in a manner compatible with their aspirations and ways of life.

### Article 3

1. Indigenous and tribal peoples shall enjoy the full measure of human rights and fundamental free-

doms without hindrance or discrimination. The provisions of the Convention shall be applied without discrimination to male and female members of these peoples.

2. No form of force or coercion shall be used in violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the peoples concerned, including the rights contained in this Convention.

### Article 4

1. Special measures shall be adopted as appropriate for safeguarding the persons, institutions, property, labour, cultures and environment of the peoples concerned.

2. Such special measures shall not be contrary to the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

3. Enjoyment of the general rights of citizenship, without discrimination, shall not be prejudiced in any way by such special measures.

Source: 72 ILO Official Bull. 59.



—received little attention. The various revolutions that exploded during the twentieth century in Mexico, Algeria, China, and elsewhere at best paid lip service to ethnicity and, in many cases, tried to combine all lower-class peoples into one homogeneous mass. In official discourse indigenous peoples became peasants, and some governments, such as that of the Chinese Communists, actively suppressed ethnic expressions as subversive to the greater goals of the nation. Only in the Soviet Union and in the revolutionary states such as Communist China, Cuba, Vietnam, Eastern Europe, and Iran was there a state recognition of ethnicity as an important organizing principle, resulting in what one historian has called the

“Affirmative Action State.” However, even there ethnicity was subsumed to class and revolution, although with the breakup of the Soviet Union many of these ethnic regions such as Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Estonia, and the Ukraine became independent states.

During the 1970s people began to recognize the importance of ethnic differences and began to form effective ethnic organizations. These developments occurred in Bolivia, for example, where the old peasant unions formed after the 1952 social revolution had become completely co-opted, even by the military dictatorships. Instead, members of the linguistic group Aymara came together to form ethnically based Katarista parties,

inspired by the rebel leaders of the 1780s. They were able to mount an effective resistance to the military dictatorship of General Hugo Banzer during the 1970s by mobilizing the indigenous communities around the cities and cutting off roads that supplied them.

Since the last few decades of the twentieth century important indigenous peoples movements have flourished throughout the world, from Latin America to Asia, Africa to Europe. All are diverse and have different aims, although many movements were inspired by the passage in 1989 of the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169, which provided indigenous peoples the right to maintain their culture, their language, and their way of life as a part of international law. This passage was made possible by the rise of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that have helped to organize and finance these movements.

### **Failures in Asia**

In Asia indigenous peoples movements have not had much success. True, much of the southern portion of the Soviet Union in Asia has become independent, and native peoples have gained control over the government. However, independence had little to do with indigenous movements, and, in fact, the new countries of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan are controlled by former members of Soviet political organizations. At best, in Asia indigenous peoples have been recognized, and governments at times have been willing to accede to indigenous peoples' demands. These developments occurred in Japan, where the native Ainu population of the northern island of Hokkaido in the 1980s and 1990s received recognition of their rights to existence and some economic aid. In China at worst the government continues to repress the native populations of the western territories, suppressing any indigenous movement as subversive and labeling its members as "terrorists" to gain the acceptance of government policies by other countries.

The Chinese case merits special attention. The Uyghurs of Xianjiang in northwestern China had briefly established the Republic of East Turkistan in the twentieth cen-

tury, but this republic was quickly crushed by the government. During the 1990s the Uyghurs again launched a movement for autonomy. The Chinese Communist government responded by building roads and infrastructure to promote economic growth. The government also repressed the autonomy movement and severely restricted the practice of Islam and other Uyghur cultural practices. Lastly, the government flooded the region with Han Chinese to build a non-Uyghur majority that could control the resistant natives. This tactic appears to have been effective, and the Chinese have used similar tactics in Tibet as well. Although the Chinese case represents the repressive extreme, other indigenous populations (even ethnic minorities in the former Asian Soviet republics) are generally repressed and have been unable to develop effective movements for greater autonomy.

### **The Americas**

The case of the Americas is more positive for indigenous peoples, although great variation exists there as well. For example, indigenous peoples movements such as the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the United States attempted during the 1970s to force the U.S. government to honor the treaties it signed with Native American tribes during the nineteenth century, but this attempt led to repression by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and an infamous standoff between the government and AIM activists at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973. Since then the movement has been unable to make much headway. After a 1991 law made gambling legal on reservations, many tribes have tried to develop their reservation economies by operating casinos rather than unifying in a single movement.

Other indigenous movements have been more successful. Perhaps the most successful has been the movement to establish autonomous zones for the Inuit (commonly called "Eskimo") in Canada. Since 1975 the Canadian government has signed a series of laws creating large autonomous territories in the far northern portion of the country. Largest is the territory of Nunavut, where the Inuit have substantial control over legislation

*The day, water, sun, moon, night—I do not have to purchase these things with money.* • PLAUTUS (254–184 BCE)

and judicial systems autonomous of the Canadian federal government.

Farther south indigenous movements have had success in varying degrees. In Mexico, beginning in 1994 the armed Zapatista movement in Chiapas in the southern region brought the indigenous movement back into the limelight, but, in fact, indigenous peoples have not benefited much. In Guatemala an indigenous activist, Rigoberta Menchú, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992. However, death squads and a violent political climate forced the Maya to organize mainly in Mayan language and cultural organizations without overt political goals. Menchú's example was more important for providing moral authority to movements elsewhere in Latin America.

Indigenous movements have been most successful in South America in the Andes, where a large indigenous population has been able to mobilize politically. Ecuadorian indigenous peoples after the late 1980s were able to unify the highland peasant communities with the lowland hunters and gatherers. In the highlands issues such as good agricultural prices, access to transportation, and lack of arable land were most important to the indigenous peoples, whereas in the lowlands settler invasions, environmental destruction by oil companies and miners, and indiscriminate road building were the most important issues. Nevertheless, the rather diverse groups were able to organize the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) and stage a peaceful but massive invasion of Ecuador's capital city, Quito. CONAIE grew even stronger in 1992 with massive protests of the five hundred-year anniversary of Columbus's voyage to the Americas. After that CONAIE formed a political party, Pachakutik, and helped defeat the president of Ecuador in January 2000. In 2003 Pachakutik helped elect Lucio Gutiérrez, an Ecuadorean army colonel who had conspired with the indigenous peoples in 2000. However, Pachakutik soon thereafter went into opposition because Gutiérrez was unwilling to fulfill the indigenous peoples' demands.

In Bolivia indigenous organizations have remained important, with some ups and downs, to the early twenty-first century. Although indigenous political parties have not been able to win many votes (the most important

Aymara leader, Felipe Quispe, received only 6 percent of the vote in 2003), they have allied themselves with other leftist parties. Moreover, people have discovered that declaring their indigenous heritage is politically advantageous. For example, the leader of the coca growers, Evo Morales, during the 2002 elections "discovered" his indigenous heritage and received about the same number of votes (22 percent) as the eventual winner, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada. In October 2003, under pressure from unions and Aymara peasants who blocked the roads to the capital, Sánchez de Lozada resigned. The Bolivian indigenous peoples movement apparently had won a great victory, as had happened in 2000 in Ecuador. In Peru the indigenous peoples movement is just beginning and has not had a major effect on politics, although Alejandro Toledo won the 2001 elections playing up his indigenous heritage.

Indigenous peoples movements are less developed in the rest of South America, although the Mapuche in Chile have a relatively strong political presence in the southern part of the country. In Brazil different indigenous groups, in conjunction with NGOs, have been able to protect some of their lands. However, the smaller numbers of indigenous people—compared with the rest of the population in these countries and in the rest of South America—have lessened their political impact nationally. Still, democracy and the abundance of multinational NGOs with their networks and funds have made indigenous movements in South America a force to be reckoned with.

## Africa

Indigenous peoples movements have cropped up in Africa, but the situation is confused there because conflicts between ethnic groups usually have gone on for many centuries. The major conflicts are between Arabic-speaking peoples and non-Arabic-speaking peoples in the northern tier of the continent and between Bantu-speaking peoples and the indigenous San (Bushmen) people. The San have formed multinational organizations that span South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Each country has a movement and

then they have an umbrella movement that spans all the countries where the San live. Such organizations are attractive to multinational NGOs, but the lower San population compared with the non-San populations and the weak national political presence have made the San movements relatively toothless in any one country.

### **Pacific Basin**

As decolonization proceeded in the Pacific Basin, ethnic movements (which can be equated to national movements on many islands) gained national status. The only exceptions were the French and U.S. possessions, as well as New Zealand and Australia, with majority populations whose ancestors had migrated from western Europe. In New Zealand the Maori had gained considerable autonomy and political power (they also constituted by 2001 about 15 percent of the population) and were represented separately in Parliament according to their relative population. In 1980 New Zealand established the Waitangi Tribunal to examine land claims dating from the nineteenth century onward. In 1995 British Queen Elizabeth apologized publicly for the wrongs committed against the Maori, providing a moral victory for the indigenous population.

In Australia the Aboriginal peoples, although they have gained some rights, lag behind in political organization and in their rights. Aborigines tend to be more rural and less educated than the Maori. The vastness of the continent and the sparse population also have made organization difficult for Aborigines.

### **The Future of Indigenous Peoples Movements**

In certain regions, such as the Americas, indigenous peoples movements will continue to thrive, although in many cases integrating them in constructive ways into the body politic (persons politically organized under a single government) will continue to present problems. In Peru and Guatemala indigenous peoples movements likely will begin to flex their political muscles as democracy, the ability to communicate via the Internet, and NGOs foster organization.

Indigenous peoples movements are not always positive, however. During the 1990s, in countries such as

Rwanda, Turkmenistan, and Zimbabwe, rulers at times persecuted people who were seen as settlers in the name of recouping indigenous rights.

*Erick D. Langer*

*See also* Foraging Societies, Contemporary; Indigenous Peoples

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## **Indo-European Migration**

The majority of the peoples of Europe and a substantial portion of the present and ancient peoples of western Asia speak closely related languages that all belong to the Indo-European language family. European



colonial expansions and the spread of Euro-American culture have been so successful that nearly half the population of the planet now speaks an Indo-European language. Even before the first centuries BCE, Indo-European languages extended from the shores of the Atlantic to eastern India and the westernmost province of China. Yet the place of origin of this language family and the course of its earliest migrations have been topics of heated and inconclusive debate for more than two centuries.

### **The Early Indo-Europeans**

The Indo-European language family can be divided into thirteen groups that may be briefly summarized, moving broadly from west to east.

#### **THE CELTIC LANGUAGES**

During the period from about 500 BCE to about 1 BCE the Celts occupied much of western and central Europe and undertook raids into Italy and as far east as Greece and Anatolia (present-day peninsular Turkey). Today the Celtic languages survive only on the periphery of Atlantic Europe as Gaelic (both Irish and Scots), Welsh, and Breton.

#### **THE ITALIC LANGUAGES**

In ancient Italy, Latin was by far the most successful of a group of closely related languages. Latin became the sole language of the Italian peninsula sometime around 100 CE and was then carried by Roman expansions over much of Europe. The Italic branch survives today in the form of modern Romance languages of French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Romanian, among others such as Catalan and Provençal.

#### **THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES**

Speakers of these northern and central European languages, such as the Goths, expanded from the north during the first millennium CE to occupy lands previously held by the Celts and other groups. The modern Germanic languages include English, Dutch, German, and the Scandinavian languages.

#### **THE BALTIC LANGUAGES**

The Balts once occupied a vast territory from the Baltic Sea across northern Russia, but the expansion of Germanic speakers from the west and Slavic speakers from the south has left only the two modern Baltic languages of Lithuanian and Latvian.

#### **THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES**

During the first millennium CE the Slavs began their historical expansions in central and southeastern Europe. The major Slavic languages include Russian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, Slovakian, Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian.

#### **THE BALKAN LANGUAGES**

The Indo-European languages of the ancient Balkan region are very poorly attested in inscriptions and in place and personal names recorded in neighboring classical languages. The major groups were the Dacians and Thracians, occupying roughly the areas of the modern states of Romania and Bulgaria respectively, and the Illyrians in the west Balkan region. The only Balkan language that survives is Albanian, which many suggest may have derived from the earlier Illyrian language.

#### **GREEK**

The language of the ancient Greeks is attested from at least the thirteenth century BCE in the Linear B inscriptions of Late Bronze Age Greece and Crete. During the first millennium BCE the Greeks undertook extensive programs of colonization that carried them as far as Spain in the west and to the northern shores of the Black Sea in the east.

#### **ANATOLIAN**

By about 1900 BCE documents from Anatolia indicate the existence of Indo-Europeans speaking languages of the Anatolian branch. The most notable and best studied of the early languages is Hittite. Some Anatolian languages survived to the beginning of the first millennium CE, but all are now long extinct.

*Science has done more for the development of Western civilization in one hundred years than Christianity did in eighteen hundred years.* • JEFF BURROUGHS

#### PHRYGIAN

With the collapse of Hittite power (c. 1380 BCE), the Phrygians established themselves in central Anatolia, and their language, attested almost entirely in inscriptions, survived into the first millennium CE.

#### ARMENIAN

The Armenian language emerged in eastern Anatolia during the first millennium BCE after the collapse of earlier non-Indo-European states such as those of the Hurrians and the related Urartians. Although much of its vocabulary has been borrowed from its neighbors, Armenian still has a core vocabulary inherited directly from its Indo-European ancestors.

#### IRANIAN

The Iranian languages formed a vast chain of speakers from 700 BCE onwards that extended from the Scythians on the Black Sea to the Saka in western China. Most Central Asian languages (Bactrian, for example) are from the Iranian language family. The most abundant evidence of the presence of speakers of Iranian languages derives from ancient Persia (Persian), and Iranian languages predominate in modern Iran and Afghanistan.

#### INDO-ARYAN

Closely related to Iranian is Indo-Aryan, the vast language group of the northern two-thirds of India from which many of the modern Indic languages, such as Hindi, Urdu, and Gujarati, derive. This group is abundantly attested in Sanskrit literature, which emerges by at least the end of the second millennium BCE. India also includes two non-Indo-European language families, Dravidian and Munda.

#### TOCHARIAN

Extreme outliers, the two Tocharian languages were spoken in oasis towns along the Silk Road in present-day Xinjiang, the westernmost province of China. They became extinct by about 1000 CE.

Europe also houses several non-Indo-European families. These include Basque, spoken in northern Spain and

southern France, and the Uralic languages, which occupy a broad area of Europe's northeastern forest zone. Among the more notable modern Uralic languages are Finnish, Saami (Lapp), Estonian, and Hungarian.

### **The Proto-Indo-Europeans**

Membership in a language family presupposes an ancestral language spoken somewhere at some time in the past that expanded to such an extent that its speakers came to speak regional variants that grew increasingly different from one another, though those variants were still related. The fragmentation of the late Latin of the Roman Empire into a series of increasingly different Romance languages is a familiar example of how one language diverges into a number of different languages. A comparison of the grammars and vocabularies of the various Indo-European languages provides the evidence that they were once genetically related; that is, that they all derive from a common source. For example, the words *mother*, *father*, *brother*, and *sister* are rendered in Latin as *māter*, *pater*, *frāter*, and *soror*; in Greek as *méter*, *patér*, *phrétér*, and *éor*; and in Sanskrit as *mātár*, *pitár*, *bhátar*, and *svásar*.

These correspondences reflect the fact that there was once a common language, which we term Proto-Indo-European, from which all of the daughter languages are derived. A comparison of the common vocabulary of the Indo-European languages permits linguists to reconstruct something on the order of 1,200–1,800 items of Proto-Indo-European vocabulary. (There were obviously many more words in the proto-language but we can only securely reconstruct a portion of these.)

The reconstructed Proto-Indo-European vocabulary provides all the semantic classes of words that we would find in any language, including parts of the body, verbal actions, pronouns, and numerals, for example. Of greatest cultural interest are those words pertaining to the natural world and to the economy, material culture, kinship, social structure, and religious beliefs of the Proto-Indo-Europeans. We know that the speakers of Proto-Indo-European had domestic animals (linguists have reconstructed Proto-Indo-European words for *cattle*, *sheep*, *goat*,

*My humanity is bound up in yours, for we can only be human together.* • DESMOND TUTU (B.1931)

*pig*, and *dog*; Proto-Indo-Europeans also knew the horse, but whether wild or domesticated is hotly disputed). They engaged in cereal agriculture (there are Proto-Indo-European words for *grain*, *barley*, *yoke*, *plow*, *harvest*, *winnow*, and *grinding stone*); stored and cooked their food in ceramic vessels; hunted and fought with the knife, spear, and bow; had some acquaintance with metals (there are words for *copper*, *gold*, and *silver*); and utilized wheeled transport (*wheel*, *wagon*, *pole*). In addition we can recover the names of at least some of the wild plants and animals known to the Proto-Indo-European speakers. In general, the arboreal evidence suggests a temperate climate (tree words include Proto-Indo-European equivalents of *oak*, *birch*, *willow*, and *ash*) and forest and riverine animals (judging from words for *bear*, *wolf*, *fox*, *red deer*, *otter*, and *beaver*).

In general, linguists have estimated that Proto-Indo-European was spoke from about 4000 to about 2500 BCE, but this is largely an informed guess. Nevertheless, those dates do broadly conform with the dates indicated by analysis of their vocabulary for material culture, as such items as wheeled vehicles do not appear anywhere in the world before approximately 4000 BCE.

## The Homeland Problem

For two centuries linguists and archaeologists have sought to determine the location or homeland of the Proto-Indo-Europeans and their subsequent migrations. In a vast literature that comprises both the brightest and the weirdest of would-be scholarship, the homeland has been located in space anywhere from the North Pole to the South Pole and from the Atlantic to the Pacific; in time the Proto-Indo-Europeans have been sought from the time of the Neanderthals (before 100,000 BCE) until the spread of use of the chariot (after 2000 BCE). The (Proto-)Indo-Europeans have been presented as everything from the bringers of a high culture who civilized Europe to the destroyers of European (proto)civilization; from peaceful farmers to warlike barbarian horsemen, depending on how scholars, sometimes acting under various national or ideological agendas, choose to interpret the limited data.

The difficulty of the whole enterprise, from a scholarly perspective, rests with the nature of searching for prehis-

toric linguistic entities: while the object being sought is strictly linguistic—a protolanguage—there is no purely linguistic technique that yields a convincing solution. That is not to say that there is not an arsenal of techniques that have been employed, but they just do not give convincing results when applied to the world’s largest language family. One technique, for example, applies the notion of the “center of gravity” in the search for a language family’s place of origin. The logic is that where we find the greatest amount of differentiation (in other words, the greatest concentration of different languages, dialects, and so forth) is where the place of origin should lie, because it is in that area that the language family has existed longest and had the greatest amount of time to change. While languages invariably change over time, time is not the only factor of linguistic change. Topography, social structure, and contact with various foreign substrates, which are more diverse and inclusive than any single language, are also likely to influence language divergence.

Recognizing this, some linguists have sought to locate the homeland where they either find the greatest amount of conservation of the Proto-Indo-European vocabulary (presuming preservation to indicate the absence of foreign substrates and therefore the least movement from the homeland) or the least evidence for non-Indo-European loanwords. But neither of these techniques is satisfying. Because the various Indo-European languages have been attested at widely different times (with Sanskrit attested earlier than 1000 BCE and evidence for Lithuanian appearing two and a half thousand years later), it is hard to know how one can make a fair test of which has the most archaic vocabulary or the greatest number of loanwords. In fact, every Indo-European language possesses a sizeable vocabulary that cannot be demonstrated to derive from Proto-Indo-European. There is no evidence that any Indo-European language has sat in blissful purity over the past four or five thousand years. A measure of the inadequacy of these purely linguistic methods can be seen in the fact that the center-of-gravity principle has generally favored southeastern Europe (Greece and the Balkans) as the homeland, while the conservation principle has been adduced most often

to support a homeland in either India or on the shores of the Baltic Sea (because of the conservative nature of Lithuanian).

## Models

No matter where one places the homeland, there is an expectation that its location should at least be congruent with the evidence of the archaeological record; that is, there should be some form of concrete evidence of the expansion of a language. A homeland at the North Pole obviously fails the test because there was no one there to speak any language. Other solutions have localized the Proto-Indo-Europeans in regions where there is simply no archaeological evidence that might suggest a movement consistent with the historical distribution of the Indo-Europeans, such as Scandinavia and the Baltic region, Britain and Ireland, the Iberian peninsula, Italy, Iran, India, and Xinjiang. All of these areas are not only peripheral to the overall distribution of Indo-European groups, they also lack any evidence whatsoever for a major out-migration that might be equated with Indo-European expansions.

It is all the more ironic, then, that although the arrival of each Indo-European group in its historical seat (the Celts in Ireland, Latin speakers in Italy, Indo-Aryans in India) might appear to be a good starting place for backtracking to the Indo-European homeland, no dates for any of those arrivals have yet been determined. Instead, archaeologists are confronted with a series of windows of possible intrusions that may span up to four thousand years, as every new horizon of ceramic type, tools, or burial is (generally unconvincingly) associated with a potential invasion of Indo-European speakers. There is simply no region where there is an archaeological smoking gun—evidence for an invasion so massive that it must be associated with the arrival of the Indo-Europeans. The appearance of the Celts in Ireland has been set at any time between 4000 and 250 BCE, while the evidence for the arrival of the Indo-Aryans in India is so ambiguous that many Indian scholars have argued that the Indo-Europeans have always been there (though these scholars do not explain how they could have spread elsewhere from India). A retrospective approach to Indo-European

migrations (that is, one that starts from current locations and tries to wind the clock backwards) throws up too many dead ends; in the current state of play most prefer to start with a proposed homeland and trace putative out-migrations. There are two popular models for Indo-European origins that differ with respect to location, time, and means of expansion.

### THE NEOLITHIC MODEL

Some associate the expansion of the Indo-Europeans with the spread of agriculture, a mechanism of language spread that has also been argued for the dispersal of other major language families, including Austronesian, Sino-Tibetan, Afroasiatic, and the Bantu languages. Farming entered Europe from Anatolia about 7000 BCE and passed through Greece and the Balkans both to the north and west across Europe, arriving at the Atlantic and Baltic by about 4000 BCE. This model supports the notion of demic diffusion, that is, the massive although gradual movement of people with a more productive economy into areas earlier occupied by people with a less productive economy (namely, hunter-gatherers), whom the newcomers absorb culturally and linguistically. Some argue that enormous language families can only be explained by such massive cultural change. The process is seen to have taken many generations and the emphasis, at least for southeastern and central Europe, has been on population replacement, generally by peaceful farmers. The attraction of this model is that it introduces a very powerful mechanism to explain how a language family could spread over such a vast area and extinguish all previous languages.

But the model also has its critics. Many do not believe population movement is responsible for the arrival of agriculture in northern and western Europe; they postulate a process of acculturation, the local hunter-gatherers adopting agriculture from their neighbors, and so the mechanism for language dispersal is not so compelling for the periphery of Europe. And when it comes to explaining the Indo-Europeans of Asia (who occupied an area at least equal to that of Europe), the earlier presence of agriculture there, which appears to be unassociated with the origins of agriculture in Anatolia, forces

*Lo! Men have become the tools of their tools.* • HENRY DAVID THOREAU (1817–1862)

the proponents of the Neolithic hypothesis to abandon their demic model and adopt a segment of the second model: Bronze Age migrations (around 2000 BCE) of horse-using warriors from the steppe lands of Eurasia. The Neolithic model also seems to require migrations that are still several thousand years earlier than the most recent technological items associated with the Proto-Indo-European vocabulary; in other words, it places Indo-Europeans in Greece and Italy several thousand years before archaeologists believe that they could have become acquainted with either the horse or wheeled vehicles, items that are reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European and whose names are inherited in the vocabularies of these regions. Finally, the suggested path of Neolithic expansions in Europe does not correlate very well with the linguistic relationships between the different Indo-European groups.

#### THE STEPPE MODEL

The second model suggests that the Indo-Europeans originated in the steppe and forest-steppe of eastern Europe (south Russia and the Ukraine). Proponents of this model argue that expansions began about 4500 BCE and continued in a series of waves both west into Europe and east into Asia. The farmers of the Neolithic model are here regarded as non-Indo-Europeans who occupied much of Europe *before* the expansion of the Indo-European languages. Rather than population replacement, the steppe model requires massive language shift among the indigenous population brought about by a minority of intrusive Indo-Europeans whose possession of the domesticated horse and ox-drawn wagon provided far greater mobility, and whose economy (pastoralism, with some agriculture) and social system were far more aggressive than those of the farmers of Europe. The mechanism for language shift lies here in either the political dominance of the intrusive Indo-European elites or the spread of Indo-European social institutions, which the local populations adopted along with the language associated with the new order. The key here—as with the spread of any language—is establishing what causes people to become initially bilingual and then to abandon their native language. Once the process was initiated, with minimal population

movement the Indo-European languages could have spread from one region to another, arriving in the north and west of Europe by around 3000 BCE or more recently. The steppe model explains the Indo-Europeans of Asia as further expansions of Bronze Age mobile warriors. The problem with the steppe model is that while evidence for migration can be found from the steppe lands into the lower Danube region, especially in characteristic burials under a mound (in Russian *kurgan*; the term gives the model its alternative name, Kurgan model), it is much more difficult to trace such movements beyond Hungary and the Balkans. Similarly, while there is clear evidence of expansions from Europe into the Asiatic steppe and partially into central Asia, there is minimal evidence of any migrations further south into what would become the major civilizations of ancient Iran and India. Moreover, the presence in an area of many of the alleged traits of the steppe expansions, such as greater mobility, increased weaponry, and development of status burial, has been attributed to internal social processes rather than the impact of intruding Indo-Europeans.

The problem of Indo-European origins and migrations has been a major challenge to prehistorians, and the failure to develop a single fully convincing model is a salutary caution to anyone interested in tracing the path of migrations in the archaeological record. If increased doubt is the result of the type of intense discussion that tracing the roots of the Indo-Europeans has occasioned, then this does not bode well for many other hypothesized migrations that have seen far less scrutiny.

*J. P. Mallory*

*See also* Language, Classification of

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*Chemistry is a most effectual agent for democracy, since it actually accomplishes in regard to many material things that equality which legislation aims to bring about in the political sphere. Luxuries, formerly the monopoly of the privileged classes, become, through applied science, the common property of the masses.* • EDWIN E. SLOSSON (20TH CENTURY)

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technology incorporates a comprehensive set of individual techniques that make it possible to carry out these transformations, and a technique is, in the final analysis, a set of instructions, much like a recipe. They tell the basket weaver and the metallurgical engineer how to do their work. Through most of history, these instructions were informal and usually part of an oral tradition, but they were at least in part codified and unambiguous. Either way, industrial technologies are an essential part of useful knowledge, and without them, humans could not survive.

The techniques used by a society by and large determine its quality of life, its standard of living, and most other components of its material existence. To be sure, resource endowment and geographical environment seem at first glance to be of primary importance, but clearly such endowments need to be exploited and utilized; a society that finds itself sitting on huge oil reserves, such as those in Saudi Arabia, cannot enjoy the potential wealth they could generate until industrial technologies have reached a stage that makes their exploitation feasible. It is equally true that some locales, such as Japan and Switzerland, were on the whole poor in natural resources, but through increasingly sophisticated technology became capable of creating living standards far superior to those of many well-endowed nations in South America and Africa.

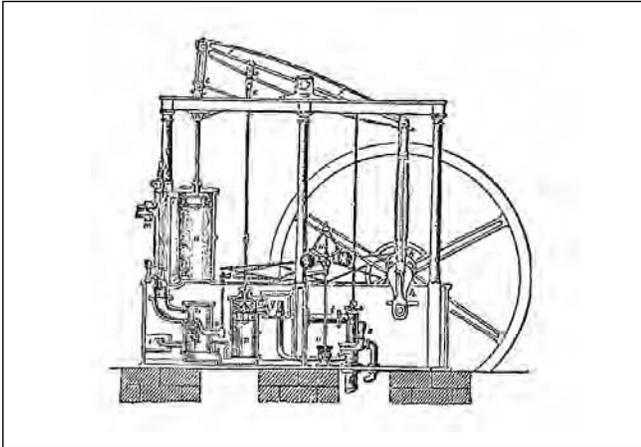
The instructions contained in industrial technology usually involve three elements. One is the use of tools and artifacts. Some find the artifact to be the central unit of technology (Basalla 1988), but this approach is clearly misleading. A piano is an artifact, but different sets of instructions are needed to play the *Hammerklavier* sonata, to tune it, or to move it into a fourth-floor apartment. A second element is energy: both heat and kinetic energy are used to transform substances into a useful form in which they can be consumed. Some scholars, such as Wrigley (1988), have indeed suggested that the entire nature of industrial technology is dependent on whether a society depended primarily on organic energy (wood and animal power) or mineral power (fossil fuels). Other sources of energy, such as wind and water power, or nuclear and geothermal power, have also been of some

## Industrial Revolution

See Electricity; Energy; Industrial Technologies; Modern Era

## Industrial Technologies

The use of industrial technologies—procedures through which raw materials are transformed and prepared for human use by a combination of energy and workmanship—is evident throughout recorded history. A



**James Watt's beam condensing steam engine, an improvement on earlier versions.**

importance in various societies. A third element of industrial technology is raw materials: industrial technologies transform materials that come from agriculture, from minerals, or sometimes from the atmosphere, the ocean, the forest, or another common resource.

### **Competence and Transmission**

One obvious fact about the instructions that constitute industrial technology is that they are always and everywhere incomplete. It is rarely possible to write a set of “instructions” that fully encompasses all of the three components above. After all, instructions are expressed or written in code (and they do not include their own code). Thus, if a blacksmith’s instruction is to heat the iron until it reaches a certain temperature, it is assumed that he knows what this temperature means and can determine when it has been reached. Sometimes code books are provided, but of course they themselves are written in code. The knowledge that is not included in the codified instructions proper is known as tacit knowledge (Polanyi 1962), and it is this tacit knowledge that can be regarded as workmanship or *competence*. Competence is an essential element of industrial technology: we cannot drop a modern technique, such as building microprocessors, on a backward society, in which the workmanship to carry out the instructions does not exist.

Industrial techniques are part of human culture, if we define culture as that part of predictable and shared human behavior that is passed on from generation to

generation, as well as horizontally among individuals through instruction and imitation. Needless to say, in most past societies they were rarely written down: farmers and artisans were rarely literate and did not really have to be to exercise their crafts. Yet the mechanisms that passed on industrial technologies from generation to generation were closely linked to how the economies of these societies operated. In a primitive society of farmers and crude craftsmen, much of this teaching was purely personal and one to one. In many cases, it took place in the form of parent-to-offspring or master-to-apprentice relationships: mothers the world over taught their daughters to spin yarn, while fathers taught their sons the basic principles of farming or iron working. When the techniques became more involved, the learning process became more formal and complex, both in China and in Europe, where it was often fully specified by craft guilds. In Europe, many skilled crafts demanded both a learning period (apprenticeship) and a practice known as journeyman-ship, during which experience was believed to provide the necessary competence. Some scholars indeed feel that the main function of the medieval craft guild was to provide the institutional framework for the intergenerational transmission of industrial technology. In the modern age the process was further formalized, taking place in schools of engineering or vocational institutions.

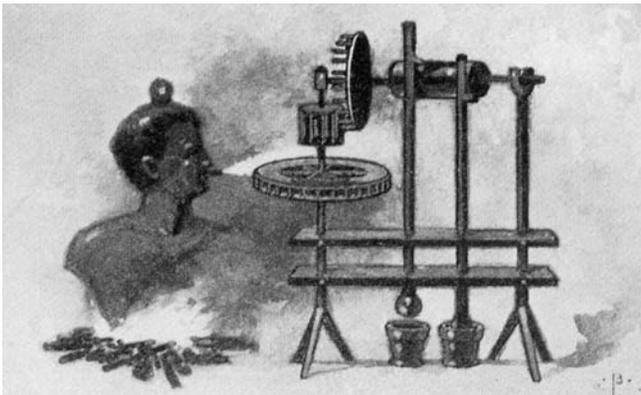
### **Industrial Technology Before 1750**

Where did industrial techniques come from? For most of human history, technology resulted from a combination of trial and error and serendipity. People often stumbled on procedures that led to new products or made old processes work better by trying variations and refinements. There is no question that all societies contain innovative individuals, people willing to challenge tradition and looking for a better way to make things and thus improve their life. Yet the rate at which this type of advancement took place before 1750 was excruciatingly slow by our standards, and therein lies much of the secret of economic modernity. The reasons why the rate was so slow in the past are well understood. One was that even when

*God forbid that India should ever take to industrialism after the manner of the west . . . keeping the world in chains. If [our nation] took to similar economic exploitation, it would strip the world bare like locusts.* • MOHANDAS GANDHI (1869–1948)

improved techniques were tried and found to be feasible, they often disappeared because their owners kept them secret or the new technique simply was too localized and disappeared when its inventors died, before it could become widespread. The modern age, with its competitive globalized economy, has a number of mechanisms available through which new techniques can spread rapidly (even if their use is limited in the short term by patent protection), but none of these existed, for example, in classical antiquity. Secondly, most societies of the past were far more conservative and tradition-bound than those of today. Respect for the knowledge of past generations permeated most societies, and an act of invention was always and everywhere an act of rebellion, displaying disrespect for one's ancestors and elders. This technological conservatism, however rational it may have seemed at the time, ensured that many new ideas were nipped in the bud. By specifying production processes in meticulous detail and being intolerant of any deviation, guilds and similar organizations became an instrument of the technological status quo.

It is also indisputable that the vast bulk of industrial technology before 1750 lacked almost entirely an understanding of the physical and chemical processes involved in manufacturing. The “epistemic base” of the techniques was exceedingly narrow. It was a world of engineering without mechanics, iron making without metallurgy, farming without soil science, mining without geology,



**A fanciful drawing of a 1629 steam turbine.**

water power without hydraulics, dye making without organic chemistry, and medical practice without microbiology and immunology. Not enough was known to generate sustained economic growth based on technological change.

In view of all this, it is amazing how much technological change actually did occur in the world before 1750. In different periods, the Chinese and the Europeans took turns producing innovations in agriculture, textile manufacturing, shipbuilding, iron making, and the harnessing of energy sources. Wind and water power grew in importance, machines and instruments of various kinds were devised, animals were bred better and used more effectively, and new products such as paper, eyeglasses, and eventually printing made the diffusion and retention of useful knowledge itself easier and cheaper. All these advances took centuries to accomplish, but it cannot be doubted that in 1750 industrial technology was far more sophisticated than it had been in the time of the Roman emperor Constantine the Great.

## **The Industrial Revolution and the Modern World**

The industrial revolution was driven by an acceleration of the process of innovation. While technological change did take place in the premodern age, it was both slow and exceptional. None of this is true for our modern age: we basically *expect* continuous improvement in every area of our material existence. Many reasons have been put forward to explain this technological takeoff. Some have focused on the improved institutional environment in which industrial technology operates: New techniques are often protected by patents, and the capital goods in which they are used are reasonably safe from predators and tax collectors. While resistance to new technology is still rampant in some areas such as genetic engineering and nuclear power and a few special-interest organizations such as labor unions have exerted a braking influence on continuous progress, by and large technological conservatism has been pushed into a corner. Modern society has discovered the idea of industrial R&D, in which large firms deliberately engage in trying to

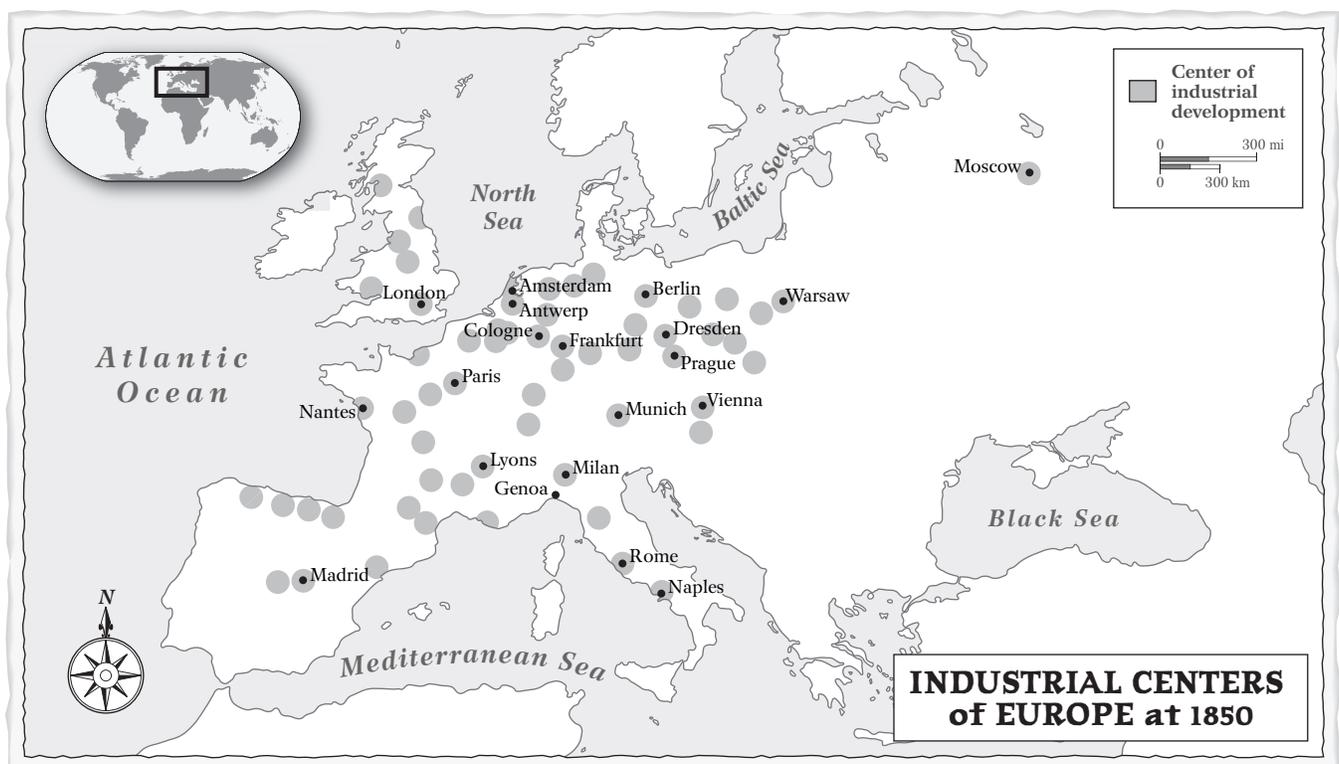


improve what they do, rather than experience technological progress as a more or less incidental byproduct of normal activity. Governments and other public agencies have increasingly realized that human capital formation and innovation deserve and need public support. A literate and numerate population has both higher levels of competence and the intellectual ability to unlearn known techniques and relearn new ones as the technology around them changes.

But above all, modern economies are more innovative because society as a whole controls more knowledge. It is doubtful that as individuals people today are much more intelligent than in the time of St. Augustine, but it can hardly be disputed that *collectively* we know more. Our understanding of the physical processes that underlie every industrial technique has increased at an accelerating rate since Antoine Lavoisier published his *Traité Élémentaire de Chimie* on the eve of the French Revolution. Some of the best examples of major knowledge breakthroughs that have revolutionized industrial tech-

nology are a better understanding of energy through the laws of thermodynamics (discovered in the middle of the nineteenth century), the understanding and control of electricity, and the discovery of the electron and the utilization of electronics. The germ theory of disease revolutionized medicine (and food processing). Routinization led to mechanization, and mechanization to automation. Some changes in industrial technology, however, relied more on better organization and coordination than on revolutionary insights from physics: Mass production, interchangeable parts, continuous flow processes, and the rise of the modern factory are all part and parcel of the deep changes in mankind's use of technology.

The culture and technology of information storage and transmission and the rise of competitive markets and global networks of information have ensured that the people who need to access pools of information and data banks can do so at low cost. The creation of new technology and the growth of the underlying scientific knowledge that constitutes its epistemic base have mutually



**An example of the massive industrial expansion currently taking place in China. China is the world's largest expanding market, as well as the largest country and so is, today, a hub-bub of construction.**

reinforced each other for the past two centuries. Technology has enriched science as science has enriched technology, creating a positive “feedback loop,” which thus far has shown no signs of slowing down.

The continued progress in industrial technology has been a major—if not the only—reason for the sharp rise in per capita income in the industrialized world. The diffusion of these techniques to non-Western nations, however, has been highly uneven and ranges from the sensational successes of Japan and South Korea to the dismal failures of Haiti and Somalia. Discrepancies like this are crucial to understanding many of the world's contemporary economic problems. Clearly two elements stand out: the ability of a society to adopt more advanced industrial techniques from the West (that is, the competence of the local workers and managers to digest and execute the instructions contained in them), and the friendliness of the institutional environment to the adoption of more advanced techniques.

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## Information Societies

All societies are information societies in some deep sense. One of the most fundamental properties of human social existence is distributed knowledge. While knowledge resides, in the final analysis, only in the human brain, it needs to be shared with others and distributed in order to be effective. To put it simply, no one can know everything, and so cooperation between people consists of sharing necessary knowledge. Historically, the fineness of the division of knowledge has been one of the main characteristics of commercially and technologically sophisticated societies, and the degree of the

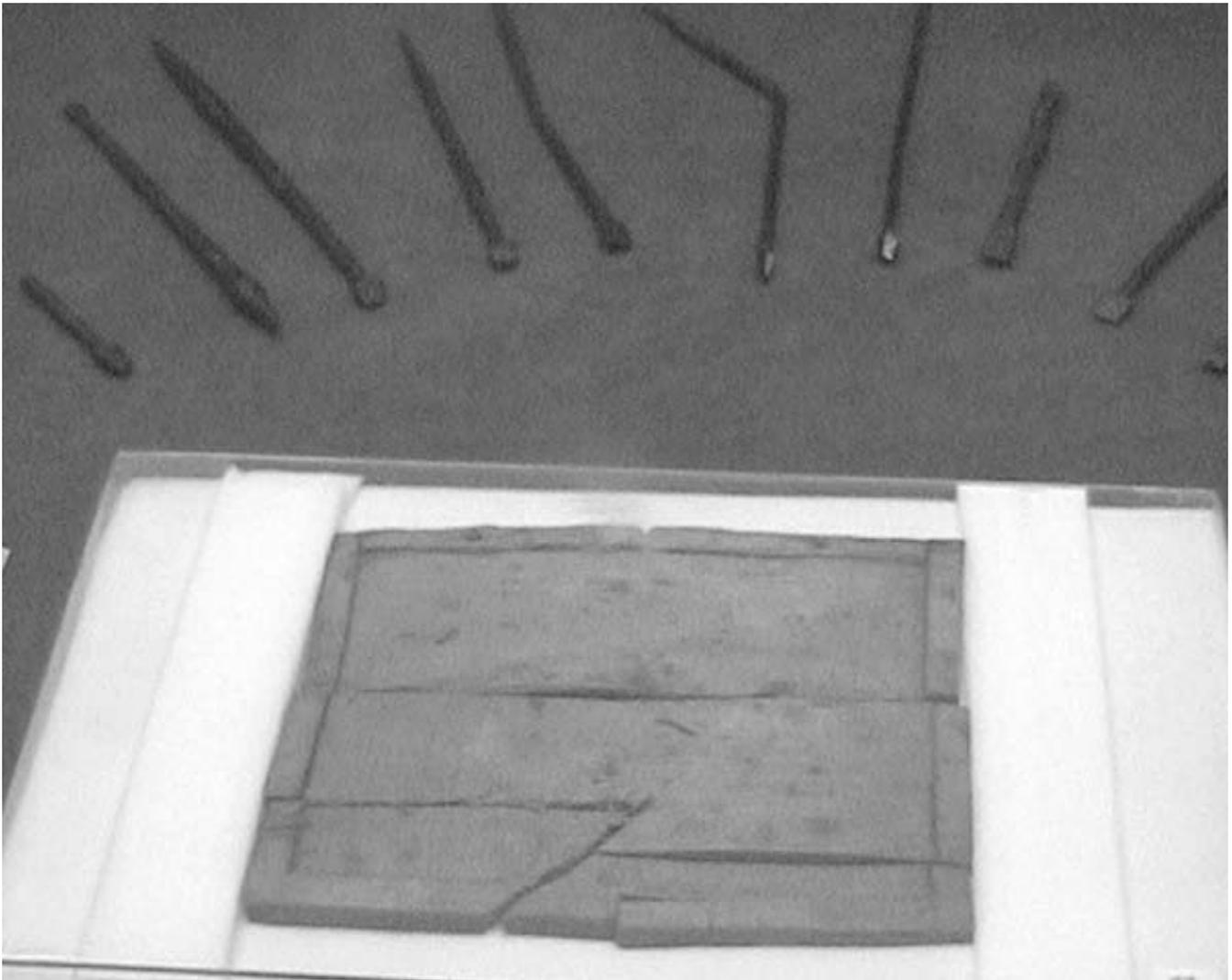
*Information is religion's greatest enemy, and in an age when information is just a few keyboard strokes away from anyone with a computer, this is going to pose a greater threat to Christianity than anything it has yet 'survived.'* • FARRELL TILL (B.1933)

division of labor is to a large extent derived from the division of knowledge. This essay will focus on that part of knowledge that is necessary for *economic* activities.

There are many ways to cut and classify the kinds of information people need to possess and exchange. One appealing way is to divide the information up into those parts that deal with social matters and human affairs and those that concern the external environment. These roughly correspond to the spheres of *exchange* and *production*. While the sphere of exchange contains *allocative*

*knowledge* such as “where do I hire a pipe fitter,” “what is the price of bread,” or “how do I purchase the stock of Microsoft,” the sphere of production contains mostly statements about the physical and biological environments in which people operate.

Technology concerns the latter sphere: It consists of information that regards natural phenomena and the rules and regularities we can formulate about them. It includes statements like “the Mississippi flows from north to south” and “it snows in the winter in Michigan”



**Roman wax writing tablets found near Hadrian's Wall in England.**



**An example of bone oracle writing from the Shang dynasty in China.**

as well as Schrödinger's wave equations. Science is a small subset of this set of knowledge, which can be termed *propositional knowledge*, but the hallmark of the modern age is that its relative importance in the economy has risen steadily.

### **Allocative Knowledge**

The ways society has used information to allocate resources and reproduce itself involve some of the central questions of economic history. Information about exchange is summarized effectively in market economies by the price mechanism. In a classic article published in 1945, economist F. A. Hayek pointed out that in market economies a mind-boggling amount of information is summarized and processed by the price mechanism. The typical consumer of a meal of sushi in Evanston does not have to know where the fish was caught, how it was

processed and shipped to Illinois, and how it was cooked: By paying the price of a meal, all this information is summarized and processed by people the consumer does not know and does not have to know. On the other hand, the Japanese wholesalers processing the tuna do not have to know or care who precisely wants to eat what.

Free decentralized markets are neither tools of exploitation nor miracle cures for all of society's ills; they are above all information-cost-saving devices. Once markets are disrupted or abolished, as happened in Marxist command economies, this information has to be processed consciously by officials, who set prices by decree rather than through competitive processes. The results have been devastating.

Money played a unique role in increasing the informational efficiency of societies, since money served as a unique unit of account and thus made exchange easier. Without a means of exchange, exchange would require a double coincidence of wants, which is informationally more cumbersome. Money also provides a measure of value, thus providing different goods with a common denominator, which lubricates the exchange process. It is now widely recognized that decentralized and unregulated markets are the most efficient information-processing social tools in our arsenal. Even when they misfire and create inefficient outcomes, the remedies are often worse than the maladies.

The degree to which societies allocate resources through markets rather than through central planning or another allocation mechanism (such as intra-tribal allocation by the whim of the leader) and the way allocative knowledge is processed and distributed determine to a great degree the social and economic development of a society. Market economies on the Eurasian continent developed, by and large, to a greater degree than those in Africa, Oceania, and pre-1492 America. In western Europe market allocations were highly developed in Roman times but for a variety of reasons declined in the second half of the first millennium, whereas the Islamic Middle East and China were in that sense far more developed.

Parts of western Europe recovered during the Middle Ages, and markets became increasingly important in

processing allocative information, with prices of both locally and internationally traded goods increasingly effective in indicating both information about the scarcity (supply) and desirability (demand) of commodities. Moreover, the same kind of decentralized market processes began to control the allocation of labor and land, extending the coordinating role of markets to the factors of production.

In the nineteenth century, even capital markets became increasingly competitive, although in those markets the processing of information was often problematic and inefficient because of informational asymmetries between lender and borrower, and the performance of different economies was often influenced by the functioning of their capital markets.

Allocational information is of course constrained by how well it can flow over communication channels. People wrote letters, and while the postal system was far from perfect, all information societies have found ways of communicating over long distances. Information is the lightest of all cargoes, but it still needs to be moved. Short of unusual forms of optical communication—like smoke signals, the Chappe semaphore telegraph introduced in the late eighteenth century, and the use of (expensive) homing pigeons—information moved with people. Until the nineteenth century, then, the speed of information flows was only as fast as a horse or a ship could travel. This limited the effectiveness of the price mechanism for many goods and services, and before 1800 or so most prices did not converge between regions, a telltale sign of less-than-perfect information flows.

With the introduction of railroads in the early 1830s and the telegraph a decade later, the age of informational globalization truly began. Interest rates and wheat prices quickly converged across the Atlantic after the transatlantic telegraph cable was laid. Despite disruptions due to political upheavals in the twentieth century, the trend toward globalized allocational information has continued. Securities and commodities markets demand that traders and investors have access to highly specific data more or less instantaneously.



**A fragment of the Codex, bark books used in pre-Conquest Mesoamerica found at Chichén Itzá.**

The telegraph was a huge step forward, possibly the greatest discontinuity in information transmission in relative terms, but it was gradually displaced by the telephone, by teletexts of various kinds, and eventually by a vast electronic network of information that guarantees the effective operation of markets. This does not mean that these markets deliver the most efficient of all possible worlds, only that arbitrage opportunities do not persist.

### **Propositional Knowledge**

Propositional knowledge was in many ways equally fundamental to the economic performance of society. Whereas commercial exchange societies demand a great deal of information about availability and desirability (summarized in prices), this information is not truly indispensable. On the other hand, to figure out the regularity of seasons and plant and animal life was already an informational requirement on hunter and gatherer societies. All production, whether agriculture, manufacturing, or service (such as medical services and transportation) involve in one way or another the manipulation of natural phenomena and regularities, and effective manipulation depends on information. Every production technique involves a set of instructions on how to grow potatoes or operate a nuclear power plant. Such instructions require some prior knowledge of the phenomena on which they are based.

*Treat the earth well: it was not given to you by your parents, it was loaned to you by your children. We do not inherit the Earth from our Ancestors, we borrow it from our Children.* • NATIVE AMERICAN PROVERB

Much of economic history can be viewed as the slow evolution of information toward increasing specialization and a finer *division of knowledge*. Engineers, chemists, mechanics, and physicians controlled specialized knowledge, and as the body of knowledge expanded—at an exponential rate during and after the Industrial Revolution—finer and finer specialization was necessary. This implied that individuals needed to have better access to knowledge that was already known to someone in their society. The access to this knowledge depended historically on the technology of knowledge reproduction as well as on cultural factors.

The great discontinuity here was the printing press, which created a bridge between “town and gown,” but the effectiveness of the printing press as a means of disseminating information depended on the degree of literacy as well as on the nature of the books printed. As long as most books were concerned with religious issues or were romance novels, their impact on economic development was of course marginal. But in the sixteenth century a technical literature concerned with placing existing information at the disposal of those who needed it at a minimum cost started to evolve.

In other forms, too, the Enlightenment in the West was an information revolution that changed many of the parameters of information flow. Specialization had its costs: From classical times on, philosophers and scientists had moved in different spheres than people like farmers and artisans who produced useful things. As a result, economically productive people were rarely aware of best-practice science, and scientists were rarely interested in the day-to-day problems of production and did not apply their intellects to the resolution of these problems. For China, so rich in scientific knowledge, this was especially true, but it also held for classical antiquity where brilliant scientists and mathematicians such as Archimedes and Hipparchus did not bother with issues dealing with agriculture or manufacturing. This started to change in the medieval Occident, when monks often became leading scientists and technological innovators.

The gap between the two narrowed further after the European voyages, and historians date the closer communications between the two to the middle of the six-

teenth century. The use of printed books to disseminate technical information coupled with rising literacy rates and the wider use of paper facilitated these bridges between people who knew things and those active in actual production. Thus, for instance, the celebrated book published by Georgius Agricola, *De Re Metallica* (1556), which summarized what was known at the time in mining engineering, and Jacques Besson’s *Theatrum Instrumentarum et Machinarum*, published in Latin and French in 1569, went through three translations and seven editions in the following thirty-five years. While these precedents were important, the true information revolution came in the eighteenth century with the Enlightenment, which eventually changed the entire process of technological progress and culminated in the Industrial Revolution.

## **The Industrial Enlightenment**

The informational aspects of the Enlightenment are a central element of the economic and social changes triggered by technological progress. In the eighteenth century, a movement we can term the Industrial Enlightenment, led to a three-pronged change that had far-reaching economic results. First, the sheer number of serious scholars engaging in scientific research in the West increased steadily after the triumphs of Galileo and Newton, whose insights vastly augmented the social prestige of natural philosophers. Second, the research agenda of these scientists increasingly included topics that might benefit the “useful arts” such as chemistry, botany, optics, hydraulics, and mineralogy. In many of these fields, to be sure, science was too little advanced to be of much immediate benefit, but many of the promissory notes issued in the eighteenth century by scientists committed to the Baconian program of controlling nature through understanding it were honored in a later age.

Third, a central goal of the Industrial Enlightenment was to diffuse knowledge. It did so by publishing accessible and user-friendly compilations of knowledge, from books of a general nature like encyclopedias and technical dictionaries to specialized technical manuals and

textbooks. The age also saw a meteoric rise in the publication of scientific periodicals, reviews, and abstracts of important work, and there is ample evidence that these periodicals were read by contemporary engineers and inventors. The paradigmatic document of the Industrial Enlightenment was no-doubt the *Grande Encyclopédie*, which was filled with technological information on such mundane subjects as glass-blowing and masonry, accompanied by highly detailed and informative diagrams. The need for “search engines” was felt acutely, and increasingly ingenious engines were developed.

Information was also distributed through informal networks and personal contacts, to a degree we can only guess at, since most of those contacts have left few records. One such organization about which a lot is known is the Lunar Society, a private club in Birmingham, Alabama, in which some of the best scientists of the age discussed useful knowledge with leading entrepreneurs and engineers. Hundreds of learned societies were established in Europe in the eighteenth century, and while not all could boast the quality of the minds that attended the Lunar Society or the inappropriately named Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, they all reflected a profound change in the attitudes toward, and organization of, useful knowledge in the West.

Moreover, in this age markets for expertise and technological knowledge also emerge. Much of the work of the great engineers of the time, from John Smeaton and James Watt, consisted of what we would now call consulting. The exact impact of these changes on economic progress is still a matter of some dispute, but its coincidence with the economic takeoff in the West in the nineteenth century can hardly be happenstance.

## **The Explosion of Access Technologies**

In the past two centuries, the role of useful knowledge in society that the Enlightenment pioneered has exploded, to the point where science can be said to have replaced religion in many areas as the central intellectual force determining social development. Modern science and the technological progress it spawned became dynamic ele-

ments in world history in the twentieth century. What is notable is not just the vast growth of knowledge of natural phenomena but also the appearance of many new social and technical means for its dissemination: The technical handbooks and dictionaries of the late eighteenth century grew enormously. Historians estimate that in 1800 only about one hundred scientific journals were published—this has grown into a gigantic mass of about twenty thousand scientific journals, not including journals in engineering and other applied sciences. Huge compilations of detailed and highly specialized information, including catalogs and databases too gigantic for any individual even to comprehend, have been put together with the help of powerful computers.

Access to this information is relatively cheap and sophisticated means exist to select the wheat from the chaff. What made this possible is a combination of changes in the organization of knowledge and the sociology of science, coupled with radical changes in the access technology. Scientists have become a self-policing community, which through complex processes of persuasion and proof establish consensus, always challenging and at times replacing them. Markets for information have become increasingly efficient and widespread, with consultants of all kinds becoming an integral part of the “knowledge society.” In this kind of world, access to what is known by others is essential. But this world also raises many issues of verifiability, reliability, and authority.

Among the many changes in access technology, the Internet, which consists of increasingly sophisticated libraries, more specialized textbooks, summaries of scientific papers, and popularizations of scholarly textbooks, is the crashing climax of two centuries of improving access technology. Early computerized databases evolved into the search engines of today, in which mammoth amounts of knowledge can be accessed by anyone, essentially at zero cost, through such databases such as Medline and Econlit.

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*See also* Computer; Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Libraries; Mass Media; Writing Systems and Materials

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# Initiation and Rites of Passage

The term “rite of passage” refers to any ritual marking a transition in the life of an individual from one state or status to another. All human beings experience a series of such transitions in the course of a lifetime. Transitions can reflect biological or maturational progressions. So, for instance, birth marks the maturational transition from existence within the womb to life in the outside world, puberty marks the maturational transition from sexual immaturity to sexual maturity, and death marks

the maturational transition out of the realm of the living. Individuals may also experience transitions in educational, occupational, legal, or social status, in-group membership, and role assignment. Graduation from school, certification into a profession, marriage, the shift to a new social class, acceptance into a fraternity or sorority, and parenthood are all examples of such transitions. Human societies tend to mark such life transitions with rites of passage. Baptisms, naming ceremonies, hazings, bar mitzvahs, coming-out balls, graduation ceremonies, induction rituals, weddings, and funerals are examples of rites of passage. A ritual that has elements of a rite of passage may also simultaneously serve other purposes. So, for example, a marriage may mark the transition of the prospective spouses from the status of single to married and also promote fertility of the couple.

## Structure of a Rite of Passage

Rites of passage are found in every known human society, past and present. Additionally, these rituals tend to share certain broad structural features in common. Thus, any rite of passage typically begins with a formal separation of the transitioning individual from the old state or status. The person then remains for some period of time in a marginal or transitional state divorced from both past and future statuses. Finally, in the incorporation phase of the rite, the transitioning individual enters into the new state or status. The substantive details of a specific kind of rite often symbolically mirror the nature of the specific transition that it is marking. For example, a birth ceremony, which celebrates the entrance of a person into the world, is likely to emphasize the incorporation phase of the rite, while in a funeral ceremony, which marks the departure of the individual from the world, the separation features of the ritual might be elaborated. Further, the content of a rite may be a symbolic reference to some aspect of the transition that it is marking. So, an opening door may mirror the idea that the individual is entering a new status. Similarly, the incorporation of a person into some new status may be reflected in the acts

## The Caco Chatiar Ceremony

*A significant component of many initiation ceremonies is the passing on of cultural lore and wisdom to the next generation. The following ethnographic text describes such an activity as practiced by the Santal people of Bihar State in India.*

With the approach of adolescence, the responsibilities of adult life loom gradually larger. The naming ceremony admits a boy or girl to the outer fringes of the tribe. It is kind of baptism which serves as a necessary prelude to fuller recognition. But before a boy can assume the role of parent or be granted all the privileges of a separate house, he must undergo a ceremony of confirmation. At the naming ritual he was, as it were, placed under the protective surveillance of certain bongas (ancestor spirits). He must now be accorded adult status so that he may himself approach them with the customary offering and share in the sacrificial feasts.

Similarly a girl must now be brought into closer union with the bongas. Until her confirmation she is eligible for bonga care but is debarred from assisting in the ceremonies. When she has been formally confirmed, she can clean the bhitar or family shrine and [make] a place for the offerings. She can help in making the cakes that are offered in the cowshed at

Sohrae. If an animal is killed for sacrifice, she can help to cook all the meat except the head. She can also eat such meat unless the bongas concerned are the abge ones. Moreover when she marries she can now have vermilion smeared upon her forehead and thus exchange her own bongas for those of her husband. Prior to confirmation she is little more than a baby. After confirmation she is virtually a woman.

But besides involving a new relationship with the bongas, adolescence makes even more necessary a sense of tribal discipline. We have seen that in their early youth children grow accustomed to village manners and to certain prohibitions. They must now be instructed in the tribal tradition and made to realise what it means to be a Santal.

The ceremony that combines these various functions is known as Caco Chatiar and is usually performed when a child is eight to ten years old. When several children in the family are ready, the father or sponsor visits the headman and tells him he has brewed some rice-beer. The headman asks what ferment he has used, and the man replies, "The ferment is this. I have heard some little parrots crying in the hole of a tree. Their feathers are sprouting. We are bringing them down. Fix a date for me." The head-

of eating and drinking, themselves a kind of incorporation of sustenance into the body. The similarity in the overall structure of rites of passage across cultures dramatizes the striking historical uniformity in the way in which human societies negotiate life transitions.

### **Universal Function of Rites of Passage**

The fact that human beings across historical time and place mark life transitions in a similar way points to the likelihood that rites of passage may serve a similar purpose for the people who participate in them. The key to the historical and geographical uniformity characteristic of rites of passage may be found in the pan-universal nature of life transitions. In particular, transitions from one state or status to another have the potential to disrupt the smooth functioning of the community at large

and the psychological functioning of the transitioning individual. For example, birth, marriage, and death can disturb the normal relationships among individuals in a family, community, and society. Rites of passage, then, are proposed to serve as the strategy devised by human societies to mediate whatever social upheaval and personal turmoil are associated with life transitions.

### **Variations in Presence of Rites of Passage**

Differences are also apparent with respect to how life transitions are handled across cultures. Societies vary regarding which transitions are marked with rites of passage. Differences also occur from one time and place to the next with regard to the details of the rites and the degree to which they are elaborated. Rites may be more or less important, intense, or prolonged in one society as

man then enquires in how many holes there are parrots and the man tells him how many children are proposed for confirmation. The headman then announces a date and commands all the villagers to be present.

On this day the village assembles. The children are washed by the midwives who assisted at their births. All the married women are given fresh vermilion for their foreheads, and after rice-beer has been circulated, the headman starts the ritual.

“Early today,” he says, “I was passing this house when I heard some little parrots in a hole. They were trying to fly out. For bringing them down we are drinking this rice-beer. Let those who can make ladders, make them. Those who can climb trees, climb them; those who can hold a cloth, hold it. Not a single parrot must break its legs or wings.”

An old man or guru then launches on the Caco Chatiar sermon. He begins by recalling the early history of the race and reminds the Santals of the vital role played in parturition by the midwife. He describes how the early Santals discussed their customs for twelve years and how none could be finalised owing to the accidental omission of the midwife's dues.

Source: Archer, W. G. (1974) *The hill of flutes: Life, love, and poetry in tribal India: a portrait of the Santals* (pp. 58–59). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

opposed to another. Such differences are in part accounted for by variations in certain identifiable features of a society. Salient among such features are population size and the degree to which cultural institutions are subject to change. Thus, rites of passage tend to be most elaborated in small-scale, more or less stable cultures. By contrast, in large societies characterized by technological innovation, rites are less prominent. Similarly, rites of passage take on more importance in cultures with a high degree of status differentiation, while rites are less important where status differences are underplayed. Rites are also more common in places where fine distinctions are made among people, for example, of different chronological ages, from various occupational groups, and so on.

Each of the trends described above is consistent with the idea that rites serve to manage disruptions that life

transitions can generate. Thus, such disruptions are most likely, and likely to be most intense, in small societies where individuals interact with a small number of cohorts. This is because the position and behavior of any single person is maximally likely to affect others in such groups. Further, where stability in institutions and behavior is valued, change has maximum potential to threaten the group. In large groups and in groups open to change, by contrast, the status or behavior of any specific individual or class of individuals has less potential to threaten or actually affect the circumstances of the remaining members of the group. Further, in a society typified by change, as is the case in technologically innovative cultures, rites of passage become difficult to execute. This is because the transition phase of a rite of passage includes quite specific content regarding the roles, rights, and responsibilities accorded to the individual entering into a new state or status. In a changing society, as the future is likely to be different from the past, the idea of incorporation into a new status with known roles and rules is compromised. Finally, where differences among groups are meticulously defined, membership in such groups may be more difficult to achieve, promoting the need for a rite of passage. Such a ritual would include tutoring of the individual in the detailed rights and responsibilities of the new state. It might also certify the person as a member in good standing of the new group, thus promoting acceptance of the initiate by already established members. In summary, the patterning of rites of passage from one place to the next, including differences in how rites are played out, is attributable to the nature of a society at a specific moment in history. As relevant features of a society change in historical time, so will the specific manner in which the society reacts to the inevitable life transitions of its members. As population grows larger, as it becomes characterized by innovation, and as it increasingly devalues status distinctions, rites are predicted to become less important to the culture.

### Historical Trends

The societal features associated with the presence or absence of rites of passage tend follow a historical timeline *within* the culture in which they are found. So, any

single society may progress from small to large, preindustrial to industrial, and stable to innovative. Societies have also been shown to progress from egalitarian to status-based and back to egalitarian. Thus, the lives of people living in simple societies, for instance those based upon a foraging economy and people living in contemporary industrial societies, tend to be less constrained by issues of status than are the lives of people living in middle-level societies depending upon agriculture for their subsistence. This means that the presence and patterning of rites of passage will follow a predictable trajectory consistent with the historical timetable of a specific culture. But different societies will be at different points in the overall progression from simple to complex, small to large, preindustrial to industrial, and egalitarian to non-egalitarian at any given moment in history. This means that, at any point in historical time, different societies will employ and elaborate rites of passage differently.

### **Adolescent Initiation Rites**

The connection between the patterning of rites of passage and historic context is well illustrated by the adolescent initiation rite, perhaps the best-studied instance of a rite associated with a life transition. The adolescent initiation rite is a ritual that mediates the shift of an individual from the socially recognized status of child to that of adult. Adolescent initiation rites, when they are adopted by a society, often take place at or around puberty. Although the adolescent rite is thus often linked to a physiological change, these rituals are understood to achieve their importance because they confer a new *social* status on the initiate.

#### **PATTERNS**

According to Schlegel and Barry (1991), adolescent initiation rites of some sort are found in roughly half of the societies around the world for which information is available. In societies with an adolescent rite, all young people must participate in the ceremony. Sometimes, a society will hold an adolescent initiation rite for only one sex, in which case only members of that sex take part as initiates. Members of the opposite sex may still act as

participants in the ceremony. If both sexes undergo an initiation rite, the male and female rituals are held separately. Adolescent initiation rites are somewhat more commonly held for girls than for boys, perhaps because menarche is such a clear and unambiguous mark of sexual maturity, making it easier to establish an appropriate time for the female's transition to adult status. On the other hand, adolescent male initiation rites are usually more intense and dramatic than are those held for females, typically including as they do physical ordeals, events meant to induce fear in the initiates, and hazings.

Male adolescent initiation rites are most commonly found in Africa and the Insular Pacific, while over half of the societies with female adolescent initiation ceremonies are found in Africa. African initiation rites often include circumcision for boys and, more rarely, cliteridectomy and tattooing for girls. The vision quest, a kind of adolescent initiation rite, was traditionally found among some North American Indian tribes and might be undertaken by either sex. During such a quest, a young person spent some days alone in the forest fasting and waiting for a vision in which the supernatural would reveal to the boy or girl some information pertaining to the young person's future role in life.

#### **STRUCTURE**

The adolescent initiation rite follows the overall pattern of rites of passage more generally, whether it consists of a public ceremony, as is often the case in Africa, or an individual quest, as is found in indigenous North American groups. The boy or girl is initially separated from his or her former life. Symbolism may play a role in the separation so that, for example, the adolescent may be physically removed from the parent's household. The transition phase is at least in part a preparation for the adult role. The adolescent may be taught important traditions of the society as well as the skills that will be needed in the new status of adult man or woman once the transition is complete. Or the young person may gain important information about the direction that his or her adult life will take, as is particularly the case in the vision quest. The rights and obligations of adulthood will also be communicated in detail. Importantly, it is the



older generation that is in charge during an initiation rite. The initiate's demeanor is of total subservience. This is the case whether the initiation rite is in the form of a public ceremony, as is often the case among African societies, or is an individual affair, as in the North American vision quest. During the final, incorporation phase of the rite, the initiate is reincorporated into the society as a whole. Usually, the initiate is also now recognized as a full-fledged adult by all other members of the group, although this is less universally the case at the end of a vision quest.

#### VARIATIONS IN THE PRESENCE OF ADOLESCENT INITIATION RITES

As is the case with rites of passage in general, adolescent initiation rites are more common in small-scale, preindustrial cultures. Societies with adolescent rites are typically homogeneous, with sparse or nomadic settlement patterns. Female initiation rites are found more often where people hunt, gather, or fish for a living, and where descent is traced either through females or through both sexes as opposed to males only, as established by Burbank (1997). If husbandry is practiced, it is of pigs, sheep, and goats, and not larger animals. In general, female initiation rites are more frequent in what anthropologists term simple societies, that is, societies without class stratification, specialization of occupation, complex political hierarchy, private property, or individual inheritance rules. Male adolescent rites are found in societies where gardening is the main form of subsistence and where descent is traced through males.

#### FUNCTIONS

A number of functional explanations of adolescent initiation rites have been proposed. All of these explanations link the presence of adolescent rites to some specific feature of society in its historical timeline. Thus, the adolescent initiation rite is viewed as a technique of socialization that allows the young persons' knowledge and mental outlook to be made compatible with some feature of his or her culture. Potential collisions between the youth and the society are thus minimized as the adolescent makes the transition to adulthood.

In keeping with this interpretation of the function of adolescent initiation ceremonies, the general association between rites of passage and status distinctions has been extended to an explanation of certain patterns of male adolescent initiation rites in particular. The idea here is that, where societies emphasize distinctions between the sexes, male initiation rites, especially those including circumcision, will serve to underscore and maintain the distinction. Male adolescent initiation rites have also been interpreted as a strategy for creating solidarity among men in societies where close ties among males is important. The association between male adolescent initiation rites, horticulture, and moderate cultural complexity has been explained in this way, the assumption being that these societal features create the context for exclusive male organizations.

Rituals for adolescent females have similarly been linked to certain features of society, and especially to the place of women in a culture. Thus, the initiation rite for females has been explained as a way of dramatizing the transition from girlhood to womanhood when married couples traditionally live with or near the wife's family (matrilocal residence) and when women make an important contribution to the subsistence economy.

#### EDUCATIONAL FUNCTION

Whatever particular social structural features may account for the presence of adolescent initiation rites in different societies, all such rituals seem to also have one purpose in common, and that is the function of educating the young person. Initiates are given detailed instructions about their roles, responsibilities, and privileges as adults in the culture in which they live. They are also instructed in the culture's mythology and system of ethics. The manner in which the individual's adulthood life will be played out, as a result, is largely determined by the older generation.

The initiation rite among the Ndumbra of New Guinea illustrates the educational aspect of the ritual. In "Adolescent Socialization and Initiation Rites" (1997), Burbank describes how, in this culture, boys undergo a three-day initiation ceremony in groups of perhaps five or six initiates. Mothers dress and decorate their young

sons, and a group of men then comes to collect each boy and take him into the forest. The mothers pretend to protest. We thus see the separation of the boy from his old role as child dramatized in the ritual. The initiation proper consists of number of physical ordeals and humiliations and also intense instruction regarding the various taboos that must be observed by adult men in their culture as well as the consequences of nonobservance of the taboos. Upon completion of the rite, boys are viewed as true warriors and begin to live in a special house reserved for males. The educational aspect of the initiation rite is similarly illustrated by the Chippewa initiation rite for adolescent girls, as portrayed in Hilger (1951). In this indigenous North American Indian society, an adolescent female, at her first menstruation, is secluded for a number of days in a wigwam built by the girl herself. The isolation of the girl is due to the belief that, as a menstruating woman, she is dangerous to the community, who must be protected from her. But also, during her seclusion the girl is tutored by her mother on her future role as an adult woman.

#### DISAPPEARANCE OF ADOLESCENT INITIATION RITES

Wherever the adolescent initiation rite is found and whatever specific function it performs, it is the older generation that is in control of the ritual. The payoff for the young person is that, at the completion of the ceremony, the initiate is accorded full status as an adult. This is possible because adolescent initiation rituals tend to be found in small, stable, homogeneous societies. It is in societies of this sort that the adults have knowledge of moral dictates, community traditions, rituals, practical knowledge, and so on. Where a society is large, complex, heterogeneous, and rapidly changing, the knowledge residing in the older generation is less likely to be relevant to the younger person. Indeed, in such societies, adolescents may be left on their own to construct their own adulthoods, including what they will be, what they will believe, how they will behave, where and with whom they will live, what moral standards they will follow, and so on. This is the case, for instance, in industrialized soci-

eties, where initiation rites, if they exist at all, no longer serve the function of educating the young person in his or her future role as an adult or of conferring adult status. The result of this is that young people may be unsure as to what the adult role entails when they have in fact achieved the status of adult. On the other hand, adolescents living in large, heterogeneous, changing societies also have a kind of freedom to pursue their own interests and develop their own talents that a young person living in a small, homogeneous, stable society does not enjoy. Sometimes, when the culture at large no longer provides a rite of passage to smooth over some life transition, individuals themselves may evolve their own rites of passage. The male adolescent gang has been explained by Goethals (1967) as an example of an attempt on the part of youth to map out their own roles and rules when the society no longer provides them guidelines.

#### IMPLICATIONS

The presence, importance, and elaboration of both rites of passage in general and adolescent initiation rites in particular are contingent upon certain features of a society, which have been described in this article. Thus, rites of passage in general, and certain kinds of these rites, are more likely to be found in some kinds of societies and less likely to be found in others. When a society changes, either by virtue of internal processes or as a result of external influence, rites of passage may become more or less prevalent. It is the place of a particular society *in its own historical trajectory* that seems to most influence how that society will negotiate the life transitions of their members.

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See also Adolescence

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## Inner Eurasia

**I**inner Eurasia is one of several geographical labels that can be used when thinking about the history of the interior regions of Eurasia. Other labels that refer to the innermost regions of the Eurasian landmass include *Turkistan*, *Inner Asia*, *Central Eurasia*, and *Central Asia*. The label *Inner Eurasia* is the most inclusive of all the alternatives, linking the fate of Central Asia to that of the lands included within Mongolia and the former Soviet Union, and suggesting that the history of this entire region was shaped by the distinctive geography of the Eurasian heartlands.

Using geographical labels with care and precision is a matter of great importance within all forms of history, but particularly within world history, for geographical labels shape how we think about the past and help steer historical arguments along particular trajectories. Used uncritically, they can warp our accounts of the past, projecting present-day assumptions into the remote past. Used carefully and critically, they can reveal new aspects of the past. As the geographers Martin Lewis and Karen Wigen have argued, metageographies, or the categories we use to think about the geography of the world, shape

historical arguments at the most profound levels. For example, the conventional division of Europe and Asia at the Ural Mountains carries the implicit assumption that Eurasia divides naturally into its European and Asian components, that all Asian societies share basic similarities, and that a line from the Urals to the Black Sea constitutes the fault line between these metaregions. None of these assumptions bears serious scrutiny today, yet the labels persist as traps for the uncritical reader.

### **Delineating Inner Eurasia**

Inner Eurasia refers to a huge area that includes all the lands within the former Soviet Union, as well as Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Inner Mongolia. To group this large and disparate region together makes sense only on the hypothesis that Inner Eurasia has an underlying geographical coherence that has shaped the history of the entire region. Early in the twentieth century, the British geographer Halford Mackinder argued that it is helpful to think of the Eurasian landmass as divided into two main regions. At its heart is a huge, largely flat, plain—the largest continuous region of flatlands on earth. Inner Eurasia was constructed mainly from two ancient tectonic plates (the Siberian plates) that joined some 300 million years ago to create a huge mountain chain that has since worn away to leave the low Ural Mountains. Attached to the west, south, and east of the Inner Eurasian plain lie several subcontinental peninsulas, all with a more varied topography. These make up what we can call Outer Eurasia. Outer Eurasia includes Europe and Southwest Asia, the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia, and China. The plates carrying modern Europe and China joined the Siberian plates approximately 200 million years ago. Within the last 60 million years, the plates carrying modern India and Africa drove north and collided with the Eurasian plate, creating a chain of mountains from the Alps to the Himalayas. These offer the clearest topographical border between Inner and Outer Eurasia. So, at the most general level, Eurasia consists of an ancient, interior plain that is surrounded by regions closer to the sea that have a choppy and more complex topography.



On large scales, Inner and Outer Eurasia are very different. Not only is Inner Eurasia mostly flatter than Outer Eurasia, it is also more arid, for it is cut off from the sea, except to the north where extreme cold limits evaporation and precipitation. In Inner Eurasia, average yearly rainfall exceeds 50 centimeters only in the far west (in modern Belarus, northern Ukraine, and European Russia), along the southern parts of the eastern Siberian coast, and in pockets in Siberia, while in Outer Eurasia, regions with rainfall of less than 50 centimeters a year are unusual, and in many regions average rainfall is well above 100 centimeters a year. Because it lies further north, Inner Eurasia is also, on average, colder than Outer Eurasia. As Mackinder (1962, 110) pointed out, the heartland of Eurasia is, roughly speaking, the part that freezes in January: "At mid-winter, as seen from the moon, a vast white shield would reveal the Heartland in its largest meaning." Because Inner Eurasia is so flat and most of it is far from the moderating influence of oceans, its temperatures also tend to be more extreme than those of Outer Eurasia. Differences between summer and winter increase as one moves east, so that, in general, the climates of Mongolia are harsher and more variable than those of Ukraine.

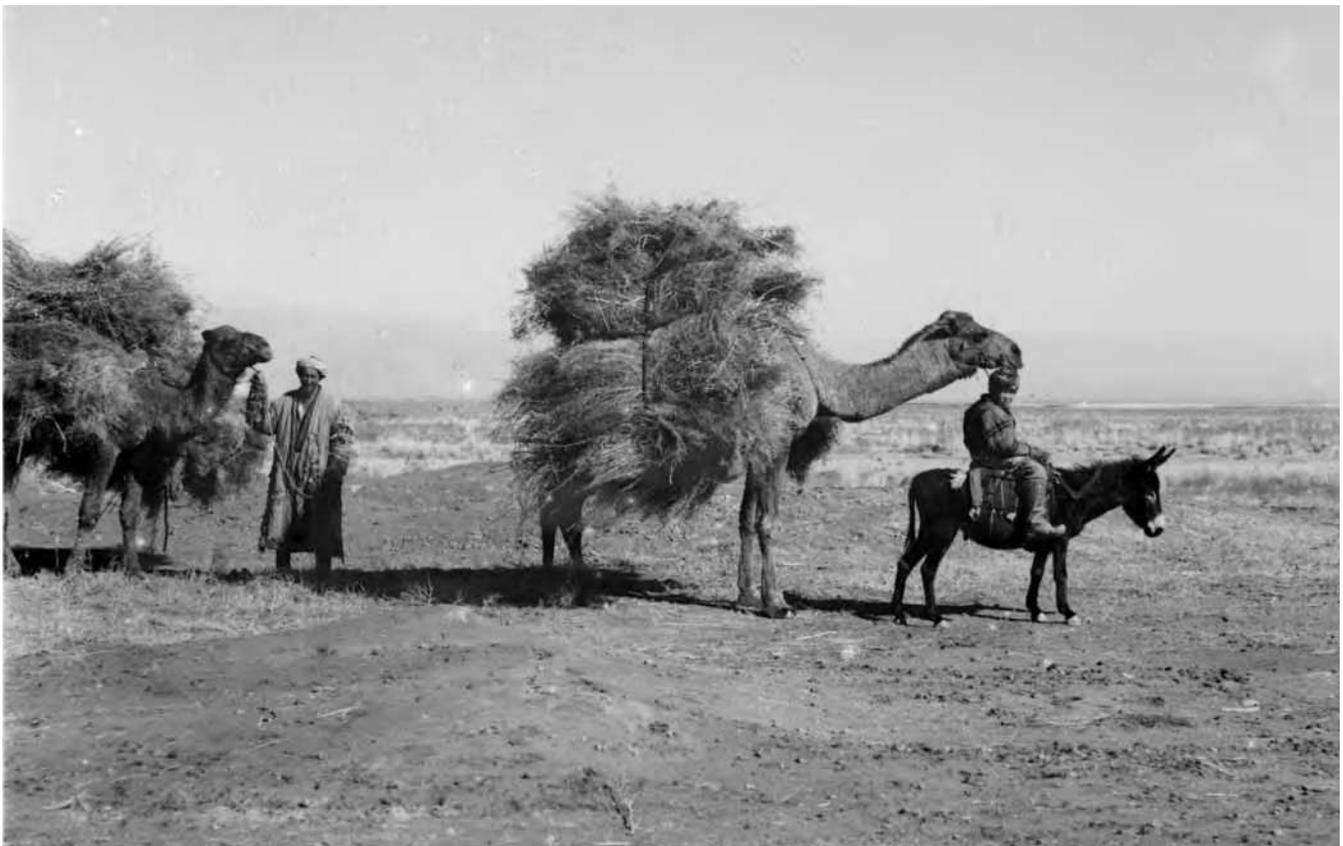
Flatness, aridity, northerly latitudes, and continental climates shaped all the societies of Inner Eurasia and ensured that the history of Inner Eurasia would be very different from that of Outer Eurasia. Flatness explains why the states that emerged in this region were some of the largest in the world, for there were few geographical barriers to the movements of powerful armies. The harsh climatic and ecological environments of Inner Eurasia help explain why population densities were lower than in most of Outer Eurasia. This was true even in the foraging (Paleolithic) era, for humans evolved in the savanna lands of Africa and had to develop entirely new forms of clothing and housing, as well as new hunting techniques, to settle in Inner Eurasia. Not surprisingly, Inner Eurasia seems to have been settled later than most of Outer Eurasia. In the Neolithic era, the region's aridity ensured that agriculture made little headway for many thousands of years, except in parts of modern Ukraine and in the borderlands of Central Asia, where irrigation farming was possible. Extensive farming communities appeared in the so-called Tripolye culture of Ukraine, and in Central Asia, significant urban communities emerged during the third millennium BCE. Elsewhere, the Neolithic revolution in its most familiar form, that of

grain-based agriculture, bypassed most of Inner Eurasia. So, while agriculture spread in much of Outer Eurasia, laying the foundations for several great agrarian civilizations, in Inner Eurasia agriculture made hardly any headway for many thousands of years. Instead, Neolithic technologies entered Inner Eurasia in the less familiar form of pastoralism.

### **Pastoralism**

Unlike agricultural lifeways, which are dominated by domesticated plants, pastoral lifeways are dominated by the exploitation of domesticated livestock. Pastoralism became a viable lifeway as a result of a series of innovations that the archaeologist Andrew Sherratt has described as the secondary-products revolution. Beginning around

4000 BCE, people began to exploit not just those products of livestock that could be used after an animal's slaughter (its skin, bones, and meat), but also the animal's secondary products—products such as its wool, blood, milk, and traction power—that could be used while it was still alive. These techniques raised the efficiency with which domesticated animals could be exploited, making it possible to build entire lifeways around the use of domesticated animals such as sheep, cattle, goats, horses, camels, and yaks. Pastoralism proved an effective way of exploiting the vast grasslands that stretched from Hungary to Manchuria, and, for several thousand years, it was the dominant lifeway throughout this region. The earliest evidence of pastoralism comes from the Sredny Stog cultures of eastern Ukraine, which



**The peoples of Inner Eurasia used a variety of animals for transport. This photo from the early twentieth century shows camels loaded with thorns for fodder.**



include some of the first evidence for the riding of horses. These were still relatively sedentary cultures. However, in the third millennium BCE, pastoralism of some form spread throughout much of southern Russia and Ukraine and into parts of modern Kazakhstan. Evidence from steppe burial mounds suggests that pastoralism was also becoming more nomadic, and this makes ecological sense, for the most economical way to graze large numbers of animals is to move them over large areas. By 2000 BCE, pastoralism of some form had spread towards the western borders of Mongolia. Nicola Di Cosmo, a specialist on Inner Asia, writes, “A conservative interpretation would date a significant impact of horseback riding on western and central Asia to between the mid-third and early second millennium BCE” (2001, 26). In the first millennium BCE, pastoralism finally spread to Mongolia. It also appeared in new and more warlike forms that may have depended on technological innovations such as the appearance of new and improved saddles and improved compound bows.

The dominant role of pastoralism in the steppes of Inner Eurasia had a profound impact on the history of the entire region, and also on the way that the region’s history has been perceived. Pastoralism cannot support the large populations that agriculture can, and pastoralists are normally nomadic or seminomadic, so pastoralism did not generate the areas of dense settlement characteristic of so much of Outer Eurasia. For the most part, this was a world without towns or cities. Instead of villages and cities, small, nomadic encampments dominated the steppes. Because cities and all the paraphernalia we associate with cities and agrarian civilizations existed only in a few borderland regions of Inner Eurasia, the history of the region was strikingly different from that of Outer Eurasia. For the historian, one of the most important differences is that pastoralist societies generated few written records. Because historians rely heavily on such records, they have tended to ignore societies that do not produce them. Inner Eurasia has too often been seen through the eyes of the agrarian civilizations of Outer Eurasia, beginning with the works of the Greek historian Herodotus (c. 484–425 BCE) and the Chinese Han

dynasty historian Sima Qian (c. 145–86 BCE). Even the most sympathetic Outer Eurasian historians portrayed Inner Eurasia as a sort of black hole out of which pastoralists rode to rape and pillage the villages and cities of the “civilized” world. Not surprisingly, Inner Eurasian pastoralists have traditionally been cast as “barbarians” in world historiography

In part, this is because the mobility of pastoralism, the skills it teaches in the handling of large animals, and the ubiquity of raiding ensured that most pastoralist societies of Inner Eurasia have had a military influence out of proportion to their sheer numbers. In a famous passage, Sima Qian wrote of the pastoralist Xiongnu to China’s north,

The little boys start out by learning to ride sheep and shoot birds and rats with a bow and arrow, and when they get a little older they shoot foxes and hares, which are used for food. Thus all the young men are able to use a bow and act as armed cavalry in time of war. It is their custom to herd their flocks in times of peace and make their living by hunting, but in periods of crisis they take up arms and go off on plundering and marauding expeditions. (Watson 1961, 2:155)

The limited resources of pastoralist societies also ensured that they were usually keen to engage in exchanges with neighboring communities of farmers, trading livestock produce such as meat, skins, and cloths for agricultural products and artisan goods including weaponry. Evidence of such exchanges, some peaceful, but some clearly violent, appears as early as the fourth millennium BCE on the edges of the Tripolye culture in Ukraine, in the objects found within steppe burial mounds and in the increasing use of fortifications by farming communities.

## **Inner Eurasia and Cultural Exchange**

The mobility of pastoralists and their interest in exchanges ensured that goods, ideas, people, and influences passed much more readily through the Inner Eurasian steppes than is commonly supposed. Pastoralists carried the technologies of pastoralism through the

steppes to the borders with China. They also carried languages. The Indo-European languages spread throughout southern Inner Eurasia and then beyond, carried by communities of pastoralists, while Turkic languages began to spread eastwards from about 2,000 years ago, also carried by pastoralists. In addition, pastoralist communities helped spread religious practices and artistic motifs, as well as technologies such as bronzeworking and the use of chariots. The Inner Eurasian steppes, far from being a barrier to civilization, provided the interconnections that from at least the second millennium BCE ensured that the history of the entire Eurasian landmass would have a certain underlying unity, nurtured by the symbiotic relationship between the societies of Inner and Outer Eurasia.

The existence of trans-Eurasian contacts is evident as early as 2000 BCE within the Oxus civilization (on the borders of modern Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan), where archaeologists have found goods from the steppes, as well as goods from Mesopotamia, India, and even China. The importance of trans-Eurasian exchanges increased in the first millennium BCE when, for the first time, Outer Eurasian states, including Achaemenid Persia and Han China, tried to conquer parts of Inner Eurasia, and trade goods, including silk, started to flow right across Eurasia. The modern term *Silk Roads* is used to refer to the networks of exchange through Inner Eurasia that linked all parts of the Eurasian landmass.

### **Inner Eurasian Pastoralist States**

The military power of pastoralist communities meant that when they were threatened, they could unite quickly to form powerful military confederations that were a match for the armies of great Outer Eurasian powers. The military power of such confederations was first realized clearly in the agrarian world when pastoralist armies defeated and killed Cyrus II (reigned 558–529 BCE), the founder of the Achaemenid empire, but it is also apparent from the detailed account by Herodotus of the unsuccessful campaign in the Black Sea steppes of Cyrus's successor, Darius I (reigned 522–486 BCE). In the second

century BCE, for the first time, a pastoralist leader managed to build a confederation of pastoralists and hold it together long enough that historians conventionally refer to it as a state or empire. This was the achievement of Modun (reigned 209–174 BCE), the creator of the Xiongnu empire in modern Mongolia.

Inner Eurasian pastoralist states were very different from the agrarian and city-based states of Outer Eurasia. With limited human and material resources, they could be held together only by extracting resources from neighboring agrarian regions and redistributing them to regional chiefs. So, as Thomas Barfield and Nicola Di Cosmo have pointed out, the success and longevity of pastoralist empires depended on how well they could accomplish that task. The larger the flow of material and cultural resources, the more powerful the state, so it is no accident that the most powerful pastoralist states, such as the sixth-century Turkic empire and the empire of Genghis Khan in the thirteenth century, were built by extracting resources from powerful agrarian states such as China or Persia. This also explains why major pastoralist states appeared along the border regions between Inner Eurasia and Outer Eurasia, and why many powerful pastoralist leaders, including the Seljuks in the twelfth century and the Mughals in the sixteenth century, eventually crossed the border to found dynasties in nearby regions of Outer Eurasia.

### **Agriculture in Inner Eurasia**

The dominant role of pastoralism in Inner Eurasia created a complex symbiotic relationship across the borders between Inner and Outer Eurasia for several millennia. But in the last thousand years, the dominance of pastoralists in Inner Eurasia has been challenged by the spread of agrarian communities from the west. In the middle of the first millennium CE, large numbers of peasant farmers from eastern Europe began to settle in the lands west of the Urals that are dominated today by Belarus, Ukraine, and western Russia. Why farmers should have settled this region after avoiding it for several millennia remains unclear, though it may have something to do



**Although used mainly in eastern Inner Asia, the yurt dwelling has come to symbolize Inner Asia to the outside world.**

with the cultivation of rye and the increasing use of metal implements, which made farming more viable even in the difficult climatic conditions of western Inner Eurasia. Steppe rulers such as the Khazars (flourished seventh–tenth centuries) began to extract resources from these communities, but it was Viking warriors who established the first durable agrarian states in the region, with the formation of a federation of city-states, united under Viking leaders, some time in the tenth century.

As agriculture spread within Inner Eurasia, it became an increasingly important foundation for emerging states, providing a demographic and economic basis that no pastoralist communities could match. Agriculture sustained the power not just of Rus and Lithuania, but also of remnant states of the Mongol empire, such as the Golden Horde (thirteenth–fifteenth centuries). Eventually, the state of Muscovy established control of most of the agrarian lands of western Inner Eurasia, and over the

*We shall never know how many acts of cowardice have been motivated by the fear of appearing not sufficiently progressive.* • CHARLES PEGUY (1873–1914)

next few centuries it built the largest agrarian state in the world as it slowly established its control over the woodlands of Siberia. The greater demographic dynamism of agriculture ensured that, over time, the sheer numbers of people supported within agrarian states would give them an advantage over neighboring pastoralist societies as well, and so, over many generations, Muscovy and the Russian empire also began to encroach on the steppes of Inner Eurasia. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Russian empire had conquered most of the steppes and all of Central Asia. Meanwhile, the Qing dynasty (1644–1912) in China had conquered Xinjiang and established its control over much of Mongolia. The dominance of pastoralism had ended and Inner Eurasia, like Outer Eurasia, was now dominated by agrarian states.

However, the distinctive geography of Inner Eurasia left its mark even on the now dominant agrarian states of the region. The ecological difficulties of Inner Eurasia ensured that agriculture was never easy and rarely as productive as in most of Outer Eurasia. As a result, the agrarian states of Inner Eurasia had to be peculiarly good at mobilizing resources, and that meant they needed strong, autocratic leadership. At the same time, the flatness of the steppes exposed both agrarian and pastoralist states to almost constant border conflict and forced them to concentrate resources to a peculiar degree on warfare. But it also made it possible to build huge states, for geography posed few natural barriers to the expansion of powerful states. This is why the history of Muscovy and Russia can be thought of as a slow filling up of the lands of Inner Eurasia. Finally, the mobilizational traditions of Russian states, dictated by the relative ecological poverty of Inner Eurasia, may help explain why, in the Soviet era, there emerged an economy and society very different from those of the capitalist West. Soviet society, like the society of Muscovite and Imperial Russia, was dominated by a powerful autocratic state capable of mobilizing resources with exceptional intensity. In this way, the distinctive features of Inner Eurasia's geography have shaped the region's history from the Paleolithic era to the present day.

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*See also* Afro-Eurasia; Herodotus; Pastoral Nomadic Societies; Russian-Soviet Empire; Silk Roads; Sima Qian; Secondary-Products Revolution; Steppe Confederations

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## International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is one of the six main organs of the United Nations and its principal judicial organ. Popularly known as the World Court, the ICJ is the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was formally dissolved in 1946. The ICJ operates on the legal basis of Chapter VI of the U.N. Charter, which concerns peaceful settlement of disputes, and the Statute of the International Court of Justice, which is an integral part of the U.N. Charter. All 191 member states of the United Nations are ipso facto parties to the Statute, but nonmembers may become parties as well if approved by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Located in The Hague, the Netherlands, the Court is composed of fifteen judges elected for nine years (five being elected every three years), with the possibility of being reelected by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Candidates for ICJ judgeships are nominated by national groups in states, and are elected as individuals regardless of their nationality, although no two judges may be nationals from the same state. By tradition, the permanent members of the Security Council (China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States) have judges elected to the court, although China had no judge during the period 1960–1984, due to the controversy over Taiwan and China's representation in the U.N.

Since the ICJ functions as an institution that interprets and applies law, it possesses certain advantages over other methods of dispute settlement. For one, the

Court operates on a continuous basis, so it is always prepared to deal with disputes. For another, it contributes to the development of a shared body of legal rules, both substantive and procedural, through which differences between states can be resolved. In this regard, both disputant states must voluntarily consent to appear before the Court, judgments are binding, and there is no appeal. Since 1946 the Court has delivered seventy-six judgments on disputes concerning several contentious issues, among them land frontiers and maritime boundaries, territorial sovereignty, the nonuse of force, noninterference in the internal affairs of states, diplomatic relations, hostage-taking, the right of asylum, nationality, guardianship, rights of passage, and economic rights. Importantly, nearly all these decisions were accepted and implemented by the participating states. In fact, more states are submitting more cases to the ICJ than ever before, with twenty-four on the court's docket in 2004. The ICJ may also render advisory opinions at the request of any of the other five organs of the United Nations, or the sixteen specialized agencies under the Economic and Social Council in the U.N. system. That competence is used to advise the requesting organ on the legal status of questions (as in the case put forward in 1985 by the U.N. General Assembly on the lawfulness of nuclear weapons) or to declare a legal opinion on the issue in question. Since 1946 the Court has rendered twenty-four advisory opinions on a wide variety of issues, such as admission to United Nations membership, reparation for injuries suffered in the service of the United Nations, the territorial status of South-West Africa (Namibia) and Western Sahara, the status of judgments rendered by international administrative tribunals, expenses of certain United Nations operations, the applicability of the United Nations Headquarters Agreement, the legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons, and the lawful status of the wall being constructed by Israel to separate that state from Palestinian territory.

Certain difficulties still encumber the ability of the ICJ to function as a true international tribunal. Most important is that states party to a dispute must be willing to

submit to the authority of the Court. In that regard, there still exists a fundamental problem of mistrust. Not all U.N. member states are mandated to appear before the Court. Some, including the United States, have reserved the right to make final judgment on whether the case involves their domestic jurisdiction, which means in effect that they can refuse to accept jurisdiction. The ICJ only retains that jurisdiction which governments are willing to grant to it in each case. Such a restrictive tendency diminishes the role that the World Court can play in resolving major political conflicts between states. The uncertainty of legal rulings, a paucity of legislative institutions with the authority to adjust legal rules to the changing international milieu, and the lack of organized judicial procedures for the enforcement of judgments all contribute to the reluctance to use the ICJ as an instrument for international dispute settlement.

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*See also* International Law

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## International Criminal Court

The International Criminal Court (ICC) is the first global permanent court with jurisdiction to prosecute people for crimes of greatest concern to the international community: genocide; crimes against humanity; war crimes; and, after a definition is agreed upon, aggres-

sion. Located at the Hague in the Netherlands, the ICC originated on 17 July 1998, when 120 countries met at the United Nations Diplomatic Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court. The ICC formally came into existence on 1 July 2002.

The creation of the ICC is the culmination of a decades-long effort to establish an international court with jurisdiction to try people for crimes against humanity. The legal definition of such crimes after World War II was part of the construction of new international legal structures, such as the United Nations, to preserve international security and prevent upheavals capable of unleashing the horrors of modern warfare. The tribunals established to prosecute Nazi and Japanese war criminals established the precedent for the ICC. In singling out national agents for international responsibility, the organizers of the tribunals hoped that international criminal law would provide an incentive for high-ranking government officials to refrain from devising and executing policies promoting atrocities or aggressive war. Additionally, the prosecution of war criminals provided incentive for low-ranking nationals to refuse to obey orders to carry out such policies. The tribunals were expected to contribute to preventing violent conflict between—and atrocities by—nations.

After the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals had completed their task, however, initial moves to establish a permanent international jurisdiction to succeed them faltered because of growing hostility between the Soviet Union and the United States. In the atmosphere of suspicion and obstructionism brought on by the Cold War, enforcement was left to national systems. Conflicts continued, and atrocities occurred, often with the acquiescence or direct involvement of one of the superpowers. Not until the 1990s did the international community again prosecute crimes against humanity with the 1993 creation of the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the 1994 creation of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). However, like the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals, the ICTY and ICTR were created

*Justice is a certain rectitude of mind whereby a man does what he ought to do in the circumstances confronting him.* • ST. THOMAS AQUINAS (1225–1274)

ad hoc (for the particular end or case at hand) with limited jurisdiction.

### **State Sovereignty**

The ICC is designed to transcend politics because trials theoretically will be international, impartial, and nonselective. State sovereignty is protected because the jurisdiction of the ICC is restricted to a relatively small number of cases whose criminality is generally believed to be beyond dispute. Terrorism and drug-smuggling cases, involving matters subject to widely different interpretations, remain under national jurisdiction. Yet, a number of nations, especially the United States, doubted that the ICC as created would be truly nonpolitical. Seven nations (the United States, China, Libya, Iraq, Israel, Qatar, and Yemen) voted against the establishment of the ICC, chiefly because of concerns over state sovereignty.

The most contentious question involving the ICC revolves around the level of independence that it possesses in regard to national courts and the U.N. Security Council. The ICC exercises jurisdiction only when national courts of the country in which the crime took place or whose citizens are accused are unable or unwilling to prosecute. The United States seeks an ICC that would be controlled by the Security Council under the reasoning that, as the sole remaining superpower, it was expected to intervene to maintain or restore international peace and security and to halt humanitarian catastrophes all over the world. U.S. fulfillment of that expectation—the United States had a military presence in 110 of the 191 member nations of the United Nations and more than 400,000 troops stationed overseas in 2003—would leave U.S. personnel vulnerable to the potential jurisdiction of the ICC. The United States fears that an independent prosecutor, motivated by anti-Americanism, might single out U.S. military personnel for persecution and that they would be denied the protections guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

### **Structure**

Many legal authorities have challenged such fears, citing in particular the structure of the ICC. The court is composed of the presidency, the chambers, the office of the prosecutor, and the registry. The ICC does not provide

for trial by jury; instead it follows the civil law tradition of employing a panel of judges to decide questions of fact and law. Eighteen judges, serving staggered nine-year terms, are permanent members of the court and are elected by secret ballot at a meeting of the Assembly of the States Parties.

The judges elect the presidency and constitute the chambers. On 11 March 2003, the judges elected Judge Philippe Kirsch (Canada) as president, Judge Akua Kuenyehia (Ghana) as first vice president, and Judge Elizabeth Odio Benito (Costa Rica) as second vice president. On 22 April 2003, the nations participating in ICC chose Luis Moreno-Ocampo of Argentina as the first chief prosecutor. In his capacity as an Argentine attorney, Moreno-Ocampo has prosecuted Nazi war criminals, Chilean secret police officials, and Argentine leaders of the “Dirty War.” The last element of the ICC, the registry, is responsible for the nonjudicial aspects of the administration and servicing of the court, such as finance, translation, building management, procurement, personnel, as well as services, which are unique to an international court. The latter include administration of legal aid matters, defense counsel, court management, and a detention unit. In addition, in a revolutionary development, a victims and witnesses unit is set up within the registry. This unit enables victims to participate in legal procedures and claim compensation for the first time in the history of international criminal justice. Victims may include rape victims in need of trauma counseling, villagers in need of money to rebuild homes and businesses lost in fighting, and child soldiers who were forced into military service and who may have suffered great ordeals.

As of 2004 the ICC had not yet begun to conduct prosecutions. During its brief existence it has received hundreds of reports of violations sent by people and nongovernmental organizations from around the world. After reviewing the reports, the ICC expects to begin investigations but only after the prosecutor gets approval for doing so from the three judges comprising the pretrial division chamber of the court.

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*See also* International Law

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# International Law

International law has been evolving for centuries to provide a framework for international and transnational activities. Like other areas of the law, its purpose is to allow participants to deal with each other with some level of predictability and thus to reduce misunderstandings and to avoid conflicts and confrontations.

But international law is a more primitive system of law than the domestic legal systems found in advanced nations. It does not have a legislative body with the capacity to enact laws binding on all nations, an executive branch or a military or police force that can enforce the laws that do exist, or judicial tribunals that have broad jurisdiction or the power to issue binding and enforceable decrees in many circumstances. Although early versions of such bodies can be found in the United Nations and in emerging regional organizations, the process of constructing institutions that enjoy widespread support and can meet the challenges presented by a deeply divided world is just beginning.

Some have argued that because international law cannot be enforced by a superior body it is not law at all. But most commentators contend that because most countries follow international law most of the time, and because those countries that violate its norms do frequently suffer consequences, it should be viewed as a system of law.

International law is less developed than other systems of law because the larger and more powerful nations do not always accept that it is in their interest to subordinate their self-interest to an international or multinational goal. Although smaller nations will see the benefit of an international structure that protects the weak against the

powerful, the stronger nations do not always agree that such a structure is beneficial. The foundations of international law have always been reciprocity and enlightened self-interest.

## The Sources of International Law

The primary sources of international law are treaties—bilateral and multilateral—and “customary international law,” which emerges from the actual practices of states and is undertaken with an understanding that these practices are required by law (*opinio juris sive necessitatis*). The “practices” of states are usually found in actions taken by a country, but they can sometimes be discovered in the statements their diplomats or leaders issue or in their votes at international organizations or diplomatic conferences. To become “custom,” a practice must have the widespread (but not necessarily universal) support of countries concerned with the issue and must usually have continued for a period of time long enough to signify understanding and acquiescence. Occasionally a regional custom can emerge, if the countries of a certain part of the world order their affairs in a certain manner.

In recent years, it has become accepted that some principles of customary international law are so important that they are called “peremptory norms” or “*jus cogens*” (commanding law) and that no country is permitted to depart from these principles. Among these norms are the prohibitions on aggression, genocide, crimes against humanity, slavery, extrajudicial murder, prolonged arbitrary detention, torture, and racial discrimination.

Although most historical summaries of the development of international law focus on its growth in Europe and the West, the reality is more complex. Practices governing interactions among nations and peoples also developed in Asia and elsewhere, and these norms have been merging with those that came to be accepted in the West. The growing recognition that groups, as well as individuals, have human rights protected under international law is an example of a non-Western contribution to international law.

## The Emergence of Modern International Law

Most scholars explain that “modern” international law emerged in Europe at the time of the Renaissance and Enlightenment through the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) and gave formal recognition to the sovereign state system. This treaty-based system was designed, in part, to allow Catholic and Protestant states to coexist in Europe. International law became necessary to confirm the boundaries among these states and to bring some order to their dealings with each other. Countries accepted the doctrine of *pacta sunt servanda* (treaties are to be observed), now a fundamental principle of international law, and established some machinery for the settlement of disputes. During the years that followed, citizen participation in government grew in England and then in France through the French Revolution. As monarchies crumbled, individuals, corporations, nongovernmental organizations, and international organizations emerged as part of the international legal system.

The Final Act of the Congress of Vienna (1815), signed by Austria, France, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, which formally ended the Napoleonic Wars, was another significant event, because it created a system of political and economic cooperation in Europe and also articulated governing norms of international law. Among the principles that emerged from this Congress was a set of rules governing diplomatic protocol, a condemnation of the slave trade, the principle of free navigation (not only for the riparian states but for all states) on the major rivers of Europe, and the neutrality of Switzerland. Treaties, both bilateral and multilateral, began to cover a wide range of topics, supplementing and sometimes replacing custom as a source of law.

During the period of colonial expansion that took place in the last half of the nineteenth century, the concepts of international law that had been utilized in Europe and the West were introduced into Asia by the Western powers. Western international law was then even more primitive than it is today. No global institutions existed, and only a few special-purpose regional organizations had been created. Some topics—such as diplomatic immunity—were fairly well defined, and consensus

## Hugo de Groot (*Grotius*): Father of International Law

The Dutch diplomat Hugo de Groot (1583–1645), who wrote under the Latin name Grotius, is often called the father or founder of international law.

Grotius’s 1625 work *De Jure belli ac pacis* (*On the Law of War and Peace*) is acknowledged as the first treatise in international law. Grotius contended that natural law—a rule or body of rules of conduct inherent in human nature and essential to or binding upon human society—prescribes rules of conduct for nations as well as for private individuals. He derived much of the specific content of international law from sources as diverse as the Bible and classical history. Grotius’s seminal work begins with an inquiry into the lawfulness of war. Although he did not condemn war as an instrument of national policy, Grotius maintained that it was criminal to wage war except when three criteria could be met: (1) the danger faced by the nation going to war is immediate; (2) the force used is necessary to adequately defend the nation’s interest; and (3) the use of force is proportionate to the threatened danger.

*Benjamin S. Kerschberg*

had also been reached on the important goals of stopping piracy and slavery.

## THE LAWS OF ARMED CONFLICT

War was still viewed by many as an acceptable instrument of foreign policy, but the dramatic increase in destructive weaponry resulting from the industrial revolution caused many to realize that some constraints were needed on the use of force. Major international meetings were called, the most significant being the 1899 and 1907 Hague Conferences, which were designed to codify the laws of armed conflict and establish limits on certain types of military activities. The growth of daily newspapers in the industrialized countries had the effect of allowing common citizens to participate more fully in policy decisions, and led, in many countries, to a democratization of international politics.

*Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary.* • REINHOLD NIEBUHR (1892–1971)

Twenty-five nations attended the 1899 Hague Conference, which was convened by Czar Nicholas II of Russia, and a larger number ratified the documents produced by the meeting, which included conventions governing the conduct of warfare and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Although European nations dominated these negotiations, nineteen Latin American nations signed or ratified one or more of the documents, as did China, Japan, Korea, Persia, Siam, and Turkey.

The 1907 Hague Conference, called again by the Russian Czar Nicholas II upon the urging of Theodore Roosevelt, produced additional conventions designed to limit the scourge of warfare. The European nations again dominated the negotiations, but eighteen Latin American nations signed or ratified one or more of the conventions (Honduras was missing), as did China, Japan, Persia, Siam, and Turkey (with Korea missing because it had become a protectorate of Japan). Liberia also adhered to many of the conventions.

#### NATURAL LAW VS. POSITIVE LAW

The nature of the evolving international legal system was described by many as one of consent—or “positivism”—wherein only those norms agreed upon by states could be enforced against them. But perhaps because of the theocracies that had governed many parts of Europe in previous centuries, the Canon law that had developed during that period, and the religious fervor that still burned brightly for many others, contended that certain inherent principles also governed nations. Tension emerged between this “natural law” formula as the basis of international law and the perspective of “positivism” promoted by others, and this tension still exists today.

The Dutch diplomat Hugo de Groot, who wrote four hundred years ago under the Latin name Grotius, is often called the father or founder of international law because he tried to reconcile natural and positive law. His analysis of the laws of war, the law of the sea, and the protection owed to diplomats laid the framework for modern thinking on these topics. He believed that a “law of nature” could be deduced by logical reasoning, rather than by resort to divine sources, and thus tried to for-

mulate a law that could be acceptable to all, conceivably even to “infidels.”

#### MONISM VS. DUALISM

Another continuing issue has been whether international law is incorporated into national legal systems, and is thus part of the law applied by national courts (“monism”), or whether it is a separate and distinct legal system governing nations but not accessible by normal citizens in disputes in domestic courts (“dualism”).

### **The Continuing Challenges of a Divided World**

After World War I, the League of Nations was established and served to promote dialogue and negotiations, but its efforts to stop the continuing imperialistic activities of some nations were unsuccessful and the world again engaged in massive slaughters in World War II. The 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact, which outlawed the recourse to war, did not stop warfare, but it at least has required countries to come up with some justification for armed conflict, with “self-defense” being the most common excuse.

The United Nations was established in 1945, and the nations of the world have entered into numerous additional bilateral and multilateral treaties since then on subjects ranging from economic affairs to the law of the sea to human rights to arms control. The U.N. Security Council, with 15 members, including 5 permanent members (China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States) that can veto any resolution, has the responsibility to deal with threats to the peace and breaches of the peace. The General Assembly, now with 190 members, serves as a forum for discussion and annually enacts a wide range of resolutions addressing global problems. The International Court of Justice sits in The Hague, Netherlands, and decides cases brought to it by governments. Numerous more specialized tribunals have also been created.

Regional organizations have been created in almost all areas of the world, with the European Union and other European organizations being particularly effective in addressing regional issues and reducing tensions among nations. Many in the developing and non-Eurocentric



parts of the world still view international law as dominated by the West and by the rich and powerful countries, and efforts are continuing to find ways to restructure the United Nations to reflect the world's diversity more fairly and to allow it to operate more efficiently.

The international legal system is still a work in progress. As the world becomes increasingly interdependent, international law will become more important and more complex. Countries remain reluctant to give up essential elements of sovereignty and autonomy. But as transnational problems present themselves, transnational solutions will continue to be devised. Through this incremental process, international law will continue to grow.

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See also International Court of Justice; International Criminal Court

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## International Monetary Systems

Goods ranging from cowrie shells and cattle to cigarettes (in prisoner-of-war camps during World War II) have circulated as generally accepted means of pay-

ment, but the precious metals gold and silver long predominated as media of exchange. Authors from Aristotle to Adam Smith noted that gold and silver had the advantages of being divisible, homogenous, storable (not rusting or decaying through reaction with other elements), and, being scarce and costly to produce, highly valuable per unit of weight, so that only small quantities needed to be transported to make payments.

### Beginnings

While merchants may have made the first coins, discs containing a specified amount of precious metal, states and cities in Asia Minor and the Aegean coined silver and electrum (a mixture of gold and silver) from the eighth century BCE, with the earliest known gold coins issued in the sixth century by Croesus, king of Lydia in Asia Minor. Solon, in sixth-century Athens, introduced seigniorage, a margin of profit on coinage, by ordering 6,300 drachmae to be minted from each talent of silver, even though the accepted standard of weights and measures equated 6,000 drachmae (60 minae) to a talent. For centuries, gold, silver, bronze, and copper coins of many rulers and cities circulated, trading externally at rates reflecting their varying metallic content and the changing relative values of the monetary metals. The seigniorage from minting coins with less than full bullion content repeatedly tempted rulers to profit from debasing the coinage, reducing the market value of their coins. In China, copper “cash” was coined, with silver ingots used for large transactions, and Marco Polo was startled to discover paper currency issued by the Chinese state in the thirteenth century CE.

### The Colonial Era through the Nineteenth Century

The inflow of silver from the newly conquered Spanish colonies of Mexico and Upper Peru (Bolivia) raised price levels and lowered the purchasing power of silver in Europe during the “Price Revolution” of the sixteenth century, but the outflow of silver from Europe to Asia to pay for spices and textiles in the late seventeenth century raised the value of silver. In 1717, Isaac Newton, as master of Britain’s Royal Mint, set the value of the gold

*Nations have recently been led to borrow billions for war; no nation has ever borrowed largely for education. Probably, no nation is rich enough to pay for both war and civilization. We must make our choice; we cannot have both.* • ABRAHAM FLEXNER (1856–1959)

guinea at twenty-one silver shillings, a mint price of 3 pounds, 17 shillings, 10.5 pence per ounce of gold (fifteen-sixteenths fine) that was maintained until 1939. Newton overvalued gold and undervalued silver, so, in keeping with Gresham's Law that bad money drives out good, only gold coins circulated, while silver coins were melted down into bullion. In 1752, David Hume expounded the theory of the specie-flow mechanism underlying the gold standard: If international trade and payments were unbalanced, gold bullion would flow from the country with a trade deficit to the one with a trade surplus, reducing the money supply and price level in the deficit country and increasing the money supply and price level in the surplus country. The changing relative price levels would reduce the net exports of the surplus country and raise those of the deficit country until the balance of payments surpluses and deficits were restored to zero. Bank notes were convertible into coin on demand, and coin or bullion was used for international settlements, with a bank raising its discount rate when a gold outflow threatened the adequacy of its reserves. By the nineteenth century, the City of London was established as the world center of finance and commerce, and the Bank of England as the key institution of the gold standard.

The conversion of Bank of England notes was suspended from 1797 to 1821, and the British government paid for its role in the Napoleonic Wars through inflationary finance, with large increases in national debt stock in the hands of the public and of the Bank of England, depreciation of inconvertible Bank of England notes against gold, and a higher price level. Restoration of convertibility at the old parity required a sharp deflation, but was followed by nearly a century of growing world trade and largely stable exchange rates (although the United States was on an inconvertible "greenback" paper standard from the Civil War until the start of 1879). The Latin Monetary Union, a pioneering French-led effort at European monetary unification begun in 1865, linked the French, Italian, Belgian, Swiss, Spanish, and Greek currencies to a bimetallic standard, but foundered in the face of British and German opposition and the shifting relative price of gold and silver.

## **The Twentieth Century and Beyond**

World War I disrupted the gold standard, and was followed by spectacular hyperinflations and exchange depreciations in Central and Eastern Europe, with the German mark stabilized in 1924 at one trillionth of its prewar gold value. John Maynard Keynes presciently criticized Britain's return to the gold standard at the prewar parity in 1925, warning that the deflation of prices and wages required to remain internationally competitive at a higher exchange rate would exacerbate unemployment. Following the Wall Street crash of 1929, the fixed exchange rates of the gold standard transmitted deflation and depression from country to country, with Britain forced off the gold standard in 1931 and the United States devaluing and ending gold conversion of the dollar in 1933. The Great Depression of the 1930s was a period of fluctuating exchange rates, protectionist tariffs, restrictions on capital flows, and shrinking world trade, a retreat from globalization.

At the end of World War II, the international monetary conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, guided by Lord Keynes and Harry Dexter White, devised a system of fixed exchange rates, adjustable in case of fundamental payment imbalances, with an International Monetary Fund (IMF) to lend foreign exchange, and with the U.S. dollar as the key reserve currency. The dollar was pegged to gold at \$35 per ounce, but only other central banks could present dollars to the Federal Reserve for redemption in gold. IMF lending, being conditional on following policy advice designed to end payment deficits, caused friction between borrowing governments and the IMF. Although a few nations floated their currencies (notably Canada from 1950 to 1962), the pound sterling was devalued in 1949 and 1967, and centrally planned economies such as the USSR and China stood apart, the Bretton Woods system provided a stable framework for expanding global trade and investment flows from 1945 to 1973. Persistent U.S. balance of payments deficits undermined the Bretton Woods system, which was followed by a period of exchange rate instability. The Exchange Rate Mechanism, designed to stabilize exchange rates among European currencies, collapsed under speculative

attacks such as that against the pound sterling in September 1992. The adoption of the euro as a common currency, initially by eleven European countries at the start of 1999, with a single monetary policy conducted by the European Central Bank, eliminated the possibility of such speculative attacks, while leaving the euro floating against the U.S. dollar, Japanese yen, and other currencies.

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## International Organizations— Overview

An international organization is an organization that has membership from or operates in a number of different countries, and that plays some official role in the working of the international system. A definitional example of an international organization is the United Nations (U.N.). The U.N. is an organization, meaning that it has its own staff, rules, headquarters, and so on. Its members are countries rather than people, and almost all countries are members. And it plays several official roles in the international system, including the role of provider of collective security, as will be discussed below.

There is no clear line between what can be considered an international organization and what cannot. Organizations such as the U.N. that are created by treaties among countries and that count countries as their members clearly fit the definition. Multinational corporations and other for-profit enterprises, even though there are ways in which they fit the definition, are generally not considered international organizations as such. Not-for-profit organizations that have individuals rather than countries as their members, often referred to as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), are in the gray area of the definition. For the purposes of this essay, not-for-profit organizations that are clearly international in nature and that play a semi-official role in the international system, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), are included in the definition.

### War, Peace, International Organizations

International organizations affect issues of war and peace in a number of different ways. Some organizations are designed to enhance collective security. Others work to prevent conflict by ameliorating some of the conditions that lead to war, such as poverty or ethnic conflict. Still others attempt to alleviate the suffering caused by war once a conflict has already begun. And finally, some international organizations, called alliances, are designed primarily to help their members win wars. The first two categories of activity, collective security and ameliorating the conditions that lead to war, tend to be undertaken by the U.N. and affiliated organizations. The third category, alleviating suffering, is undertaken both by U.N.-affiliated organizations, such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and NGOs, such as the ICRC. The fourth category, alliances, comprises organizations that are intergovernmental but are not part of the U.N. system.

At this point we should distinguish between collective security organizations and alliances. Alliances consist of two or more countries that agree to aid each other in time of war. This can be a purely defensive

arrangement, whereby parties agree to come to each other's aid if attacked by third parties, or offensive, an agreement to attack a third party. Either way, a key feature of an alliance is that it is exclusive, meaning that it is designed specifically to work against the interests of nonmembers. International alliances have been around for millennia; they are, for example, featured prominently in Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War in the fifth century BCE. But they have traditionally not been organizations as such. They have made agreements, but those agreements have generally not created new special-purpose bureaucracies. The alliance as an international organization is a phenomenon of the second half of the twentieth century, beginning with the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact.

Collective security organizations differ from alliances in that they are inclusive. Such organizations create rules for maintaining the international peace and hold their members to those rules. If a member country breaks the rules in a way that is a threat to international peace, then all of the other members are supposed to take action to counteract the threat. In other words, while alliances aim to defend their members from threats from outside of their membership, collective security agreements aim to defend their members from threats that originate within the membership. As such, collective security organizations work best the broader their membership. The U.N. was formed primarily as a collective security organization, and the U.N.'s Security Council was designed as its primary enforcement mechanism.

## **A History of Collective Security**

The first attempt at a collective security agreement in the modern state system was the Concert of Europe, an agreement reached in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars by the great powers of the time to manage European affairs through annual meetings rather than through alliances and wars. This agreement did not really create an international organization, however, because it did not create a new bureaucratic structure to oversee the collec-

tive security system. In any case, the Concert was not terribly successful. By the mid-1820s it had ceased having a major impact on European politics, and by the middle of the nineteenth century had ceased to exist altogether.

The next major international attempt at collective security was the League of Nations, created in the aftermath of World War I. The League was clearly an international organization; it had its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, with a permanent Secretariat—its own bureaucracy. The creation of the League was driven primarily by the U.S. president Woodrow Wilson, who felt that a primary cause of World War I had been the politics of secret alliances that dominated European international relations for half a century before the war. He wanted to create an organization that brought countries together to discuss their problems in a public forum, thereby getting rid of closed-door international negotiations. He also wanted to create an organization that guaranteed the peace, thus getting rid of the need for alliances.

The League, like the Concert, was not very successful. It was hamstrung from the outset by the fact that the United States never joined. Despite the fact that President Wilson was the driving force behind its creation, the U.S. Senate did not ratify U.S. membership in the organization. It was also undermined by its own decision-making structure. The League worked on a one-country, one-vote basis, so a group of small, militarily weak countries that constituted a majority could pass a resolution calling for military action even if the countries voting for the resolution were not strong enough collectively to enforce it. Since the League itself had no military capabilities, it counted on member countries to enforce its resolutions, and those members tended to resort to pass-the-buck arguments—they might want something done, but they wanted some other country to actually do it.

The League did not survive World War II. It was replaced by the U.N., which was created in 1945. The U.N. undertakes a wide range of activities that cover most areas of human endeavor, but its core design function is as a collective security organization. It began with two advantages over the League of Nations. First, all of

the major powers were members. And second, it was designed to try to get around the buck-passing problem. The U.N. has a General Assembly that, much like that of the League, passes resolutions by majority vote. But the General Assembly is not tasked to enforce the rules of collective security. In the U.N.'s design, a new body called the Security Council was created for that task. The Security Council has only a few members at any given point in time (originally eleven, now fifteen) and is always in session, so that it can deal with threats to international security quickly and efficiently. The membership includes those nations that were the five greatest military powers at the end of World War II, and it can only authorize the use of force if all five agree.

### **The U.N. and International Peace and Security**

The system never really worked as planned. The U.N. authorized the U.S.-led intervention in the Korean War in 1950, but after that was not able to successfully intervene in Cold War disputes because both the United States and the Soviet Union had a veto in the Security Council. In 1956, in response to the Suez Crisis, the Security Council invented a new role for collective security, called peacekeeping. This refers to the use of troops authorized by the Security Council to oversee the implementation of cease-fires after conflicts, a more modest role than the enforcement of international security but one that the U.N. has engaged in successfully for decades.

The U.N.'s role in issues of war and peace underwent a renaissance in response to the end of the Cold War around 1990. Freed from the constraints of U.S.-Soviet confrontation, the Security Council was able to authorize more ambitious missions than it had been able to for three decades. These missions, in places like Iraq and the former Yugoslavia, went beyond peacekeeping, and were much like traditional collective security missions. The U.N. also got involved in what came to be called peace building—missions designed to create working political and legal systems in places where the absence of such systems was causing, or was caused by,

*We should endeavor to do something so that we may say that we have not lived in vain. That we may leave some impress of ourselves on the sands of time.*

• NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769–1821)

conflict. Examples of this sort of activity in the 1990s could be found in the former Yugoslavia, in Cambodia, and in East Timor.

### **Beyond Collective Security**

The Security Council is aided in enforcing collective security by a variety of additional organizations. Some prevent conflicts by settling disputes by arbitration, such as the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Others are designed to do on a regional basis some of the same things that the U.N. does globally. These include the African Union (AU), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). These organizations range in age; the OAS was created in 1948, whereas the AU came into being in 2002, although it incorporates organizations that had been created several decades earlier.

The role of international organizations in ameliorating the suffering caused by war goes back as far as their role in collective security. The first such organization was the ICRC, created in 1863 to help wounded soldiers and oversee the treatment of prisoners of war. Although the ICRC is a nongovernmental organization, it has a semi-official capacity in the international system. For example, its role as the monitor of the treatment of prisoners of war is written into the Geneva Conventions on the rules of war. Other ameliorative organizations are intergovernmental, such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which traces its roots back to the appointment by the League of Nations of the first High Commissioner for Refugees in 1921. The UNHCR currently oversees relief efforts to more than 20 million refugees worldwide.

Other international organizations, most of which can trace their roots back to the 1950s, help countries to recover more generally from the effects of war by helping them to develop their economies and basic services; these include the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The efforts of these organizations are augmented by a wide range of nongovernmental organ-

izations dedicated to improving conditions for the most needy internationally.

### **Outlook on the Twenty-First Century**

International organizations have been active for more than a century in promoting international peace and security. The effectiveness of organizations focusing on collective security has varied over time, but seems in general to have increased following the end of the Cold War. Whether or not this increased effectiveness continues will help to determine patterns of war and peace in the twenty-first century. The effectiveness of organizations focusing on ameliorating the negative effects of war has grown consistently, particularly since the end of World War II, and is likely to continue to grow.

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# **Interregional Networks**

While the term *globalization* implies that prolonged and frequent contact between different parts of the world is a relatively new phenomenon, such links have been a consistent part of world history. In many ways, global history may be understood as a succession of these contacts. One way of thinking about these global relationships is through the metaphor of networks. Networks are arrangements of connections into nets, or permeable systems linking groups of points and intersecting lines. Obvious examples are the body's circulatory system—a network of veins and arteries—or a country's transportation network of roads, railways, rivers, and canals. Global interregional networks are defined by a complex series of interactions, such as trade and communications, that span relatively wide geographical areas.

Interregional networks have two important characteristics in common: The first is the distance between the various points of the network, a condition that makes a sophisticated set of governing and logistical structures necessary. These structures naturally reflect and may encourage the social development of the parties involved. The second critical aspect of such connections is that they are not transitory, but go on for a relatively long time and come to achieve a certain predictability. We therefore understand interregional networks to be complex structures for maintaining a semipermanent connection between two or more points across great distance.

### **Early Networks**

Enough evidence exists of prehistorical trade—in obsidian, for example—to indicate that some fairly far-flung exchange relationships had evolved by the fifth millennium BCE. The first example for which we have extensive evidence has its center in the eastern Mediterranean in the second millennium BCE. Cultures in this region

appear to have engaged in the importation of materials such as tin, amber, and lapis lazuli, possibly from as far away as Britain and Afghanistan. In addition to trade, massive migrations were creating diasporic communities throughout the region. By 800 BCE, the Phoenician trade network ranged from contemporary Lebanon to Gibraltar and possibly beyond. There is much less evidence for interregional connections in the Western Hemisphere during this period, such as between Mesoamerica and the Andes, or even between the river civilizations of Indian and China; it is unclear whether the spread to Central Asia of Indo-European languages and cultural artifacts like chariots reflects an ongoing exchange or simple unidirectional conquest. The conquests of Alexander the Great (334 BCE–323 BCE), however, certainly created a medium-term network.

By the beginning of the Common Era, there had grown up a complex set of interregional exchanges across most of Eurasia. Spices from as far away as Indonesia appeared on Roman tables. The Roman Empire was sustained by a set of regional exchanges facilitated by Rome's hegemony over the Mediterranean and its creation of an excellent road network. The famous "Silk Road" stretching from Han China to Constantinople and Alexandria was already well-established by 500 CE.

## **Medieval Networks**

At least for the European peninsula, many of these networks were broken by the early Middle Ages. Two prominent exceptions may include the network of Viking settlements ranging from the Volga to Newfoundland and the pilgrimage routes and other connections between relatively isolated monasteries. Only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries do we see the reestablishment of a cross-Mediterranean network, largely managed by Italian city states. Of even greater historical import is that this period sees the development of a true network of markets in central Europe, bounded to the east and west by the Rhine and Seine rivers, and to the north and south by the North Sea and the Alps. The desolation of the Black

Death of 1347 to 1352 serves as the best indication of the reconnection between European regions and between them and the rest of the world, reflecting that networks can transmit a multitude of things, not all of them welcome.

In Africa, this period marks the highpoint of the Sahara as a desert "ocean" bearing significant trade. Multilateral trade in gold, salt, and other commodities interconnected the Mediterranean coast with the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic with the Red Sea. A perhaps even better-developed network allowed the transfer of goods, people, and information from the Mozambique Channel northward along the African coast and across the Indian Ocean (arguably the locus of international trade during this period). To this largely mercantile network we need to add the variety of connections fostered by the Islamic conquest begun in the seventh century. From the southern Spanish kingdom of Granada (until 1492) to the Pacific island of Java (by the end of the fifteenth century) a shared faith expressed in the Quran and through the Arabic language provided a base for a multitude of links, despite the fractionalization of political power. These connections and commonalities would arguably make the Muslim world of this period the first truly globalized society. To a somewhat lesser degree, the Mongol Empire of the thirteenth century created a single Eurasian entity and promoted considerable long distance exchange and interaction.

## **Modern Networks**

The European discovery of the Americas marked a new stage in the development of interregional networks. Even prior to 1492, the Portuguese had created a direct link between South and Southeast Asia and the Mediterranean. With the advent of the annual Spanish silver fleet from Manila, international connections become transoceanic. But this was merely a part of a global network of exchange that took spices and silk from the east, timber and grain from the north, sugar, coffee, cotton and tobacco from the west, and slaves from the south, and combined them for reshipment from the warehouses

along the North Sea. The slave trade is perhaps the best example of the kind of interregional network created in the new imperial age. The foundation of this trade was a complex set of exchanges within the African continent that helped shape the economy, politics, and demographics of the region for centuries. To these were linked the new manufacturing centers of northwestern Europe needed to make the ships and the manufactured goods exchanged for the human cargo. After crossing the Atlantic, this same cargo produced the tropical commodities that would go back across the Atlantic to begin the process again. While the Atlantic Ocean dominated trade during this period, land networks did persist in the Ottoman and Safavid empires in the Asian subcontinent and in East Asia. By the nineteenth century, however, Europeans had come to completely dominate all interregional networks.

As noted above, networks exchange more than just merchandise: Cultural ideas and phenomena also cross between regions, leading to new assimilations, combinations, and sometimes conflict. Migrations were also a significant part of these networks. An estimated 40 million Europeans crossed the Atlantic between 1600 and 1900. At least 20 million Africans were forced into slavery (including several million moving eastward). The Indian diaspora reached every continent, as did the much larger migration from China (over 20 million in the nineteenth century alone).

In the twentieth century, significant numbers of inhabitants of former colonies have moved to the lands of their former colonizers, creating a dense network of familiar visits, business contacts, and remittances. Contemporary global interregional networks retain significant legacies from this imperial past. Thus, airline and telecommunication networks in Africa tend to be divided between those centered in London and those in Paris. In many cases, these imposed network connections and attendant specializations make it difficult for weak economies to grow. Most famously studied in the case of the external financial and commercial asymmetries in the relationship between Latin America and Europe and North America

as described in *dependencia* theory, we can also see the consequences of such phenomena in the challenges to the development of the former Soviet Union.

Obviously, contemporary interregional networks also have significant advantages. Perhaps the clearest example is the creation of the European Common Market and later the European Union, which accounts for two-thirds of the trade of all the associated nations. The East Asian region has created a similar series of linkages within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), but here national sovereignty remains more sacrosanct. The only other example that has approached this level of success is the North American Free Trade Agreement, but the centrality of the United States makes this much less of a network than the unification of three economies; we see less an exchange between equals and more the monopoly of a single node. These three regions (Europe, North America, and East Asia) also make up the vast majority of exchanges among global regions.

While the international trade in capital, labor, and merchandise is the most obvious manifestation of interregional networks, similar phenomena exist in the cultural realm. The required hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, has created an extensive network of logistical support across the Islamic world. More prosaically, the combination of migrations and international sales has created often strange networks of cultural products including India's Bollywood movies, Brazilian soap operas, and American action epics.

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## Interwar Years (1918–1939)

World War I—the “Great War” that had mobilized both human and material resources on a global scale—created during the interwar years (1918–1939) a general disillusionment with the hierarchical and European-centered nineteenth-century political order. The liberal dream of limitless scientific and technological progress had led to the development of weapons that had killed 7 million soldiers and civilians and had wounded 13 million others. The German writer Oswald Spengler’s *The Decline of the West* cited the war as evidence of the West’s imminent deterioration. Furthermore, colonized populations across the globe began to question the supposed “Western superiority” that European nations used to justify their imperial policies. Consequently, although world public opinion clamored for peace and stability, people had a strong sense that a simple return to the antebellum belle époque (beautiful age) was not the most desirable solution.

Even if some people wanted to restore the bourgeois sociopolitical structure that had existed before 1914, that restoration no longer seemed possible. The mass mobilization, mass production, mass consumption, and mass culture that the war had generated also helped replace the elitist nineteenth-century system with mass societies and mass politics. Throughout the war men and women alike had felt increasingly invested in political affairs, both because of the sacrifices they had made and because the popular press had kept them constantly informed about the war’s hap-

penings. Moreover, knowing that an increasingly global audience relied on the media to provide information and answers, politicians had begun using the media to spread propaganda and garner support. Leaders from every end of the political spectrum had made public promises about what “the people” could expect or demand when the war subsided. After the Russian Revolution the Russian Communist leader Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) had called for the workers of the world to unite to conquer the forces of capitalism. The U.S. President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), on the other hand, had promised that when the fighting stopped all those who participated would be able to enjoy greater equality, freedom, democracy, and national self-determination.

Thus, as the war was winding down, people were gearing up to inherit a better world. However, people had multiple and often contradictory ideas about what the new world order should look like. In addition to ideological disagreements among Communism, liberal democracy, and a burgeoning neo-conservatism, people everywhere rallied for expanded suffrage, shorter work days, higher wages, and the right to transform ethnically organized or imperially occupied territories into sovereign nations. Furthermore, whereas many voices spoke out against the technology that had made the war possible, more people than ever clamored for a share of modernity’s amenities, such as the radio and the automobile. When the armistice finally came on 11 November 1918, the French prime minister, Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929), announced “we have won the war, now we must win the peace.” As Clemenceau predicted, the task of restoring order was to be incredibly difficult, and after the guns fell silent many thorny issues remained unresolved.

In January 1919 the Paris Peace Conference convened to decide the fate of the vanquished aggressors (Germany, Austria, and Turkey) whose empires the war had toppled. A month before the conference began Wilson had delivered his Fourteen Points, which provided the structure for a more equitable system of international relations based on international law and pro-

*The art of war is simple enough. Find out where your enemy is. Get at him as soon as you can. Strike him as hard as you can, and keep moving.* • ULYSSES S. GRANT (1822–1885)

tected by an association of independent nations that would cooperate to maintain order. Although the desire for peace and international cooperation was fairly widespread, most delegates tried to push the settlement in a direction that optimized their own national interests. Despite Wilson's continuing insistence on the universal right of self-determination, the Allied powers (Russia, France, England, Italy, and the United States but especially France and England) emerged from the peace settlement with more territories than ever before. The vast spoils included oil fields in the former Ottoman Middle East and mineral-rich territories in what had been German East Africa. To appease Wilson, the victorious powers had agreed to manage the territories as "mandates" until they were ready to govern themselves rather than simply annexing them.

### **Unrest and Revolt**

The Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations—the intergovernmental organization that Wilson envisioned—went into effect on 10 January 1920. However, even before the treaty was officially signed, dissatisfaction, malaise, and revolt emerged all over the map. Following in the footsteps of the Russian Revolution (whose leaders thought the League of Nations was a bourgeois sham), revolutionary politics were brewing in Hungary under the leadership of Bela Kun (1835–1939), in Bavaria under the leadership of Eugene Levine, and in Germany under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht (1871–1919) and Rosa Luxemburg (1871–1919). Labor and/or race riots broke out in Bolivia, Brazil, Argentina, and the United States, while Mexico was locked in a civil war that had begun in 1910. Furthermore, fear of the socialist call for worldwide revolution spurred counterrevolutionary forces, and informal armies or vigilante groups set out to take revenge on left-wing activism in the name of nationalism.

Revolutionary activity and social unrest were taking place in south and east Asia. On 13 April 1919, Indian civilians were protesting British policies at Amritsar in Punjab when the British general Reginald Dyer ordered soldiers to fire on the crowds, killing 379 Indians and

wounding 1,200. After hearing that the Versailles Treaty awarded Germany's concession rights in the Shandong Peninsula to Japan, thousands of Chinese students demonstrated in Beijing and continued to boycott Japanese goods. In the midst of all this political unrest, an influenza epidemic was circling the globe. It spread via trade routes, and outbreaks occurred in North America, Europe, Asia, Africa, Brazil, the South Pacific, and in India, where the mortality rate was particularly devastating. The epidemic only intensified the sense of worldwide unease.

Despite such unease, in many ways the Treaty of Versailles and the establishment of the League of Nations were a great victory. They filled the advocates of internationalism with hope that peace through disarmament and cooperation might yet be possible. However, the peace left nearly as many loose ends as the war had. The harsh reparation terms that the peace inflicted upon Germany, along with the contentious ways that it had accorded statehood to some territories and denied it to others, all but guaranteed that further contention would accompany efforts to create international stability. People widely felt that the treaty had not granted many people the recompense they desired for the losses they had suffered. Woodrow Wilson could not get even his own country to agree to the treaty's terms; on 19 March 1920, the U.S. Senate failed to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and in doing so refused to participate in the League of Nations. This shocking event did not augur well for the fate of the Fourteen Points and the world that Wilson envisioned.

Despite the absence of Germany, Russia, and the United States the League of Nations set about fulfilling its aims and functions. In 1921–1922 a conference in Washington drew up a naval treaty limiting the capital ships of Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy. Furthermore, a conference on disarmament met in Genoa in 1922, and in 1925 in Locarno, Switzerland, treaties were drawn between Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Belgium guaranteeing the western European boundaries against violation. However, while the Europe-led League of Nations was trying to "make the

## The Treaty of Versailles (June 1919)

*The Treaty of Versailles was the key diplomatic document defining international relations in the interwar years. Many of the provisions were considered unduly harsh by the Germans and a factor pushing Germany to prepare for and launch World War II was terminating those provisions. Some examples follow.*

Article 42. Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometres to the East of the Rhine.

Article 45. As compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the north of France and as part payment towards the total reparation due from Germany for the damage resulting from the war, Germany cedes to France in full and absolute possession, with exclusive right of exploitation, unencumbered and free from all debts and charges of any kind, the coal mines situated in the Saar Basin. . . .

Article 51. The territories which were ceded to Germany in accordance with the Preliminaries of Peace signed at Versailles on February 26, 1871, and the Treaty of Frankfurt of May 10, 1871, are restored to French sovereignty as from the date of the Armistice of November 11, 1918.

The provisions of the Treaties establishing the delimitation of the frontiers before 1871 shall be restored.

Article 119. Germany renounces in favor of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions.

Article 156. Germany renounces, in favour of Japan, all her rights, title and privileges. . . which she acquired

in virtue of the Treaty concluded by her with China on March 6, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung.

Article 159. The German military forces shall be demobilised and reduced as prescribed hereinafter

Article 160. By a date which must not be later than March 31, 1920, the German Army must not comprise more than seven divisions of infantry and three divisions of cavalry.

Article 231. The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

Article 232. The Allied and Associated Governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of the present Treaty, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage.

The Allied and Associated Governments, however, require, and Germany undertakes, that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an Allied or Associated Power against Germany.

Source: *The Treaty of Versailles and After: Annotations of the Text of the Treaty* (1944). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

world safe for democracy," nations and peoples both in Europe and beyond continued to search for alternatives to liberal democratic Wilsonian ideals.

By 1923 Marxism's revolutionary threat had been greatly reduced. However, people still feared it enough to bring fascism to power in Italy in 1922 and a military

dictatorship to Spain in 1923 and to renew the Nationalist Socialist Party (which would become the Nazi Party) in Germany in 1925 after Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) was released from prison. Fascism began to appear as a "third way," an alternative between the poles of Communism and democracy. As fascism was on the rise in Europe,

colonized populations elsewhere grew even wearier of the imperial double standards that offered freedom and democracy at home but oppression abroad. To combat European liberalism's numerous contradictions, anti-colonial forces began to claim various forms of nationalism for their own.

### **Anticolonialism**

In Kenya, where colonialism was fairly recent, Harry Thuku began demanding that the British simply provide better education and return the lands they had seized from the natives. He was arrested by the British in 1922. In India an outright anticolonial nationalist movement was under way. Throngs of Indians followed the leadership of Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948), who instigated a campaign of nonviolent resistance (*satyagraha*) in 1922 to attain self-rule (*swaraj*). In Egypt an elite Egyptian politician asked to be invited to the peace conference at Versailles so that he could present his case for independence from Britain. When he arrived, however, the British arrested him. The incident led Egyptians to revolt, which gained them partial independence by 1922.

In 1926, in an act of good faith, the League of Nations invited Germany to join. Furthermore, in 1928 the French foreign minister, Aristide Briand (1862–1932), and the U.S. secretary of state, Frank Kellogg (1856–1929), initiated a pact to exclude war as an option in foreign policy except in self-defense. Sixty-five nations met in Paris to sign the Kellogg-Briand pact. The Kellogg-Briand pact was a tremendous accomplishment, to be sure; however, the fault lines of the period ran deep. Britain, for example, agreed to sign the pact only as long as Britain could use force within its own colonies. The conflicts that raged throughout the 1930s were not dissolved in Paris in 1928. In fact, they were on the verge of deepening in the face of the devastating economic depression that was just around the corner.

On 29 October 1929 (Black Tuesday), the U.S. stock market crashed and sent shock waves throughout the world economy. By the mid- to late 1920s the consumerism of the “jazz age” that had led to greater production

had begun to decline, and prices had begun to fall. Furthermore, wobbly governments deeply indebted from the war and small investors had begun to default on their loans from the United States. As a result federal managers raised interest rates, and financial institutions began to collapse. The panic spread to the world market, where investors had been investing in speculative ventures for a quick profit. The crash led to the rise of tariff borders and hence a contraction in world trade. Everywhere people suffered from unemployment and hunger. The depression caused people to further question the liberal doctrine of free markets, and states began to intervene more heavily in economic affairs.

To many people U.S.-style laissez-faire (opposing governmental interference in economic affairs) democracy seemed to have failed to provide the prosperity it had promised, and people began welcoming authoritarian solutions to poverty and mass unemployment. Soviet Russia, fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and militaristic Japan mobilized against the liberal democracies whose “moral decay” and “decadence” they claimed to overcome. Leaders such as Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) of the Soviet Union, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) of Italy, and Adolf Hitler of Nazi Germany promised to deliver all of modernity's benefits without side effects such as class division, urban-industrial squalor, or moral and social decay. In order to enact their programs, however, the authoritarian leaders of both the right and the left first identified scapegoats upon whom they could place the blame for the adverse economic and social conditions, and then they advocated violence to dispense with their “enemies” in the name of national progress. Stalin identified the “wealthy peasants” as the primary enemies of the state and proceeded to intern them in work camps. The Nazi Party blamed Jews for all of modernity's evils. Hitler railed against both “Jewish capitalism” and “Jewish bolshevism,” and when he came to power in 1933, he immediately devised a number of plans to take care of the “Jewish problem”—plans that would lead to the Holocaust.

By the mid-1930s the international order created by the treaties of Versailles, Washington, and Locarno was in

*If I am not for myself, who will be for me? / If I am not for others, what am I? / And if not now, when?*

• RABBI HILLEL (C. TWELTH CENTURY)

a state of decline, and nations everywhere began the process of rearmament. In Spain a civil war (1930–1939) raged between the left and the right. Furthermore, in defiance of the Kellogg-Briand pact Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria in 1932, and the League of Nations stood by helplessly. By 1936 Hitler sent soldiers to occupy the Rhineland, and by 1938 Germany had absorbed Austria. Wanting to avoid repeating the horror of World War I, France and Britain sought a peaceable solution with Germany and made several concessions to Hitler, a solution that people have called “appeasement.” At a conference in Munich in 1938 Hitler received the Sudeten territories; however, in defiance of all agreements he invaded Poland on 1 September 1939. By 3 September the world was once again at war.

Despite all the expectations that people had for a new order based on greater freedom at home and greater collaboration abroad, World War I had left too many wounds, ambiguities, and unresolved disputes. During the 1930s the conflicts between empires and their colonies, between democracy and authoritarianism, between nationalism and internationalism played out on a world stage. However, by 1939 these conflicts clearly would have to be decided by yet another war, a world war that would be even more destructive than the first.

*Carolyn Biltoft*

*See also* World War I; World War II

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## Irrigation

*See* Water Management

## Isabella I

(1451–1504)

QUEEN OF SPAIN

The Iberian monarch Queen Isabella (Isabel in Spanish) I of Castile, also known as Isabella the Catholic, completed the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula along with her husband, Ferdinand (Fernando in Spanish) II of Aragon (1452–1516). Royal sponsor of the New World voyages of Christopher Columbus, she was the daughter of John II of Castile and Isabella of Portugal.

Isabella was named Queen of Castile after the death of her brother Alfonso in 1468, although not without incident. As a result of Isabella's marriage (1469) to Ferdinand II of Aragon—later Ferdinand V of Castile—Isabella's half-brother Henry IV promptly chose to disinherit her and appoint as the new heir apparent his own daughter, Juana. Upon the death of Henry IV (1474) Isabella appointed herself as the rightful Queen of Castile in the city of Segovia, causing a bitterly fought civil war and international conflict to erupt between the faction supporting Isabella and the faction supporting Juana (1475–1479). The Concordat of Segovia (1475) set forth the rules and regulations governing the individual participation of Isabella and Ferdinand in the governing of Castile, and the subsequent Treaty of Alcaçovas (1479) put an end to the civil war. From this point forward, Isabella and Ferdinand ruled as equal Catholic Kings, a title conferred upon them by the Spanish-born Pope, Alexander VI, a member of the influential Borgia family.

The marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand II created a union that eventually led to the dynastic unification of Spain's two largest kingdoms, Castile and Aragon. Contrary to popular belief, neither the Catholic Queen Isabella I nor the Catholic King Ferdinand V wished to be known as monarchs of a unified Spanish kingdom. Instead, they preferred to be known in the traditional fashion as “King and Queen of Castile and León, Aragon, and Sicily, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Mallorca, Seville, Sardinia, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, Algarve, Algeciras, Gibraltar, Count and Countess of Barcelona, Lords of Viscaya and Molina,

Dukes of Athens and Neopatria, Counts of Roussillon and Cerdagne.”

After the death of the sons of Isabella and Ferdinand, their daughter Juana became the heir and future Queen of the Crown of Castile. With her husband, Philip of Austria, Juana would give birth to the future Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, or Charles I of Spain. Another of Isabella’s daughters, Catherine, married Henry VIII of England. The inability of Henry VIII to obtain a divorce from Catherine of Aragon would trigger the break of England from the Roman Catholic Church.

Queen Isabella’s court was the first Renaissance royal court in Europe, and closely followed the dictates of the latest humanist ideals. Isabella’s historical significance lay not only in the fact that she was the only reigning queen in the first century of the Renaissance, but also in the sweeping programs she pursued in her mission to restore and solidify the predominance of the Roman Catholic Church in the Iberian Peninsula. Notorious among these programs were the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition, the expulsion of the Jews from all Spanish kingdoms, the reform of the Spanish Church and of the religious orders, the wars against the Muslims of North Africa, and the eventual Conquest of Granada (1492), the last Muslim enclave on the Iberian Peninsula. Isabella also supported the conquest of the Canary Islands and the New World endeavors of Christopher Columbus, through which Spain would gain a new overseas empire.

The Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) was perhaps the most important international arbitration treaty signed during Queen Isabella’s reign. Drawn up to ease confusion between Spain and Portugal with regard to the right of possession of New World territories, it basically divided all newly discovered lands between the two countries. Upon the death of Queen Isabella I, the Catholic, she was laid to rest in the Royal Chapel adjacent to the Cathedral of Granada, as was her dying wish. She lies entombed alongside her husband, King Ferdinand, the Catholic, and their daughter Juana and her husband, Philip.

Isabella’s reign gave birth to a Renaissance decorative and architectural style known as Isabellaine. Along with

## When and Where World Religions Began

4000–2500 BCE	Hinduism	South Asia
1300–1200 BCE	Judaism	West Asia
500–400 BCE	Buddhism	South Asia
	Confucianism	China
	Zoroastrianism	West Asia
	Jainism	South Asia
400–221 BCE	Daoism	China
1ST CENTURY CE	Christianity	West Asia, Europe
3RD CENTURY CE	Manichaeism	West Asia
6TH CENTURY CE	Shinto	Japan
7TH CENTURY CE	Islam	West Asia
11TH CENTURY	Orthodoxy	West Asia
15TH–16TH CENTURY	Sikhism	South Asia
16TH CENTURY	Protestantism	Europe
19TH CENTURY	Latter-day Saints	North America
	Babi and Baha’i	West Asia
19TH–20TH CENTURY	Pentecostalism	North America

her desire to bring the Catholic faith to an ever greater number of people, Isabella also empowered one of the most crucial tools of empire and civilization—the first grammar of a European language, compiled by the Spanish humanist Elio Antonio de Nebrija.

*H. Micheal Tarver and Carlos E. Márquez*

*See also* Columbus, Christopher

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## Selection from *The Elucidation of Islam's Foundation*

*In this extract from The Elucidation of Islam's Foundation, a classic work of Islamic theology by Abu Musa al-Ashari (c. 873–975), al-Ashari discusses “the exposition of the belief of the followers of the truth and the ‘sunnah.’”*

If anybody says to us, “...now let us know the beliefs you hold and the religion you follow,” the answer is:

The belief we hold and the religion we follow are holding fast the Book of our Lord, to the *sunnah* of our Prophet, and to the traditions related on the authority of the Companions and the Successors and the *imams* of the *hadith*;—to that we hold firmly, professing what Abu ‘Abdallah Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Hanbal professed, and avoiding him who dissents from his belief, because he is the excellent *imam* and the perfect leader, through whom God declared the truth, removed error, manifested the modes of action, and overcame the innovations of the innovators, the deviation of the deviators, and the skepticism of the skeptics. The mercy of God is upon him,—for he is an eminent *imam* and an exalted, honored friend,—and upon all the other *imams* of Islam! The substance of our belief is that we confess God, His angels, His books, His apostles, the revelation of

God, and what the trustworthy have handed down on the authority of God's Apostle, rejecting none of them. We confess that God is one God—there is no god but He—unique, eternal, possessing neither consort nor child; and that Muhammad is His Servant and Apostle, whom He sent with the guidance and the real Religion; and that Paradise is real and Hell is real; and that there is no doubt regarding the Coming Hour; and that God will raise up those who are in the graves; and that God is seated on His throne (as He said, “The Merciful is seated on the Throne”); and that He has a face (as He has said, “but the face of thy Lord shall abide resplendent with majesty and glory”); and that He has two hands, *bila kayfa* (as He has said, “I have created with My two hands,” and as He has said, “Nay! outstretched are both His hands”); and that He has an eye, *bila kayfa* (as He has said, “Under Our eyes it floated on”), and that anybody who thinks that the names of God are other than He is in error; and that God has knowledge (as He said, “in His knowledge He sent it down,” and as He said, “and no female conceiveth or bringeth forth without His knowledge”).

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## Islam

Islam is a major world belief system and is part of the traditions of monotheism in the Middle East. The Islamic community of believers, called “Muslims,” began in western Arabia (the peninsula of southwestern Asia including Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and the Persian Gulf states) during the seventh century CE and extended within two centuries from Central Asia to North Africa and Spain. In the modern world 1.2 billion Muslims exist, and they are found throughout the world. Although Islam is historically identified with the Middle East, many Muslims live in other regions, with the largest national communities being in southern and southeastern Asia.

The core of the belief system is the affirmation that one God (Allah) exists. The word *Allah* means in Ara-

bic “the divinity.” The word *islam* means “submission,” and the belief system is based on submission to the one God, with the person engaging in submission being called a “Muslim.” Muslims understand their faith to be a continuation of the message of God presented to humanity through a series of messengers and prophets, including Abraham and Jesus. In the Islamic belief system the final presentation of the message of God was made through the Prophet Muhammad, who lived in Mecca and then Medina in modern Saudi Arabia at the beginning of the seventh century CE. The revelation was recorded and preserved in the Quran, the holy book of Islamic faith.

The basic requirements of the Islamic belief system are frequently called the “Five Pillars of Islam.” The first pillar (*shihadah*) is bearing witness publicly to the belief that “There is no divinity but Allah and Muhammad is

the messenger of Allah.” Praying (*salat*) is the second pillar. Praying involves performing five prescribed prayers daily. The third pillar (*zakat*) is taking the responsibility to contribute alms to provide assistance to the poor in the community. Undertaking the fast during the month of Ramadan is the fourth pillar. The fifth pillar is performing the pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca at least one time during the believer’s lifetime, if possible. Each of the pillars is a responsibility for the individual believer, and no priesthood or clergy is required to fulfill any obligation. Although “striving in the path of God” (jihad) is an expected part of the life of faith for Muslims, jihad defined as “holy war” is not one of the Five Pillars of Islam.

### **The Formation of Community and Faith**

Muhammad was born in Mecca around 570 CE. He was part of an active merchant community that was involved in trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. In addition to being a commercial center, Mecca was a religious center with a shrine that housed important religious relics from many of the tribes in the region. Muhammad’s own family was influential in both religious and commercial activities, but his father died before he was born, and his mother died when he was still young. As a young man he gained a reputation for reliability and married a prosperous widow, Khadija, whose affairs he managed. His life was transformed when he experienced his first revelations around 610 CE.

The Meccan belief system at that time was basically polytheistic, but Meccans were familiar with Christianity and Judaism. Muhammad preached a message of strict monotheism and soon aroused the opposition of the Meccan merchant elite. After many struggles he and his small community of followers moved to Yathrib, a neighboring oasis community whose leaders invited Muhammad to come and be the arbitrator and judge in its disputes. The oasis became known as “Medina” or “the city [Medina] of the Prophet.” This migration in 622 CE is called the “Hijra” and marks the beginning of the Islamic community as a distinct entity. Muslims date the years of the Islamic era from the Hijra, with 622 CE being year 1 in

the Islamic calendar. This calendar is based on a lunar year of approximately 354 days or twelve lunar months.

During the next ten years most of the people in the Arabian Peninsula became Muslims or were allied in some way with the new Islamic community. The defeat and conversion of Mecca was an important step in this process. The shrine of the Kaaba, a cube-shaped structure at the center of Mecca, was purified of polytheistic relics and recognized as the altar of Abraham. In the prescribed prayers Muslims were to face the Kaaba (for a short time they faced Jerusalem), and the building became the center of pilgrimage rites. The basic foundations of the Islamic belief system and the Islamic community were laid.

### **The Era of the Caliphs**

The Islamic community was dynamic by the time of Muhammad’s death in 632 CE. Some confusion existed about the transition to a community without Muhammad. The majority of the community accepted the idea that the successor (*khalifah* or caliph) to Muhammad as leader would be one of his close companions, Abu Bakr. A minority within the community came to believe that the idea was an error and argued that the first successor should have been the son-in-law and cousin of Muhammad, Ali. In later tradition this minority group came to be identified as the faction (Shiah) of Ali (Shiites), whereas the majority were called “Sunni” (those who follow the Sunnah or precedents of the community).

The first four caliphs were all close associates of Muhammad, and their rule is identified by Sunni Muslims as the era of “the Rightly-Guided Caliphs” (632–661 CE). Under their leadership Islamic armies conquered all of the Sasanid empire and most of the Middle Eastern territories of the Byzantine empire. Through these conquests the Islamic community became the heir of the great imperial traditions of Persia and Rome as well as the Middle Eastern monotheistic traditions. In structure and administrative practices the emerging caliphate resembled the older empires that had been conquered.

The political history of the Islamic community during the early centuries involves the rise and fall of dynasties

controlling the caliphal state, and the political experiences of the community shaped the belief systems that developed. Civil war brought an end to the era of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, and the new political community was ruled by the Umayyad dynasty (661–750 CE) and then by the Abbasid dynasty (750–1258 CE).

Early Abbasid caliphs built a new capital at Baghdad, not far from the location of ancient imperial capitals. Although the Abbasid state was strong, it never established control over all of the territories of the Islamic

world. Umayyad princes continued to rule in the Iberian Peninsula, and gradually independent Islamic states were established across North Africa. By the end of the tenth century CE three caliphs claimed authority in parts of the Islamic world—an Umayyad ruler in Spain, a Shiite ruler in Egypt, and the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad. Local military rulers, who came to take the title of “sultan,” increasingly dominated political affairs. The Mongol conquest of Baghdad in 1258 CE brought an end to the Abbasid caliphate. Although the concept of the caliphate as a symbol of Islamic unity continued, basic Islamic political organization took the form of sultanates, representing rule by military commanders. This transformation was possible because of the evolution of the nature of the Islamic community itself.

### The Faith-Based Community

During the early centuries of Islamic history the caliphate was the most visible aspect of the new Islamic community. However, the development of the Islamic belief system provided the basis for a faith-based community that involved more than an allegiance to a particular ruler or political system. The definition of a legal and normative framework that shaped politics but that was independent of the state helped to create a sense of community identity. The development of popular devotional organizations associated with the growing importance of Sufi (Islamic mystic) brotherhoods strengthened this identity.

The Islamic belief system initially developed within the framework of the caliphate but was not tied to the specifics of the political system. Scholars, not political leaders, undertook the important functions of interpreting the Quran and organizing the traditions (hadith) of Muhammad as basic sources for law and guidance. These scholars, literally the “learned people” (ulama), never became an ordained clergy and maintained independence from rulers. However, the political and legal dimensions of the Islamic faith were an important part of the belief system. These dimensions were the primary area of disagreement among Sunnis and Shiites. The Sun-



**The Kalima in Arabic and Chinese in a leaflet used by Muslims in China in the nineteenth century.**

*I worry that, especially as the Millennium edges nearer, pseudo-science and superstition will seem year by year more tempting, the siren song of unreason more sonorous and attractive.* • CARL SAGAN (1934 – 1996)

nis believed that the historic caliphate was Islamically legitimate, whereas the Shiites insisted that the only legitimate ruler would be the divinely designated imam (an Islamic leader) who would be a descendant of Muhammad. Most Shiites are called “Ithna Ashari” or “Twelvers” because they believe that the twelfth imam in the series was taken into divine seclusion and will return at some future time to establish God’s rule.

The ulama during Abbasid times developed a framework of legal concepts and precedents that provides the foundation for the legal and normative structures of the sharia (Islamic law). No single system of canon law developed. Instead, among the Sunni majority, four schools of legal thought, each identified with a major early scholar—Hanafi (Abu Hanifa, d. 767), Maliki (Malik ibn Anas, d. 796), Shafi’i (Muhammad Shafi’i, d. 819), and Hanbali (Ahmad ibn Hanbal, d. 855)—were accepted as authoritative. Among the Shiites most recognized the legal thought of Jafar al-Sadiq (d. 765). In these schools the fundamental sources of the sharia were agreed to be the Quran and the traditions or Sunnah of Muhammad. Differences arose regarding analogical reasoning and consensus of the community. Use of independent informed judgment in analysis was called “*ijtihad*.” In later centuries Sunnis limited its scope more than did Shiites.

The content of this legal structure emphasized the universality of law based on God’s revelation and the equality of all believers. It was not strictly speaking a code of law; it was rather a framework for a just and virtuous society. The sharia defined both the duties to God and social responsibilities. It covered commercial practices, family life, and criminal behavior. This vision of society did not depend upon a particular state structure and could be presented by scholars rather than rulers and soldiers.

The faith of the majority of the population was also shaped by popular preachers and teachers whose devotional life was an inspiration. The development of special devotional paths or *tariqahs* is associated with what came to be called “Sufism,” the mystical piety of early inspirational teachers. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries CE social organizations associated with these devo-

tional paths became an increasingly important part of Islamic societies. The devotional paths emerged as brotherhood organizations that were instrumental in the Islamization of societies in central and southeastern Asia and sub-Saharan Africa.

## **Expanding Community and the Great Sultans**

The Islamic world virtually doubled in size between the tenth and the eighteenth centuries. Great trade networks brought Islamic merchants to most regions of the Eastern Hemisphere. Islamic scholars and Sufi teachers followed, and dynamically growing communities of believers developed as interactions with local people set in motion activities that resulted in the gradual Islamization of societies.

By the sixteenth century the great central states of the Islamic world represented a commanding dynamism. In the eastern Mediterranean the Ottoman empire began during the thirteenth century in the Aegean area, conquered Constantinople (modern Istanbul, Turkey) in 1453, and, by the eighteenth century, controlled much of the Balkan Peninsula, the Arab world, and North Africa. In southern Asia the smaller Islamic sultanates of medieval times were replaced by the Mughal empire, which dominated virtually all of the Indian subcontinent by the seventeenth century. In western Africa a series of increasingly Islamized states beginning with medieval Ghana and Mali and ending during the sixteenth century with the Songhai empire established Islam as a major historic force in the region. Similar developments took place in southeastern and central Asia.

A dramatic change occurred in the Persian-Iranian heartland. Iran had long been an important part of the Sunni world, with some Shia minority groups. However, around 1500 a militant popular religious group called the “Safavids” conquered much of modern-day Iran and beyond. During the next century the Safavid rulers declared Ithna Ashari Shiism to be the religion of the state, and most Iranians converted. Shiite scholars came to the Safavid empire, especially from the Arab world,

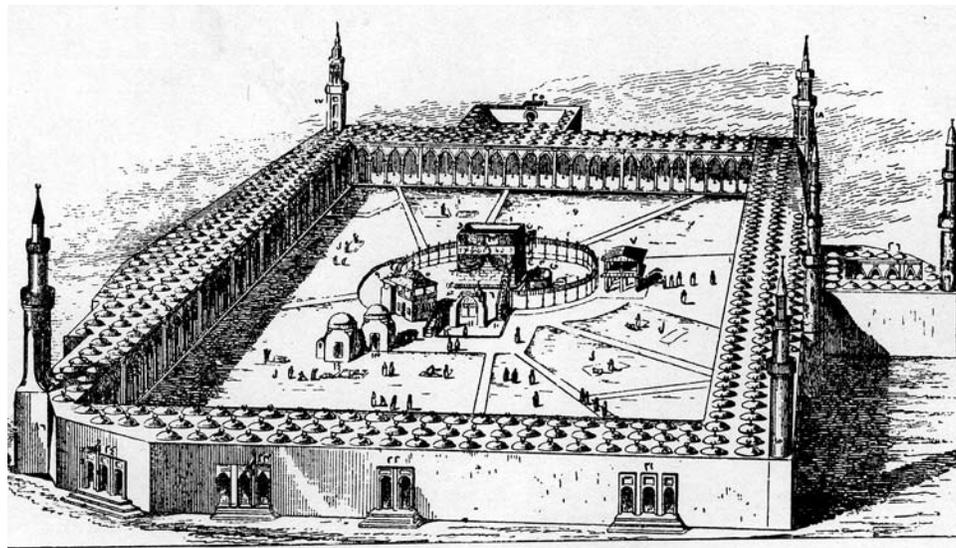
### **The mosque in Mecca in the early twentieth century.**

and received privileges that gave the ulama in Shiite Iran a special influence that has continued to the present.

## **Challenges of the Modern Era**

This powerful and expanding Islamic world had long interacted with western European and Christian-majority societies. These interactions entered a major new phase during the eighteenth century with the transformation of western European societies, especially through the Industrial Revolution, and the beginnings of European imperialist expansion. Throughout the Islamic world Europeans came to dominate Islamic lands, and Muslims responded in many ways. Muslims mounted major efforts to fight European expansion, as in the wars led by the emir (ruler) Abd al-Qadir in Algeria after the French invasion of 1830. Most military opposition failed.

Leaders in major Islamic countries introduced programs of reform to reshape their societies and states using Western models. Early reformers included Muhammad Ali in Egypt (reigned 1805–1849) and the Ottoman sultan Mahmud II (reigned 1808–1839), whose programs laid the foundations for the emergence of modern-style secular states. Later other reformers emphasized intellectual and religious dimensions. By the end of the nineteenth century efforts to create an effective synthesis of Islam and modernity resulted in the movement of Islamic modernism. Major figures are Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905) and Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839–1897), whose ideas influenced groups as diverse as the Muhammadiyah movement established in Java in 1912 and intellectuals in India and North Africa. A different emphasis in reform is provided by more puritanical movements that seek a “return” to a more strict adherence to Islamic norms interpreted in a relatively literalist manner. This mode of reform has deep roots in



Islamic history and can be seen in the premodern movement of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792), whose ideas have been an important part of modern Islamic revivalist movements.

These movements set the framework for Islamic responses to the new conditions of the modern era. One major theme is the development of a more secular political system and organization of society. A second theme is the articulation of an Islamic modernity that is both authentically Islamic and modern. A third theme is the challenge of maintaining a clear sense of Islamic identity and mission in the context of an ever-changing modernity.

## **Twentieth-Century Transformations**

The Islamic experiences during the twentieth century involved three major eras. During the first half of the twentieth century most of the Islamic world was in some way under the domination of European imperial powers. In that context the development of nationalist movements of a more secular nature was important. The most successful of these movements was led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who built a secular nationalist state in Turkey after the collapse of the Ottoman empire in World War I. During the second era, after World War II, most Islamic states became politically independent, and various forms of secular and radical nationalism dominated the intellectual and political scene. Leaders such as Gamal Abd al-Nasir in Egypt incorporated Islamic

*Post-modernism is modernism with the optimism taken out.* • ROBERT HEWISON (B. 1943)

themes into their radical nationalist programs, but these programs were not primarily Islamic in orientation or identification. However, during these first two eras, more explicitly Islamic groups were created. These groups were modern in organization but in the more puritanical tradition in terms of intellectual content. The most important of these groups are the Muslim Brotherhood, established in Egypt by Hasan al-Banna in 1928, and the Jamaat-i Islam, established in 1941 in India by Abu al-Ala Mawdudi.

The third era is the time of the Islamic resurgence of the final quarter of the twentieth century. The major signal that the radical and the secularist nationalist movements had failed to bring the expected prosperity and freedom to Islamic peoples was the Iranian Revolution of 1979, which brought to power a regime dedicated to a full implementation of Islamic rules and norms. During the early 1980s many other movements with strongly defined Islamic goals and agendas came to prominence. These movements represent the emergence of what came to be called “political Islam” because the primary focus of the programs was the control of the state. Some movements, such as the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria, contested elections, whereas others, such as the Mujahidin in Soviet-occupied Afghanistan, engaged in violent opposition defined in its terms as jihad. These movements of jihad became a significant part of the Islamic experience of the 1990s. In the context of globalization, militant global networks such as al-Qaeda represented an important part of Islamic interaction with the world. However, such movements remained only a small part of Islamic life and often were in conflict with the mainstream Islamic organizations and sentiments that reflected the views of the majority of Muslims.

Although the movements of political Islam attracted the most attention, other important trends also developed during the 1980s. Intellectuals gave increasing attention to the definition of the place of women in Islamic society, and by the beginning of the twenty-first century, an “Islamic feminism” had emerged. This feminism involved a reexamination of the Quran, noting the

Quran’s emphasis on the equality of all believers and then noting the influence of more patriarchal perspectives in the way that the Islamic tradition was historically defined. Similarly, some intellectuals have emphasized pluralistic dimensions of the Islamic worldview and tradition and have also drawn back from the emphasis on political activism as a means for imposing Islamic norms.

Some of the impetus for these developments has come from the emergence of minority Islamic communities in western Europe and North America as important parts of the broader Islamic world. In those regions issues of gender equality and religious pluralism have great importance for Islamic community life.

### **Future Prospects**

Many people see a worldwide resurgence of religion as an important feature of the world of the early twenty-first century. This resurgence involves important movements in evangelical Christianity, Hinduism, and other faith traditions as well as the Islamic faith tradition. Within the major religious traditions is a competition between what some call “fundamentalist” traditions and traditions of relatively flexible reinterpretation and adaptation. This competition is not so much a “clash of civilizations” as it is a civil war within the great religious traditions and civilizations in the context of increasingly intense global interactions among peoples, faiths, and traditions.

The long history of the flexible adaptations of the Islamic community and belief system to changing historic conditions suggests that new forms of Islamic institutions and perspectives will continue to be defined by believers. These new institutions and perspectives will be defined and articulated, as they have in the whole of the modern era, by the interaction of more secular reformers, “modernists,” and the fundamentalists of the new age.

*John O. Voll*

*See also* Islamic Law; Islamic World; Muhammad; Pilgrimage; Rumi



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## Islamic Law

The sharia is normally translated as Islamic law, but not law in a narrow sense. It might better be translated as "a way of life," as is suggested by its literal translation, "a way" or "a path." In other words, the sharia

instructs about all that is personal, religious, economic, social, and political. Generally, only four sources for the prescriptions and prohibitions of the sharia are recognized: the Quran, the Sunna, consensus, and analogy. However, this is an idealization of how the law came to be formed, as it actually took several centuries, the growth of the schools (madrasahs), and codification of the traditions (hadith) of Muhammad and his companions for the sharia to reach full development.

The first source of law for the sharia is the Quran. For Muslims all aspects of life fall under the purview of the commands of God, for he is the almighty and supreme lawgiver. His will is recorded in the Quran, and so following it is a religious duty of a Muslim. The Quran is thus both scripture and legal document.

The Quran repeatedly orders Muslims to obey Muhammad and states that he is their example. As the Prophet, his functions included explaining and applying the revelations, and acting as the judge for his people. And, since Muhammad was divinely guided, his actions and sayings are God's will. Thus, the conduct of Muhammad, known as the Sunna and transmitted in the form of hadiths (traditions), is also legally binding. In the Sunna, many of the legal subjects of the Quran are elaborated and many others are addressed. Thus, while the Quran is the supreme source of the sharia, many of its laws are derived from and dependent upon the interpretations of the Sunna. There is a considerable range of opinion about the Sunna, even today. For many Muslims the traditions serve only as a general guide; but for just as many, they serve as a source of law second only to the Quran.

There is a hadith that states Muhammad said, "My community will never agree in error." If hadiths are indeed legally binding, then this hadith implies that consensus is an acceptable source of law as well. Thus, whatever is accepted by the entire community as true or prescribed must be treated as true or prescribed.

The fourth source of law is reason by analogy. For example, if the Quran prohibits the use of wine, then narcotics are also, by analogy, prohibited. The principle is that the impairment to one's judgment caused by wine is

## A Selection from *Islamic Jurisprudence*

*In Islamic Jurisprudence Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shafi'i (767–820 CE) explores the sources of Islamic law. The extract below describes the concept of al-Bayan.*

12. Shafi'i said: Al-Bayan is a collective term for a variety of meanings which have common roots but differing ramifications. The least [common denominator] of these linked but diverging meanings is that they are [all] a perspicuous declaration for those to whom they are addressed, and in whose tongue the Qur'an was revealed; they are of almost equal value for these persons, although some declarations were made emphatically clearer than others, though they differed [in clarity] to persons ignorant of the Arab tongue.

13. Shafi'i said: The sum-total of what God has declared to His creatures in His Book, by which He invited them to worship Him in accordance with His prior decision, includes various categories.

One of these is what He has declared to His creatures by texts [in the Qur'an], such as the aggregate of duties owing to Him: That they shall perform the prayer, pay the zakat (alms tax), perform the pilgrimage, and observe the fast. And that He has forbidden disgraceful acts—both visible and hidden—and in the textual [prohibition of] adultery, [the drinking of] wine, eating [the flesh of] dead things and of blood

and pork; and He has made clear to them how to perform the duty of [the major] ablution as well as other matters stated precisely in the text [of the Qur'an].

A second category consists of [those duties] the obligation of which He established in His Book, but the modes of which He made clear by the tongue of His Prophet. The number of prayers [each day] and the [amount of] zakat and their time [of fulfillment] are cases in point; but there are other [similar] duties which He has revealed in His Book.

A third category consists of that which the Apostle of God established by example or exhortation, but in regard to which there is no precisely defined rule from God [in the Qur'an]. For God has laid down in His Book the obligation of obedience to His Apostle and recourse to his decision. So he who accepts it by the obligation imposed by God.

A fourth category consists of what God commanded His creatures to seek through ijihad (personal reasoning) and by it put their obedience to the test exactly as He tried their obedience by other duties which He had ordered them [to fulfil], for the Blessed and Most High said:

Source: Khudduri, M. (Trans.) (1961). *Islamic jurisprudence* (p. 67). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

analogous to that caused by narcotics. If the former is prohibited, then the latter is also.

### **The Major Schools of Law**

That Muslims came to see these four sources as the only legitimate ones is largely due to the work and influence of the great jurist, Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shafi'i (767–820 CE). Prior to him, Muslim rulers had laws in their empires; however, these laws could vary enormously from region to region. Arab tribal law, Quranic prescriptions, and local Byzantine or Sassanian law were used as needed. A rapidly expanding empire and administration forced them to be expedient. In the cities of the empire various law schools were forming. Each of them used slightly different methods and so produced different laws. In Med-

ina a school formed around Malik ibn Anas (c. 715–795 CE), who produced the first Muslim legal compendium, in which he discussed various legal issues by citing the relevant verses from the Quran and hadiths from the Sunna, and then interpreted them in light of consensus of opinion of jurists in Medina. Another important school was formed around the scholar Abu Hanifah (699–767 CE) in Al-Kufa. The cosmopolitan nature of the city and its distance from the Mecca and Medina resulted in many different interpretations of the law. For example, in the case of a wrongful death in Medina, the guilty person's whole tribe was responsible for his actions and had to pay compensation to the family of the dead man. In Medina, Arab tribal ways were still the custom. In Al-Kufa, the Arab tribal system was weakening

and being replaced by new urban social structures. Thus, only the guilty party was responsible for paying the compensation. The Hanafi school in Al-Kufa respected the Quran and Sunna, but was more open to outside influences such as Roman law and the use of reason.

Ash-Shafi'i, seeing these differences, thought that the methods used to produce Islamic laws should be the same from place to place and ruler to ruler because the sharia, as God's law, must itself be uniform. The supremacy of the four sources and yet another school of law, the Shafi'i, developed out of his work. So influential was ash-Shafi'i and his emphasis on the Sunna that both the Maliki and Hanafi schools eventually largely adopted his four-sources model for themselves.

The last of the four schools of law that have survived until today in Sunni Islam is that of Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780–855 CE). Ash-Shafi'i, despite his focus on the Quran and the Sunna as sources of law, represents a compromise between those who used reason as a source and those who rejected it. Ibn Hanbal belonged to this latter group. Each and every law must be rooted in either the Quran or the Sunna. Ibn Hanbal took this principle so seriously that it is said that he refused to eat watermelon because it was not mentioned in the Quran, nor did he know of a tradition from the Sunna that indicated that Muhammad had eaten it. (This is hardly surprising, since watermelon would not have grown in any of the regions in which Muhammad had lived.)

There were several other schools of law in Sunni Islam, but only the Maliki, Hanafi, Shafi'i, and Hanbali survive. The Abbasid dynasty adopted the Hanafi school. It spread to India and from there to east Africa and Southeast Asia. The Ottomans also adopted it and so today it is the law followed by Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and portions of Egypt and North Africa. The Maliki school spread west from his home in Medina to Africa. The Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and parts of Egypt and Nigeria practice Maliki law. The Shafi'i school spread in opposite direction. It began in Egypt but moved to South Arabia, then east along trade routes to the Indian coast and Southeast Asia. Most Muslims of Malaysia, Singa-

pore, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Sri Lanka adhere to the Shafi'i school. The last school to form, the Hanbali, is only practiced in Saudi Arabia.

Islamic law in Shia Islam is different. The Quran and the Sunna are still the most important sources of law. However, Sunnis and Shiites differ on other sources of law in several significant ways. First, the traditions that form the Sunna for Shiite Muslims are different than those for Sunni Muslims. Second, for Shiites the legal opinions of the imams are also binding, for they were guided by God. And third, for Imami (or Twelver) Shiite Muslims (whose imam is hidden) consensus has no legal force, but the use of reason by the top jurists, who are thought to be under the influence of the hidden imam, is encouraged. Today, this school of law continues to be practiced in Iran.

### **The Use of Reason**

Each of the different law schools had a different approach to the use of reason. For some, the use of reason in matters of law was not much different than the scholar's opinion. But this approach was eventually rejected by almost all and the common view was that a jurist had no right to produce law on the basis of what he supposed to be right. Instead, opinion had to be backed by a source such as the Quran or the Sunna. The problem was that if each jurist used his own opinion, the law would not only vary from region to region, but from person to person. And, more importantly, law based on human opinion was not divine law. This use of opinion was strongly opposed by the Shafi'i and Hanbali schools. However, in the early Maliki and Hanafi schools opinion in the form of reason was used, although many of their conclusions were later supported by use of the four sources of Islamic law.

Opinion or judgment was still used in analogy and consensus. That is, the jurist had to determine what was common between a previous case and a new case when an analogy was adduced. (In the example above, it was the impairment caused by both wine and narcotics.) Likewise, consensus as a source of law implies consensus of opinion. However, because of the diversity of Muslims, the use of this method was impractical in all but the

most basic beliefs and practices. In addition, the opinions, or more accurately the formal legal judgments, of Muhammad's companions, such as the rightly guided caliphs, were often considered legally binding.

### **Further Options For the Jurist**

There are two other sources of law that are closely related to each other and to the use of reason. The first allows judges some leeway in the interest of fairness. The jurist is allowed to pick the solution that seems to him the fairest of all possible solutions to a legal case. The second is consideration of public welfare. That is, a regulation that prevents harm to or secures a benefit for the community can be issued by a jurist.

Each of these rational methods is practiced by at least some of the schools of law. None, including the use of analogy, is allowed to infringe on stipulations provided by the Quran and the Sunna. Nor do these methods have relevance when it comes to religious doctrines and practices; such matters are the exclusive jurisdiction of the Quran and the Sunna. However, they do demonstrate that the sharia can be and has been partially adaptable to new situations as they arise, despite the rigid framework that ash-Shafi'i promulgated.

### **Customary Law**

Prior to the revelations to Muhammad, the Arab tribes may not have had a formal legal system, but they did have traditional ways of doing things that, even if they were not written down, did regulate and guide their lives. This Arab tribal custom survived the coming of Islam. In fact, Arab tribal law and perhaps even some of Roman (Byzantine) and Sassanian law as practiced in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq were incorporated into the sharia.

In the sharia, custom is not normally a formal source of law, and when it is, it is not given much prominence. In practice however, it had an enormous impact. Custom was absorbed into the *sharia* in many ways. Sunna not only consists of that which Muhammad said and did, but also that of which he tacitly approved. That is to say, activities of Muslims of Muhammad's time, if he did not

explicitly comment on them, are assumed to have had his silent approval. The Maliki school based in Medina held that as the ones living in the home of the Prophet, they, more than anyone else, practiced the customs of which Muhammad approved. For the founder of the Maliki school, Malik ibn Anas, the local custom of Medina was equated with consensus—since all (Medinan) Muslims agreed on their custom. In this manner more Arab tribal custom entered the sharia.

### **Qanun (Sultanic Prerogative)**

The sharia is normally thought of as encompassing all aspects of life. It provides regulations concerning activities as diverse as performing prayer, paying tithes, getting married, committing adultery, charging interest on loans, receiving inheritance, obeying authorities, and taxing Jews and Christians. The religious, social, economic, and political all fall under the purview of the sharia. And so it is assumed that the sharia regulates all aspects of life. However, the rulers of Muslim territories—caliphs, governors, and later sultans—found that they needed to make their own regulations for activities not addressed by the sharia. These regulations, civil laws, or codes came to be known as Qanun, from a Greek word for imperial taxes.

Qanun (especially in the sense of financial regulations issued by the ruler) began quite early in the Islamic world with the second caliph, 'Umar I (c. 586–644 CE). He decided that the newly conquered land in Iraq that had belonged to the Sassanian state, aristocracy, and priesthood should not be divided among the conquerors, but held for the payment of salaries of Muslims. Likewise, the land tax system 'Umar adopted was based on the Sassanian model. For such practices the sharia is silent, and so there is no conflict between it and Qanun.

From Qanun as financial regulations, which were issued by the caliph or some other ruler, developed the practice of sultans issuing laws not found in the sharia, which they ordered without any consideration for the legal principles that were used to establish laws in the sharia. That they could do so was based on power—their authority as the ruler.

*Tsze-kung asked, saying, "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The Master said, "Is not Reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others."* • CONFUCIUS (551 BCE–479 BCE)

Despite these dictatorial actions by some sultans, the Qanun and the sharia have generally been free of conflict. Originally, Qanun did not trespass into areas where the sharia had jurisdiction. Additionally, in the early years of Islam, there was more allowance for other sources of laws for the sharia. For example, decrees, like those by 'Umar, along with customary law, could be integrated into the law by interpreting them as in accord with the behavior of Muhammad, his companions, and the early Muslim community, and not exclusively that of Muhammad. Also, a product of ash-Shafi'i's reform was to produce a narrower definition of what constituted sharia. As a result, many of the administrative concerns of the caliphs and sultans fell conveniently outside of the sharia's jurisdiction. This suited the sultans, who were eager to increase their own power vis-à-vis that of the caliph, whose duty it was to enforce the sharia. Finally, the right of the sultan to make and enforce law was justified within the sharia by arguing that it served the public interest. And so jurists, and hence the sharia, gave to the sultan the jurisdiction in matters of the military, non-Muslim taxes, conquered land, penal codes, the economy, and any matter on which the sharia was silent. Moreover, the public had a religious duty to follow these orders from the sultan.

### **Sharia and Qanun**

The situation changed somewhat after the fall of the Abbasids in 1258, when the sultan's authority to generate all manner of laws greatly increased. The Turks and the Mongols brought from central Asia a tradition that gave the ruler the power to issue decrees for the sake of justice and the welfare of the state as he saw fit. This form of state law became common in the Ottoman and Mughal empires. Under the Ottoman sultan Süleyman I (1494 or 1495–1566) an official set of Qanun were promulgated in the empire. Generally, a sultan would issue an edict as the need arose. These first applied only to administrative, financial, or penal codes. For example, under the Ottomans, guilds developed codes that judges of the *sharia* implemented. However, later in the Ottoman empire, Qanun also addressed property laws, a subject that

is well covered by the sharia. Some jurists criticized this, as they believed that the sultans were overstepping their rights and could not supersede the *sharia* under any circumstances. Others supported the sultans by invoking legal principles of the good of the community, customary law, or even traditional laws, especially in newly conquered territories.

### **Traditional Laws in African and Asian Societies**

Just as the pre-Islamic Arabs had customary laws, so too did the peoples to whom Islam came later. No less than those of the Arabs, the indigenous customs of these peoples, particularly in Africa, south Asia, and Southeast Asia, were very durable. However, they could not be absorbed into the sharia through Sunna by means of tacit approval and consensus. Nor did these traditional laws, unlike Qanun, try to avoid the jurisdiction of the sharia. The traditions had to stand apart or even in opposition to the sharia. For some Muslim peoples, the social reality did not concur with the religious ideal that the sharia was the sole guide to a Muslim life. Islam became their religion, but not their way of life.

Of course, in reality there was often a compromise between the sharia and custom. At one end of the spectrum, the religious courts that implemented the sharia had largely eliminated local custom, and at the other there may not even have been religious courts, so that all legal matters fell under the purview of customary courts. However, the two could also operate in conjunction, dividing up the legal realm between them. That the sultan had some discretion in this matter made it easier to join traditional laws and the sharia. Occasionally, traditional practices could still be sanctioned by the sharia through the use of various legal means, such as juristic preference and ensuring public welfare. It was also possible for the sharia to function within the established religious courts, but for people to simply ignore the courts in favor of traditional ways. North Africa, India, and Southeast Asia are three regions of the Muslim world where people have often preferred their traditional laws and customs to the all-encompassing claims of the sharia.

And, as we see below, in these contexts, an accommodation was often made between the two legal systems producing unique forms of Islamic law or at least unique ways in which it was enforced.

#### NORTH AFRICA

In North Africa, the sharia and local custom often differed about such matters as marriage, inheritance, and rent for agricultural land. For example, when a Berber man marries, his family makes a payment to the bride's father, not to the bride as specified in the sharia. Nor, in direct contradiction to the Quran and the sharia, is a woman allowed to inherit property under Berber custom. And the Berber practice of renting farmland by paying a percentage of the crops to the owner goes against the sharia's demand for a fixed, predetermined monetary fee. In matters of inheritance, some Berbers simply ignore the religious courts of the sharia in favor of custom, and in the matter of land rental, the sharia courts have come to recognize and administer the customary practice. Of course, this becomes even more complicated because the customs might differ among the Berbers of Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria and even among those of a single country. In other regions of Africa, the sharia and local custom have combined to form a single, composite legal system.

#### INDIA

In India, Muslims have always been a minority among a very large Hindu population. Hindu customs and laws therefore remained dominant even among the Indian Muslims. This is particularly true for inheritance and marriage laws. Several Muslim groups, following certain Hindu practices, excluded females from inheritance. Other Muslims, in the south, did direct inheritance to a woman and her descendants. Both practices violate the strict proportions assigned to various male and female family members by the sharia. Moreover, according to the sharia, no more than one-third of an individual's estate can be assigned by him. This means that at least two-thirds of it must be divided in the stipulated proportions. Again, some Muslims followed the prac-

tice of Hindus, which allows the whole estate to be distributed as desired. With respect to the marriage, Muslim Indians of the South do exchange money, but it is the bride's family who makes a payment to the groom, a custom called dowry. Even the charging of interest on loans, an activity that is expressly forbidden in the sharia, was practiced by some Indian Muslims. Therefore, it seems that for Indian Muslims living in a Hindu society, customary practice was often more compelling than the sharia.

#### SOUTHEAST ASIA

The third region in which the sharia and traditional ways clashed is Southeast Asia. Islam did not come to the region by conquest, so the Islamic legal system was not imposed on the native peoples of what are now Malaysia and Indonesia by force. Thus, unlike Muslims of North Africa and India, where elements of customary practice survive despite the presence of the sharia, Muslims in Southeast Asia continued to follow their traditional customs. For example, the sharia has not overridden the customs of the matrilineal societies on the island of Sumatra. In these societies, unlike in the Middle East, people trace their family ties only through their mother's family. This means that the relatives who matter most when it comes to inheritance are your mother's parents and her brothers and sisters.

### **The Ideal Versus the Reality**

The assertion that the sharia, as God's eternal divine will for humanity, is applicable to all Muslims, at all times, in all places, and in all circumstances remains an ideal, but is often modified by the actual local practice of many Muslims. Customs concerning family and finances, particularly when combined as in issues of inheritance and marriage, tend to have a tenacious hold. Even in Arabia itself some Yemeni tribes refuse to abandon their custom of denying women the right to own property in contradiction to the sharia. Historical factors such as the manner in which Islam was brought to a region and the degree to which people have adopted Islam affect

*He who knows not and knows not he knows not: he is a fool—shun him. He who knows not and knows he knows not: he is simple—teach him. He who knows and knows not he knows: he is asleep—wake him. He who knows and knows he knows: he is wise—follow him.* • ARABIAN PROVERB

whether it is the sharia or customary practice that is followed in daily life.

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See also Islam; Islamic World

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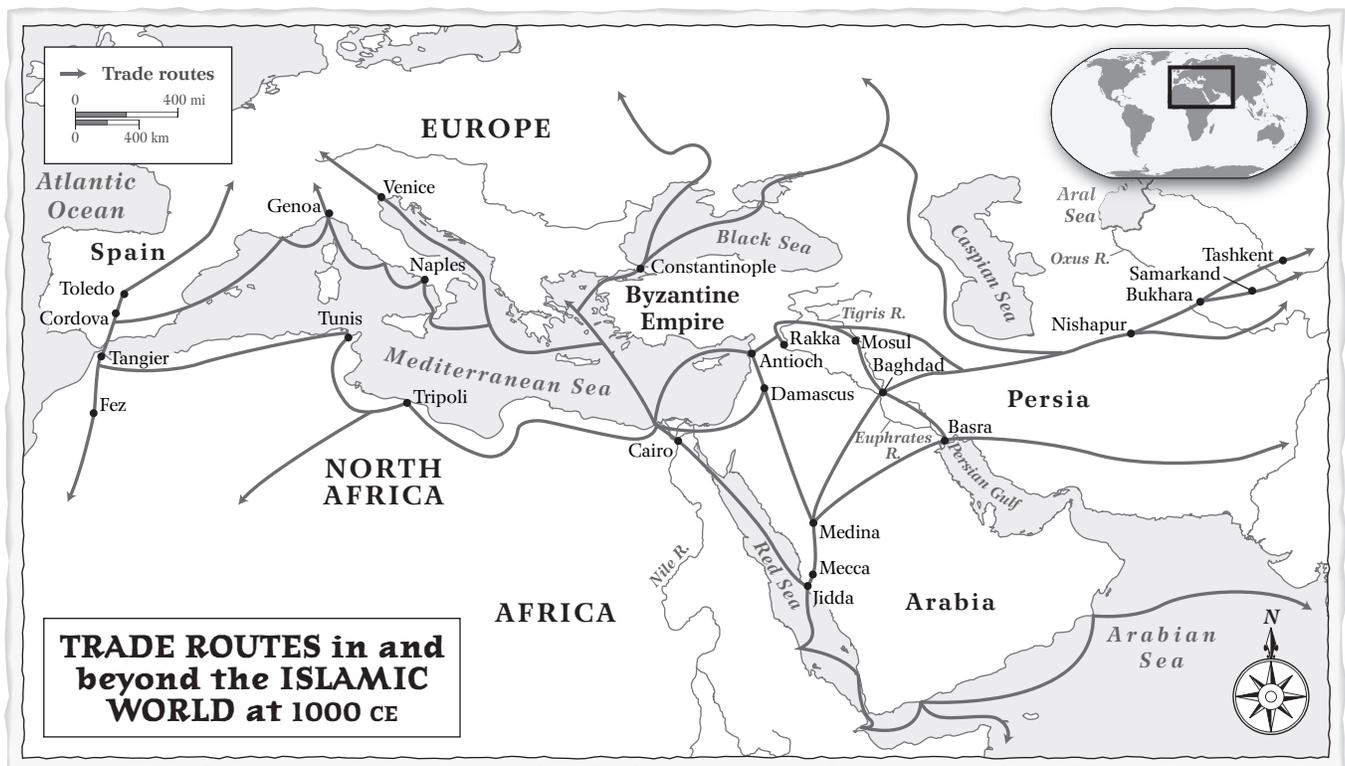
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## Islamic World

The Islamic world is generally defined in the contemporary world as consisting of nation-states whose population contains a majority of Muslims. The individual nations are not all contiguous with one another, although in particular regions, such as the Middle East,





several of them are. It is a world of enormous diversity, including numerous ethnic groups, a wide variety of languages, cultural practices, and social customs. This fact appears to mirror the diversity promised in the Quran as part of the divine design and as a manifestation of divine mercy: “And of His signs,” says the Quran, “is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the diversity of your tongues and colors. Surely there are signs in this for the learned!” (30:22).

### **The Umma**

The term “Islamic world” may be understood to be congruent with the Arabic term *umma*, a nebulous, yet powerfully emotive, concept that has existed since the advent of Islam itself. *Umma* means “community” or “nation,” and in general usage came to refer to the worldwide collectivity of Muslims, regardless of where precisely they lived.

The word *umma* is of Quranic provenance and occurs sixty-two times in the Islamic scripture. In specifically Quranic usage, *umma* does not always refer exclusively to Muslims but to the righteous and godly contingent within a religious community. Thus the righteous members within the religious communities of Jews and Christians comprise “a balanced nation” (in Arabic, *umma muqtasida*, Quran 5:66) and “an upright nation” (Arabic *umma qa’ima*, Quran 3:113). The community of righteous Muslims is described in the Quran as *umma wasat* (“a moderate or middle nation”) and one that summons to the good and enjoins what is right (Quran 3:104). It is

### **A distinctly European view of Muslim society in North Africa in the late 1800s.**

part of the divine plan, the Quran asserts, that there should be a multiplicity of religious communities, for “if He had so willed, He would have made you a single community” (Quran 5:48).

In the Constitution of Medina drawn up after the emigration of the Prophet Muhammad to Medina from Mecca in 622 CE, the Muslims and the Jews there are described as constituting a single community (*umma*) with mutual rights and obligations. After the death of the Prophet in 632 CE, Islam expanded out of the Arabian peninsula into the rest of western Asia and beyond. By the third century of Islam (ninth century of the common era), the Islamic realm stretched from the Indus River in South Asia to the Oxus in Central Asia to Andalusia in southern Europe. In common, extra-Quranic usage, the term *umma* progressively came to refer exclusively to Muslims residing in far-flung lands united by their faith into one transnational and transregional community.

As far as *umma* may be regarded as having a political dimension, some political theorists of the medieval period conceived of this transregional Muslim polity in the following way. Theoretically and ideally speaking, the *umma* would be united under the rule of one ruler, known as the caliph (Arabic *khalifa*, literally “successor” [to the Prophet]), sometimes known as imam. This ruler was conceived of as the first among equals, appointed by at least the tacit consent of the people and granted legitimacy through the formal allegiance of the people of eminence and influence. The caliph was expected to rule his subjects through consultation with the learned among them, and his primary function was to uphold the religious law, maintain law and order in his realm, and fend off outside aggression. As far as their political duties were concerned, the ruled in return were expected to pay their taxes to the state treasury and be loyal to their ruler, so long as he obeyed the religious law. The first four caliphs after the death of Muhammad are idealized as the “rightly guided” because they are perceived to have observed the tenets of good governance, particularly in holding themselves accountable to the people. The period of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs and the constellation of virtues attributed to them had a lasting influence on the

conceptualization of the Muslim polity and its governance. At the very least, it created an ideal against which the performance of later governments could be measured and criticized for failing to live up to it.

By the middle of the eighth century, however, the *umma* had a legitimate caliphate based in Baghdad and a counter-caliphate in Muslim Spain. By the next century, lesser rulers by the title of sultan or emir had emerged, often ruling their territories with some measure of autonomy. By the eleventh century, political theorists started to acknowledge these changed realities and recognized the possibility of having more than one ruler for the Muslim polity, provided that at least a large body of water separated them.

The office of the caliph survived many vicissitudes of fate. It became greatly diminished in the wake of the Mongol depredations in Baghdad in the thirteenth century but enjoyed a resurgence under the Ottomans in the sixteenth century. The Ottomans circulated the story that the last Abbasid caliph (the Abbasids ruled from 749/750 to 1258, with their capital in Baghdad) had transferred the title of the caliphate to them and thus they were entitled to assume the office themselves. The last Ottoman caliph was deposed in 1924 by the Republican Turks, who abolished the caliphate.

The caliph, as at least the titular head of the worldwide Muslim polity, manifested the symbolic unity of the Islamic realm. And despite the diversity of cultures and languages in different parts of the Islamic world that were often politically autonomous, there was indeed a unity in terms of shared religious observances, social customs, and a distinctive way of viewing the world. The term *Islam* refers not only to the religion but to a civilization with a specific yet varied constellation of values. Islamic civilization was (and largely remains) multicultural, multiethnic, and multireligious. Not only Arabs, but Persians, Indians, Africans, Chinese, Malays, and others have been an integral part of it, as have Jews and Christians, in addition to Muslims. We call the civilization and its world Islamic because all these people lived (and continue to a certain extent to do so) under the aegis of various Islamic administrations, not necessarily

## The Prophet's Mission

*Ibn Ishaq (d.c. 768) was the first writer to take the stories about the Prophet Muhammad and weave them into a narrative. In this extract from Ibn Ishaq's Biography of the Messenger of God, Muhammad's mission and covenant is described.*

When Muhammad the apostle of God reached the age of forty God sent him in compassion to mankind, "as an evangelist to all men." Now God had made a covenant with every prophet whom he had sent before him that he should believe in him, testify to his truth and help him against his adversaries, and he required of them that they should transmit that to everyone who believed in them, and they carried out their obligations in that respect. God said to Muhammad, "When God made a covenant with the prophets (He said) this is the scripture and wisdom which I have given you, afterwards an apostle will come confirming what you know that you may believe in him and help him." He said, "Do you accept this and take up my burden?" i.e. the burden of my agreement which I have laid upon you. They said, "We accept it." He answered, "Then bear witness and I am a witness with you." Thus God made a covenant with all the prophets that they should testify to his truth and help him against his adversaries and they transmitted that obligation to those who believed in them among the two monotheistic religions.

Ishaq, I. (1955). *Biography of the messenger of God* (p. 104). Lahore, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.

because they adhered to the religion of Islam. The inhabitants of the Islamic world did (and do) subscribe to certain common Islamic civilizational values and ideas, however, such as charity, hospitality, and patronage of learning, which created (and creates) a sense of group solidarity and a shared identity.

## Dar al-Islam

The world of Islam was also conceived of in specifically territorial terms, especially by the medieval jurists. They coined the term *dar al-Islam*, referring to the "abode" or

“territory of Islam,” opposed to which was the *dar al-harb*, the “abode” or “territory of war.” The celebrated jurist ash-Shafi’i (d. 820 CE) added a third category: the abode or territory of treaty or reconciliation. These concepts and terms are not to be found in the Quran nor in the prophetic sunna (sayings and practices of Muhammad); rather, they reflect the legal and political pragmatism of these jurists, who wished to make sense of and impose moral order on the historical reality of their times.

In this, they were following a time-honored custom of defining themselves and the polity they inhabited by demarcating the limits of the civilized world as they knew it from the realm of disorder and moral chaos. Greeks in classical antiquity saw themselves as the very antithesis of all non-Greeks, whom they termed barbarians; similarly, the pre-Islamic Arabs set themselves apart from the uncivilized non-Arabs. Among earlier religious communities, the Jews separated themselves from the impure non-Jews and the Christian regarded the unsaved infidel as beyond the pale. For the Muslim jurists of this period, the territory of Islam represented all that was lawful and morally right in God’s world, being under the governance of God’s law. Beyond its confines, the rest of the world was in need of divine guidance and, ideally speaking, through propagation of the message of Islam or by acknowledging the suzerainty of the Muslim ruler, could in time (so it was hoped) be brought into the abode of Islam. Such a world vision was created by the spectacular spread of Islamic dominion in the few decades after the Prophet’s death, which tended to foster a sense of the inevitable and ultimate triumph of Islam. Such a worldview, however, did not include the forcible conversion of nonbelievers, strictly forbidden in the Quran (2:256), but only their political capitulation, preferably peacefully, but through military means if necessary. Thus although Egypt and Syria were conquered militarily by the Arabs in the late seventh century, the native populations remained largely Christian until about the tenth century. Similarly, the military conquest of the western Indian province of Sind was followed by the extension of the status of “protected people” (*ahl al-dhimma*) to Hindus, a status traditionally reserved under Islamic Law for Jews and Chris-

tians, which allowed them to continue to practice their Hindu faith in return for fealty to the new Muslim administration. Such imperial designs were not supported by all jurists; dissenting jurists and many ordinary pious Muslims were aghast at the notion of offensive military activity that could be justified by the invocation of an assumed confrontational bipolar world.

By roughly the twelfth century, these terms had begun to lose their efficacy and began to be redefined in response to changed historical and political realities. The Muslim polity had become quite fractured, having split into several autonomous realms with independent rulers who sometimes fought with one another. Muslims also sometimes traveled to non-Muslim territories and settled there. The question was posed: Were these realms and Muslims no longer to be regarded as a part of *dar al-Islam*? In recognition of the changed situation, some jurists in this period formed the opinion that non-Muslim territory in which Muslims were free to practice their religion could be subsumed under the rubric of *dar al-Islam*. Thus, already in the medieval period, we see a broadening of the concept of the Islamic world to include not only countries and regions where Muslims predominated but also territories which included minority Muslim populations who were not impeded in the practice of their faith. In a similar vein, in our contemporary period, the term *Islamic world* now includes not only the traditional heartlands of Islam but also Europe and North America, both of which have sizeable minority Muslim populations. This may be understood to reflect a resurgence of the concept of the worldwide *umma*, signaling certain shared values and common religious observances among Muslims regardless of where they may be located and whether they are under the political jurisdiction of a Muslim ruler or not.

## **The Contemporary Islamic World**

The vast majority of Muslims today are concentrated in South and Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa, with sizeable minority populations in the rest of Africa and Asia, Europe, and North America. Islam has

been described as the fastest growing religion in the world today, with currently about 1.2 billion adherents. Although the Islamic world is seemingly disparate and even divisive, it is still possible to speak of it as cohesive at a certain level.

Shared traumatic experiences under Western colonial rule have forged at least formal alliances among a number of the Islamic countries (and also with other Third World countries that underwent similar experiences). Many in the Islamic world today continue to feel very vulnerable and under assault from secular modernity, economic globalization, and Western cultural mores, sometimes regarded as a continuation of the previous era of physical colonization, and thus termed neo-imperialism or neocolonization. Elements in Islamic societies have become radicalized due to a sense of impotency vis-à-vis the status quo in the postcolonial world. These radical elements have attempted to assert a highly politicized and in some cases highly militant Islamic identity in an effort to resist Western-generated globalization and secularization, and, one might say, the economic and cultural “occupa-

tion” of the Islamic world. From time to time, these elements have caused and continue to cause great havoc both in their own societies, since they oppose many of the local ruling elites (whom they regard with some justification as the willing clients of the West), and beyond. The vast majority of the people in the Islamic world do not endorse their bloody tactics, but the economic and political frustration of the radical elements often resonates with them.

A worldwide body claims to speak on behalf of Muslim peoples everywhere today and may be regarded as a modern-day concretization of the nebulous concept of the *umma*. This body, known as the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), has fifty-seven members that represent countries with majority Muslim populations plus three observer states. Established on 25 September 1969 in Rabat, Morocco, it regards itself as “the concrete expression of a great awareness, on the part of the Ummah, of the necessity to establish an organization embodying its aspirations”(OIC, [www.oic-oci.org](http://www.oic-oci.org)). Moreover, the Organization represents the desire on the

part of the member states to “speak with one voice to safeguard the interest and ensure the progress and well-being of their peoples and those of other Muslims” (Organization of Islamic Conference, [www.oic-oci.org](http://www.oic-oci.org)) throughout the world. The political leaders of the member states meet once a year in a major Islamic capital city. Certainly, the Organization may be regarded as a microcosm of the Islamic world, seeking to define a commonality of interests, mediate internal conflicts, and articulate a unified position on many current issues and political disputes. In recent years, the Organization has taken specific stands on global issues such as the Persian Gulf war, the United Nations’ peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Its effectiveness in both intra-Muslim affairs and global politics has been marginal to date but the OIC retains credibility as the sole organization which publicly articulates universal Islamic claims and aspirations and attempts to make them part of the global discourse.

*Asma Afsaruddin*

*See also* Akbar; al-Khwaizmi; al-Razi; Arab Caliphates; Arab League; Aurangzeb; Harun al-Rashid; Ibn Battuta; Ibn Khaldun; Ibn Sina; Islamic Law; Mansa Musa; Mehmed II; Mughal Empire; Osman II; Orientalism; Rumi; Saladin; Suleyman; Sokoto Caliphate; ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab; Warfare—Islamic World

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## Jainism

The Jain tradition arose in India more than 2,500 years ago. The great Jain teacher Mahavira Vardhamana (c. 500 BCE) was a contemporary of the Buddha, and both taught a doctrine grounded in renunciation of worldly concerns. Starting around 300 BCE, two strands of Jainism arose: the Digambara group, found mainly in south and central India, and the Svetambara group, found mainly in western and northern India. The Digambara require total nudity for their most advanced monks and claim that women must be reborn as men to achieve liberation (*kevala*). The Svetambara allow their monks and nuns to remain clothed in white and allow for the possibility of women's ascent to the highest spiritual realms. Most Jains follow a lay life and have excelled in business, particularly in publishing, pharmaceuticals, the diamond trade, marble, and textiles. Although many Jains self-identify with the larger Hindu tradition, census figures place the Jain population at between 4 and 6 million.

Jainism emphasizes the teaching of nonviolence (*ahimsa*). According to the tradition, karmic particles adhere to the soul, obscuring its true nature. By the progressive application of five ethical vows, one is able to diminish and eventually expel the influence of karma, resulting in spiritual liberation. Twenty-four great teachers (*tirthankara*) are said to have attained this goal and set an example for others through their teachings. The most recent of these teachers is Mahavira. His immediate predecessor was Parshvanatha (c. 800 BCE). The first great teacher is known as Adinath, or Rishibha, who is said to have



established agriculture, kingship, marriage, and the spiritual path.

The earliest extant Jain text is the *Acaranga Sutra* (c. 400 BCE), written in the Prakrit language and revered by the Svetambara community. It provides detailed instructions on how to practice the five great vows: nonviolence (*ahimsa*), truthfulness (*satya*), not stealing (*asteya*), celibacy (*brahmacarya*), and nonpossession (*aparigraha*). Both traditions agree on the intricate Jain theory of karma and cosmology outlined by the scholar Umasvati in his *Tattvartha Sutra*, a Sanskrit text written in the fifth century BCE.

This text proclaims that countless individual life forces (*jiva*) have existed since the beginning of time. They take many interchangeable forms and are found in the four elements of earth, water, fire, and air, as well as in microorganisms (*nigodha*), plants, and animals. At the point of death, the life force moves from one body to the next, depending on its karmic constitution. The goal of Jainism entails an elevation of consciousness about one's karma, leading to birth in a human body, and the adoption of a nonviolent lifestyle that will ultimately free a person from all karmic entanglements. At this final stage of blessedness, one ascends to the realm of perfection (*siddha-loka*) wherein one dwells eternally observing the machinations of the world but never again succumbing to its allurements. The twenty-four great teachers, or *tirthankaras*, of Jainism all are said to have attained this state, along with an undetermined number of saints.

Umasvati categorized forms of life according to the number of senses they carry. Earth bodies hold only the sense of touch, as do plants. Worms add taste to the sense

of touch. Bugs possess touch, taste, and the capacity to smell. Winged insects add the ability to see. More complex beings such as reptiles, mammals, and fish, can also hear and think. As such, these life forms develop moral agency, and can make clear decisions about their behavior. Jain cosmology imbues all aspects of the world that surrounds us with feelings and consciousness. The earth we tread upon, the water we drink, the air we inhale, the chair that supports us, the light that illumines our day—all these entities feel us through the sense of touch, though we might seldom acknowledge their presence. Humans, as living, sensate, sentient beings, have been given the special task and responsibility of growing in awareness and appreciation of these other life forms, and acting accordingly. Humans have the opportunity to cultivate ethical behavior that engenders respect toward the living, breathing, conscious beings that suffuse the universe. Consequently, the Jain community maintains thousands of animal shelters (*pinjrapole*), particularly in western India.

The Jain tradition emphasizes in great detail the perils of karma and urges people to avoid all forms of harm. A traditional tale warns against the wanton destruction of trees, while simultaneously explaining the mechanics of karma:

A hungry person with the most negative black *lesya* karma uproots and kills an entire tree to obtain a few mangoes. The person of blue karma fells the tree by chopping the trunk, again merely to gain a handful of fruits. Fraught with gray karma, a third person spares the trunk but cuts off the major limbs of the tree. The one with orangish-red karma carelessly and needlessly lops off several branches

## When and Where World Religions Began

4000–2500 BCE	Hinduism	South Asia
1300–1200 BCE	Judaism	West Asia
500–400 BCE	Buddhism	South Asia
	Confucianism	China
	Zoroastrianism	West Asia
	Jainism	South Asia
400–221 BCE	Daoism	China
1st century CE	Christianity	West Asia, Europe
3rd century CE	Manichaeism	West Asia
6th century CE	Shinto	Japan
7th century CE	Islam	West Asia
11th century	Orthodoxy	West Asia
15th–16th century	Sikhism	South Asia
16th century	Protestantism	Europe
19th century	Latter-day Saints	North America
	Babi and Baha'i	West Asia
19th–20th century	Pentecostalism	North America

to reach the mangoes. The fifth, exhibiting white or virtuous karma, “merely picks up ripe fruit that has dropped to the foot of the tree” (Jaini, J.: 47).

Trees were not to be regarded covetously for their fruits, but like all life forms were to be given respect and treated without inflicting harm. This ethic of care was to be extended to the entire biotic community, engendering awareness of and sensitivity to the precious nature of life.

During the period of the Islamic incursion into India, the Jain community was often in retreat, with some of its temples taken over and converted into mosques. However, some Jain monks helped exert nonviolent influence within the Islamic world. In 1591 Jinacandrasuri II (1531–1613), a leader of the Khartar Gacch of the Svetambaras, traveled to Lahore, where he greatly influenced the Mughal emperor Akbar the Great. He gained protection for Jain pilgrimage places, as well as legal protection ensur-

ing that Jain ceremonies would not be hindered. He even lent support to Jain advocacy for animals, and forbade the slaughter of animals for one week each year.

Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), who liberated India from British colonialism through the enactment of non-violent principles, was deeply influenced by the Jain tradition. He eschewed all forms of violence and even titled his lengthy autobiography after the second Jain vow: *Satyagraha or My Experiments with Truth*. He learned of Jainism during his childhood in Gujarat, an Indian state with a large Jain presence, and from Raichandra, a prominent Jain lay teacher.

A modern-day example of Jain activism can be found in the work of Acharya Tulsi (1914–1997) and his successor, Acarya Mahaprajna, both leaders of the Svetambara Therpanthi movement. In June of 1945, deeply disturbed by the Second World War, he issued a nine point declaration of the basic principles of nonviolence including guidelines for both individuals and governments.

The Jain community remained largely within India exclusively until the twentieth century, when many Jains migrated to East Africa, Britain, and North America. Today, this diaspora community tends to identify readily with values centered on environmental protection. Anne Vallely notes that “rather than through the idiom of self-realization or the purification of the soul, ethics are being expressed through a discourse of environmentalism and animal rights” (Vallely 2000, 193). These values are expressed through such journals as *Resurgence*, edited by former Jain monk Satish Kumar, and *Jain Spirit: Sharing Jain Values Globally*, edited by a lay Jain scholar, Atul Shah. Extensive websites buttress the new global reach of the Jain community, which continues to espouse vegetarianism and animal activism as key components of its ethical expression.

Jain cosmology asserts that the world consists of myriad souls all seeking their own way. Through mistakes of karma, their karma becomes thick and entrenched. Through acts of benevolence, their karmic burden becomes lighter. By the adoption of a strict moral code grounded in nonviolence, Jains seek to shed their karmic cloak. This practice requires a clear understanding of what

constitutes life, and how one can cultivate care and concern in one's encounters with all forms of life. By careful dietary observance and restriction of acquisitiveness, the soul gradually detaches itself from the clutches of karma. This process also benefits others, in that through the abatement of one's greed, others can live more freely. As age-old problems of human conflict and more contemporary problems of environmental mismanagement become more pressing, the abstemious lifestyle offered by the Jains may become increasingly instructive to those seeking peace and environmental protection.

*Chris Chapple*

*See also Mahavira*

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## Japanese Empire

When Emperor Meiji ascended Japan's imperial throne in 1868, many areas of Asia were being conquered, bought, co-opted, or otherwise dominated by Europeans and Americans. In order to protect their country from the threat posed by these Western imperial powers, Japan's leaders established and consolidated their national boundaries in the 1870s by incorporating the large northern island of Hokkaido (home of the Ainu people), Okinawa and the Ryukyu Islands to the south, and the smaller Bonin Islands to the southeast within Japan's long-established territorial space of Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu islands. They also encouraged an

emergent sense of imperial nationalism, and the government adopted the slogan "rich nation, strong army" (*fukoku kyōhei*) while developing an industrial economy and creating a strong military based on Western strategy and Western weapons. Japan's newly refurbished military forces were initially used against internal rebellions, but its first real test was on the Asian continent.

### Korea and the First Sino-Japanese War

Japan's leaders had long considered the Korean peninsula a strategic area needing diplomatic attention and possibly military control. Korea's geographic proximity made it both vulnerable and potentially threatening. In 1274 and 1281 Mongol ruler Khubilai Khan (1215–1294) attempted invasions of Japan from Korea, and in the 1590s the Japanese warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536/7–1598) launched two invasions of Korea, causing massive death and destruction.

Nominally led by the native Yi imperial family, Korea had a tributary relationship with China that allowed Qing imperial rulers in Beijing to control Korea's foreign affairs. Russia was interested in Korea as a Pacific Ocean terminus for its mammoth Trans-Siberian Railroad. Japan forced a commercial treaty and then a political treaty on Korea (with China's reluctant acquiescence) in 1876 and 1884. Nevertheless, the much larger countries of China and Russia remained potential threats to Japan's strategic interests in Korea. When the internal Tonghak Rebellion grew too large for the Korean government to handle in 1894, they called in Chinese troops. Alarmed, the Japanese army immediately landed its own troops on the Korean peninsula, and war soon broke out between China and Japan. The Chinese and Korean forces were no match for Japan's modern troops and weapons.

### The Treaty of Shimonoseki and the Triple Intervention

As a result of the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) that ended the war, China paid Japan a hefty indemnity, Korea was declared independent of Chinese control (and thus easier for Japan to influence), and Formosa (present-day

## The Treaty of Shimonoseki

*The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 ended with a Treaty of Peace between China and Japan in April 1895. It was an important victory for the Japanese and a humiliation for China and has contributed to the long-term mistrust between the two nations.*

His Majesty the Emperor of China and His Majesty the Emperor of Japan desiring to restore the blessings of peace to their countries and subjects and to remove all cause for future complications, have named as their Plenipotentiaries for the purpose of concluding a Treaty of peace; that is to say, His Majesty the Emperor of China, Li Hung-chang, Senior Tutor to the Heir Apparent, Senior Grand Secretary of State, Minister Superintendent of Trade for the Northern Ports of China, Viceroy of the Province of Chihli, and Earl of the First Rank, and Li Cing-Long, Ex-Minister to the Diplomatic Service, of the Second Official Rank; and His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Count Iro Hirobumi, Junii, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Paulownia, Minister President of State, and Viscount Mutsu Munemitsu, Junii, First Class of the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs; who, after having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in good and proper form, have agreed to the following Articles:—

Article I. Independence of Korea. China recognizes definitely the full and complete independence and autonomy of Korea, and in consequence the payment of tribute and the performance of ceremonies and formalities by Korea to China, in derogation of such independence and autonomy, shall wholly cease for the future.

Article II. Cession of part of Fengtien Province. China cedes to Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty the following territories, together with all fortifications, arsenals, and public property thereon:

(a) The southern portion of the province of Fengtien, within the following boundaries:—

The line of demarcation begins at the mouth of the River Yalu and ascends that stream to the mouth of the River An-ping; from thence the line runs to Fenghuang; from thence to Haicheng; from thence to Ying-kow, forming a line which describes the southern portion of the territory. The places above named are included in the ceded territory. When the line reaches the River Liao at Ying-kow, it follows the course of that stream to its mouth where it terminates. The mid-channel of the River Liao shall be taken as the line of demarcation.

This cession also includes all islands appertaining or belonging to the province of Fengtien, situated in the eastern portion of the Bay of Liao-tung and in the northern part of the Yellow Sea.

(b) The island of Formosa, together with all islands appertaining or belonging to said island of Formosa.

(c) The Pescadores Group, that is to say, all islands lying between the 119th and 120th degrees of longitude east of Greenwich and the 23rd and 24th degrees of north latitude.

Article III. Delimitation of ceded territory. The alignments of the Frontiers described in the preceding Article and shown on the annexed map, shall be subject to the verification and demarcation on the spot, by a Joint Commission of Delimitation consisting of two or more Chinese and two or more Japanese Dele-

Taiwan) and the Liaodong Peninsula, in northeastern China across the Korea Bay from Korea, were ceded to Japan. But the treaty's terms upset Russia, Germany, and France, who did not want Japan firmly entrenched on the strategically important peninsula close to their own treaty areas in China. They demanded that Japan return the Liaodong Peninsula or face war against the three of them. Russia, the driving force behind this "triple intervention,"

also did not want to allow Japan more territory bordering its interests in Manchuria. Unable to gain support from the British or Americans to counter the triple intervention, Japan grudgingly gave in.

Nevertheless, this first successful overseas test of Japan's newly modernized military, followed by its participation in suppressing China's anti-foreign Boxer Rebellion of 1900–1901, demonstrated to Japan's polit-

gates to be appointed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this Act. In case the boundaries laid down in this act are found to be defective at any point, either on account of topography or in consideration of good administration, it shall also be the duty of the Delimitation Commission to rectify the same.

The Delimitation Commission will enter upon its duties as soon as possible and will bring its labors to a conclusion within the period of one year after appointment.

The alignments laid down in this Act shall, however, be maintained until the rectifications of the Delimitation Commission, if any are made, shall have received the approval of the Governments of China and Japan.

Article IV. War Indemnity to Japan. China agrees to pay to Japan as a war indemnity the sum of 200,000,000 Kuping Taels. The said sum is to be paid in eight installments, the first installment of 50,000,000 Taels to be paid within six months and the second installment of 50,000,000 Taels to be paid within twelve months after the exchange of the ratifications of this Act. The remaining sum to be paid in six equal installments as follows: The first of such equal installments to be paid within two years; the second within three years; the third within four years; the fourth within five years; the fifth within six years; and the sixth within seven years, after the exchange of the ratifications of this Act. Interest at the rate of 5 per centum per annum shall begin to run on all unpaid portions of the said Indemnity from the date the first installment falls due.

Source: MacMurray, J. V. A. (Ed.). (1921). *Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China, 1894-1919* (pp. 18–19). New York: Oxford University Press.

ical and military leaders the weakness and disarray of the once mighty China—vulnerabilities that Japan would later exploit more fully.

## **The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905**

Still smoldering over the triple intervention and subsequent occupation of the Liaodong Peninsula by Russian

troops, Japan launched a surprise attack against Russia on 8 February 1904, sinking most of Russia's Asian fleet at Port Arthur on Liaodong. Two days later, Japan declared war. Japanese and Russian ground troops fought difficult, bloody battles, with Japan finally taking the important junction of Mukden (Shenyang), directly north of the Liaodong Peninsula, in March 1905. In May 1905, Russian naval forces sent from the Baltic were devastated by the Japanese navy, led by Admiral Togo Heihachiro (1848–1934), at the Tsushima Straits. Defeated on land and especially at sea, and having to deal with anti-Czarist revolution at home, the Russian imperial government agreed to peace negotiations with Japan. The Russo-Japan War, concluded by the Portsmouth Treaty of 1905, and mediated by U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt, was a tremendous victory for Japan. Japan regained the Liaodong Peninsula, Russian interests in southern Manchuria were transferred to Japan, the southern portion of Sakhalin Island was ceded to Japan, and Korea was recognized as under Japan's political and economic control. Japan declared Korea a protectorate territory in 1905 and formally annexed the peninsula in 1910. A nonwhite country militarily defeating a major Western and largely white country was disturbing for Westerners, with their entrenched notions of racial superiority. In Japan, by contrast, the war led to a dramatic upsurge of nationalist sentiment, and across East Asia Tokyo was regarded as a mecca for young, energetic Asians who wanted to learn how to build an economy and military that could stand up to the West.

## **Japan's Empire During World War I**

Japan entered World War I (1914–1918) on the side of the Allies (Britain, France, Russia, the United States, and Italy) because of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. Japan supplied the Allies with armaments and nonmilitary supplies, but took no active part in the war in Europe. However, Japan did use its military forces to occupy German-controlled islands in the South Pacific and occupied the Shandong territory in China previously controlled by Germany. Japan also issued the "Twenty One



**A Shinto temple in Japan. Shinto has for centuries been closely associated with the Japanese state.**

Demands,” a set of political, economic, and military concessions it demanded from China. China received little outside help from the Allies, who were preoccupied with the war in Europe, and was forced to agree to a slightly reduced set of Japanese demands.

Immediately after King Kojong (1852–1919), the last Korean emperor, died, many Koreans planned a peaceful demonstration against Japanese rule to coincide with the funeral ceremonies on 1 March 1919. Japanese colonial authorities in Korea, drawn primarily from military forces, brutally crushed the largely peaceful demonstrations. Approximately seven thousand Koreans were killed and tens of thousands were injured. Barely two months later, on 4 May, anti-Japanese sentiment exploded in China when the Paris Peace Conference announced that Japan would maintain control of Shandong. Chinese university students, workers, shopkeepers, writers, and artists participated in marches, demonstrations, and anti-Japanese boycotts in Beijing and throughout many of China’s cities for several days before order was restored. These two events became important nationalist symbols for generations of Koreans and Chinese, respectively.

### **The Washington Conference and the 1920s**

In order to deal with territorial, economic, and military disarmament issues that the Paris Peace Conference bypassed, some of the Allied powers met in Washington, D.C., from December 1921 to February 1922 to ham-

mer out a series of agreements. The United States, Britain, France, and Japan first agreed to a “Four Power Pact” confirming the status quo regarding one another’s Pacific territories. Next, a “Five Power Treaty” limiting the construction of naval capital ships—battleships and cruisers—was agreed by the United States, Britain, Japan, France, and Italy. Japan reluctantly agreed

to this naval limitation treaty after receiving assurances it could substitute newer ships in the planning stages for older ships slated for decommissioning. Participants also agreed to a “Nine Power Treaty” guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China and establishing an “open door” policy that granted all signatories equal economic opportunities in China.

The agreements of the Washington Conference were substantial and limited military construction and military confrontations among the major powers for a decade or more. Nevertheless, many nationalists in Japan believed the treaties adversely affected Japan’s imperial interests and claimed their representatives to the conference did not adequately consult the military—even though one of the three Japanese representatives was the highly decorated Admiral Kato Tomosaburo (1861–1923). At the London Naval Conference in 1930, the naval limitations treaty was renewed despite strenuous opposition from the Japanese navy. Hamaguchi Osachi (1870–1931), the prime minister who forced Japan’s parliament (the Diet) to accept the treaty, was assassinated by a civilian ultranationalist.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Congress approved the Oriental Exclusion Act as part of its 1924 Immigration Bill. As a result of the new law, Japanese immigrants were excluded from the United States and its territories, including Hawaii. Both the Japanese ambassador to Washington and the U.S. ambassador to Tokyo resigned in protest. The Oriental Exclusion Act raised nationalism in Japan

to a dangerous level, and significantly damaged United States-Japan relations for many years.

### **Manchuria- Manchukuo**

Japan had long been interested in Manchuria for its raw materials (especially mineral resources), agricultural goods, as a destination for Japanese immigrants, and as a strategic buffer between Japan's Korean colony and China and Russia. Despite attempts by Japan's foreign minister Kijuro Shidehara (1872–1951) to promote Japan's interests on the Asian continent through conciliatory means, ideological and military hardliners used the rising tide of nationalism and the economic problems of the 1920s to agitate for more direct intervention. In June 1928, members of the Japanese army stationed on the Liaodong Peninsula assassinated Zhang Zuolin (1873–1928), the Chinese warlord controlling most of Manchuria. Then in September 1931, Japanese soldiers blew up a section of the South Manchurian Railway near Muk-

den. Claiming the explosion was set by Chinese troops, Japanese troops took Mukden, and with reinforcements sent from Korea fought and occupied most of the



**This woodcut from the late 1900s shows Japanese interest in the outside world—ships sailing around a South American island, an orchid from Borneo, and French steeplechase racers.**

important cities and areas along the South Manchurian Railway. Japanese troops in the field ignored orders from superiors in Tokyo to cease fighting, continuing until most of Manchuria was occupied.

The Japanese government in Tokyo reluctantly accepted this fait accompli and declared Manchuria the “independent” nation of Manchukuo in early 1932. The League of Nations refused to accept Manchukuo as an independent nation and condemned Japan’s actions in Manchuria. In response, Japan quit the League of Nations.

Manchukuo was ostensibly led by Pu Yi (1906–1967), the last emperor of China, who had abdicated in 1912. However, the administration of the country was controlled by Japanese military and civilian officials, with Japanese forces in charge of security. The South Manchurian Railway Company and the Manchurian Heavy Industries Corporation led economic development efforts in the region and promoted Japanese immigration to Manchuria. Manchukuo was seen by many Japanese officials as “the jewel in the crown” of their empire.

### **Assassinations and Military Control**

Japan’s increasing nationalism, coupled with the severe economic problems caused by the worldwide depression following the October 1929 stock market crash on Wall Street and the controversy over Manchuria, led to assassinations of prominent business and political leaders and military domination of the Japanese government. In early 1932, the head of the Mitsui conglomerate was assassinated, as was the former governor of the Bank of Japan (then serving as finance minister), both by a civilian ultranationalist group. Those killings were followed by the assassination of Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855–1932), whom young army and navy officers killed because he had voiced opposition to the army’s actions in Manchuria.

On 26 February 1936, young Japanese army officers who wanted to restore rule to the emperor led more than a thousand soldiers in an attempted coup of the Japanese government. They assassinated four top officials, including the finance minister, and only narrowly missed the prime minister. The attempted coup was stopped

after four days when Emperor Hirohito (1901–1989; reigned 1926–1989) made clear that he was opposed to what coup leaders were doing in his name. The overall effect of the assassinations of the 1930s, however, was to stifle civilian complaints about the military in general and especially political dissent concerning the military’s expanding operations on the Asian continent.

### **The Second Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1945**

On 7 July 1937, a shooting incident between Japanese army troops and Chinese troops near the Marco Polo Bridge outside of Beijing soon led to full-scale war in China. By the fall, Japanese troops were fighting Chinese Nationalist (Guomindang) troops in Shanghai, where they killed thousands of Chinese civilians.

After capturing Nanjing, the Nationalist capital, in early December 1937 Japanese troops went on a rampage of slaughter and rape. Chinese troops were summarily executed after surrendering. But the vast majority of those killed were civilians—old men, women, and children. The number killed by Japanese troops in the area of Nanjing from December 1937 to February 1938 is still a matter of considerable controversy. Based on eyewitness reports from surviving Chinese, Western missionaries, and even from Japanese soldiers who participated in the massacre, the Tokyo War Crimes Trials following World War II calculated the number of Chinese deaths at Nanjing to be more than 200,000—one of the worst atrocities of the twentieth century.

By the end of 1938, the Japanese military controlled most of the eastern region of China and began running the area as an informal colony. The Japanese convinced former Nationalist leader Wang Jingwei (1883–1944) to head the puppet government there. Meanwhile, the Chinese Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) and his forces set up their wartime government and military headquarters at Chongqing, a city deep in China’s heartland and protected from large-scale Japanese attacks by wide rivers and mountains. The Chinese Communists, led by Mao Zedong (1893–1976), became increasingly effective with guerrilla-style attacks against Japanese forces.

By 1941, it was clear that despite Japan's military superiority, the vast geographic area of China and its enormous population united against the Japanese made the prospects of Japanese victory dim. In China and Manchuria, Japanese military operations were consuming ever larger amounts of oil, steel, rubber, and food. In 1939 Japanese forces tried to gain access to more raw materials by pushing north into Soviet-controlled Mongolia but suffered heavy losses at Nomonhan before reaching a cease-fire agreement. Military and political leaders in Tokyo then made a fateful decision to advance into Southeast Asia.

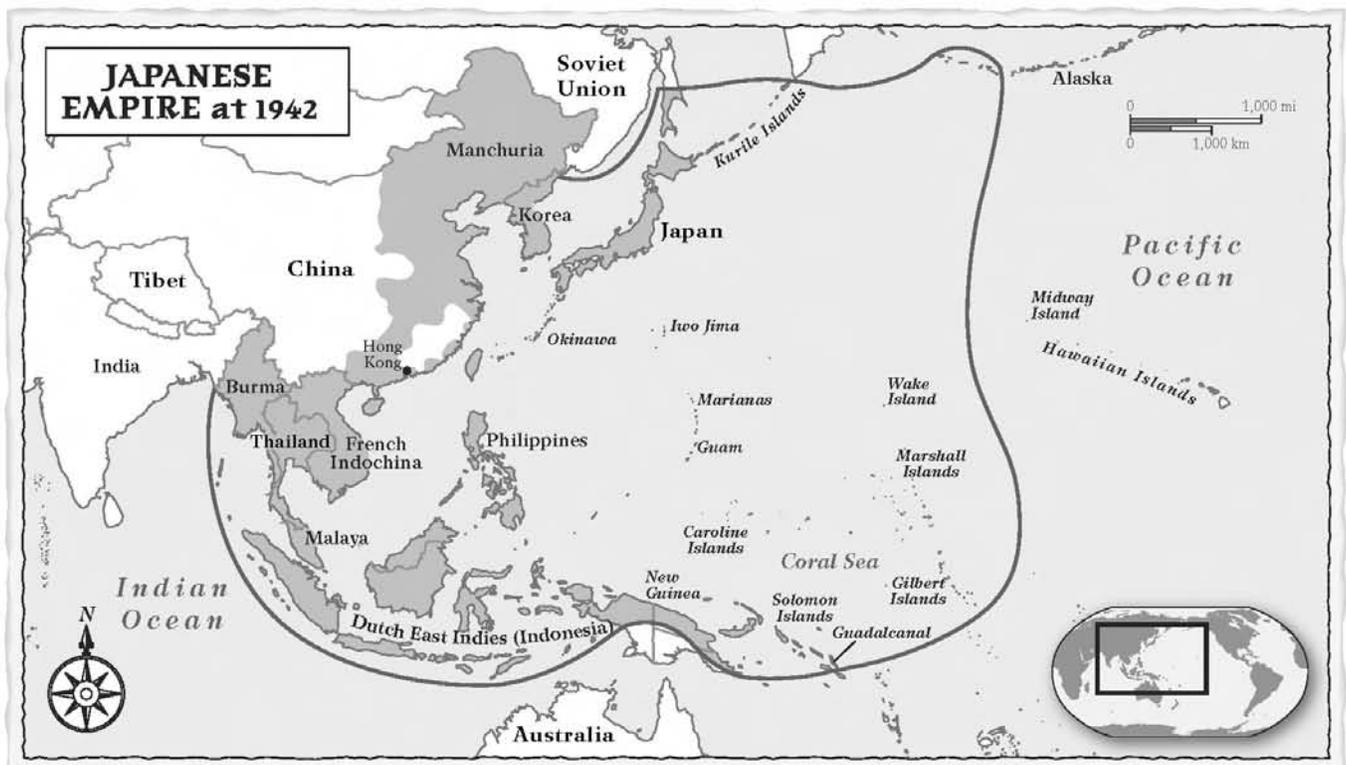
**The Pacific War, 1941–1945**

In response to Japanese military actions in China, the U.S. government prevented first Japanese purchases of scrap metal, then aviation fuel, then all oil, and in the summer of 1941 froze all Japanese financial assets in the United States.

To gain raw materials to sustain their military operations in China and to maintain Manchukuo, Japan's lead-

ers decided to advance south into Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos) and especially to the resource-rich Dutch East Indies (present-day Indonesia). Following two unsuccessful rounds of negotiations with the United States, planes from Imperial Japanese Navy carriers attacked battleships, aircraft, and other military facilities at the U.S. Pacific Fleet Headquarters at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on 7 December 1941. Japanese armed forces simultaneously attacked Hong Kong, Malaya, the Philippines, Guam, and Wake Island. Japan's war in China was now combined with a Pacific war against the Americans and their Western allies.

Japanese military forces scored one victory after another for several months and controlled much of Southeast Asia by the spring of 1942. At this point, the Japanese empire was at its largest dimension and formally combined into a pan-Asian organization called the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Despite slogans of brotherhood such as "Asia for Asians," the reality for people living in the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was one of Japan as a demanding, harsh imperialist power.





Japanese leaders hoped the Americans, having their hands full trying to stop Hitler in Europe, would quickly come to an agreement that would allow Japan to maintain its presence on the Asian continent. The surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, however, plus the surrender and Bataan Death March of American and Filipino forces in the Philippines, infuriated Americans so much that they would settle for nothing less than unconditional surrender from Japan. Starting with sea battles at Coral Sea and Midway in June and July 1942, the tide began to turn against the Japanese. In October 1944, when the Battle of Leyte Gulf destroyed what then remained of the Japanese Imperial Navy, it was clear Japan would lose the Pacific War. The only question was when.

Tragically, Japanese military and political leaders refused to surrender even after large-scale U.S. bombing of major Japanese cities began in late 1944. They resorted instead to using young, inexperienced pilots for *kamikaze* suicide attacks. Even the terrible destruction and loss of 100,000 civilian lives in the Tokyo firebomb raid of March 1945 and the larger loss of Japanese military and civilian lives on Okinawa shortly thereafter failed to convince Japan's leaders to surrender. After the early August atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Soviet invasion of Manchuria, Emperor Hirohito finally surrendered, with an announcement broadcast throughout the Japanese empire on 15 August 1945.

## Legacy of the Japanese Empire

Starting with the acquisition of Taiwan following its victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, Japan's empire grew to incorporate much of East Asia, Southeast Asia, and an extensive area of the South Pacific. Motivated to varying degrees by strategic and economic considerations as well as by a nationalist desire for international glory that sometimes included a mystical sense of destiny and racial superiority, Japan's empire building during the first half of the twentieth century was not unlike that of several Western countries during the nineteenth century. Ultimately, however, the expansion and brutality of the Japanese empire provoked a devastating war.

After its defeat, Japan lost all the overseas territories it had gained since 1895, suffered the destruction of much of its homeland, and was occupied by a foreign power for the first time in its history. Even some sixty years later, Japan continues to encounter hostility from the peoples and nations it conquered during its era of imperialism.

*John E. Van Sant*

See Also Imperialism; Shinto; World War I

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*In matters of style, swim with the current;  
in matters of principle, stand like a rock.*

• THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743–1826)

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# Jefferson, Thomas

(1743–1826)

U.S. PRESIDENT

Thomas Jefferson was the main author of the American Declaration of Independence, issued in 1776, which inspired the American Revolution and many anti-colonial movements across the globe. Jefferson also became the third president of the United States in 1801 and purchased land known as the Louisiana Territory from the French in 1803, doubling the size of the new nation and setting the stage for the growth of the U.S. as the dominant power in the Americas.

Jefferson was born on 13 April 1743 in the British colony of Virginia in North America. His parents were tobacco planters and part of the colonial elite. In 1760 he enrolled in the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia. Upon graduation, he earned a living as both a lawyer and a farmer, living on his plantation, Monticello, in Virginia. In 1772 he married Martha Wayles Skelton, a widow, who died ten years later. Jefferson served as a member of the House of Burgesses, the lower house of Virginia's legislature, from 1769 to 1775 and became a leader of the developing opposition to British policies.

In 1776 the members of the Second Continental Congress selected a committee to draft a declaration of independence and Jefferson became the principal author. The Declaration, adopted by Congress on 4 July, announced the birth of a new nation, listed specific grievances against the British king George III, and set forth a philosophy of natural rights. Drawing upon French and English Enlightenment political philosophy, and particularly the work of Englishman John Locke, Jefferson urged the colonists to fight for a government based on popular consent that could secure the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Declaration, and the American Revolution it inspired, generated a wave of revolutionary sentiment throughout Latin America and Western Europe in the nineteenth century and were even used to justify anti-colonial struggles in Asia and Africa in the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, Jefferson, and the new nation he helped to create, did not live up to the ideals announced in the Declaration of Independence. He favored government run by prosperous white men and saw those without property, women, Native Americans, and African American slaves as incapable of governing and undeserving of equal rights. Jefferson owned a number of slaves and probably fathered some with one of his slaves. The words of Jefferson, however, would later be used by the excluded to demand political equality in American society.

Jefferson went on to play a major role in the development of the United States. He drafted the bill that established religious freedom and the separation of church and state in Virginia. He served as Virginia governor from 1779 to 1781 and worked as U.S. minister to France from 1785 to 1789. Upon Jefferson's return home in 1789, President George Washington selected him to become the first secretary of state. Jefferson became a strong advocate for a weak central government and an economy based on agriculture. The secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton, favored a strong federal government and an industrialized economy. Jefferson's hopes for the new nation resulted in the creation of the Democratic-Republicans in Congress, and Hamilton's vision in the formation of the Federalists—the first polit-

*I know men and I tell you that Jesus Christ is no mere man. Between him and every other person in the world there is no possible term of comparison. Alexander, Caesar, Charlemagne, and I founded empires. But on what did we rest the creations of our genius? Upon force. Jesus Christ founded His empire upon love and at this hour millions of people would die for Him.* • NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769–1821)

ical parties in U.S. history. After Jefferson's term as secretary of state ended in December 1794, and Hamilton resigned from public office and returned to his legal practice in New York in 1795, these two parties continued to dominate political thought for the next thirty years. After Washington refused a third term as president in 1796, Jefferson stood for election against John Adams. Adams won and became the second president of the U.S., and Jefferson came in second and became the vice president.

In the 1800 presidential contest Jefferson tied with fellow Republican Aaron Burr in the electoral college, but the House of Representatives settled the tie in favor of Jefferson and he became president and Burr vice president of the United States. Jefferson took office in March 1801 and served as president for two terms. As president, Jefferson's major accomplishment was the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803. The Louisiana Purchase, which extended from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada, roughly doubled the size of the United States and set the nation on a path of westward expansion. Jefferson died on 4 July 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, leaving behind a lasting political tradition that still influences America and the rest of the world.

*John F. Lyons*

See also Democracy, Constitutional; Religious Freedom; Revolution - United States

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## Jesus

(C. 6 BCE–C. 30 CE)

RELIGIOUS LEADER AND  
FOUNDER OF CHRISTIANITY

Although Jesus (of Nazareth) is one of the most important historical figures who ever lived, very little historical information is actually known about him. The principal sources for his life and ministry are the four canonical gospels of the Christian Bible: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. While these documents contain actual sayings of Jesus, they are products of a developed tradition and themselves use established sources. Alongside information of undoubted historical value, then, there are later stories and sayings inserted for their theological value.

Jesus was born into a milieu of vigorous political activism and religious speculation. Within the context of first-century Judaism, these were interlinked as a result of widespread apocalyptic speculation. In the years when Judaea had been ruled by Hellenistic kings, many of its people began to concentrate their hopes for political change upon a direct intervention by God. The apocalyptic literature, most famously, for example, the Book Of Daniel, that they developed expressed the view that God would act by sending a leader to free the people ("Messiah") and restore the cult based in the Temple at Jerusalem to its proper function. At the time of Jesus' birth, the long rule of the region by the Roman client-king Herod the Great had come to an end. His immediate successors were proving inadequate and so the Romans were undertaking a more direct role in administration and policing.

Jesus came from Nazareth, a village in the hills of Galilee, under the direct authority of one of Herod's sons, Herod Antipas. Galilee itself was geographically and intellectually peripheral to the Temple cult operating in Jerusalem. Instead, the central religious institution in Galilean life was the synagogue. The religious community of the synagogue met weekly to be led in formal devotions by a teacher (rabbi). The focus of the synagogue was upon the reading and interpretation of Scripture, and it

## Josephus's Description of Jesus

*In the extract below, Jesus is depicted by the ancient Jewish historian Flavius Josephus. (c. 37–101 CE).*

3. (63) Now, there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works—a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ; (64) and when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

Source: *The antiquities of the Jews* (Book 18, Ch. 3). (1987). In *The works of Josephus* (W. Whiston, Trans.). Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers

was in this context that religious reform groups like the Pharisees, who placed particular emphasis upon personal religious devotion, flourished.

Jesus' public ministry, when it began, was mostly amongst the small villages and towns of Galilee. Although there were several cities nearby (Scythopolis [Bet She'an], Tiberias, and Sepphoris [Zippori]—itself only a few kilometers from Nazareth), the gospel accounts make it clear that he preferred to concentrate his activities within the small fishing communities of the Galilee region, and Capernaum in particular. He seems to have followed on from the earlier ministry of his cousin, John the Baptist. John, an ascetic and itinerant preacher, had demanded a revival of personal piety, to be expressed through a ritual cleansing in water (baptism). At the beginning of his own ministry, Jesus had been baptized by John and, while he did not himself baptize, many of his followers baptized in his name.

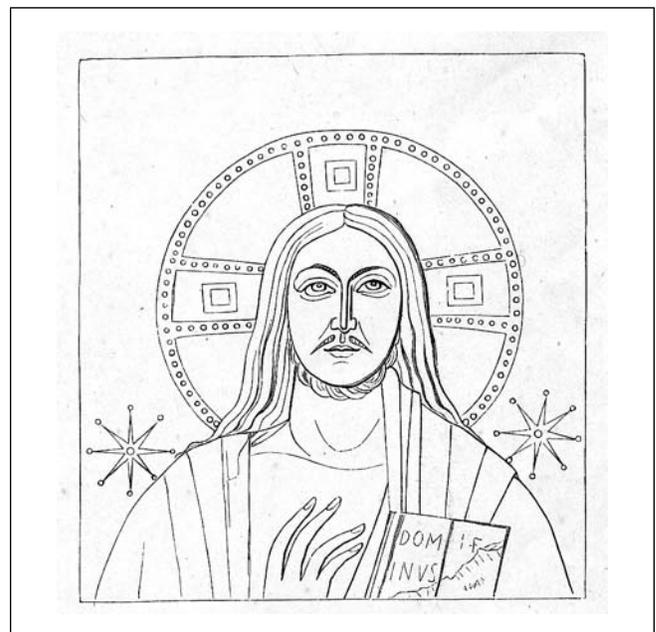
Jesus' principal message was an assertion

of the need for a personal piety as a response to the love of God. He stressed the need for personal compassion, and many of the miracles associated with him are miracles of healing, which emphasize Jesus' own compassion. In focusing upon personal integrity as a measure of piety, Jesus came into conflict with another religious reform movement, the Pharisees, who also laid heavy emphasis upon religious authenticity, although through devoted obedience to Jewish religious law. Jesus' most colorful language was reserved for Pharisees, whom he depicted as liars and hypocrites who were slavishly devoted to the letter of the law.

Jesus' principal notoriety was not so much for his words, however, as for his deeds. He swiftly gained a reputation as a miracle worker through miraculous healings, exorcisms, and even the restoration of life.

When Jesus sought to remove his ministry to Jerusalem, he immediately came into conflict with Temple authorities, whom he accused of profiteering. They in turn sought help from the Roman administrators. Depicting Jesus as a revolutionary and a messianic troublemaker, they secured his conviction and execution by the Romans as a rebel. It is certainly clear that his visit was

**A drawing of Jesus from the catacombs of S. Ponziano in Rome.**



## The Beatitudes and Curses in Jesus' "Sermon on the Mount" (Luke 6.20–31, NRSV)

Then he looked up at his disciples and said: "Blessed are you who are poor, for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed are you who are hungry now, for you will be filled. Blessed are you who weep now for you will laugh. Blessed are you when people hate you, and when they exclude you on account of the Son of Man. Rejoice in that day and leap for joy, for surely your reward is in heaven; for that is what their ancestors did to the prophets. But woe to you who are rich for you have received your consolation. Woe to you who are full now, for you will be hungry. Woe to you who are laughing now, for you will mourn and weep. Woe to you when all speak well of you, for that is what their ancestors did to the false prophets. But I say to you that listen, Love your enemies, do good to those that hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you. If anyone strikes you on the cheek, offer the other also; and from anyone who takes away your coat do not withhold even your shirt. Give to everyone who begs from you; and if anyone takes away your goods, do not ask for them again. Do to others as you would have them do to you . . ."

accompanied by considerable speculation that he would proclaim himself as the Messiah and lead a revolt. While he encouraged this speculation by his entry into Jerusalem in deliberate fulfillment of a messianic prophecy, he stopped short of ever actually claiming to be the Messiah.

Within weeks of his death, a significant number of his followers began to claim that he had risen from the dead. That belief in Jesus' resurrection empowered communities of his followers to survive and grow, forming the kernel of the Christian church. This community expected his imminent return from heaven to complete his messianic task. When that did not occur, Jesus' words and deeds, along with stories about him, were written down as gospels and

other documents. Jesus himself wrote nothing except, once when asked to judge a woman caught in adultery, he scribbled some words in the dust (John 8:1–6).

*Bill Leadbetter*

*See also* Catholicism, Roman; Paul, St.; Pentecostalism; Protestantism; Orthodoxy, Christian

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## Joan of Arc

(1412?–1431)

FRENCH MILITARY HEROINE

Whether considered as a French national heroine, a prototype of feminism, a political prisoner confronting established institutions, or a saint of the Roman Catholic Church, Joan of Arc is one of the most fascinating and enigmatic women of all time. Considerable controversy surrounds her brief if extraordinary career of one year on the battlefield and one year in prison.

Joan's role in history was shaped by the Hundred Years War (1337–1453), which was essentially a dynastic conflict between the kings of France and England for the control of France. The duke of Burgundy, the most powerful of the French vassals, was allied with England. By the early fifteenth century, large areas of France had been devastated by rapacious mercenary armies employed by the rulers of both countries. In 1428 only central and southern France remained loyal to the Valois king, Charles VII (1422–1461), and the English were besieging Orleans, the key to southern France. It was at this low point in French fortunes that Joan made her appearance.

Joan was born about 1412 in Domremy, on the frontier between Champagne and Lorraine. She referred to herself as Jeanne la Pucelle—"la pucelle" meaning "the maiden" or "the virgin"—out of the pride she took in her

*You, O English, who have no right to this kingdom of France, the King of Heaven orders and commands you through me, Joan the Maid, to leave your fortresses and return to your country, and if you do not so I shall make a hatay [uproar] that will be perpetually remembered.* • JOAN OF ARC (C. 1412–1431)

virginity. One of the four children of Jacques Darc, a peasant of modest means, she had a normal childhood, although she was unusually prayerful. At about thirteen, she began to hear voices, which first instructed her to lead a good life and then directed her to obtain Charles VII's coronation in the cathedral of Reims, traditional site of royal coronations, and the expulsion of the English from French soil.

In February 1429, wearing male clothes because she found them comfortable, Joan visited Charles at his Chinon quarters. After some initial suspicion, Charles agreed to Joan's campaign against the English and supplied her with men, money, male clothing, and a suit of white armor. With an army of about four thousand, Joan began the Orleans campaign on 29 April 1429 and by 8 May 1429 she had succeeded in lifting the siege. Whether this victory actually resulted from her brilliant military strategy and whether it really determined the eventual outcome of the Hundred Years War are debatable questions. What is clear is that Joan restored French morale; her victory was seen as a miracle. By 17 July 1429 she was able to attend Charles's coronation in the cathedral of Reims in a ceremony that gave legitimacy to his kingship. Her fame spread rapidly, not only in France but also in many parts of Europe.

After many victories in the Loire valley, Joan wished to conquer enemy-held Paris. Contrary to the wishes of Charles and his advisers, she attacked Paris in September 1429, but strong resistance forced her to retreat and the king ordered her to abandon the campaign. Thereafter her fortunes declined precipitously. However, despite the difficulty of raising money and troops as a freelance general, she continued the assault against the Anglo-Burgundian forces until she was captured at Compiègne by a Burgundian army on 23 May 1430.

The Burgundians sold her to the English, who were convinced that she was a witch. Charles VII made no attempt to rescue her and she was sent to English-held Rouen in Normandy. Between 21 February and 30 May 1431 a tribunal of the Inquisition in Rouen tried her for witchcraft and heresy. Led by Pierre Cauchon, former rector of the University of Paris and the chief

judge, the theologians and lawyers who questioned her concentrated on two issues: her claim that she had been guided by the voices of St. Michael, St. Catherine (of Alexandria), and St. Margaret (of Antioch), and her use of male clothing.

The trial judges concluded that she could not have heard voices independently, that is, without the Church Militant, the official church, and that her male clothing symbolized her defiance of the Church. Twelve Articles approved by the University of Paris condemned her as "a liar, an apostate, and a heretic." On 24 May 1431, exhausted from the long ordeal, Joan signed an abjuration. She promised never to bear arms again, never to use male clothing, and to renounce her voices. Whether she understood the paper she was signing is arguable. She was then sentenced to life imprisonment.

A few days later Joan resumed wearing male clothes, claiming that her women's clothing had been removed, and stating the God, speaking through her voices, had been saddened by her abjuration. Her conduct and words now made her a relapsed heretic, and she was therefore burnt at the stake on 30 May 1431.

After the Hundred Years War came to an end with France having regained most of its land, Charles asked the Pope, Calixtus III (1455–1458), to authorize a new trial for Joan. The pope agreed, and a nullification trial was held in 1456. The court nullified the verdict of 1431 on the following grounds: Judicial procedures had been violated in the previous trial; Joan had been given no facilities to defend herself; and the English had exerted pressure on the court.

Despite the rehabilitation of Joan in 1456, her fame grew slowly, and it was not until the nineteenth century that her image as a national heroine and saint took hold on the French mind. She was beatified in 1909 and canonized in 1920. She became a role model for love of country, feminine independence, and Christian sanctity. There are more literary, artistic, dramatic, and musical works on Joan of Arc than on any other woman in history.

*Elisa Carrillo*

*See also* French Empire

## Joan of Arc

“So long as she [the church] does not command something impossible to do—and what I call impossible is that I revoke the deeds I have done and the words I have said in this trial concerning the visions and revelations that were given to me from God, for I will not revoke them for anything; what Our Lord has made me do and has commanded and may yet command, I shall not fail to do for the sake of any man alive, and should the church wish that I do something against the commandment that was given to me by God, I would not do it for anything.”

“If the Church Militant tells you that your revelations are illusions or somehow diabolic, would you defer to the church?”

“In that case, I would defer always to God, whose command I have always obeyed, and I know well that what is contained in this trial comes through God’s command, and what I have affirmed in this process that I have done by God’s command. It would be

impossible for me to do the contrary. And should the Church Militant command me to do otherwise, I would not defer to any man of the world, other than Our Lord, whose good command I have always done.”

“Do you believe that you are subject to the church of God that is on earth, that is to say, to our lord the pope, to the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church?”

“Yes, so long as Our Lord is first served.”

“Have you received the command from your voices not to submit to the Church Militant, which is on earth, nor to her judgment?”

“I shall not answer anything that comes into my head, but what I do answer is at the command of my voices; they do not command me not to obey the church, God being first served.”

Source: From transcript of Joan of Arc’s trial at Rouen, 18 April 1431. In R. Pernoud & M.-V. Clin, *Joan of Arc* (pp. 123-124).

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## Judaism

Starting from the Hellenistic period, when outside observers first attempted to write about the “other” in a dispassionate manner, Greek writers observed the unique monotheism of Judaism, noting how this aspect of their religion singled out Jews from all other peoples that the

Greeks had encountered. The reports that reached philosophers such as Theophrastus and Megasthenes (c. 300 BCE) led them to consider the Jews a nation of philosophers. The Jews, they wrote, were stubborn believers in a singular god who was both the god of Israel and the god of the world. Other writers noted that the Jews insisted on certain practices that were strange to the Greeks: circumcision, abhorrence at consuming pork, and a kind of insular culture that was at odds with what the Greeks believed to be their own open-mindedness. Such traits were considered by some observers as both peculiar and the reason for what they called—perhaps unconsciously describing their own elitism—Jewish misanthropy, lack of patriotism (toward Greek culture), and general disregard for humankind outside of their own nation.

The Greeks thus articulated both a kind of attraction and repulsion toward Judaism. Despite such ambivalence, however, many Romans (to the dismay of their ruling classes) were fascinated by this religious civilization. Large numbers either converted or “Judaized,” meaning that they adopted Jewish customs such as holiday observance and food habits without enduring the circumcision that was required for full conversion. Roman writers

## When and Where World Religions Began

4000–2500 BCE	Hinduism	South Asia
1300–1200 BCE	Judaism	West Asia
500–400 BCE	Buddhism	South Asia
	Confucianism	China
	Zoroastrianism	West Asia
	Jainism	South Asia
400–221 BCE	Daoism	China
1ST CENTURY CE	Christianity	West Asia, Europe
3RD CENTURY CE	Manichaeism	West Asia
6TH CENTURY CE	Shinto	Japan
7TH CENTURY CE	Islam	West Asia
11TH CENTURY	Orthodoxy	West Asia
15TH–16TH CENTURY	Sikhism	South Asia
16TH CENTURY	Protestantism	Europe
19TH CENTURY	Latter-day Saints	North America
	Babi and Baha'i	West Asia
19TH–20TH CENTURY	Pentecostalism	North America

noted that Judaism's popularity was based on its great antiquity, its written scriptures, its deep sense of morality, and its monotheism.

Thus both impact and controversy have been associated with Judaism from the period of antiquity. What is absolutely clear is that Judaism had an overwhelming influence on the premodern history of the world west of the Indus River, and an enduring impact on the entire world in the modern period. The impact of Judaism on world history is both direct and felt through its relationships with the conquering religious civilizations, first of Christianity and then Islam.

### Impact of Origins

Judaism emerged out of a religious civilization based on what is often referred to by scholars as "biblical" or "Israelite" religion. As such, what we today call Judaism

*Our Jewish experience leads us to be more aware of dangers than of opportunities. This tendency has to be transcended if we are to emerge into a future different from the recent past.* • ABBA EBAN (1915–2002)

must be distinguished from its older forms. In fact, Judaism is only one of the heirs of biblical religion, as are all the faiths in the family of religions referred to as Christianity. Biblical religion itself is multifaceted, since it evolved for centuries during the historical period represented in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament). It has become evident to scholars that biblical religion was not always purely monotheistic, for it reflects tensions between those who would allow rituals associated with figurines representing other powers or deities and those who would accept nothing other than the one god, the God of Israel (1 Sam. 26:19, 1 Kings 11, 2 Kings 23).

It is clear, however, that the people that called itself Israel (from the biblical figure Jacob, who was also called Israel—Gen. 32:29) was the first community to take on the doctrine of monotheism successfully. It is likely that the concept of monotheism existed among individuals before the emergence of the people of Israel. Even powerful and influential individuals such as the pharaoh Akhenaton (mid-fourteenth century BCE) may have been monotheists or proto-monotheists, but no entire community succeeded in adopting monotheism prior to ancient Judaism. This is perhaps Judaism's greatest legacy to world history. It established a theological paradigm that would have a profound impact on the nature of all subsequent religions, whether monotheistic or not.

### Election

Ancient Israel saw itself as a small and beleaguered monotheistic people living in a world of countless foreign nations, all sharing the temptation of worshipping multiple deities (Deut. 7:7). Out of this awkward and precarious social and political situation, coupled with a feeling of obvious theological uniqueness, emerged an impression, and then a doctrine, of election, of being chosen by the one and only true god to represent and worship him unreservedly and unconditionally (Deut. 7:6–8). Throughout the Hebrew Bible we find the message that all the nations of the earth worship their sets of gods, but only Israel worships the One God, the God of the entire world. Election, therefore, became deeply ingrained into the Israelite consciousness. Ironically, despite or perhaps because

## Home and Exile

*The concepts of home and exile are central to Judaism and Jews. In the following passage, anthropologist Janet Belcove-Shalin, an expert on the Hasidic Jews of New York City, places these concepts in the context of Jewish culture and religion.*

Jews are known as the “People of the Book,” but they might as well be called the “People of Exile.” Expelled from the proverbial garden, driven from the land of their forefathers, Jews have repeatedly suffered from historical reversals that transformed safe havens into Hell. Exile and text, the longing for home and the devotion to Torah, have been inextricably linked in Jewish history since the destruction of the Second Temple. This ancient linkage, in turn, was inscribed in the Jewish calendar and ritualized in sacred canon. In the annual cycle, the holiday of Passover dramatizes the return to the promised homeland and at the same time powerfully reminds us about the hardships of exile. Sukkoth memorializes the temporary dwellings built by the Israelites during their wanderings in the desert. Tishah b’Av marks the destruction of the temple, home to the holy of holies. Purim and Hanukkah celebrate the successful defense of home. Shmini Atzeret commemorates the rains and Tu-Be-Shvat celebrates the flow of sap that make the homeland fertile and life-sustaining. Shavuot celebrates the giving of Torah, the home manual par excellence for all the Jews, while Simchat Torah marks the old and new cycle of Torah reading.

In the sacred texts, home and exile are twin concepts, tied to each other as two sides of the same coin. The Talmud treats the Jewish home as a symbol of the destroyed Temple, and the family table as the Temple altar. According to scripture, the Garden of Eden is the original home from which Jews were exiled. When the Messiah finally comes, Klal Israel will be spiritually redeemed, heaven and earth will be reunited once again, and humanity will have regained its place in the garden.

Source: Belcove-Shalin, J. S. (1995). *Home in exile: Hasidim in the new world* (pp. 207–208). Albany: State University of New York Press.

of Israel’s beleaguered position in relation to the mighty nations and empires of the ancient world, its unique community commitment to monotheism engendered the feeling that only it was uniquely elected to carry out the will of the true God. Israel was God’s royal nation (Exod.19:5, Deut.7:6, 14:2, 26:18), and a holy nation (Exod.19:6, Deut.14:2, 21). Israel was God’s chosen people (Deut.7:6, Isa. 43:20, 45:4, Pss. 33:12, 132:13, 135:4).

## Covenant

The special relationship of election is symbolized by an institution called “covenant” (*b’rit* in Hebrew). The term actually refers to a host of formal or legal relationships in the Hebrew Bible ranging from agreements between two individuals (Gen. 21:22–33, 1 Sam. 18:3) to pacts between nations (1 Kings 5:26, 20:34). But one special type of biblical covenant agreement came to define the relationship between the only community of monotheists and the only true God. Forged between God and Israel, this is the “covenant parexcellence,” an institution found throughout the Hebrew Bible and a unique contribution of Israelite religion. The covenant was first rendered between God and Abraham’s family (Gen. 17). It was reaffirmed with the biblical patriarchs (Gen. 26:23–24, 28:10–15) and then at Mount Sinai (Exod. 19, 24) between God and all the extended families and clans of Israel that were redeemed from Egyptian bondage. This divine covenant was extended even to non-Israelite peoples who escaped along with Israel in the redemption from Egypt (Exod. 12:38).

The concepts of election and covenantal relationship with God originated with ancient Israel and its religion, but these traits became intimately associated with monotheism in general. Election and covenant, therefore, are not only essential to Judaism, but are intimately associated with Christianity and Islam. Early Christians came to articulate their religion as representing a “new covenant” between God and a “new Israel,” namely, those who accept the particular self-definition of Christianity. Christians, therefore, become the new “chosen,” with only those who had chosen Christ as savior able to achieve their own salvation (1 Cor. 11:23–32, Heb. 8–9).

Although less prominent in Islam, covenant (*'ahd* or *mithaq*) also defines the relationship between God and a newer community of believers. But Islam is less exclusionary in that it accepts, in theory, the salvation of prior communities of righteous believers (Quran 2:62, 5:72). Nevertheless, Muslims are defined in the Quran as a kind of elect, the most moderate or a “middle community,” chosen to be witnesses (Quran 2:143), and “the best community brought forth for humankind” (Quran 3:110).

Election and covenant, closely associated with Israel and Judaism and an integral part of all expressions of monotheism, can be viewed as divisive traits. The legacy of Israelite religion is not, however, all exclusion and division. The inclusive and compassionate aspects of the universal religious imperative in Western religions also seem to have originated in ancient Israel.

### **Compassion For the “Other” and Repairing the World**

The exclusivist aspects of monotheism in Israelite religion were always in tension with inclusionism, as defined by care for the stranger and a sense of responsibility toward others. Thus, although Israelites may have considered themselves to be the only people in the ancient world that truly respected the one God of the universe, God was nevertheless the God of all, including those who did not recognize him. Israelite monotheism thus required care and concern even for those outside of Israel, and this responsibility was articulated through the concept of *imitateo dei*, emulating God, because the creator of all the world must be good: “For the Lord your God is God supreme, who shows no favor and takes no bribe, but upholds the cause of the fatherless and the widow, and befriends the stranger, providing him with food and clothing. You too must befriend the stranger, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt” (Jewish Publication Society, Deut. 10:17–19).

### **Social Justice**

Codes or lists of formalized social precedents (customs) and formulaic duties existed before the emergence of ancient Judaism. These are similar to what today would

be called law (obligations to state, society, and private individuals). The ancient Mesopotamian “codes” of Ur-Nammu (twenty-first century BCE), Eshnunna (c. 1800 BCE), and Hammurabi (mid-eighteenth century BCE) existed long before the legal and social requirements enumerated in the biblical parallel, the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20–23). This pre-Israelite material was as closely associated with a sense of societal justice as that found in the Hebrew Bible. That is, offences would be termed criminal when they were considered inimical to the well-being of society as a whole, and sanctions were imposed by the public authority rather than the injured party or a powerful private individual (the latter might be termed “family justice” and was not law).

On the other hand, the prebiblical codes maintained a sharp tripartite division of society into an upper level of free men, a class of state dependents, and a slave caste. There was no expectation of social mobility between these classes, and the rights, responsibilities, and sanctions in the codes reflected this rigid division. In contrast to the previous systems, the biblical codes extend the rights of the elites to all layers of society: “You shall appoint magistrates and officials for your tribes, in all the settlements that the Lord your God is giving you, and they shall govern the people with due justice. You shall not judge unfairly: you shall show no partiality; you shall not take bribes, for bribes blind the eyes of the discerning and upset the plea of the just. Justice, justice shall you pursue, that you may thrive and occupy the land that the Lord your God is giving you (Deut. 16:18–20)” and “You shall have one standard for the stranger and citizen alike: for I the Lord am your God” (Lev. 24:22).

### **Civic Duty and Responsible Behavior**

Another of Judaism’s most important legacies, found not only in its sister expressions of monotheism but also in democracies and all forms of responsible government, is the idea that people are responsible to one another. Individuals are accountable, not only for themselves but also for others. This is represented by the term, and the concept, *Torah* (meaning “teaching”), which has sometimes

*All journeys have secret destinations  
of which the traveller is unaware.*

• MARTIN BUBER (1878–1965)

been misunderstood as a rigid code of Israelite law. It should be likened more to a set of behavioral expectations for ritual and social behavior, centered around the idea that the individual is responsible to the group and the group to the individual. That the entire nation is punished by God for the misbehavior of the few is a foundation of Israelite law and referenced throughout the Hebrew Bible. All the people were witnesses at the giving of the Torah at Mount Sinai, and all are therefore responsible to ensure that the Torah teaching is upheld. This is the essence of the Israelite system, which is based upon a balance between individual and community and between freedom and responsibility (Deut. 29–30).

### **From Israelites to Jews**

The true origin of the Israelites remains uncertain. While some have suggested that it lies in Mesopotamia or Egypt, recent scholarship places it within Canaanite society, suggesting that Israel symbolizes a monotheistic trend in Canaanite culture originating perhaps as early as the second millennium BCE that eventuated in an independent identity. The danger of assimilation back into the old and familiar ways of Canaanite culture is a constant theme of biblical literature, and the nations “here at hand” (Deut. 20:15) in the land of Canaan always represent the most dangerous threat to Israel’s distinctive identity and existence.

But the tribes of Israel were not always purely monotheistic, and the journey into the kind of theology we would recognize today as monotheism did not end until the exilic or post-exilic periods after the destruction of the first Temple in Jerusalem in 586 BCE. Prior to that time, such seminal statements as “Who is like you among the gods” (Exod. 15:11) suggest that while ancient Israelite theology required obedience to the God of Israel, it did not deny the possibility of other gods existing as well. It may have been the realization that the God of Israel could be worshipped even in Babylonian exile that solidified the tendency toward monotheism and convinced the exilic community that there was one God who created the universe, and that the same one God maintained it.

Israel had divided into two separate nations with independent monarchies and centers of worship shortly after the reigns of kings David and Solomon (c. 900 BCE). The northern kingdom, composed of ten of the twelve tribes of Israel, was destroyed by the Assyrian empire in 721 BCE and never recovered. The southern kingdom, formally made up of the large tribe of Judah and the small tribe of Benjamin (but including parts of other tribes and peoples as well), was destroyed a century and a half later by the Babylonian empire. But the Babylonians were soon overtaken by the Persians, who were friendly to the exiles from the tribal areas of Judah and Benjamin. The Persians invited the exiles to return from their banishment to the east and reestablish themselves in the ancient land. The overwhelming majority of survivors were from the large tribe of Judah, so the returnees joined with those who remained and were soon known as Judeans, or Jews (biblical books of Ezra and Nehemiah), though Jews throughout history have also referred to themselves as Israel, Israelites, or the people or nation of Israel (Hebrew: *b’ney yisra’el* or *’am yisra’el*).

The Judean community, like its parent, the intertribal community of Israel, remained small in numbers relative to the great empires of Mesopotamia and Egypt. But as a result of the conquests by the Mesopotamian powers and the dispersion of the Israelite tribes, Jewish communities began to establish themselves in many parts of the Mediterranean basin. The largest communities remained in Mesopotamia and Judea, but significant communities grew up also in Egypt, Anatolia, Greece, and North Africa.

These communities did not look like Jewish communities of today, for they practiced a kind of ancient Judaism that was still oriented toward temple worship with sacrifices and burnt offerings. In some places such as Elephantine, an Egyptian island community in the Nile, they established their own temples independent of the Temple in Jerusalem. In others closer in proximity to Jerusalem, the communities joined in the annual pilgrimage festivals to the Jerusalem Temple and worshipped according to the systems described in the Bible.



**Broken grave stones are mounted in a wall in the Jewish cemetery in Worms, Germany, where the Jewish community dates back over 1,000 years. The stones were broken during the Holocaust.**

The Hebrew Bible conveys the message that monotheism always survived precariously and, aside from the Persians, was resented by the nations of the world. The Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Canaanites, Midianites, and Aramaeans—all opposed the Israelites' stubborn worship of one god only. The reason for Israel's isolation in this regard appears quite simple. When traveling, for example, it was a common practice among polytheists to make offerings to the gods of the local area or people. It was considered a common courtesy and expected polite behavior, and to peoples who worshipped multiple deities, it created no theological problem to make a token offering to foreign gods. Not so Israel, which was commanded to worship only the one God of Israel, the God of the universe. The Hebrew Bible indicates that it was quite expected that other peoples worship their national gods or even other people's gods (Judg. 11:23–24), but Israel was allowed to worship only the one God (Jer. 44:1–10).

This situation continued into the Hellenistic period that began with the invasion of Alexander in the 330s BCE, and into the Roman occupation of Judea that began three centuries later. The Judeans remain a small community and largely without power aside from a few generations under the rule of the Jewish Hasmonean dynasty

of kings. Finally, in 70 CE, after a major Judean revolt against Roman imperial rule, the Jerusalem Temple was destroyed a second and final time, never to be rebuilt.

By this time, Jews had been dispersed throughout the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern worlds and brought their religion with them. Monotheism, the theological core of ancient Judaism, survived the vicissitudes of history, but the religious rituals and worship that articulated that basic theology evolved and changed over the centuries. The repeated destructions of the Jerusalem Temple put an end to the sacrificial system, but the core idea of a singular god endured. However, the geographical dispersion, influence of multiple cultures, and internal cultural change brought new ideas into biblical Judaism. This eventuated in a synthesis that gave birth to factions or parties, sects, and eventually new religious movements. One of these was the Jesus Movement that began in Judaism and became the starting point out of which the family of Christian religions emerged.

### **Judaism of the Rabbis**

Another was a movement that emerged around a core group of leaders steeped in an oral tradition of Judaism that existed parallel to the sacrificial system and written scripture of the Bible. Those leaders we know of were

## The God of Israel, from Jeremiah, Chapter 44:1-10

44:1 The word that came to Jeremiah concerning all the Jews that dwelt in the land of Egypt, that dwelt at Migdol, and at Tahpanhes, and at Noph, and in the country of Pathros, saying:

44:2 'Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: Ye have seen all the evil that I have brought upon Jerusalem, and upon all the cities of Judah; and, behold, this day they are a desolation, and no man dwelleth therein;

44:3 because of their wickedness which they have committed to provoke Me, in that they went to offer, and to serve other gods, whom they knew not, neither they, nor ye, nor your fathers.

44:4 Howbeit I sent unto you all My servants the prophets, sending them betimes and often, saying: Oh, do not this abominable thing that I hate.

44:5 But they hearkened not, nor inclined their ear to turn from their wickedness, to forbear offering unto other gods.

44:6 Wherefore My fury and Mine anger was poured forth, and was kindled in the cities of Judah and in

the streets of Jerusalem; and they are wasted and desolate, as at this day.

44:7 Therefore now thus saith the Lord, the God of hosts, the God of Israel: Wherefore commit ye this great evil against your own souls, to cut off from you man and woman, infant and suckling, out of the midst of Judah, to leave you none remaining;

44:8 in that ye provoke Me with the works of your hands, offering unto other gods in the land of Egypt, whither ye are gone to sojourn; that ye may be cut off, and that ye may be a curse and a reproach among all the nations of the earth?

44:9 Have ye forgotten the wicked deeds of your fathers, and the wicked deeds of the kings of Judah, and the wicked deeds of their wives, and your own wicked deeds, and the wicked deeds of your wives, which they committed in the land of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem?

44:10 They are not humbled even unto this day, neither have they feared, nor walked in My law, nor in My statutes, that I set before you and before your fathers.

almost all men, though it is clear that women were also instrumental in the transmission of oral lore. They could be described as traditionists, and included the Pharisees as well as others. Later, they were known as rabbis. When the long process of recording the oral tradition ended in the sixth century CE, it became known as the Talmud.

This form of Judaism is called Rabbinic Judaism, and all expressions of Judaism today, aside from one tiny group known as Kara'ites, derive from the Judaism of the rabbis and their great source of authority, the Talmud. This Judaism existed in exile for close to two millennia, even in the core land of Judea, which was governed by non-Jews. Rabbinic Judaism always represented the stranger in the lands of others. It is quietist and highly intellectual, relying more on the survivability of its adherents and the wits of its leaders than directly on the biblical God acting in history. Unlike Christianity, Rabbinic

Judaism requires little dogmatic theological belief beyond that in the unity of God, and salvation is presumed for all who live a pious life of good deeds.

One of Rabbinic Judaism's great contributions to world history has been its unique ability to adapt to multiple environments within a world hardly tolerant of diversity, religious or otherwise. Its stubborn existence in both Christian and Muslim worlds required all religious leaders, thinkers, and politicians to consider and respond to the Jews, the quintessential "other" in their midst. This required repeated reevaluation of the meaning of self in relation to the other of Judaism, and resulted in the growth of theologies, laws, and various religious and secular sciences in both Jewish and non-Jewish civilizations.

At the same time, the Jews' lack of political power throughout this period required that their religion consider a larger range of possibilities than the religions of



political powers who could enforce their will by the sword. The argumentation in Jewish literatures tends not to arrive at any final conclusions. Every issue and point can and should be revisited and reexamined, and new meanings are always possible. The huge written compendium of the Talmud and its interpretation contain complex discussion and argument over topics that range from folk medicine to legal theory, property law, family law, and business ethics. The emerging literatures that epitomize Rabbinic Judaism stressed the need for a deep and universal intellectual engagement with the divine word in Bible and Talmud, and this foundation of Judaism encouraged a very high per capita involvement in reading and education.

### In the Modern World

In the modern period, when Jews were eventually released from their restricted status in the West and were allowed to enter the universities and engage in the professions and sciences, their religious culture provided the intellectual training that would result in contributions far above their per capita representation. To provide one striking example, Jews make up less than one hundredth of 1 percent of the world population, yet they account for some 18 percent of the Nobel Prizes awarded in the twentieth century. There is no need to list the many contributions of Jews to the arts, science, literature, and music. Some of the ideas that were incubated in pre-modern Judaism have come to the fore in contemporary post-modern thought. These include aspects of literary deconstruction and concepts of exile, both of which have had a major impact on current intellectual discourse.

Judaism, like all religions, encompasses more than a theological system of beliefs. It is best described as a religious civilization, and this civilization has had a foundational influence on world civilizations west of the Indus River for two millennia. Its influence comes not only from its own direct contribution, but also through the contribution of the religious civilizations that emerged from or associated themselves with it. Monotheism, the belief in the universality and unity of the divin-

ity, is the very core of Judaism, and religions that preach monotheistic theologies have not only encompassed the Western and Mediterranean worlds, but now reach deeply beyond into Africa and Eastern Asia. Although representing a tiny fraction of the human population, Jewish religious civilization has remained of great significance in world history.

*Reuven Firestone*

See also Abraham; Genocide; Holocaust; Moses

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## Justinian I

(483 CE–565 CE)

BYZANTINE EMPEROR

**B**orn Flavius Petrus Sabbatius, Justinian ruled the Roman empire from 527 until 565 ce. From a Thracian peasant family, he was adopted by Justin, his uncle by marriage, thus taking the name Justinian. Justin, a professional soldier, oversaw the education and promoted

the military career of his adopted son. In 518, the elderly emperor Anastasius died without a designated successor and Justin emerged as the successful claimant. Justinian became Justin's principal minister and colleague. It was during this time that Justinian met Theodora, a former actress. Marriages were legally forbidden between men of Justinian's class and women of Theodora's profession, but in 524, Justinian arranged for this law to be changed so that they could marry, and in due course the two wed, commencing a long and extraordinary partnership. In April 527, Justin proclaimed Justinian co-emperor. When Justin died, four months later, Justinian succeeded him without challenge.

Justinian inherited a smoldering conflict with Persia that continued for much of his reign, punctuated only by a brief "Everlasting Peace" signed in 532. The respite this treaty brought nevertheless freed resources for Justinian's great military project: the reconquest of the western Roman empire.

He appointed Belisarius, a young and highly gifted general, to this project. In 533, with a small force, Belisarius attacked the Vandal kingdom of Africa. He was swiftly successful and in 535 followed this up with an invasion of Sicily and Ostrogothic Italy. Much of the south fell easily to his forces, although he then had to sustain a counterattack from the Ostrogoths. In 540 he took the Gothic capital of Ravenna, although this did not bring the war to an end. The long conflict was continued by his able successor, the Persarmenian eunuch Narses, who rebuilt a durable imperial presence in Italy.

Both Belisarius and Narses had previously distinguished themselves in a serious disturbance that broke out in Constantinople. One feature of the city's civic life was chariot racing, and there were two particularly prominent chariot-racing teams (or "factions"): the "Blues" and "Greens." Justinian and Theodora were both known as partisans of the Blues. Early in 532, discontent in Constantinople resulted in violence between the two dominant factions. During the course of a race meeting on 13 January, they suddenly made an alliance, burst out of the Hippodrome, and, chanting the slogan *nika* ("conquer"),

stormed through the city, setting fire to public buildings. For some days, confusion reigned. A reluctant rival to Justinian was proclaimed: Hypatius, nephew of the former emperor Anastasius. Justinian contemplated flight, but the situation was saved by the resolute action of Narses, Belisarius, and others. The Hippodrome was stormed; the rioters were massacred; Hypatius and his brother were executed.

Law was one of Justinian's passions. Once he became emperor, he engaged the empire's best legal minds in the collection of all Roman law into a single series of volumes. Justinian's *Codex* replaced all earlier Roman law codes. This was only the beginning. He also set up a commission, under the direction of the quaestor (legal official) Tribonian, to summarize Roman legal authorities in a great reference book (*The Pandects*). The scale of Justinian's legal achievement cannot be overstated. The texts produced through his authority and at his order were the source of all subsequent Roman law, remaining key legal texts to this day.

Justinian sought to interfere directly in the religious controversies of his time. He believed that as emperor he had a divine commission to determine the affairs of the Christian church ("caesaropapism"). The church itself was bitterly divided in a dispute over the nature of Christ (the Monophysite controversy). Many in his court, including Theodora, favored the Monophysite view, but Justinian sought to promote a more extreme position (aphthartadocetism).

Justinian was an intelligent and cultured man, an able diplomat, and a good judge of subordinates. A tireless emperor, he sought both to reassert Roman military power and to adorn his empire with great buildings. After the Nika riots, he rebuilt the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia into the great domed structure that survives to this day. He was generous to communities in distress, repairing earthquake damage, and succoring those affected by a major epidemic that raged across the Mediterranean after 541. He outlived most of his subordinates, still troubled by conflict with Persia and his failure to impose a settlement upon the raging religious con-

troversies of the time. At his death in 565, he was succeeded by his nephew Justin II.

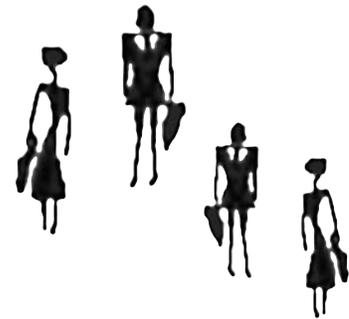
Our principal source for Justinian's reign is the prolific writer Procopius, who wrote official literature praising the emperor, as well as a private work (the *Anecdota*) that is critical, even scurrilous. Other sources include the vast legal collection assembled at Justinian's command and the work of the poet Paul the Silentiary.

*Bill Leadbetter*

*See also* Byzantine Empire

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Kamehameha I

Kanem-Bornu

Kangxi Emperor

Kenyatta, Jomo

Khmer Kingdom

King, Martin Luther, Jr.

Kinship

Kongo

Kushan Empire

# Kamehameha I

(1758?–1819)

HAWAIIAN KING

Arguably the greatest of all indigenous warrior leaders in Hawaiian history, Kamehameha was Hawaii's political bridge to the outside world. He came to power at a time when the islands were still relatively new as a stopover point from the northwest coast of America and its fur trade to the potential riches of Asia via Canton, China. Domestically, Kamehameha achieved unprecedented success by unifying the major islands under his autocratic control in 1810. Yet as successful as he was, possibly even more notable for that time were the details of how he accomplished what he did. Kamehameha used a wise combination of skills and strategies to both defeat his enemies on the battlefield and thereafter efficiently institute policies to assure peaceful governance. A multifaceted individual, he adhered to the religious system but was also capable of innovating when necessary. He could be as dynamic as any warrior in terms of fighting prowess, but his personal *kapu* (spiritually determined character or destiny) mandated that he also care for the weak and helpless by establishing various edicts to benefit all regarding public safety.

Kamehameha was literally born into greatness, as it is said: a comet blazed across the night sky announcing his birth. Some predicted his would be a life both successful and unprecedented in achievements. So disturbing were the predictions that the paramount chief of Hawaii island ordered the newborn to be put to death, fearing he would



one day rise up and usurp the power of the hereditary lineage. Thus Kamehameha was secreted away at birth to be raised out of reach of those who would do him harm. This was a long-standing custom for individuals born of significant chiefly lineage His formative years were spent training as any young chief would, and eventually his death order was rescinded when it was seen firsthand how very dedicated he was and eager to be of service to his superiors.

The ruler who wanted Kamehameha put to death lost his own life when Kamehameha was a young man. The eventual successor was an uncle of Kamehameha's. As a young man in service to his uncle, Kamehameha was one of the first Hawaiian chiefs to board the ships of James Cook in 1778. The loyal nephew was so able in the performance of his duties, British navigator James Cook mentions Kamehameha by name in his journals as intelligent and inquisitive when reporting the actions of the first party to visit aboard ship. The famed British navigator recognized what an attentive young man Kamehameha was, noting how he took in everything he saw, with his uncle relying on his observations of the foreigners and their ways for much of the visit. When this uncle died, he left control of the lands of Hawaii island to his son. The war god, though, was placed in the care of Kamehameha, the presumption being if any usurpations of authority were to take place the able young chief would be given every advantage. When the traditional redistribution of land dictated a new balance of power, Kamehameha was shown a total lack of respect given his status in the assembly of Hawaiian nobles. He dedicated the war god and a newly built temple and proceeded to

successfully wage battle after battle on Hawaii island until he gained complete dominance. Some of the innovations he employed at this time included the placement of heavy artillery on double canoes, use of Western warships, and the largest mobile force of warriors ever organized. Two British subjects in Kamehameha's service were important in his campaigns from the mid-1780s through 1795. John Young and Isaac Davis helped Kamehameha initially in the area of armaments for warfare, modifying traditional fighting forces by teaching some warriors the use of muskets. Cannon that both Young and Davis could operate were mounted on double canoes at the center deck. They also served as advisers and interpreters regarding foreign ideas, strategies, and influences.

The next objective was to secure the rest of the islands. He took Maui and its tributaries, then proceeded to Oahu, where his strongest rival was in residence. This opponent was no match for Kamehameha. He was the successor and son of a great Maui warrior, Kahekili, who had taken Oahu in earlier years. The son, however, was not the warrior his father had been. By vanquishing this foe Kamehameha took control of all the islands except Kauai, which was ceded to him in 1810 without major bloodshed.

Kamehameha appointed governors for each of the major islands. He instituted an era of peace that lasted for nearly the entire nineteenth century until the United States violated international law with an initial invasion of the Hawaiian kingdom followed by a military occupation in 1898, further violating Hawaii's neutrality as an independent nation-state. Were it not for Kamehameha I

and his dedicated successors, the Hawaiian islands would surely have fallen under the sway of a major power long before 1898.

*Kanahu G. T. Young*

See also American Empire

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## Kanem-Bornu

For a period of nearly a thousand years, Kanem-Bornu was a major political and economic power in northern Africa. Archaeological evidence indicates that its development on the semi-arid plains of the Lake Chad basin occurred in the first half of the first millennium CE among a Kanuri-speaking population of peasant cultivators and livestock herders. Already in the first millennium BCE, the basin was a crossroads for trade and cultural and technological interactions, primarily along a west-east axis, but also along a north-south axis. These networks were factors in the development of the Kanem-Bornu state system.

The earliest known dynasty, the Banu Dugu, or Zagahawa, held sway from the eighth to the late eleventh century, with its capital at Manan. The Saifawa, or Sefuwa, dynasty succeeded it in the second half of the eleventh century and reigned until the mid-nineteenth century. Until the early fourteenth century, Saifawa rule was based in Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, with its capital at Njimi

(from the twelfth to the fourteenth century). In the middle decades of the fourteenth century civil war forced the dynasty to move to the province of Bornu, west of the lake, where a new capital, Ngazargamu, was created.

### The Kanem State

With a royal ideology of divine kingship, the Banu Dugu dynasty of the eighth and ninth centuries ruled a rural population of peasants and herders and an urban population of traders and artisans. In this period the growth of a long-distance trade in salt and slaves, wars of expansion toward the Nile Valley and into the southern Sahara, and the arrival from North Africa of merchants and clerics of the Ibadī branch of the Kharijites marked its history. Merchants and some of the Kanem elite converted to Ibadī Islam in the ninth and tenth centuries. Surplus from the countryside and tribute from the large, salt-producing oasis of Kawar to the north were principal sources of revenue.

#### RISE OF THE SAIFAWA DYNASTY

A commercial economic system (a salt-slave circuit) extended from the plains east of Lake Chad to the Tibesti Mountains in the central Sahara, via the Kawar oasis, to Zawila, a principal trading center in the northern Saharan oasis known as the Fezzan (in present-day Libya). In the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries an expanding trans-savanna gold trade route that ran from the Middle Niger Valley eastward to the port of Zeila in the Horn of Africa and the port of Aden on the southern Arabian Peninsula passed through Kanem. The relative decline of the salt-slave circuit and the expansion of the trans-savanna gold trade contributed to the fall of the Banu Dugu dynasty and the rise of the Saifawa. The rural-based Banu Dagu lost the support of the Kanem merchant class, which shifted its allegiance to the urban-based Saifawa, a distant branch of the royal dynasty. This class and its North African associates became less interested in salt and slaves and more interested in a share of the growing gold trade, which extended to the Nile Valley (Egypt and Nubia) and the Indian Ocean trading system.

## Key Events in the History of African States

8TH CENTURY BCE	Cush (in southern Egypt and northern Sudan) invades and conquers Egypt; Shabaka of Cush establishes Egypt's twenty-fifth dynasty.
6TH CENTURY BCE	Meroë becomes the capital of Cush.
1ST MILLEN- NIUM CE	Wagadu (Ghana) empire flourishes.
1ST-3RD CENTURY CE	Kingdom of Cush flourishes, engages in trade with Rome.
MID-3RD CENTURY CE	Aksum replaces Cush as principal supplier of goods to Rome.
EARLY 6TH CENTURY CE	Aksum loses its Nile Valley and southern Arabian provinces.
6TH CENTURY	Nubian kingdoms (Nobadia, Makuria, and Alodia) flourish.
8TH CENTURY	City of Aksum abandoned.
9TH-14TH CENTURY	Centralization of political power in central Africa leads to the formation of the kingdom of Kongo.
10TH-12TH CENTURY	Hausa states emerge.
c. 1150-EARLY 14TH CENTURY	Saifawa dynasty rules in Kanem, in the Lake Chad basin.
EARLY 13TH CENTURY	Wagadu reduced to a tribute-paying vassal of Soso and Mali.
13TH CENTURY	Nubian kingdom of Alodia begins to disintegrate.
13TH-14TH CENTURY	Loose alliance among the seven Hausa states.
MID-13TH- MID-15TH CENTURY	Mali empire flourishes on the Upper Niger River.
1290-1450	Great Zimbabwe flourishes in southern Africa.
15TH CENTURY	Empire of Songhai is expanding.
15TH CENTURY	The East African island of Kilwa is a leading trading center.
1591	Songhai loses its independence to invaders from Morocco.
17TH-18TH CENTURY	Bornu, in the Lake Chad basin, is one of the largest states in Africa.
1808-1903	Sokoto caliphate flourishes in West Africa.
1818-1879	Zulu kingdom flourishes.

The new dynasty established a different stream of Islam, Sunni Maliki Islam, as the state religion, but it was not until the thirteenth century that the religion spread among the general population. A number of Kanemi sultans went on pilgrimage to Mecca. Mosques were built, schools were set up, clerics were brought into the state organization, and autonomous clerical communities were founded. Sultan al-hajj Dunama Dibalami (reigned 1210–1248) performed the pilgrimage and in 1242 established a hostel in Cairo for other pilgrims and students from Kanem. From the twelfth to the fourteenth century, Kanemi sultans conducted military campaigns in all directions, especially toward Hausaland in the west, the Fezzan, and the Nile Valley. Newly conquered lands were granted as fiefs to military commanders. At the heart of the political system was a confederacy of aristocratic clans linked to the ruling dynasty. Senior office holders were drawn from the ranks of the great fief holders, the royal princes and princesses, and Muslim clerics and officers. Local functionaries and tributary rulers occupied the lower ranks of the political system. Imperial expansion enabled the capital and the Kanem heartland to flourish and to achieve recognition beyond the Islamic world. Among medieval European cartographers, Kanem was known under the names Occitan and Organa.

#### THE KARIMI MERCHANTS

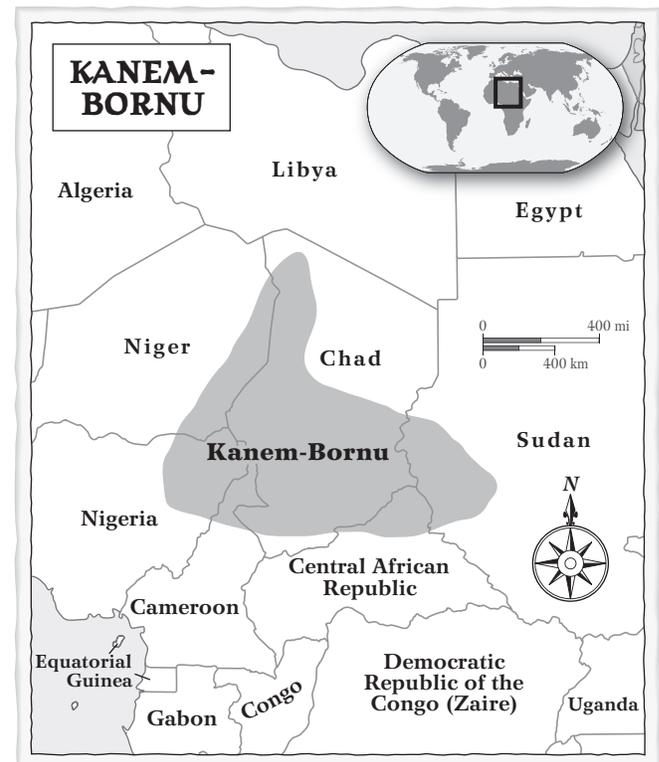
Kanem's role in international trade can be gleaned from the activities of the wealthy and influential Karimi (or Karim) merchants, who were the preeminent traders in the Islamic world from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Some scholars believe that *Karimi* derives from Kanem, the merchants' place of origin, and that they rose to prominence in Kanem in the 950–1050 period and in Egypt and Aden in the eleventh century. By the thirteenth century they all but monopolized the trade with Byzantium, the Middle East, India, Southeast Asia, and China as well as the Red Sea ports, and their commercial activities carried them to Ethiopia, Nubia (present-day northern Sudan and southern Egypt), and Mali and Ghana (Wagadu) in West Africa. Among the wealthiest mer-

chant groups in the Islamic world, they maintained a profitable and vibrant commercial traffic between Asia and Africa.

The revolts and civil wars that plagued fourteenth-century Kanem had several causes, including ambitious estate holders' desire for autonomy, rival and aspiring claimants to the kingship, and a discontented and rebellious peasantry. Njimi was destroyed, probably toward the end of the century, and the Saifawa were forced out of Kanem.

### The Bornu State

The founding, in about 1480, of a new Saifawa capital, Ngazargamu, by Sultan Ali ibn Dunama (reigned 1470–1503) signaled a new chapter in the imperial history of the Lake Chad basin. During the sultan's pilgrimage to Mecca in about 1484, a claimant to the throne of the Islamic Abbasid dynasty (749/750–1258) invested him as the caliph of Takrur (that is, Islamic West Africa). From





this time onward, Bornu rulers regarded themselves as caliphs, a claim that was widely accepted. Ali ibn Dunama and his successors ended the civil wars, reconquered Kanem, and launched military conquests across vast territories, such that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Bornu was one of the largest states in Africa. It dominated Hausaland, the trade routes leading to Tripoli on the North African coast, and the sultanates up to the Nile Valley.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were times of political consolidation, economic expansion and prosperity, population growth, and peace. Towns and villages increased in number, as a result, for example, of the spread of clerical communities. Local trade, based on geographical specializations within a regional economy, expanded substantially. Bornu merchant caravans transported a wide variety of goods to and from distant markets—the Nile Valley, the Middle East, North Africa, and many parts of West Africa.

#### BORNU INNOVATIONS

The Bornu caliphate differed significantly from the Kanem sultanate. In Kanem there was a close association between the state and religious learning, while in Bornu there was a close association between trade and religious learning. In Kanem the sultan ruled as the first among the great landed elite. In Bornu the caliph headed a centralized bureaucracy consisting of slaves, including eunuchs, and persons of servile descent. Bornu was divided into landed estates (or fiefs) held by the new slave aristocracy (slaves to the ruling sovereign), courtiers or servants of the king, and military commanders. Unlike their Kanem predecessors, all of the senior officials lived in the capital and not on their estates. They toured their districts only to collect taxes and during times of unrest. In contrast to the old aristocracy, the new ruling class was entirely Muslim. The traditional estate holders and aristocratic clans had titles but little or no power. Rulers relied on slave troops and mercenaries and were thus militarily independent of village communities. Islamic law replaced customary law, the ruler appointed Muslim judges

throughout the land, mosques were built in the rural areas, and a hostel was founded in Mecca for Bornu pilgrims.

There were numerous units within the state that were not included in the dominant administrative structure. Semiautonomous territories, clerical towns, social-occupational groups (such as camel and cattle pastoralists), and families in possession of rights of privilege were directly responsible to the ruler and not to any fief holder. This political arrangement reflected old traditions and practices from Kanem.

In 1808 the capital Ngazagamu was sacked by followers of Uthman dan Fodio (1754–1817) and in 1812 completely abandoned. Several western provinces were occupied and permanently lost. A religious movement (1804–1810) in Hausaland—the jihad of Uthman dan Fodio—resulted in a new political order, the Sokoto caliphate, which successfully challenged the dominance of Bornu and the authority of the Saifawa. Bornu entered a period of decline, and the prestige and power of the Saifawa dynasty waned.

#### THE AL-KANEMI DYNASTY

To meet the military and political threats of the jihad and Sokoto, Caliph Dunama Lefiami (reigned 1808–1817) called upon the influential scholar Shaykh al-hajj Muhammad al-Amin al-Kanemi (d. 1837) to defend Bornu and the Saifawa. Al-Kanemi, who was to found a new dynasty, defeated the jihad forces, and for this and other services he was appointed a semiautonomous official and was awarded two enormous fiefs. The latter became his power base. By absorbing semiautonomous territories and communities and frontier territories and by maintaining a standing army, he was able to achieve military and political preeminence. In 1814 he founded Kukuwa as his capital. He became the de facto ruler of Bornu, with the caliph having power only over the royal court. Shaykh ‘Umar al-Kanemi (reigned 1837–1881), al-Kanemi’s son and successor, ended the reign of the Saifawa in 1846.

The administrative structure of Bornu under the al-Kanemi dynasty combined features associated with the

*Education makes a people easy to lead, but difficult to drive; easy to govern, but impossible to enslave.* • WILLIAM BLAKE (1757–1827)

Saifawa period with innovations that Muhammad al-Kanemi developed. Among his reforms were the reorganization of the Bornu Council of State and the creation of a standing royal slave army. The slave component in the administration was more powerful than under the Saifawa, but advancement within the political system for both free and slave was through clientage within a hierarchy of patron-client relations headed by the Shaykh. The entire state revenue was recognized as the Shaykh's personal property, which he could dispose of at will. Bornu's role as a major trade center declined after the mid-nineteenth century. It was increasingly drawn into the more dynamic economy of the Sokoto caliphate as a supplier of raw materials and a consumer of luxuries.

The rule of the al-Kanemi dynasty ended in 1893 when Rabih Zubeir (d. 1900), coming from the Nile Valley, invaded and defeated an internally divided Bornu. Kukuwa was sacked and Rabih established himself in Dikwa, his new capital, as the sovereign of Bornu. However, his rule was cut short in 1900 by advancing European armies, which colonized the area.

## Regional and Supraregional Impact

Throughout much of its history Kanem-Bornu, centrally located at the Chadic basin crossroads, was economically and politically oriented to the Sahara to the north and the Nile Valley to the east. When this orientation was effectively blocked in the second half of the nineteenth century, the society experienced severe internal divisions and fell into inevitable decline.

The historical significance of Kanem-Bornu can be understood in terms of its regional and supraregional significance. At both a regional and supraregional level it was instrumental in the spread of Islam over an extensive territory westward to Hausaland, southward to the lands below the Lake Chad basin, and eastward to the lands between Lake Chad and the Middle Nile Valley. Regionally, it was a major center of Islamic learning and scholarship. The political institutions of the principal polities

in this vast region, as well as the confederations and town governments in the central and eastern Sahara, derive in large part from Kanem-Bornu and in near and distant lands state-building strategies followed Kanem-Bornu examples.

Commercially, Kanem-Bornu was equally significant. It was a leading source of salt (= alum) and slaves to the Mediterranean lands of Christendom and Islam. Salt/alum was an essential ingredient needed by textile producers in the West and in Egypt and North Africa. Kanem-Bornu was also indispensable to the development of royal military forces in North Africa polities where the main military units depended upon (adult male) slave imports from Kanem-Bornu. These units were employed in invasions of southern Europe and wars against the Crusaders. In addition, the Karimi merchants who have been linked with Kanem were specialists in the Indian Ocean trade and established the traffic in gold and other goods between Asia and Africa.

Ray A. Kea

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# Kangxi Emperor

(1654–1722)

SECOND EMPEROR OF CHINA'S  
QING DYNASTY (1644–1912)

The sixty-year reign of Kangxi, from 1662 to 1722, was one of the longest and most successful in Chinese history. Along with solidifying Manchu rule in China and countering Russian and Mongol threats along the empire's borders, Kangxi also proved himself to be a cultured and able administrator who skillfully bridged the divide between his nomadic Manchu heritage and the agrarian civilization of his Han Chinese subjects.

In the winter of 1661 Emperor Shunzhi, the first emperor of the Qing dynasty, contracted smallpox, and on his deathbed he named his third son, Xuan Ye, his heir, possibly because the youth had survived a battle with the disease that shortly was to claim his father, and it was believed that this was a sign that the child would have a long life. Twelve days after his father's death, Xuan Ye was proclaimed emperor and took the reign name Kangxi. As the young emperor was only seven years old, a council of four regents was appointed to rule while the child was in his minority. After an abortive first attempt to assert his authority, Kangxi managed at age fifteen, with the help of his mother's uncle and a group of loyal Manchu officers, to take control of the empire, thus beginning a reign that would last for the next six decades and make him one of the most respected rulers in all of Chinese history.

One of the greatest problems facing the young emperor was the need to unify all of the empire under Manchu rule. To this end, Kangxi ordered that a military campaign be conducted against the three Chinese generals who had directed the conquest of south and southwest China in the 1650s. These generals, Shang Kexi, Geng Jimao, and Wu Sangui, had earlier been named princes and had their sons married to the daughters of Manchu nobles as recognition of their loyalty to the Qing cause. By the early 1670s, however, Kangxi desired to remove

these generals, who were referred to as the "Three Feudatories" due to the high degree of independence they wielded over southern China. The campaign against these former allies was bitter and bloody, but after eight years of fighting Kangxi subdued the last of the Chinese resistance in the south. The emperor then turned his attention to conquering the island of Taiwan, where a large army under the command of the Zheng family had established itself in 1659. A fleet of three hundred ships, under the command of Admiral Shi Lang, whose father and brothers had been killed in the 1650s by the rebel leader Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga), was assembled to capture the island. In the summer of 1683, Admiral Shi's fleet dealt the rebels a fatal blow off the coast of Taiwan and the last remnants of Chinese resistance surrendered.

Kangxi also worked to protect his empire's northern and western borders against foreign threats. By the late seventeenth century, the Russians had conquered most of Siberia and were exerting pressure along the Amur River in northern Manchuria. Kangxi attempted to remove this threat by laying siege to the Russian military presence at Fort Albazin in the mid 1680s. In 1689, with the assistance of Jesuit missionaries who served as translators, representatives of the Qing and Russian empires met at the town of Nerchinsk and signed a peace treaty, the first diplomatic treaty between China and a European nation. In the years that followed, Russian embassies travelled to the Qing court at Beijing and the two nations enjoyed cordial commercial and diplomatic relations.

The emperor Kangxi had been anxious to solve his problems with Russia in order to focus his efforts on the greater threat posed by the Eleuth king Galdan in western Mongolia. In 1699 Galdan's armies invaded the territory of the Khalkhas, a nomadic people who lived in eastern Mongolia. The Khalkhas sought refuge in Inner Mongolia, and in 1691 their princes pledged alliance to Kangxi and accepted Qing suzerainty. Five years later Galdan's armies again invaded Khalkha territory, and this time Kangxi himself headed an expedition to end this threat along his northern frontier. In 1697 Galdan's forces were defeated and the Eleuth king was forced to commit

suicide. The northern border of the Qing empire was now stabilized, and all of the peoples of Outer Mongolia were placed firmly under Manchu control. In 1720, Qing armies also established control over Tibet.

Domestically Kangxi proved to be a conscientious ruler, and under his administration the empire prospered. He insured that public works, such as maintenance of the dikes along the Huang (Yellow) River and the navigability of the Grand Canal, were completed. He personally conducted six tours of the empire during his reign, during which he inspected conservancy projects and the work of his officials. While in Beijing he continued to keep a close watch on the work of the empire's bureaucracy by reading secret reports compiled by teams of censors who were routinely sent to inspect the work of the officialdom. Having mastered classical Chinese, Kangxi was a great patron of Chinese culture and scholarship, and during his rule he sponsored court painters, academies of learning, imperial porcelain factories, and the compilation of works of literature and philosophy. In an effort to retain the traditions of his nomadic heritage, Kangxi also enjoyed periodic hunting trips with members of the Manchu aristocracy.

Emperor Kangxi was a ruler who exhibited great intellectual curiosity, and this was demonstrated by his use of Jesuit advisers. Not only were the missionaries used as translators during the negotiations with the Russians at Nerchinsk, but they were also employed as cartographers and charged with running the Imperial Board of Astronomy because of their demonstrated mathematical knowledge and ability to correct the Chinese calendar.

Kangxi had twenty sons and eight daughters who lived to adult age, but only one of these, the prince Yinreng, was born to the first empress. The young prince was named heir apparent at a young age and was left to serve as acting ruler when his father was absent from the capital during the military campaign against Galdan and the inspection tours of the south. Yinren, however, proved to have a cruel personality, and after years of reading secret reports and memorials documenting the prince's abusive behavior, Kangxi finally revoked Yinren's status as heir apparent in 1708 and ordered him arrested. When Kangxi

died in December 1722 he had failed to fulfill an important responsibility by not publicly naming an heir, and, in the power struggle that followed his death, his fourth son took the throne under the reign name Yongzheng. Despite his failure to name an heir, Kangxi is recognized, along with the emperor Qianlong (reigned 1736–1799), as one of two greatest emperors of the Qing period. The empire's borders were strengthened through his military campaigns, and China's economy, culture and population prospered due to the new stability.

*Robert John Perrins*

See also China

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## Kenyatta, Jomo

(1891?–1978)

FIRST PRIME MINISTER AND  
PRESIDENT OF INDEPENDENT KENYA

Born in the Kikuyu highlands of East Africa, Jomo Kenyatta rose to become an international spokesman for African nationalism and an elder statesman for the moderate wing of the nonaligned movement of developing nations that wanted to avoid placing themselves in either the U.S.-led or the Soviet-led camps during the Cold War. As a boy he received a tra-

## Jomo Kenyatta on African Land and European Colonialism

*As an anthropologist, Kenyatta had a clear conception of the role of land among his own people (and by inference to many other Africans as well):*

In Gikuyu society the system of land tenure can only be understood by reference to the ties of kinship. It is no more true to say that the land is collectively owned by the tribe than that it is privately owned by the individual. In relation to the tribe, a man is the owner of his land, and there is no official or committee with authority to deprive him of it or to levy a tax on his produce. But in so far as there are other people of his own flesh and blood who depend on the land for their daily bread, he is not the owner, but a partner, or at the most a trustee for the others. (299)

*He also explained how the facts of colonialism threatened the existence of African societies, even when the colonialists claimed altruistic motives:*

When the European comes to the Gikuyu country and robs the people of their land, he is taking away not only their livelihood, but the material symbol that

holds family and tribe together. In doing this he gives one blow which cuts away the foundations from the whole of Gikuyu life. . . . When he explains, to his own satisfaction . . . that he is doing this for the sake of the Africans . . . he is adding insult to injury. (305)

*And it was not a far cry from his essentially anthropological analysis for Kenyatta to assert a much more political conclusion which underpinned his anticolonial and later African nationalist activities:*

By driving him off his ancestral lands, the Europeans have robbed [the African] of the material foundations of his culture, and reduced him to a state of serfdom incompatible with human happiness. The African is conditioned, by the cultural and social institutions of centuries, to a freedom of which Europe has little conception, and it is not in his nature to accept serfdom for ever. ( 306)

*Melvin E. Page*

Source: Kenyatta, J. (1983). *Facing Mount Kenya: The tribal life of the Gikuyu*. New York: Vintage Books. (Original work published in 1938)

ditional Kikuyu education, moving through childhood with other members of his age group and thereby finding his place in Kikuyu society. About 1909 he joined the Church of Scotland and attended a mission elementary school; he was baptized John Peter Kamau in 1914. Employed by a government contractor, he was exempted from otherwise compulsory military labor service during World War I. Later, as Johnstone Kenyatta, he worked for the Nairobi municipal authority; in Nairobi he joined the East Africa Association of similarly educated Africans and then in 1924 the newly formed Kikuyu Central Association (KCA). He was soon editing the Association's publication *Muigwithania* ("Reconciler" in Kikuyu), which attracted the attention of British colonial authorities since it was the territory's first vernacular publication and actively opposed land alienation (policies by which British interests disposed Kenyans off their land in favor of colonial settlers). Kenyatta was elected general secretary of the KCA in 1928, and the following year he represented

the Association's views before the British Colonial Office in London.

In 1931 he returned to Kenya to give evidence before the Kenya Land Commission on the matter of Kikuyu land alienation, but he was back in England the next year studying at Selly Oak College in Birmingham. He also traveled widely in Europe, attending several conferences of African and other colonial peoples sponsored by progressive and socialist agencies, and he spent a year at the Comintern Institute in Moscow. He later studied anthropology with the famous anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) at the London School of Economics, completing his book *Facing Mount Kenya*, an extraordinary account of a way of life that was also a plea for its preservation. Thereafter he was known as Jomo Kenyatta.

Kenyatta brought those same concerns to the 1948 Pan Africa Congress in Manchester, England, for which he served on the organizing committee as assistant secretary. He joined Kwame Nkrumah (the future prime minister of independent Ghana), Hastings Banda (the future

president of independent Malawi), and other African delegates in calling for an end to the colonialism that still dominated their continent. The conference, along with other gatherings of Africans in London, created the intellectual environment that later manifested itself in the Organization of African Unity. Kenyatta returned to British East Africa in 1946 and the next year became president of the Kenya Africa Union (KAU), which had been formed in 1944 as a primarily Kikuyu cultural association. As president of the KAU, Kenyatta supported calls for the preservation of Kikuyu ways in the face of continued British domination of the economic and political life of his country, but as the only African political leader in Kenya capable of uniting Africans throughout the territory, Kenyatta worked steadfastly to broaden the base of the KAU into a national movement. He accomplished this by specifically including other groups, such as the Kamba and Meru, in its anticolonial activities.

Despite these public stands, he was unsuccessful in tempering the most militant Kikuyu protests, which gave rise to the Mau Mau guerrilla movement. After a number of incidents—in which, ironically, more Africans accused of collaboration were killed than Europeans—the British declared a state of emergency, increased their police and military presence, banned the KAU, and arrested Kenyatta and other leaders of the association. Kenyatta was accused of being the mastermind of the Mau Mau movement, and in 1952 he and other KAU officials were tried. Despite continuing denials of his involvement, and based on likely perjured testimony, Kenyatta was convicted and imprisoned for a term of seven years.

The British military continued to campaign against the Mau Mau insurgents, finally gaining the upper hand in 1959, when the state of emergency was lifted. The next year a new political party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), proclaimed Kenyatta its president and campaigned for his release from prison, which came in 1961. But colonial leaders insisted that Kenyatta should not hold public office, so when KANU won a majority of seats in elections for internal self-government in 1962, the party refused to form a government. Only after a second electoral victory in 1962 was Kenyatta permitted to

assume the position of prime minister. He continued in that position upon Kenya's independence in 1963, and in the following year he became the first president of the Republic of Kenya.

Under his leadership Kenya worked to follow his personal slogan, "Harambee" (meaning "let's all pull together" in Swahili), with policies that invited British settlers and their descendents to be full citizens of the country.

On the international scene, Kenyatta drew much attention as an elder statesman for the nonaligned movement, in particular in its campaign against what he and others described as neocolonialism. However, he also advocated pro-Western policies of economic development, a stance that sometimes separated him from other, more socialist-inclined, African leaders. Nonetheless, his long insistence on the viability of African societies and steadfast assertion of their rights in the modern world continued to impress younger African leaders as a model assertive leadership. He died in 1978 while still president of Kenya.

*Melvin E. Page*

*See also* Africa, Colonial; Africa, Postcolonial

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## Khmer Kingdom

The Khmer people established some of the earliest Southeast Asian states as well as the great Angkor empire. Angkor dominated much of mainland Southeast Asia for half a millennium beginning in the ninth century, flourishing as one of Eurasia's most creative societies.

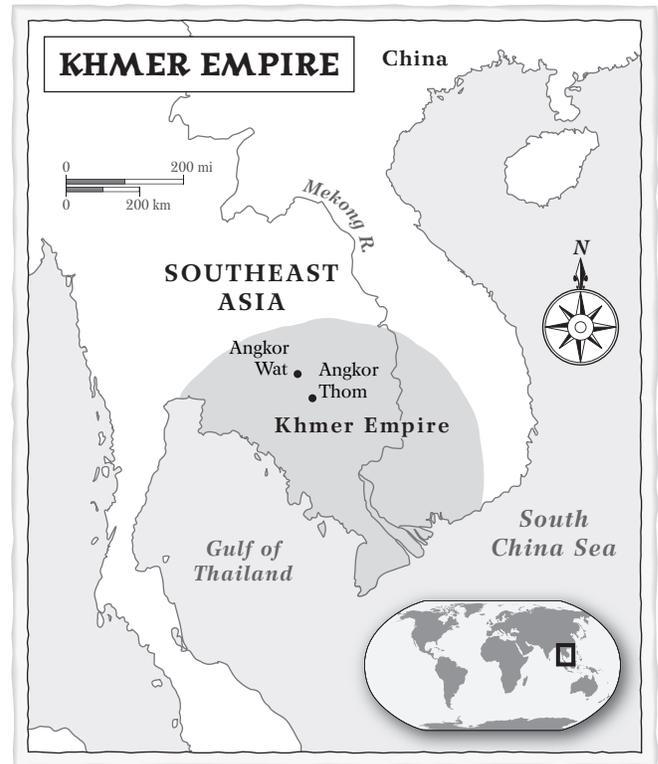
## Early Khmer States and Indian Influences

Just prior to the common era India began exercising a strong influence in Southeast Asia. The process by which Indian ideas spread into and influenced many Southeast Asians, often termed “Indianization,” mixed Indian ideas with local ideas. This occurred at about the same time as classical Greco-Roman civilization was spreading around the Mediterranean. Indian traders and priests began regularly traveling the oceanic trade routes to mainland Southeast Asia, which they termed the “land of gold,” settling in some of the states and marrying into or becoming advisers to influential families. They brought with them Indian concepts of religion, government, and the arts, as well as writing systems. Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism became important in the region, especially among the upper classes.

The first great Khmer state, Funan, thrived from around 60 to 540 CE. Centered in the fertile Mekong River delta of southern Vietnam, Funan was in regular contact with China, had adopted many Indian practices, valued literacy, and built masterful canal systems linking its major cities. At times Funan may have dominated much of what is today Cambodia and southern Thailand. With its access to major land and sea trade routes, Funan was part of large trading networks. Trade goods from as far as Rome, Arabia, Central Asia, and perhaps East Africa have been found in its ruins. Merchants from various countries, including India and China, lived in the major port city, exporting forest products such as ivory, rhinoceros horn, and wild spices. Another Khmer kingdom or grouping of city-states, called by the Chinese Chenla, emerged inland in the Mekong River basin around the fifth century and gradually outshone Funan. Chenla played a dominant regional role until the seventh century, when it was destroyed by a civil war.

## The Angkor Empire and Government

The greatest Khmer state was the Indianized kingdom of Angkor, established by a visionary king, Jayavarman II (c. 770–850; reigned c. 790–850), in 802. The name



*Angkor* derives from the Sanskrit term for holy city, and Jayavarman identified himself with the Hindu god Siva. Hindu priests probably brought the Indian idea of god kings to Khmer rulers. His successors extended and consolidated the kingdom. At its height in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Angkor had a loosely integrated empire controlling much of present day Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and southern Vietnam. The Khmer acquired and maintained their substantial empire by a skillful combination of warfare, diplomacy, and pragmatism.

This vigorous imperial system compares favorably with the fragmented states of medieval Europe, bearing some resemblance to the Carolingian state founded by Charlemagne in northwestern Europe around the same time. The well-financed Angkor government supported substantial public services, including a system of hospitals, schools, and libraries. Some kings were noted as avid patrons of the arts. Theater, art, and dance reflected Hindu values. For example, at festivals troupes of dancers enacted scenes from Hindu holy books.

## Monuments, Canals, and Urbanization

Many magnificent stone temple mountains were built as sanctuaries and mausoleums, designed to represent the



Hindu conception of the cosmos. These temples also provided vivid and concrete symbols of a monarch's earthly power, since the construction involved advanced engineering skills and massive amounts of drafted labor. The most famous temple complex is Angkor Wat, the largest religious building in the premodern world. It dwarfed the magnificent cathedrals of Europe and grand mosques of Baghdad or Cairo. The reliefs carved into stone at Angkor Wat and other temples provide glimpses of daily life, showing fishing boats, midwives attending a childbirth, merchant stalls, jugglers and dancers at a festival, peasants bringing goods to market, the crowd at a cockfight, and men playing chess.

Drafted workers also constructed an extensive hydraulic network of canals and reservoirs for efficient water distribution, demonstrating some of the most advanced civil engineering in the premodern world. The Khmer were successful farmers, obtaining astonishing productivity from what was originally only a moderately fertile region. The Khmer may have had the most productive agriculture in premodern history, producing three to four crops a year. Only a few premodern peoples could match Khmer farming capabilities, which depended on an ingenious water storage system and the unusual geography of central Camodia, including a large seasonal lake which renewed the soil. But historians still debate whether Angkor wet-rice farming was based chiefly on rainfall and flooding or irrigation, or perhaps a combination of both.

By the twelfth century the bustling capital city, Angkor Thom, and its immediate environs had a substantial population, perhaps as many as one million people, much larger than any medieval European city and comparable to all but the largest Chinese and Arab cities of that era. The magnificent temples still standing today and the remnants of the remarkable water control network testify to the prosperity and organization of the society. While the source of some speculation, the evidence is unclear whether neighboring or subsequent states imitated or adapted the Khmer water control network .

### **Angkor Society**

The rigid Khmer social structure resembled that of medieval Europe in some respects. Each class had its ap-

pointed role, bound by many rules. Priestly families led a cult for the popular worship of the kings, who claimed godlike powers. Below the priests were the trade guilds. The vast majority of the population were essentially serfs tied to the soil they plowed, to the temples they served, and to the king's army. In exchange for considerable material security, Khmer commoners tolerated a highly unequal distribution of wealth as well as substantial labor demands. No India-style caste system existed despite the strong Hindu influence. Like many premodern societies, there were many slaves and people in some form of temporary or permanent involuntary servitude.

Khmer women played a much more important role in society and politics than in most other places in the world at that time, due in part to a matrilineal tradition. Women dominated the palace staff, and some were even gladiators and warriors. They also operated most of the retail stalls. Chinese visitors were shocked at their liberated behavior. Women were also active in philanthropy, scholarship, and the arts, including the national passion for poetry. Unfortunately all the manuscripts, written on palm leaves, deteriorated over the centuries.

### **The Heritage of Angkor**

Eventually Angkor declined from varied causes. Military expansion overstretched resources. Increased temple building resulted in higher tax levies and forced labor, antagonizing much of the population into rebellion. There is some evidence that there may have been a breakdown of the irrigation system. Outside forces also played a role. Amidst the growing disruption, Theravada Buddhism spread into Angkor in the mid-thirteenth century from Sri Lanka, and gradually became the dominant religion, promoting nonviolence and undermining god-kings. By the thirteenth century the ancestors of the Thai and Lao peoples had migrated from southwest China and set up states in northern Thailand and the Mekong River valley. They repeatedly sacked Angkor and seized much of the empire's territory. The Angkor capital was abandoned in 1431, and the imperial structure disintegrated by 1440. But

*I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for the law.* • MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. (1929–1968)

Angkor left an enduring legacy as the Thai peoples gradually adopted many aspects of Khmer government, culture, and religion.

The ensuing centuries proved difficult. The Khmer became pawns perched uneasily between the expanding Vietnamese and Thai states. Both their neighbors periodically attempted, often successfully, to control or dominate the demoralized remnants of the once splendid Angkor civilization. Beginning in 1863 the French controlled Cambodia, a colonization that only ended in 1953. Terrible conflict and genocide devastated Cambodia from 1970 until the mid-1990s. Yet, even today, the image and spirit of long abandoned Angkor continues to inspire the Khmer people.

*Craig A. Lockard*

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## King, Martin Luther, Jr.

(1929–1968)

U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER

**M**artin Luther King Jr.'s leadership in the civil rights movement in the United States from the mid-1950s until his death in 1968 was critical to that movement's success in ending the legal segregation of African

Americans in the South and other parts of the United States. King used nonviolent tactics borrowed from Mohandas Gandhi in seeking to overturn segregation, a decision that contributed to King's earning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

King (original name Michael Luther King Jr.) was the son and maternal grandson of Baptist preachers, both of whom served at the prestigious Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. His parents' comfortable middle-class lifestyle afforded young Martin a solid education and opportunities not available to all black Americans at the height of segregation. His secure upbringing, however, did not shield him from the prejudices then common throughout the South.

King entered Morehouse College at age 15 under a special wartime program intended to boost enrollment. He graduated in 1948 after entering the ministry, and he spent the next three years at Crozier Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, where he studied Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence as well as the works of contemporary Protestant theologians. After earning a bachelor of divinity degree, King moved on to Boston University to earn a doctorate. There he met Coretta Scott, a native Alabamian who was studying at the New England Conservatory of Music. They were married in 1953 and had four children. King received his doctoral degree in 1955, a year after he accepted a position as pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama.

Montgomery's civil rights advocates decided in 1955 to contest racial segregation on that city's public transportation system. When Rosa Parks, an African-American woman, refused to give up her bus seat to a white passenger and police arrested her for violating the city's segregation law, the activists formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to boycott the transportation system. They chose King as their leader. He quickly showed his commitment to the cause through his inspiring rhetoric and public fearlessness after his family home had been bombed. Just over one year after the start of the boycott, the city integrated the bus system.

Wanting to capitalize on the success of the Montgomery boycott, King organized the Southern Christian

Leadership Conference (SCLC) in hopes of creating a national movement. He lectured on race-related issues around the country and abroad. A meeting with Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru helped cement his belief in using nonviolent resistance. He also drew inspiration from the struggles of Africans trying to overthrow colonialism and establish independent nations.

In 1960, King became co-pastor at Ebenezer Baptist Church with his father. The position allowed him to devote much of his time to the SCLC and civil rights. Sensing the time had come to launch a concentrated attack against segregation, he supported sit-in demonstrations staged by local black college students. His arrest and imprisonment for violating his probation on a minor traffic offense received national attention, especially after Democratic presidential candidate John F. Kennedy interceded on his behalf. The move garnered so much publicity that it most likely contributed to Kennedy's narrow victory eight days later.

The next five years found King's influence at its peak. He did not shy away from using the news media—especially television, then in its infancy—to bring national and international attention to the civil rights struggle. Images of women and children offering no resistance while being beaten by police or attacked by police dogs stunned the American public, and brought pressure on the administrations of Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson to enact and enforce federal civil rights legislation.

Not everyone in the black community supported King's tactics. In the spring of 1963, he wrote his famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail" defending the use of nonviolent tactics instead of the simple negotiation supported by many black clergy of Birmingham. King argued that nonviolent direct action would bring about such a crisis that the white community would have no choice but to negotiate. Later that summer, to bring about further pressure on federal legislators, King participated in the historic March on Washington. Nearly 200,000 attended the peaceful rally to demand equal justice under the law. There, he gave his famous "I Have a Dream" speech, in which he emphasized his belief that one day, all men would be brothers, regardless of racial or cultural distinctions. The following year saw

the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, authorizing the federal government to desegregate public accommodations and outlawing discrimination in publicly owned facilities and in employment. The high watermark of the civil rights movement, and perhaps of King's life, came in December when he received the Nobel Prize for Peace.

The Selma, Alabama, demonstrations of March 1965 revealed the first opposition to King's tactics within the civil rights movement. When King opted not to confront armed state troopers and instead turn back, the decision cost him the support of many young radicals who were already criticizing him for being too cautious. Though the march influenced the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, King appeared to be growing out of touch with radical activists who faced poverty and other problems in addition to segregation in urban centers and the North. Their public derision of King and the seeming failure of nonviolent demonstrations to bring about further change led him to change his focus and move beyond concerns of race. In 1967, he firmly came out in opposition to the Vietnam War, a decision that cost him further support in parts of the black community and in Washington. His attempt to widen his base by organizing a coalition of the poor of all races did not gain him great support in any segment of the population.

Undeterred, King began planning a Poor People's March to Washington in the spring of 1968. He interrupted his planning efforts to go to Memphis, Tennessee, to lend his support to a strike by that city's sanitation workers. A sniper killed him while he stood on the second-story balcony of the Lorraine Motel. His death touched off rioting in over 100 cities across the country. More importantly, it hastened the shift of the civil rights movement toward violent confrontation, followed by its splintering in the 1970s and slowing in the face of backlash against affirmative action beginning in the 1980s. Part of this is attributable to King's elevation over the years to martyr status. Some scholars and social activists have argued that this deification has caused the civil rights movement to lose sight of the grassroots efforts necessary to effect social change, and has diluted King's own message of economic justice. Nonetheless, that his legacy can

*Bigamy is having one wife too many. Monogamy is the same.* • OSCAR WILDE, (1854–1900)

still spark such debate decades later testifies to his continued social and political relevance.

*James G. Lewis*

See also African-American and Caribbean Religions; Civil Disobedience; Human Rights; Race and Racism

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## Kinship

The word *kinship* refers to the conceptualization that people have of the relatedness among themselves stemming from sexual intercourse. Thus defined, *kinship* is reducible to the relationships parent-child, sibling-sibling, and spouse-spouse. In English the parent of a person's parent is a "grandparent," the sibling of a person's parent is an "uncle" or "aunt," and the husband of a person's sister is a "brother-in-law." However, kinship between people is sometimes claimed or evoked when no such relationship is known or even exists, as when we refer to someone as a "cousin" without being able to trace precisely our genealogical connection or when, as a courtesy, we call a Roman Catholic priest "father."

### Constructionism

Constructionists—sometimes called "cultural constructionists" or "social constructionists"—posit or assume that people create their conceptual worlds with minimal influence from outside other than power relations. They hold that the procreative basis of kinship is an ethnocentric

illusion. They point out that kinship ties in various parts of the world are created by nonprocreative means. Foremost among these means are co-residence, food sharing, and food giving, with nurturance through adoption being perhaps a special case of the first and third means. Thus, in many Inuit (Eskimo) communities adoptive parents are assigned terms based on parent terms. In Papua New Guinea genealogies are frequently adjusted to transform nonkin into kin when they become co-residents. In parts of east Africa a man in his travels may befriend another man, with whom he may perform a ceremony wherein each drinks the blood of the other. By this act the two men are said to be "brothers." Constructionists rightly emphasize the importance of sharing in such cases. Thus, in the Inuit example of adoption the adoptive mother's breast milk will go to the child if he or she is still an infant, other foods if the child is older. In the Papua New Guinea example the sharing of food is likely to be more evenly balanced. In the east African example food is also shared, most conspicuously in the form of blood.

### Focality

Constructionists almost entirely ignore, by contrast, the issue of focality. Consider the Inuit example. The terms assigned to Inuit adoptive parents are, as noted, based on parent terms, much like our expressions *foster parent* and *step-parent*: All refer back to procreative parents, who provide the focal points for these latter expressions. We can say much the same for genealogy manipulation in Papua New Guinea: Nonkin are thus regarded as procreative kin, such that these latter people serve as the bases or foci from which kin classes are extended. In east Africa two men who drink each other's blood are imitating postnatally what is true—and is thought to be true—of real brothers natively, that is, sharing blood. In all these cases—and many others—nonprocreative kinship notions are modeled on procreative ones.

### Ethnoembryologies

Constructionists and nonconstructionists alike will insist that what we have termed "procreative parents" here be understood to refer to parents according to local appreciations of human reproduction or "ethnoembryologies."

*Relations are simply a tedious pack of people who haven't got the remotest knowledge of how to live, nor the smallest instinct about when to die.* • OSCAR WILDE (1854–1900)

They are likely to point out that, even in Western civilization, the modern scientific finding that both parents contribute equally to the fetus is only about a century old, before which time it was maintained—although not unequivocally—that the father's sperm contained a miniature person, who was merely incubated in the mother. This notion, in fact, is a common ideology outside the West as well. Other variations exist. Probably the two most common of these are (1) that the mother supplies the soft parts of the body, the father the bones and (2) that the mother supplies the entire body, whereas the father either supplies the spirit or acts as an intermediary between the carnal world and the spiritual world. Thus in parts of Aboriginal Australia the father is said to “find” the spirit of his yet-to-be-born child in a dream and to direct it from there to the mother's womb. From this example we might think it misleading to refer to this role by the term *father*. We will see why it is not misleading in the next section. Here three points need to be made.

First, the carnal-spiritual dichotomy is often violated by the special treatment accorded the bones, which, although of the body, decay only gradually and thus are likely to evoke notions of durability and permanence, like the spirit. Thus, in Aboriginal Australia the corpse is buried soon after death and disinterred after a year or so, at which time the flesh that remains is removed and discarded. The bones, by contrast, are retained: They are placed in a hollowed-out log decorated with emblems signifying the deceased's spiritual heritage, and the log-cum-bones is carefully hidden on the same tract of land on which his or her father first encountered his child's spirit. The attention given to the bones of relatives and saints in the great religions of the East and West provides more familiar examples of much the same kind of thinking.

Second and even more important, two or more ethno-embryologies may exist in the same community. Among Aboriginal Australian men with whom researchers have talked, some argued for variation 1 noted earlier, others for variation 2, still others for both on different occasions. Statements that imply that all persons in a community believe the same thing fail to appreciate the richness of human experience and variation.

In fact—and this is the third and most important point—we may question whether the term *belief* helps us to achieve this appreciation. Older Aboriginal men in the Western Desert of Australia stress the “finding” experience noted earlier, whereas women and younger men make it plain that sexual intercourse is necessary for conception. Moreover, the younger men are quieted on this subject by the older men, who control the most important religious knowledge and who refuse to discuss sexual matters, insisting on the importance of “finding.” An unwillingness to mix carnal and spiritual discourse, an overriding of tacit knowledge by dogma, seems to be involved here. However, tacit knowledge implies a presence, not an absence.

### **Ignorance of Physical Paternity**

Failure to recognize this caused the first anthropologists who worked with Aboriginal Australians to conclude that these people are, as it was once phrased, “ignorant of physical paternity.” This mistake was not innocent. It fed Victorian typologies (classifications based on types or categories) about “primitive society” and, later, racist ideologies concerning the alleged intellectual inferiority of Aboriginal Australians. Its early twentieth-century equivalent was a comparable claim for the Trobriand Islanders, off the northeast coast of Papua New Guinea. Subsequent research in the Trobriands has shown that this “ignorance” is, in fact, part of a dogma wherein groups of a certain kind create the illusion that they are self-perpetuating, that the spirits of the dead of these groups enter their women and are reincarnated through them in their children. However, in order to achieve this reincarnation sexual intercourse with a nongroup member is nonetheless posited as necessary.

### **Matriliny and Patriline**

Victorian and early twentieth-century anthropologists who promulgated the “ignorance of physical paternity” idea linked it with the reckoning of kinship through women only—what has come to be called “matriliny” or “matrilineality.” After all, if paternity were unknown, the

reckoning of kinship through men could not occur. Moreover, they associated matriliney with “matriarchy” or rule by women. Within anthropology these ideas were dispelled by 1930, largely by research in the “matrilineal” Trobriands by the Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942). However, more recently certain feminist thinkers have resurrected them. So the facts need to be made plain:

First, kinship everywhere is reckoned through both parents—that is, bilaterally—according to one or another theory noted in the discussion of ethnoembryologies. Where kinship reckoned solely through women applies, it does so for certain purposes only, and these purposes vary considerably from one such community to another. Where matrilineal groups exist, they may or may not have great importance in everyday life, but even if they do, the expression *matrilineal society* oversimplifies and misleads.

Second, matriarchies do not exist. Men tend to dominate women everywhere, although great variation exists in the extent to which—and the circumstances under which—they do so. The “goddess” imagery espoused by some feminists has absolutely nothing to do with the status of flesh-and-blood women. If anything, age—not gender—is the more important criterion cross culturally for assuming authority: The world tends to be run by relatively healthy people older than forty.

Today, some feminists also have taken over the Victorian narrative of the “evolution” of patriliney—or patrilineality—from matriliney, and again “ignorance of physical paternity” is key. When men (so the story goes) somehow finally realized that they, too, have a role in conception, patrilineal kin reckoning became possible, and it replaced matriliney and matriarchy with patriliney and patriarchy. Here are the facts of the matter:

First, in communities with patrilineal groups, as in all others, kinship is reckoned through women as well as men.

Second, although the position of women is generally higher in communities with matrilineal groups than it is among those with patrilineality, the latter are at least as varied as the former.

Third, probably the most radical of these variations is that between groups with lengthy patrilineal genealogies

and those with minimal genealogical reckoning, such that being the child of one’s father is sufficient to attain membership, and the unity of the group is expressed nongenealogically, or through genealogical metaphor. Researchers in a part of Aboriginal Australia, for example, found that some Aboriginal people were said to be reincarnations of parts of a Primeval Rock Python, others of parts of a Primeval Crayfish, still others of parts of a Primeval Duck. The father—but not the mother—of each such individual was also said to be Rock Python, Crayfish, or Duck, as the case may be, but the genealogical relationship among (for example) Rock Python people was largely unknown and for most purposes irrelevant. Such groups have matrilineal analogues in other parts of the world.

Fourth, at the other extreme are those notions of patriliney that posit that the entire ethnic unit—indeed, in some cases the entire world—is composed of the descendants of a single primeval creator or a set of brothers. The Bible, for example, stipulates that everyone on Earth is descended from one or another of Noah’s three sons, and ideologies of this sort are common in the Muslim Middle East of today and in adjoining parts of sub-Saharan Africa. With large populations, of course, no attempt to relate everyone by detailed patrilineal links is possible. No matrilineal analogues exist.

Fifth, in communities with patrilineal groups, as in those with matrilineal groups and in those, like our own, with no such groups, social life is most penetratingly seen as involving human beings acting in various recognized capacities. Thus a title, such as “professor of anthropology,” is relevant when one is in academic settings but not when one rides the New York City subway. “Tribal” communities do not have subways, gyms, and stamp dealers, but they have more than just patrilineal or matrilineal groups. In fact, the term *groups* is probably more than a little misleading: It suggests a boundedness and a permanence that are, literally, out of this world. Nowadays most anthropologists have abandoned the heavy reliance of their predecessors on what one critic has dubbed “groupology,” but it survives in feminism and other influences on modern life.

## Kinship and Modern Life

Forms of kinship, like everything else, have histories. Of particular importance to present-day kinship studies—and modern life more generally—are the new reproductive technologies that, among other things, allow women to bear children without male parental behavior other than insemination. Some feminists think that such technologies are a good thing. They may be fine for some women, but are they good for their children? Considerable research suggests not. People in the Western world have a long record of looking to anthropological data from the “tribal” world to suggest alternative modes of living, the range of human possibility. However, here advocates of fatherlessness (in the noninseminatory sense) will find little if any relief. In approximately 85 percent of “tribal” communities both parents co-reside with their dependent children, and in virtually all of the remaining 15 percent, in which fathers are not present, close male kin of the mothers are. The media slogan “Families come in all shapes and sizes” is not much supported by these data.

Moreover, in many biparental communities, a pattern exists that has been termed “aloof fatherhood.” In these communities there are elaborate ideologies about the alleged destructive and/or polluting powers of women; these ideologies lead men to distance themselves from their wives spatially (usually in designated “men’s houses”) and emotionally. Some people have suggested that this aloofness of the husbands encourages women to turn to their young sons for emotional warmth, but this quest is not an entirely welcome one. Growing boys are likely to experience it as an attempt to annihilate their emerging male selves, to retain an unconscious sense of female gender identity, and to reproduce their fathers’ fantasies and behavior concerning women. Indeed, “men’s house” rituals nearly always involve the imitation by men and boys of some aspect of female reproductive behavior, most commonly a sort of “pseudo-menstruation” effected by letting blood. Unsurprising, too, is a recurrent myth-pattern, wherein a primeval age is posited in which current gender roles are largely reversed. This myth-pattern, incidentally, has fueled modern “matri-

archy” theory, but we probably more accurately can see it as a projection onto local notions of “history” of the power relations that boys experience with their mothers under “aloof fatherhood.” Finally, a part of this complex is an exaggerated belligerence that some scholars have called “protest masculinity.”

This last characteristic most importantly connects “aloof fatherhood” in the “tribal” world to the growing incidence of fatherlessness in modern households—what some scholars have called our most urgent social problem. Adolescent boys raised without fathers are far more likely to commit violent crimes than are other boys, even if one controls for other factors (e.g., race, household income). Among these crimes are the physical and sexual abuse of women and children. Moreover, such boys are also much less likely later on to commit themselves to relatively permanent reproductive relationships with women. Many thoughtful people—of both genders and all positions on the political spectrum—are speaking out against the trendy “wisdoms” of our day.

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See also Bands, Tribes, Chiefdoms, and States; Marriage and Family; Matriarchy and Patriarchy

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## Kongo

Comparatively little is known of the history of the Kingdom of Kongo in Central Africa before contact with the Portuguese in 1483. Sometime between the ninth and fourteenth centuries political centralization began, based on the control of intersecting regional trade routes and commodities such as salt, iron, and copper, as well as *nzimbu* shells, which served locally as currency. Taxation provided the necessary revenue for state building, and the redistribution of resources and performance of a royal cult generated loyalty to the king.

With the arrival of the Portuguese, the region's history became inextricably linked with the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The Kongo kingdom rose to unprecedented wealth and power through its participation in the newly arising global economy. But it was this overseas connection that devastated local communities, and, in the second half of

the seventeenth century, caused its decline, fragmentation, and eventual replacement by trade networks that operated through localized power centers.

Kongo is a name derived from the local language Kikongo after which the capital city of the kingdom, Mbanza Kongo, located above the banks of the largest river in the region, the Congo River, was named. When the Belgian king acquired a colony in the region in 1879, it was called the Congo Free State and, from 1908, the Belgian Congo. With political independence in 1960, the former Belgian colony and the neighboring French territory both named themselves after the kingdom.

### The Kingdom of Kongo and the Portuguese

In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese explored the African coast mainly in order to find a sea route to Asia. They also hoped to gain direct access to the gold imported to Europe from Africa, a trade at the time under Italian hegemony. With limited knowledge of Central Africa, the Portuguese identified the Kingdom of Kongo as a potential region of gold deposits and avidly pursued this mistaken notion throughout the sixteenth century.

The first contact was made in 1483, when a Portuguese ship's crew kidnapped Africans and brought them to Europe to gain the information that might facilitate their interaction with the kingdom. Two years later, a second expedition was sent to Central Africa. This time the Portuguese ventured to offer the king of Kongo what they considered to represent civilization: a shipload of cloth, clothes, tools, horses, Portuguese men engaged in professions ranging from priests to craftsmen, and Portuguese women who were intended to teach the Kongolese the virtues of Christian housekeeping. The king, when presented with the gifts, recognized in these visitors an opportunity to advance his own power and that of his political elite. He carefully weighed the means of furthering this ambition and settled on Western-style education and Christianity in addition to the import of luxury goods in exchange for copper and, beginning in the sixteenth

## Key Events in the History of African States

8TH CENTURY BCE	Cush (in southern Egypt and northern Sudan) invades and conquers Egypt; Shabaka of Cush establishes Egypt's twenty-fifth dynasty.
6TH CENTURY BCE	Meroë becomes the capital of Cush.
1ST MILLENNIUM CE	Wagadu (Ghana) empire flourishes.
1ST-3RD CENTURY CE	Kingdom of Cush flourishes, engages in trade with Rome.
MID-3RD CENTURY CE	Aksum replaces Cush as principal supplier of goods to Rome.
EARLY 6TH CENTURY CE	Aksum loses its Nile Valley and southern Arabian provinces.
6TH CENTURY	Nubian kingdoms (Nobadia, Makuria, and Alodia) flourish.
8TH CENTURY	City of Aksum abandoned.
9TH-14TH CENTURY	Centralization of political power in central Africa leads to the formation of the kingdom of Kongo.
10TH-12TH CENTURY	Hausa states emerge.
c. 1150-EARLY 14TH CENTURY	Saifawa dynasty rules in Kanem, in the Lake Chad basin.
EARLY 13TH CENTURY	Wagadu reduced to a tribute-paying vassal of Soso and Mali.
13TH CENTURY	Nubian kingdom of Alodia begins to disintegrate.
13TH-14TH CENTURY	Loose alliance among the seven Hausa states.
MID-13TH- MID-15TH CENTURY	Mali empire flourishes on the Upper Niger River.
1290-1450	Great Zimbabwe flourishes in southern Africa.
15TH CENTURY	Empire of Songhai is expanding.
15TH CENTURY	The East African island of Kilwa is a leading trading center.
1591	Songhai loses its independence to invaders from Morocco.
17TH-18TH CENTURY	Bornu, in the Lake Chad basin, is one of the largest states in Africa.
1808-1903	Sokoto caliphate flourishes in West Africa.
1818-1879	Zulu kingdom flourishes.

*Money speaks sense in a language all nations understand.* • APHRA BEHN (1640–1689)

century, slaves. From this point an ambiguous relationship between Portugal and Kongo began to unfold.

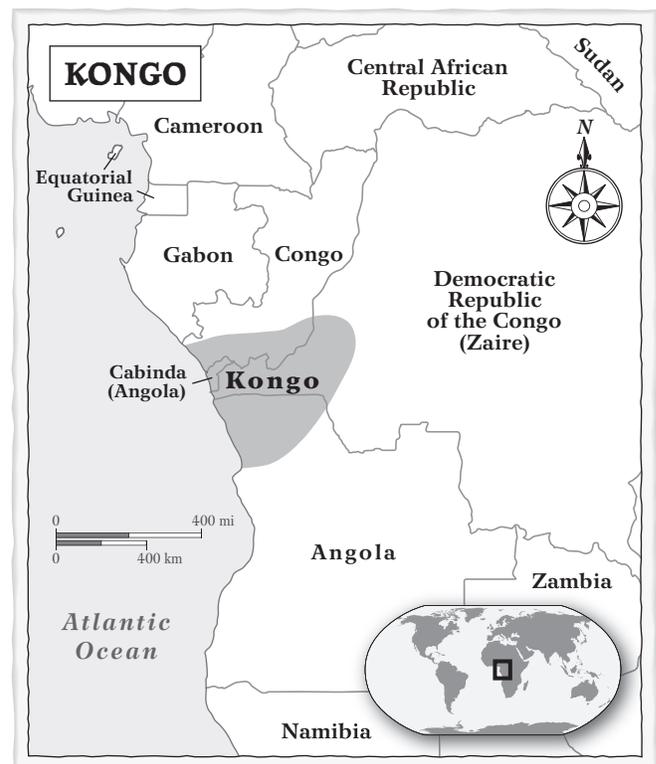
Kongolese society was socially organized in three strata: The court, the villagers, and the slaves. The court was centered on the king, who ruled by delegating power to provincial governors. The latter were responsible for local administration, which involved taxation, the capture of slaves, and mobilizing a standing army that in the sixteenth century consisted of sixteen thousand to twenty thousand slaves. A royal council, with both men and women as members, assisted the king. Once the Portuguese had established their presence in the kingdom, they frequently became members of Kongolese society through marrying women of the nobility or serving as mercenaries. There is even a case, that of Duarte Lopez, in which a Portuguese man became a gentleman of the court and eventually the king's ambassador to Europe.

Initially, the Portuguese focused on the trade in copper, but the trafficking in human beings played an ever more important role. First slaves were exported to the Atlantic sugar islands of São Tomé and Príncipe just off the African coast. Then, from the early sixteenth century, they were taken to the Caribbean and the Americas. By 1530 Kongo annually exported four thousand to five thousand slaves. The increase in numbers contributed to an expanding cycle of violence, with more and more random trade interactions and military raiding campaigns. This was only aggravated when the Portuguese attempted to bypass royal control of the slave trade. They intended to increase their profit margin in part by avoiding paying trade taxes.

## Decline

Several factors contributed to the decline of Kongo. The king had exercised a monopoly on the import of luxury goods, which he redistributed to the elite in order to ensure loyalty. But Portuguese traders began to deal directly with local communities, something about which the Kongolese king Afonso I (reigned 1506–1543) complained bitterly in letters to the Portuguese monarch as early as 1526. In this early period of the trans-Atlantic

slave trade many of the women, men, and children were enslaved within the kingdom, but the Portuguese indiscriminately bought and branded slaves who were followers of the king and often stood under his protection. By the 1560s the slave trade was causing such severe tension within the kingdom that in 1568 Kongolese villagers joined warriors, probably from the south-east of the kingdom, known as Jaga, who, it appears, initially invaded the kingdom in order to raid for slaves and food, but who proceeded to attempt to destroy the kingdom and to control the slave trade. The king and his followers finally defeated the Jaga with Portuguese assistance in 1569. After that war, in 1575, the Portuguese founded the colony of Angola just south of Kongo, which deprived the kingdom of its regional hegemony over the trade routes. Although it did recover politically for a short time, the arrival of Capuchin missionaries in the second half of the seventeenth century undermined another source of royal



power when the king lost control over Christianity as a royal cult. Power gradually shifted from the kingdom's administration and political structure to local trading houses. In 1665 Angolan military forces defeated the kingdom militarily. After the death of King António I that same year, a series of succession struggles ensued.

An unlikely figure mounted a final attempt to politically unify the kingdom: a young Kongolesse woman, Doña Beatrice (1684–1706), who in 1704 had a vision of Saint Anthony. Afterward, as a prophetess, she founded an independent church and political movement with an emphasis on Africanization and political unification. Doña Beatrice assembled thousands of followers in the ruins of the former capital city. After she gave birth to a son, the result, she claimed, of immaculate conception, political opponents and the Catholic Church pursued her. In 1706 the latter burnt her at the stake as a heretic.

## Implications

The Congo region provides both a historical example of African state building and of the devastating results of African societies' involvement in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The long-lasting effects of political decentralization and fragmentation in the entire region in the seventeenth century are partly responsible for the lack of resistance to Belgian and French colonization efforts in the late nineteenth century. The outstanding brutality especially of early Belgian colonialism and the suddenness of decolonization in 1960, together with an unusual wealth of environmental resources—including uranium, diamonds, and copper—have resulted in the long-term destabilization of the region, sadly continuing into the twenty-first century.

*Heike I. Schmidt*

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# Kushan Empire

The Kushan era (c. 45–230 CE) was one of the most important and influential periods in the history of ancient Eurasia. During the early centuries of the common era, the Kushans dominated the politics, culture, and economy of a vast region of Inner Asia, including much of present-day Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, parts of western Xinjiang (in northwestern China), the whole of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and most of northern and central India. Through their active engagement in Central Asian politics, economics, art and trade along the Silk Roads, the Kushans exerted significant cultural influence upon the Han Chinese, the Parthians and Sasanians in the region of present-day Iran, the Yaudheyas and Guptas of India, and even the Romans. The Kushans were one of the key powers of their era during a period in which much of Afro-Eurasia was controlled by just four empires—the Han, the Romans, the Parthians, and the Kushans.

Despite their undoubted importance, evidence for the Kushans remains problematic. They produced no extant body of literature, and only a very few of their fragmen-



tary inscriptions are known. Yet both the Yuezhi—a tribal confederation from whom the Kushans were descended—and the Kushans themselves are frequently mentioned in the literature of a wide range of contiguous societies, including Chinese dynastic annals, Indian, Tibetan, Persian, Manichaean, and Sogdian sacred texts, Arabic histories, and several Greco-Roman sources. It is from this often incidental evidence that much of their history has been constructed.

Few examples of Kushan monumental architecture have survived, although seventh-century Chinese sources attest to their construction of impressive palaces, Buddhist stupas, and dynastic sanctuaries. Archaeologists have uncovered evidence of substantial urban and irrigation construction during the Kushan era. In addition, the important Kushan-sponsored art workshops in Mathura (northern India) and Gandhara (northwestern Pakistan) and the discovery of international art collections in the royal palaces at Kapisa (Afghanistan) and Taxila (Pakistan) provide evidence not only of the Kushan monarchs' syncretistic approach to art production but also of the significant levels of trans-Eurasian cultural exchange that occurred during the Kushan era.

The most substantial evidence for the Kushans is numismatic. Kushan coins have been discovered in the thousands throughout the extent of their territory. They provide evidence of early cultural influences on the embryonic empire, Kushan military and political expansion, the genealogy of royal succession, Kushan religious and ideological beliefs, Kushan economic domination of the region, and the eventual dissolution of Kushan society in the third century CE.

### **The Yuezhi and “Early Kushans”**

The Kushans were descended from a tribal confederation known to the Chinese as the Yuezhi who probably spoke Tocharian, an Indo-European branch language. Han historians describe how the Yuezhi were crushingly defeated near Dunhuang by another tribal people, the Xiongnu, in 162 BCE. Forced to migrate away from their home-

lands in present-day Gansu (north central China), the Yuezhi eventually relocated in Bactria (ancient Afghanistan) where they defeated the remnants of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom and (around 80 BCE) occupied Bactria in five tribal divisions. By 45 CE, Kujula Kadphises, a prince of the Yuezhi Kueizhuang (hence Kushan) tribe, reunited the tribes into a single powerful confederation and established the Kushan empire.

The migration of the Yuezhi was directly responsible for the opening up of extensive Silk Roads trade and Eurasian cultural interaction. In 138 BCE the Han emperor Wudi (reigned 140–87 BCE) sent Zhang Qian to follow the Yuezhi in an attempt to form an alliance with them against the Xiongnu. Although Zhang Qian was unsuccessful in eliciting support from the now resettled Yuezhi, the information he brought back to the Han court persuaded Wudi to adopt an expansionist policy that brought Han commercial interests into contact for the first time with the traders of Central Asia, Parthia, and eventually Rome.

### **The Kadphisean Dynasty**

Beginning with Kujula, the early kings of the Kadphisean dynasty (c. 45–c. 129 CE) greatly expanded Kushan territory, conquering the Kabul Valley, Kashmir, Gandhara, and much of northwestern India. Numismatic evidence also indicates Roman influence on the Kadphiseans. By the mid-first century CE the Romans were heavily involved in the silk and luxuries trade with India, Central Asia, and China along both the sea routes from Alexandria and the overland Silk Roads through Parthia and Central Asia. Kujula and his successors in turn exerted Kushan influence on the Han empire. The Kushans may have exercised direct political and economic control over Hotan (or Khotan) and Kashi (or Kashgar), two major stops on the Silk Roads, at various times during the first century. Kujula was followed by his son Vima Takto (reigned c. 85–100) and grandson Vima Kadphises (reigned c. 100–129), who in turn was succeeded by his son Kanishka the Great (reigned c. 129–152), one of the most important rulers in the history of ancient Central Asia.

## The Great Kushans

With the advent of Kanishka and his successors, Kushan history entered its most significant phase—that of the “Great Kushans” (c. 129–c. 228). Kanishka and his successors Vasishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva, presided over a huge, wealthy, multicultural, and relatively peaceful empire in an era often described as the Golden Age of ancient Central Asia. The Great Kushans continued to issue the standard range of copper and gold coins established by Vima Takto. The remarkable weight consistency is in itself evidence of stability and strong central government. The coins reflect a tolerant and broadminded approach to religion, depicting Greek, Indian, and Zoroastrian deities.

Kanishka is recognized as a great patron of Buddhism, and the depiction of Buddha on at least one of his gold coin series is amongst the first physical representations of the Buddha. Kanishka is also venerated for having convened an important synod in Kashmir, at which the decision was made to rewrite the Buddhist scriptures from Brahmi and Kharosthi to the more popular and accessible language of Sanskrit. The translations resulted in a great surge in the popularity of Mahayana (“Great Vehicle”) Buddhism, which was then carried across Central and East Asia by pilgrims using the Silk Roads.

The Great Kushan kings were also patrons of the important art schools established in Gandhara and Mathura. The output of these workshops reflected a cultural synthesis almost unique in art history. The physical representation of the Buddha and bodhisattvas that resulted—a synthesis of Bactrian, Iranian, Indian, and Hellenistic cultural influences—then spread along the trade routes, penetrating India as far south as Sri Lanka, and traveling through China into Korea, Japan, and Southeast Asia.

## The Later Kushans

Following the death of Vasudeva around 228, Kushan history entered a period of decline. The Sasanian ruler Ardashir led his forces from the Plateau of Iran into Kushan territory soon after 226, and the northwestern areas of the former Kushan empire were incorporated

into the Sasanian state of Kushanshar. Sasanian kings emphasized their connection to the Kushans by using Bactrian script to proclaim themselves as *Kushan Shah*, or “King of the Kushans.” Groups of Kushans remained restive until well into the fourth century, however. As late as 367 the Sasanian king Shapur II (309–379) was forced to fight a damaging battle with the Kushans of Balkh in 367 or 368.

In India the rise of powerful monarchical states further undermined Kushan power, although Kushan cultural influence remained pervasive. Even the extensive gold coinage of the Guptas was clearly modeled on the Kushan dinar. An inscription from Allahabad dated around 335, which lists foreign kings who paid tribute to the Guptas, uses Kushan titles to describe the Gupta rulers—“Descendant of the Son of Heaven” and “King of Kings.”

While the disintegration of the Kushan Empire occurred quite quickly, and might have brought to an end the Golden Age of ancient Central Asia, the cultural, political and economic achievements of the Kushans continued to influence their regional successors to perhaps as late as the Islamic conquests (completed early in the eighth century CE). The evidence for the Kushans may be sparse, but is clearly sufficient to demonstrate the significance and cultural legacy of an extraordinary civilization that dominated Central Asia for several centuries and that influenced the world around it more than any other civilization before the rise of Islam.

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Labor Systems, Coercive  
Labor Union Movements  
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Language, Standardization of  
Laozi  
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League of Nations  
Leisure  
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## Labor Systems, Coercive

Coercive labor systems have existed throughout the world and throughout human history, though certain regions of the world and certain periods have been more strongly characterized by them than others. In general terms, agricultural societies brought about the greatest amount of coercion, while pastoralist and industrial societies have usually had virtually no coercive labor. Coercive labor here is defined as obligatory work that a person does for another person of higher status or for the state, receiving little or nothing for the services rendered.

Coercive labor shows up mainly in agricultural societies because that type of society is stable, people do not move around a lot, human labor is essential for the vast majority of tasks, and methods of dominating other human beings are relatively sophisticated. Different levels of coercion have existed, varying over time and place. The most common types of coercive labor are slavery, corvée labor, serfdom, and debt peonage. In the first, human beings are owned and thus made to work with relatively little restriction on the owner. Corvée labor is a system whereby the state forces its people to work for it, though the people are in theory free. Serfs work on the estates of aristocrats, who take a portion of the serf's harvest and who restrict the serf's ability to move. In debt peonage, an individual is made to work for a landlord because he or she owes the person money, money that usually can never be paid off completely. Corvée labor



and slavery are the most ancient types of coercive labor systems and were instituted at the beginning of agricultural societies, about 8,000 years ago. During the earlier hunting-and-gathering phase of human existence and in pastoralist societies, although there were slaves, they were very few because it was difficult to keep them under control.

### **Corvée and Slavery in the Ancient World**

The earliest world civilizations featured both slavery and corvée labor, though in different mixes. Chinese and Egyptian civilizations relied heavily on corvée labor, which from approximately 2700 BCE built the great pyramids and from the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE) began the Great Wall of China. The Egyptian and Chinese states required peasants who otherwise worked on the land to leave their plots and work on these construction projects. They were usually paid something (often food and lodging), but did not have a choice in whether to work or not. Corvée labor generally was for these large projects, in which the state needed large numbers of people for a limited amount of time and for which most of the work was manual labor that required strong arms and backs rather than skilled labor. Slavery existed only on a small scale in these societies.

Other ancient civilizations featured slavery, such as those in the Mesopotamian region, Persia, and, later, Greece and Rome. Most slaves were gained through warfare, though in all of these societies parents could sell off children or themselves become slaves because of poverty or debt. The vast majority of slaves in these societies were

used in agricultural production, working in the olive groves or the wheat fields, though urban slaves were also common. Generally, urban slaves were better off than rural ones, for they lived in the houses of their masters and ate there as well. Some urban slaves were quite well educated, and some elites of Greece and Rome even had slaves as their children's tutors. The possession of urban slaves was a status symbol for many elites.

### **Slavery in the Muslim World**

Slavery remained an important labor system even after the fall of the Roman empire in the most dynamic portion of the former empire, the lands under Muslim rule. Slaves came from the margins of Arab civilization, mainly from the Caucasus region and from sub-Saharan Africa. In Islam, slaves who converted to the faith were to be freed, but that rule was mostly ignored after the first years. A free peasantry also existed in the Islamic world, just as in earlier times, but slaves were very important in the urban economy, where people were wealthy enough to own other human beings. Rural slavery also existed, with regional differences. Urban slavery was economically more important than rural slavery in the Arab world.

Muslim societies also used slave soldiers for fighting and maintaining internal control. These slaves were usually from the margins of the Islamic world and, once they had been trained, were especially useful to dynasties that needed soldiers who had no local roots and were absolutely loyal to the ruler. They often led relatively privileged lives, a primary example being the Mamluks, who for a few centuries (1250–1517) ruled the prosperous

*If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning.* • FREDERICK DOUGLASS (1817–1895)

province of Egypt. The Mamluks were prized because they were trained as superb fighters and owed absolute obedience to their Ottoman masters. By the fifteenth century, however, their loyalties lay more with themselves than the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans were the most successful in utilizing slaves as soldiers after they established their empire with Anatolia at its core in the fourteenth century. Many of these slaves were Christian boys taken from Ottoman possessions in eastern Europe, castrated, and trained in the arts of war. They were called Janissaries and were considered some of the best troops of the era.

### **Serfdom in Japan and Europe**

In other regions, another labor system, serfdom, emerged that was partially coercive. Serfdom, associated with feudalism, was common in both western Europe and in Japan in the first millennium of the common era. The reasons for the emergence of serfdom were the same in both regions: extreme political instability in a vacuum of power, in which peasants gave up their lands and their freedom in return for protection from warrior-aristocrats. The serfs' produce provided subsistence to their families and also supported the lords who owned the lands. This system declined in western Europe in the 1400s with the advent of urbanization and as the serfs gained the ability to escape or pay the lords for their lands. In Japan, serfdom did not disappear until the nineteenth century. Eastern Europe and Russia experienced a rise in serfdom in the seventeenth century as aristocrats used a strong state to force previously free peasants to become serfs and produce wheat and other grains for sale.

### **The Spread of Forced Labor in the "New World"**

The expansion of western Europe into the rest of the world beginning with the invasion of the Americas radically changed labor systems in many parts of the world, especially those surrounding the Atlantic Ocean. Coerced labor increased as a result of this expansion. Spanish colonial authorities transformed *corvée* labor systems inherited from New World Indian civilizations into obligatory

labor systems that were in all likelihood more onerous than those that existed before the conquest. At first, the conquistadors introduced the *encomienda*, a labor draft required of all conquered Indians. But the Spanish Crown did not want a revival of serfdom (and thus an economic basis for feudalism) on the other side of the Atlantic, so it wrested control of indigenous labor from the first conquerors. In the 1580s Francisco Toledo (1515–1582), the viceroy of the Spanish possessions in South America, revamped the *corvée* labor system completely to provide Indians to work in the silver mines of Potosí, in the high Andes of Bolivia. Indian villagers were supposed to send one-seventh of their able-bodied men to the mines, but the low pay and horrific conditions in the hot and dangerous mine shafts on a mountain more than 4,500 meters above sea level made many Indians flee their villages to avoid being sent. Although silver production went up considerably, the system broke down over the centuries and was abolished with independence in the early nineteenth century.

African slavery, while it had existed for millennia, intensified, especially along coastal regions. The first African slaves came to the Americas with the explorers and conquistadors. By the seventeenth century Portuguese slave traders, joined by other Europeans, purchased slaves from the interior at trading stations in West Africa and Angola and sent them by way of the "middle passage" across the Atlantic Ocean to the sugar plantations of the Caribbean and northeastern Brazil. To a lesser extent, North American tobacco and, in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, cotton plantations also promoted an export economy based on African slavery.

Of the approximately 5 million Africans brought to the Americas as slaves, 2.5 million ended up in Brazil and 1.5 million in the Caribbean, with 500,000 going to the English colonies in North America (the rest went to other regions in Latin America). Conditions on plantations, where the vast majority of slaves ended up, were miserable, and most people died within a few years of having set foot in the Americas. Urban slaves, as always, had it somewhat easier. The economically most dynamic areas, such as Brazil and the Caribbean, had the highest

mortality, whereas more economically backward areas, such as the region that would become the United States, actually had a population of African heritage that grew rather than diminished without constant imports of human chattel. The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the height of slavery in the Americas, with the Caribbean islands, Brazil, and the United States being the most important slave regions.

### **The Abolition of Slavery in the Nineteenth Century**

By the early nineteenth century slavery was on the wane in the Americas. Antislavery sentiment began to gain ground; by 1807 Great Britain prohibited the slave trade between Africa and its dominions, and the United States



followed suit in 1808. The British abolished slavery in their dominions in 1833 and began to fight the slave trade in the rest of the world. Most Spanish American countries abolished slavery by the 1850s. The issue of slavery was most divisive in the United States. The political conflict between the slaveholding South and the industrial North came to a head in 1861 with the U.S. Civil War. President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1862 and the Union victory in 1865 eliminated slavery from North America. In the rest of the hemisphere, although slavery played as large a role as in the United States, abolition was not a bloody affair. Cuba abolished slavery in 1886. Brazil ended the slave trade in 1850 and emancipated all slaves in 1888.

Industrialization, which began to accelerate in the nineteenth century, generally did not favor slave labor. Slaves would see it in their best interest to wreck delicate machinery so that they did not have to work; for this reason it was easier and cheaper to hire free labor that depended on wages to make a living. Also, slaves were not, by and large, economic consumers, and the industrial system needed consumers who earned wages and thus had money to spend on the goods produced by industry.

The end of slavery did not mean that coercive labor disappeared. Other forms, such as debt peonage, took the place of slavery. Debt peonage existed in many regions of the world, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Debt peons were to be found laboring on the coffee plantations in Africa and Indonesia, harvesting tea leaves in India, and extracting rubber in the Brazilian Amazon. Debt peonage began to retreat only in the mid-twentieth century, as modern states asserted control and prohibited the exploitation of the rural labor force.

**Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* helped make slavery a public issue in the United States and Europe. In this drawing, a mother implores her son to "Keep close to yer mammy, Albert" so that they will not be separated when sold at the slave auction.**

*A free race cannot be born of slave mothers.*

• MARGARET SANGER (1879–1966)

## Modern State-Run Forced-Labor Systems

State-run *corvée* labor made a reappearance in twentieth century. The concentration camps established by the Nazis in the 1930s come to mind. Perhaps the largest numbers of people involved in nonvoluntary labor in the past century were those put to work in Communist states such as the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The Stalinist industrialization policies in the 1930s and the Great Leap Forward, an attempt at universal small-scale industrialization in China in the 1950s and 1960s, led to great misery and the deaths of tens of millions of people. In addition, Communist countries maintained (and in the case of China, continue to maintain) large prison systems and put prisoners to work in harsh environments without much regard for their survival.

During World War II, the Japanese Army forced Korean, Chinese, and Filipino women and some Japanese prostitutes to serve as sexual slaves, euphemistically called “comfort women,” for Japanese soldiers. This was a type of state-run coerced labor that also existed in several armies in the former Yugoslavia and in some states in Africa during the civil wars that plagued these regions in the late twentieth century.

## World Systems and Forced Labor

Why and how do coercive labor systems exist? The world economy model designed by the sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein offers one answer. In this model, Wallerstein suggests that coercive labor systems, at least since the 1500s, are the result of a world capitalist system imposed by western European economic expansion. In particular, regions dominated politically or economically by European powers, such as the Western Hemisphere and Africa, evolved coercive labor systems. These “peripheral” regions (so called because they are peripheral to the dominating powers) exported primarily raw materials such as silver, sugar, and cotton. Given that they only exported cheap raw materials but needed to pay for expensive European-made manufactured goods, the elites in the peripheries had to exploit native labor or import slaves to lower

the production costs of the goods they exported. Otherwise, the elites in the peripheries would be unable to sustain their lifestyles. This model, according to Wallerstein, worked until the twentieth century, when coercive labor practices became milder but did not vanish.

## Coerced Labor Today

Coerced labor continues to exist today, though it appears that mainly women and children, rather than grown men, are targeted. Children in the Middle East and South Asia are forced to work in sweatshops making Oriental rugs. Criminal gangs lure young women from the former Soviet Union and eastern Europe to the West with promises of good jobs, then force them to work as prostitutes when they cannot pay back their travel expenses.

Another type of forced labor that is common, especially in areas where there are civil conflicts, is the use of child soldiers. Children as young as ten (though most are between the ages of 15 and 18) have been forced into the military in places such as Sierra Leone or Colombia. The ease with which modern weapons can be fired and the docility of children make them desirable soldiers. They also serve as lookouts and porters. About a third of the child soldiers are girls, who are frequently raped and given as “wives” to adult soldiers. Thus, coerced labor is still with us, although human rights agencies and many governments are trying to eliminate this exploitation.

*Erick D. Langer*

*See also* Colonialism; Imperialism; Labor Union Movements; Slave Trades

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*Women need not always keep their mouths shut and their wombs open.*

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## Labor Union Movements

The first labor unions were formed by working men and women in the mills, workshops, and small factories of late-eighteenth-century England to protect themselves against various forms of exploitation—low wages, long hours, and poor working conditions. Growing out of Europe’s medieval craft guilds, which provided social and material benefits for their members, early unions of weavers, bricklayers, and cordwainers (shoemakers) established new models and methods of organizing that were adopted and further refined as industrialization spurred wage-earning production in the nineteenth century. Over the next century, labor unions in Europe and the United States would expand beyond manufacturing, as in the modern automotive and textile industries, to include miners and agrarian workers throughout the world. Today, tens of millions of men and women, albeit still a

minority of all workers internationally, are organized into labor unions.

The development of labor unions paralleled the growth of capitalism as a global economic system. Beginning in the late 1400s, a centuries-long demographic shift from countryside to cities took place that saw billions of peasants and subsistence farmers forced off their land to become indentured servants, tenant farmers, or agrarian workers; tens of millions of others were enslaved. As cities grew, commerce expanded, and people’s movements brought about political and economic reforms, serfdom and slavery were largely abolished; agriculture itself came to be increasingly mechanized. Unable to compete against large-scale agricultural production, growing numbers of small property-owning rural workers joined those whose lands had been stripped from under them by force of law or insurmountable debt and migrated to the cities seeking work.

Under the employ of shop owners who sought to maximize their profits by depressing wages, urban workers—both skilled and unskilled—fed the international market by helping to transform raw materials (including cotton, sugarcane, copper, and lumber) that had been harvested, or mined, or felled by rural workers and slaves into consumer, construction, and finished luxury items. Workers of all sorts banded together, first calling for higher wages and better working conditions, and eventually demanding benefits such as insurance against illness, accidents, and disability. Thus labor unions can trace their organizational lineage both to the early craft guilds—and to the mutual aid societies found all over the world.

Differing substantially in their ideology, tactics, and degree of influence, labor unions have assumed a variety of forms over the past two hundred years. Some have called for a reorganization of society based on cooperative work, while others have sought only the material betterment of their members. But while the demands of labor unions have changed over time, depending on local circumstances, their basic purpose remains the same: protecting the interests of their members by means

*The most heroic word in all languages is revolution.* • EUGENE DEBS (1855–1926)

of collective bargaining and action. Along with the right to organize, today's unions seek contractual agreements with employers that guarantee workers specific wages, safe working conditions, and the right to arbitration, health care insurance, and retirement benefits.

On the whole, union members in Europe, Japan, and North America enjoy more rights, higher wages, and better working conditions than their counterparts in the less industrialized sectors of the world, whose governments have yet to enact into law, or enforce, standards that relatively more privileged workers have come to take for granted.

Whether in Mexico or Hungary, Indonesia or Italy, Senegal or Canada, the bargaining power of labor unions rests on their members' collective ability to withhold their work and to exercise financial, legal, or voting strength. Since the late eighteenth century, workers have exerted their power by carrying out, or threatening to carry out, strikes; boycotting goods; holding demonstrations; picketing; petitioning courts and governments; filing class-action suits; mobilizing voters; funding political parties or electoral campaigns to secure favorable legislation; and, in some cases, engaging in armed struggle. Labor unions have also served as sources for community development, providing public forums as well as private spaces for social gatherings, educating their members, disseminating news, and training new leadership—all of which enhance the union recruitment process.

The appeal of union membership for workers, whether guided by self-interest or a sense of responsibility to their fellow workers, has been countered by employers threatening to fire or otherwise punish employees who joined a union, or using physical violence and the courts—backed by state force—to keep unions from growing in strength. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, courts in the United States frequently issued injunctions to halt strikes; private industries in Peru hired armed guards to attack striking workers; and in South Africa, labor leaders were imprisoned for mobilizing workers.

## Europe

Europe's labor unions have gained a number of lasting concessions since the nineteenth century, making the

continent's workforce among the most privileged in the world today. Still, every gain made by these workers—from the right to organize to paid maternity leave—came as the result of protracted struggle. During the second half of the nineteenth century, and only after engaging in decades of boycotts, pickets, strikes, work slowdowns, and physical violence, European labor unions secured minimal legal protections. In France, the bourgeoisie-dominated revolutionary government of the late eighteenth century enacted the Le Chapelier Law to make workers' coalitions illegal, while Britain's parliament reinforced laws against organized workers through the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800. But by the 1820s, a recognizable European labor movement had emerged, accompanying the growing importance of coal production (over steam) and the ensuing concentration of large urban populations.

In 1868, Napoleon III, who had previously used military troops against striking workers, finally assented to the formation of labor associations. Fourteen years later, France's Third Republic fully legalized unions. In England, parliament legalized labor unions in 1871, with the right to picket granted four years later. Workers in Germany were extended the right to organize unions with relatively less struggle than their English and French counterparts, but not until the 1890s. Over the course of the century, tens of thousands of workers had been killed or seriously injured, whether on the job, because of hazardous working conditions, or in the course of labor agitation; thousands more were beaten or imprisoned for union organizing and making demands that stopped or temporarily interrupted production.

The fusion of politics and labor movements in the mid-nineteenth century produced incendiary results—most notably, the revolutions of 1848. Such ferment, whether in the factories or fields of Europe, served as the backdrop for later reforms that attempted to appease workers, even as governments and private enterprise shored up their security forces to quell future dissent. Despite such measures to stymie European labor movements, political and labor revolts continued to erupt.

One of the most dramatic instances of European workers asserting their political power took place in 1871,

## Solidarity Forever (1915)

*Written by union organizer Ralph Chaplin to the tune of "Battle Hymn of the Republic," this song became the anthem of the Industrial Workers of the World.*

When the Union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run,

There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun,

Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?

But the Union makes us strong.

[Chorus] Solidarity forever! Solidarity forever!

Solidarity forever! For the Union makes us strong.

Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy parasite,

Who would lash us into serfdom and would crush us with his might?

Is there anything left to us but to organize and fight?

For the union makes us strong.

It is we who plowed the prairies; built the cities where they trade;

Dug the mines and built the workshops, endless miles of railroad laid;

Now we stand outcast and starving midst the wonders we have made;

But the union makes us strong.

when French workers, together with anarchists, socialists, and communists, temporarily formed their own revolutionary government, the Paris Commune. In the spring of 1871, workers seized control of the capital and quickly enacted a series of laws establishing debt relief and shorter working days. While the Communards, as they were called, were defeated within two months by combined loyalist French and Prussian military force in searing battles that included the use of cannon and siege tactics, their brief

takeover served as an important reminder of the power that rested with organized labor. As increasing numbers of adult male workers gained the franchise in late-nineteenth-century Europe, organized labor began to exercise greater influence in determining which candidates and political parties best served their interests.

By the close of the century, efforts to organize unions extended to the unskilled labor force. Industrial labor unions comprising workers across entire industries, regardless of skill (as opposed to trade unions that had been restricted to skilled workers), were slowly being formed. As expected, industrial unions, like trade unions, met bitter opposition from employers and the state. In the decade preceding World War I, Europe saw a rash of strikes as labor unions fought to keep wages in line with rising inflation; strikes might last for months or even longer, entailing extraordinary hardship for poor and working-class communities, before employers finally bowed to workers' demands.

Despite the numerous obstacles placed in their way, European unions continued to grow. By 1910, approximately three million workers were organized in Britain; two million in Germany; and one million in France. Still, the vast majority of workers in Europe remained unorganized. As the century wore on, industrialization steadily supplanted all other forms of production and the labor force came to be dominated by such workers; as citizens and soldiers they bore the brunt of World Wars I and II. The first of these witnessed the birth of Soviet Communism and with it a "workers' state" (deformed under Joseph Stalin); the second saw the defeat of European and Japanese fascism.

With the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Russia's trade unions were incorporated into the structure of government. Socialist countries in Europe, including those in Scandinavia, had transformed themselves into constitutional monarchies and instituted sweeping social and economic reforms. As the Soviet Union extended its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe, however, trade unionism came to dominate the region.

At the other end of the political spectrum, during the 1930s the fascist government in Italy attempted to

contain its labor movement by sponsoring its own trade unions; in 1933, Germany's Nazi regime destroyed what had been Europe's best organized trade union movement, and then attempted to bring its entire labor force under the control of the party. Following the defeat of fascism in World War II, and their "corporate" attempts to control labor, those countries' union movements were revived.

By the second half of the twentieth century, many of the demands made by industrial and trade unions in Europe had been translated into government policy, benefiting the broader population as well as workers themselves; the adoption of universal health care programs was among the most important of such reforms.

### United States

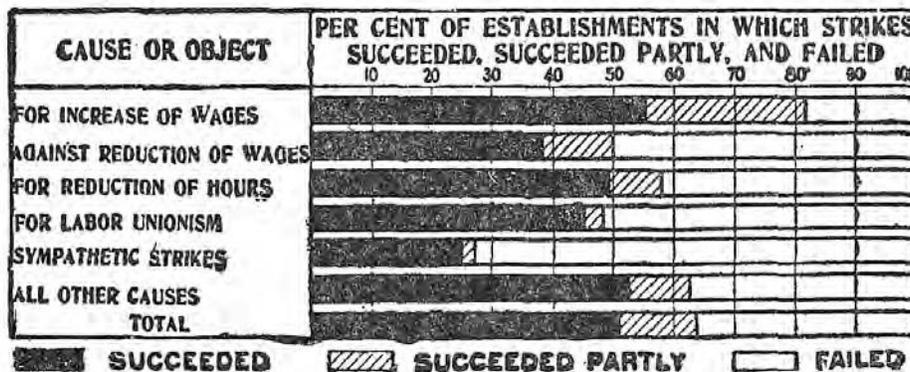
Organized labor in the United States succeeded in gaining a number of critical concessions: a minimum wage, reduced work hours, child labor laws, disability insurance, and retirement benefits. The incalculable impact of slavery in the United States (which produced the material surplus necessary for the accelerated growth of capitalism internationally), combined with large-scale European immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, led to multiple fracture lines within the labor force. Workers were divided, and often pitted against one another, on the basis of whether they were skilled or unskilled; that difference was exacerbated by racial, ethnic, and gender differences.

The first labor unions in the United States appeared in the early nineteenth century, growing directly out of the

established guilds—blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinetmakers (furniture makers), and cobblers (leather menders). By the 1820s, various trade unions were calling for the reduction of the work day from twelve to ten hours. As the use of steam engines along the Atlantic seaboard and internal waterways gave rise to new factory systems, paralleling the development of factories in England, labor unions in the United States sought to join together in citywide federations. In 1866 these federations formed the nationwide National Labor Union, which succeeded in persuading Congress to pass an eight-hour workday for federal workers. But by the early 1870s the NLU had unraveled.

Labor agitation resurfaced with unprecedented force later in the decade. In 1877, a national railroad strike paralyzed the nation's transportation system when workers in Martinsburg, West Virginia, began a strike that quickly spread from St. Louis and Chicago to Baltimore and New York, eventually reaching Pittsburgh, where discontent over reduced wages had originated. In several places workers resorted to violence, destroying railway lines to protest low wages and ill treatment. The national strike, which drew widespread public sympathy, was only suppressed through force of arms when state militias were called in to quell it.

In the following decade, the Knights of Labor, a union formed by Philadelphia garment cutters in 1869, became the labor movement's preeminent organization. Expanding nationally under the leadership of Terrence V. Powderly, the Knights organized skilled and unskilled work-



This chart shows the causes of strikes and their success in the United States in the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

ers, men and women, black and white. By 1886, the organization boasted a diverse membership of 750,000, which included urban and rural workers, although the southern branch had increasingly become all-black as southern white laborers refused to participate in interracial locals. The all-black membership soon joined the ranks of other African-American workers in the Cooperative Workers of America and the Colored Farmers Alliance, whose combined membership grew to over one million strong, forming the largest movement of black agrarian workers in U.S. history and contributing to the rise of the People's Party.

In the 1880s, as the Knights of Labor became a national force demanding an eight-hour workday, both its leaders and the rank and file were targeted for retribution. On 4 May 1886, the Knights held a mass rally to protest police brutality: the day before, striking employees at the McCormick Harvester Company had been beaten and one was killed during a clash with the police. Eight anarchists were accused of throwing a bomb that killed seven policemen; at the rally the police indiscriminately shot into the crowd, beating up dozens of workers and killing four in the process. The incident became known as the Haymarket Massacre, for which the Knights were unjustly blamed. A precipitous decline in the union's northern, and mostly white, membership followed soon after.

The year 1886 also saw the formation of the American Federation of Labor, led by Samuel Gompers, a cigar roller. The AFL would soon assume the preeminent position that had been occupied by the Knights of Labor. Unlike the Knights, however, which organized across industries, the AFL concentrated on organizing craft unions of highly skilled workers. Opposed to any alliances with radical political parties, Gompers emphasized economic, rather than broad ideological, goals. Under his stewardship, the AFL ushered in the modern era of organized labor, maintaining emergency funds to help members during strikes, and employing paid organizers to sign up members in nonunion shops. But the exclusive posture of the AFL precipitated a serious rift within the U.S. labor movement, its ranks swelling with immigrant, and mostly unskilled, workers. In the long run, the organization's de-

cision to focus on the economic interests of the nation's most skilled workers—a decision fueled by racism and growing anti-immigrant sentiment—debilitated the potential for a unified labor movement.

Other labor unions competed with the AFL for membership. In 1894, the American Railroad Union, under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, a leading socialist, organized a strike at the Pullman manufacturing plant near Chicago and called for a boycott by the men who handled the company's sleeping cars for the nation's railroads. Within a week, over 125,000 railroad workers across the nation had gone out on a sympathy strike. At the request of the Illinois governor, the U.S. president Grover Cleveland intervened, moving in federal troops to break the strike. Under military threat, a broad injunction forced an end to the sympathy strike; the Pullman strikers were defeated, with scores of them blacklisted for their involvement.

The opening of the new century witnessed a flurry of strikes. In 1902, coal miners in northeastern Pennsylvania called for a strike. Under the leadership of John L. Lewis, their union, the United Mine Workers, mobilized some 100,000 coal miners, who shut down the coal mines that summer. When the owners of the mines turned down a UMW proposal for arbitration, President Theodore Roosevelt, like his predecessor, intervened, appointing a commission for mediation and arbitration. Five months later, it awarded the workers a 10 percent increase in wages and a shortened workday. But it denied the union's demand for formal recognition, which was a precondition for arbitration; in its absence, workers faced the often dire consequences of a strike—the loss of wages, and possibly starvation.

It sometimes took an industrial catastrophe to spur the enactment of workplace safety regulations. In 1908, twenty thousand women garment workers in New York and Philadelphia walked out on the job to protest their working conditions. But it was only after 146 young women workers died when a fire broke out at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company on New York's Lower East Side in 1911 that the government finally acted to remedy the extremely hazardous working conditions in many, if not

most, factories. Many of the women had plunged to their deaths, forced to jump out of windows when the fire broke out because the owners had insisted on keeping the doors of the building locked from the outside to prevent “loss of goods.” An outraged public helped pave the way for the enactment of industrial safety reforms, beginning with sweatshop conditions in the garment industry.

Public sentiment in favor of labor unions played an important role in their growth. In 1912, the Industrial Workers of the World, a militant multiracial union, led a strike of fifty thousand workers in the textile mills of Lawrence, Massachusetts. After women strikers and their children were attacked by the police a large public protest ensued; eventually the textile workers’ pay was restored, and then increased. Two years later, the U.S. labor movement won an important victory when Congress passed the Clayton Act legalizing strikes, boycotts, and peaceful picketing. Called the “Magna Carta” for labor, the Clayton Act also limited the use of injunctions to halt strike actions. But another generation would pass before unions received the full recognition that they sought.

It was during the Great Depression, when labor agitation—from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, its membership predominantly Jewish and Italian immigrants who had seen their union grow significantly in the wake of the Triangle Shirtwaist disaster, to A. Philip Randolph’s black-led Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—reached new heights, that the federal government finally conceded the right of unions to legal recognition; other important demands, including the long-fought-for minimum wage, the reduction of work hours, child labor laws, and welfare programs, were also met. The rising tide of labor union agitation culminated in the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which brought millions of unskilled workers in the rubber, steel, and other basic industries under a single umbrella.

In 1935, Congress passed the Social Security Act and the Wagner Labor Relations Act, which created the National Labor Relations Board. While labor unions thereby gained increased power, it can also be argued that the federal government’s concessions set the stage for the co-optation of the movement and its leadership under U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal.

The advent of World War II saw an increase in union organizing, which was accompanied by a deepening alliance of organized labor and the Democratic Party. The abandonment of the labor movement’s political independence (through the support of pro-labor third parties), ostensibly to unify the country in the face of fascist forces overseas, however, left the U.S. labor movement vulnerable to attacks once the war was over. Upon the conclusion of the war a purge of left-wing union leaders took place, led by Senator Joseph McCarthy. The era saw the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act, which made closed shops (where only union members were permitted to work) illegal and outlawed the secondary boycott. The legislation also allowed the states to pass right-to-work laws, thereby placing further obstacles in the way of union organizing.

With radical leadership effectively barred from union leadership, the AFL and CIO merged in 1955. One consequence was a threefold increase in weekly earnings for workers in manufacturing by 1970; less positive was the severing of the low-wage secondary labor market from organized labor. Even at its height union organizing only extended to one-third of the U.S. labor force; the most highly skilled workers benefited most, while the distance between them and other workers continued to grow.

### **Latin America, Africa, Asia**

Like their counterparts in the most industrialized sectors of the world—Europe, the United States, Canada, and Japan—skilled urban workers in Latin America, Africa, and other areas of Asia have made significant gains over rural and unskilled workers. The most important of the union labor movements on these continents were affiliated with communist or socialist-led political forces, most notably the People’s Republic of China, founded in 1949.

The Chinese revolution, like its predecessor in the Soviet Union, attempted to place agrarian production under state control and to bring about large-scale industrialization over a much shorter period of time than the Western capitalist countries had taken. Social, political, and economic advancements notwithstanding, for significant segments of China’s population, the accelerated

*You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.* • WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN (1860–1925)

pace of industrialization produced significant social disruption, uneven development, and a reworking of power relations that left hundreds of millions of peasants, previously under the authority of repressive overlords, now obedient to local party officials often inclined to the same kind of oppressive behavior exhibited by the landed gentry they had replaced.

In Latin America, working-class political parties worked closely with the unions to support their burgeoning labor movements. In the first decade of the twentieth century Argentina's anarchists assumed leadership in union organizations, promoting an anti-government policy that provoked the government to become increasingly repressive in its policies toward organized labor. Labor leaders were deported and waves of general strikes were met with state-sanctioned violence. To undercut radicalism and build support for their regimes among the growing indigenous and mestizo work force, governments throughout Latin America enacted legislation to provide minimal social welfare benefits for their citizens. This approach was carried out first in Uruguay at the turn of the twentieth century, followed by Mexico in the 1920s, and Brazil in the 1930s. Today, a minority of workers in Latin America, concentrated in its major cities, are organized into labor unions.

The economies of Africa, like those of the Indian subcontinent and most of East Asia, continue to be based on subsistence farming, with relatively little industrialization, albeit with abundant trade in urban areas. As Africa is a continent rich with minerals, the mining industry is among its principal sources of industrial labor and the location of its most viable unions. Following independence from European colonialism, many industries were placed under state control—as in Algeria, Ghana, the Congo, and, later on, Zimbabwe. Many others remained under de facto European corporate control or majority ownership. In 1973, a wave of strikes in Durban, South Africa, marked a new militancy among African labor unions not seen since the formation of the anarchist-led Industrial Workers of Africa, the first union of black workers in South Africa. The union influenced the African National Congress in a more radical direction, which led, ultimately, to the overthrow of the apartheid regime. Legislation in the second half of the twentieth century was

passed in South Africa to regularize industrial action, giving new legitimacy to union organizing. Yet like workers in the more industrialized sectors of the world, most of South Africa's labor force remains unorganized.

As in the case of South Africa, a militant workers' movement in Egypt helped to undermine the British colonial presence, as well as its own monarchy. In the mid-twentieth century, rapid growth in the textile, tobacco, and sugar industries saw the doubling of Egyptian union membership between 1947 and 1953. The International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, founded in 1956, would shape the Egyptian government's commitment to organized labor in the Arabic-speaking region while integrating the nation's active trade unions into the state system. Like most other areas of the industrializing world, including pockets of sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and Asia, North Africa's labor union movement serves an important part of the overall workforce in helping to shape public policy.

## Outlook

A history of labor union movements suggests certain common threads as much as it illuminates the diversity of organized labor around the world. While most workers have not been organized into labor unions (for instance, only about 15 percent of U.S. workers are currently organized; down from 30 percent during the 1950s), and while there is now a greater disparity in wealth within nations around the world than had existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, certain segments of the international labor force have won legal rights that offer them some protection against the fundamentally exploitative nature of industrial capitalism.

Omar H. Ali

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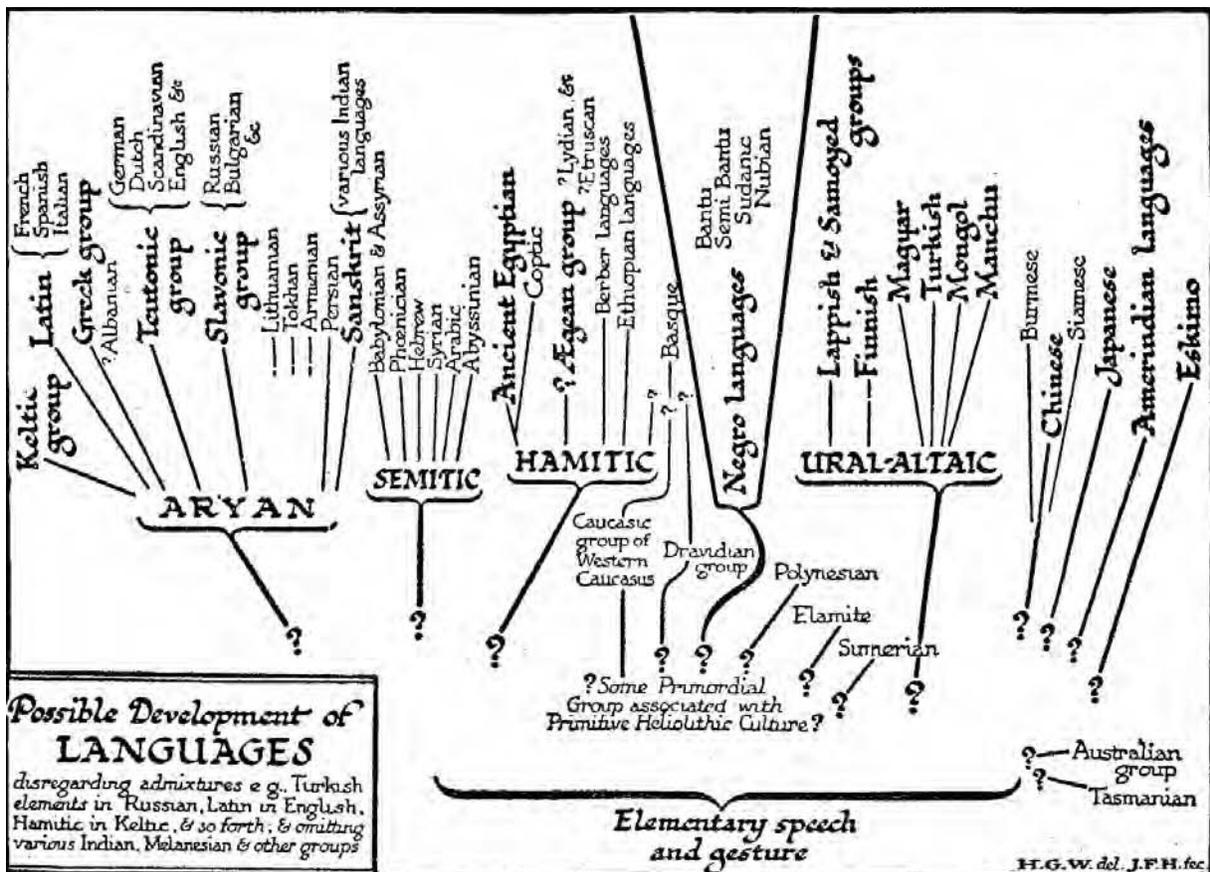
years old) into historically meaningful subsets. Throughout the history of linguistics—the scientific study of language—various principles have been used to arrive at such subsets, the three most important of which are the principles of typology, the principle of linguistic areas, and the principle of genetic relationship.

# Language, Classification of

The classification of human languages is a scientific activity that aims at grouping the approximately six thousand living languages of humanity (and the several hundred known languages that are no longer spoken but that left written records, some of them up to five thousand

## Linguistic Typology

Linguistic typology studies the possible and actual variation of human languages in terms of their structure. Thus, languages may differ in terms of the number and type of sounds (phonemes) they use. Some, for example, may have a very high number of consonants, as is true for most languages of the Caucasus region; others may have very few of them, as is the case in many Polynesian languages. The structure of words may differ widely; some



Linguists and others have produced a number of schemes for classifying languages. This tree is one such scheme, but not accepted as accurate by linguists.

## How Comparative Linguistics Began

*In 1786 Sir William Jones delivered his third discourse in which he laid the foundation for modern comparative linguistics by suggesting a close relationship between Sanskrit and the classical languages of Europe.*

The *Sanskrit* language, whatever be its antiquity, is of wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologist could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source which, perhaps, no longer exists; there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothick and the Celtick, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the *Sanskrit*; and the old Persian might be added to the same family.

Source: Teignmouth, Lord (Ed.). (1807). *The Collected Works of Sir William Jones Volumes I to XIII* (Vol. III: 34–35). London: John Stockdale and John Walker.

languages use few if any form changes to alter the meaning of words (morphology), as is the case in Vietnamese and many other languages of Southeast Asia, while other languages (many Native American languages, for example) have highly complex morphological systems. Almost any structural feature of languages may be and is used by typologists to compare languages and to group them into sets of languages that behave in a similar way.

The study of the typological variation of human languages reached a first peak in the early nineteenth century. The assumption that structural-typological similarity/uniformity of languages is also indicative of common descent (“relationship”) was, however, gradually abandoned, when it became clear that languages may lose or acquire many structural features (previously thought to be quite invariant in the course of time). Thus, for example, a language may develop a systematic contrast of tone height to distinguish meanings (it may become a “tone language,” like Chinese), or, on the other hand, it may lose

this feature (as, in fact, any other linguistic feature describable in typological terms). While language typology, after a certain period of comparative neglect, developed again (since the 1960s, driven by the seminal works of J. H. Greenberg), into one of the major and most successful subdisciplines of linguistics, it is no longer regarded as a primary tool for the detection of the (possible) common origin of languages.

## Areal Linguistics

Areal linguistics studies languages from the viewpoint of their geographical (areal) distribution on the planet. While phenomena like this have of course been well-known to students of language for centuries, areal linguistics as the systematic study of language interaction gained considerable momentum with the work of K. Sandfeld in the 1930s, which drew particular attention to the striking similarities of many languages of the Balkans, which could only be explained as due to prolonged intensive contact between speakers of these languages (Greek, Serbo-Croat, Albanian, Rumanian) over many centuries. Rather than merely, and trivially, stating their locations, areal linguistics aims at elucidating the way languages spoken in adjacent regions influence each other. It is well known that words often travel from language to language (in English these loanwords include *beef* from French, *gestalt* from German, *habitat* from Latin, *taboo* from Polynesian, and *tipi* from Siouan), but languages also influence each other in terms of their structure as well. If the contact between two or more languages in a given area extends over a considerable period of time—generations or even centuries—it is often observed that structural traits of these languages converge, often to a considerable degree. In some cases a (politically or culturally) dominant language “attracts” other languages in its geographical scope, whereas in other cases languages in a given area (which may be continent sized) show a large degree of common structural traits that are best explained by areal convergence, but without a single discernable dominant language that can be held responsible for this picture. Well-studied areas of structural convergence of languages (for which the German term *Sprachbund*, literally “league of languages,” is widely used) are the Balkans, the Indian

subcontinent, the American Northwest, the Caucasus, and New Guinea, but more generally such phenomena are observable across the planet.

In some cases, the study of the areal interaction of languages may, if used with due caution, reveal information about historical processes that took place sometimes even before the communities in question came into the scope of written history. The role of Scandinavian and, later, Norman French people in the history of England is well-known and documented, and these periods of historical contacts left their footprint in the English language, but in certain cases language alone points scholars to contacts that may have taken place in early history. For example, certain traits of the Russian language betray the fact that large areas of what is now central European Russia were once populated by tribes speaking languages akin to Finnish before the expansion of East Slavic/Russian to the east of Moscow (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries CE). Later those tribes were assimilated or driven out of those territories to survive only at their fringes. Another example worth mentioning is the presence in Zulu (and certain other languages of the Bantu language family in southern Africa) of “click” sounds that are characteristic of one or more early variant(s) of the so-called Bushman (Khoisan) languages, which today are spoken quite far away from Zulu territory, but which must have been present there in times well before our historical records for this region begin.

### **Genetic Linguistics**

The third method of grouping the welter of human languages into meaningful subsets is that of genetic or historical comparative linguistics, which attempts to identify language families (groups of languages) that share a common ancestor language, which is usually no longer spoken and more often than not is not even attested in any written record. While areal and typological linguistics are sometimes able to lead researchers to insights into the general history of some regions of the world, genetic linguistics makes historical information a primary concern. People have been grouping “similar” languages into “families” for centuries, thus, for example, the basic unity of

the Romance languages (as descendants of Latin) or that of the Semitic languages have been commonplace since the Middle Ages. No traveling speaker of Russian could ever fail to notice that, for instance, Polish is more “similar” to Russian than it is to German and, therefore, a pre-scientific notion of Slavic as a family could emerge long before the advent of linguistic methods. We may call such families, the unity of which is usually discernable for the untrained observer, or, in other words, evident on mere inspection, “trivial” language families. It was not before the turn of the end of the eighteenth century CE that language scholarship developed methods which allowed the detection of “deeper”, “non-trivial” relationships between languages.

In many well-known cases, the genetic classification of languages alone was able to inform scholarship of sometimes large-scale prehistoric movements of people, which would have gone unrecognized otherwise. Some cases were quite surprising: The detection of the Indo-European family of languages at the end of the eighteenth century revealed the at the time unexpected fact that most languages of Europe (indeed, all but Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian and a few others related to them—the Uralic languages—and Basque, which does not fit in any language family) are demonstrably related to many languages of Asia, including Armenian, the Iranian languages, and Sanskrit and its relatives).

Genetic relationship of languages implies that the ancestors of the peoples using the languages in historical times must share a greater deal of their early history than other sources are able to tell us; in other words, these languages must be the continuations of a once existent “proto-language,” or, to quote William Jones, who, after having studied Sanskrit in India for several years while serving as a judge in Fort Williams (now Calcutta), inaugurated a whole new academic field with his famous words:

The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong

indeed, that no philologist could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists.” (William Jones, as quoted in Cannon, 1991)

The fact that all these languages are indeed descendants of a lost language—most commonly called a proto-language, in this case Proto-Indo-European—is nowhere disputed today, but there is still no consensus on when and where this original language was spoken, or by whom. Most scholars today agree that the time of the dispersal, and finally disintegration, of this hypothetical group of Proto-Indo-European speakers must have been in the late Neolithic (i.e., very tentatively between 8000 and 4000 BCE); on the original location opinions still abound, but southern Russia and the Ukraine, Anatolia, or the Ponto-Caspian steppe region are most often mentioned as possible candidates.

Another surprising result of the methodological study of language relationship was the discovery that Malagasy, the dominant language of Madagascar is, though geographically located in Africa, most closely related to languages as far afield as Indonesia, more precisely of the island of Borneo (Kalimantan), which implies a prehistoric maritime expansion of the ancestors of the Malagasy people over a considerable distance.

A further example is the discovery that the languages of the North American Apache tribes (located mainly in the southwestern United States) are most closely related to languages of the Athabaskan group, whose speakers live mainly in sub-Arctic and Arctic Canada and Alaska, showing that these culturally very divergent groups of Native Americans belong together historically.

It should be mentioned, however, that historical linguistics is not always that successful. The peopling of the Americas by migration across the Bering Strait is a well-established fact of prehistory, arrived at mainly by the application of archaeological methods; it should thus be expected, therefore, that at least some Native American languages would turn out to be genetically related to at least some languages of the Old World (such as Siberian languages). However, though proposals of such “Cross-Bering families” have often been brought forward by linguists and

laypeople alike, a methodologically acceptable demonstration of such a connection is still lacking (with the possible exception of the Eskimo-Aleut family being relatable to some Siberian groups, among them maybe Uralic).

#### LANGUAGE ISOLATES

Some languages have defied all attempts at classification and remain for the linguistic sciences what are usually called language isolates. Some of the better-known examples are Basque in the Pyrenees, Burushaski in the Karakorum Mountains, ancient Etruscan in Tuscany, Ainu in Japan, and the first language to be put into writing—Sumerian—in what is now southern Iraq. Two major languages of East Asia, Japanese and Korean, are often said to be part of the so-called Altaic language family (which also comprises the Turkic, Mongolian, and Manchu-Tungusic languages), but many scholars now question the validity of Altaic as a genetic grouping, though some experts continue to view Japanese and Korean as being related at least to each other, and thus these important languages may have to join the roster of language isolates.

#### ACCEPTED LANGUAGE FAMILIES

Well-established and uncontroversial language families include Semitic (comprising Arabic and Hebrew, among others) and the larger Afroasiatic family (comprising Semitic, Ancient Egyptian, and other language groups of northern Africa), Dravidian (Tamil and other languages of southern India), Sino-Tibetan (Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese and other languages of the Himalayas and Southeast Asia), Austronesian (Malay, Tagalog, Malagasy, and languages of Oceania), Austroasiatic (Cambodian, Vietnamese and other languages of South and Southeast Asia). In Africa, the large Niger-Congo family is mostly accepted today (with the vast subgroup of the Bantu languages); important language families of the New World are Eskimo-Aleut, Algonkin, Siouan, Uto-Aztecan, Maya, Carib, and Ge, among others. Some specialists combine all aboriginal languages of Australia into one family, “Australian”; others define one big family on that continent, the Pama-Nyungan family, together with a number of others, which are mainly situated in the

north and northwest of the continent. Of all major areas, the ethnically and linguistically stunningly diverse island of New Guinea is home to a disproportionately big number of language families, few of which have lent themselves so far to successful attempts of reducing this number. All continents are furthermore home to a number of further, smaller-scale, language families, which cannot fully be enumerated here.

### **Detecting Language Families**

The methods of detecting a valid language family, or of combining established families into larger groupings, which are sometimes called phyla, are complicated and sometimes the object of ongoing scholarly debates. All agree, however, that some language families are so transparent that no special case has to be made for the common origin of their members. The Romance languages, for example, have the rare distinction that their proto-language—Latin—is actually attested. Other examples are Slavic, Germanic, Indic, Turkic, and Semitic. These easily identifiable families usually split up into single languages (subfamilies, branches, subbranches) relatively recently.

For other families, the existence of which is not always obvious for the untrained observer, an intricate apparatus of methods has to be applied to demonstrate a relationship. A mere structural, or typological, resemblance of languages is now generally rejected as indicative of a valid language family, since it is well known and demonstrated that the typological makeup of languages may change, sometimes quite drastically, over the course of time. Nor may a linguistic classification be based on anthropological or so-called racial criteria, since established language families are known that transcend such boundaries (the Afroasiatic family, for example). Similarities of a general kind—most often observed in the lexicon of languages—may sometimes be no more than the result of mere chance; in other cases they may be the result of areal convergence of the languages in question.

It is generally agreed that a convincing demonstration of the genetic relationship of two or more languages (or

families) requires a high degree of regularity of correspondences. In other words, even a large number of similar words may not suffice to demonstrate a relationship if it cannot be shown that the actual sounds (phonemes) making up the words and the affixes (morphemes) of the languages compared correspond to each other in a regular and predictable way. A further requirement that specialists often demand is that the morphological systems of languages within a family be demonstrably matchable onto one another, and furthermore, that the degree of regularity found in the lexicon be strictly observed in the domain of morphology as well.

Other scholars have at times advocated less strict principles for the demonstration of genetic relationship, but their proposals remain highly controversial and continue to spawn heated discussions even today. The field of language classification is also one in which an unusually high number of amateur researchers continue to develop and publish often very idiosyncratic ideas, which sometimes receive the attention of the general public. It goes without saying that the language isolates mentioned above attract much attention from well-meaning amateur linguists, whose hypotheses—often brought forward with considerable ardor and not rarely used to support some political or nationalistic agenda—may frequently gain wide exposure in the popular press. Meanwhile, the scientific process of the classification of the languages of humankind is still ongoing, and important, even surprising, results may still be expected from it. As mentioned earlier, certain issues are still the focus of sometimes heated debates. One such controversy surrounds the attempts that have been made—and continue to be made—to reduce the number of identified language families to a considerably smaller number, maybe even to one, showing that all languages share one very remote common ancestor.

### **The Unique Challenge of Language Classification**

The work of language classification owes much of its terminology and some of its more general principles and models to the classification of living species in biology.

*Broadly speaking, the short words are the best, and the old words best of all.*

• WINSTON CHURCHILL (1874–1965)

While there are indeed a lot of analogies between the two disciplines, the nature of their respective objects is profoundly different: One of the more important differences between biological and linguistic classification is the fact that while in biology the fundamental unity of the realm of living beings—that is, their ultimate relatedness—is not in doubt, and classification in biology is more a matter of establishing *closer* relationships between species, in linguistics no such underlying unity is generally agreed upon. Unlike the biologist, the linguistic taxonomist still faces the task of establishing relationships as such in the first place—the alternative being isolated, nonrelatable status for some languages—with some languages and smaller groupings still unclassified and the strong possibility that this state of affairs may remain without remedy.

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## Language, Standardization of

The standardization of languages is the often consciously initiated and sometimes elaborately planned process of creating a form of a language—usually written—that serves as the accepted and favored means of com-

munication among the members of a speaker group, who normally use more or less aberrant variants of this standard language in their daily lives. Typically, the agents of language standardization operate within the boundaries of and with the support of a political community, usually a state, but cases of conscious language standardization without such support, even against the political will of state authorities, or transcending state boundaries, are also known.

### The Nature of Language Variation

One of the fundamental constants of human language is its variation. Languages change constantly in time, and languages used by large numbers of speakers display often considerable degrees of differentiation, which may at times impede the possibility of effective communication between speakers of the same language living in geographically separated locations. It is probably safe to say that no two individuals use exactly the same language. Sociolinguists (students of language in its social context) speak of different idiolects, that is, languages as used by a single individual. In order to be an efficient tool of communication, it is of course necessary that a large number of individuals use, or be able to use, a language (or a variant, more neutrally called a linguistic code), with a reasonably high degree of uniformity. That uniformity enables speakers to communicate with other speakers effectively, ideally well enough that speakers meeting one another for the first time can communicate without problems. A group of individuals who use such a linguistic variant (acquired as any group member's first or native language) may be called a speech community, and their linguistic variant may be loosely referred to as a language. Languages that are used by large speech communities spread over a considerable territory show, more often than not, some degree of regional variation. Regional variants (which may be characterized by linguistic differences in all linguistic subsystems, including, for example, phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon) are commonly referred to as dialects. Most speech communities that are sufficiently large to know some

## Genghis Khan's Birth Through Time

*The following extracts trace the telling of the story of Genghis Khan's birth in (1) the thirteenth century Chinese-script version of the Secret History of the Mongols, (2) the Uighur-script chronicle Altan Tobci ("Golden Summary"), written by Lubsandanjin in 1655, and (3) a translation of the Secret History into modern Cyrillic-script Khalkha.*

(1) Onan-nu deli'ün boldaq-a бүкүй-түр жөб тенде цинггис-qahan төрежү'үи; төрекүй-түр бара'un qatur-ıyan si'a-yin tedüi nödüñ qatqun төрежү'үи.

(2) Onan-u deligün-boldag-a бүкүй-түр (...) Cinggis qagan töröbe; төрөкүй-түр-ıyen baragun qatur-ıyan shagay-yin tedüi qara nöjin-i adqun töröbe.

(3) Onony Delüün boldog gedeg gazar Chingis xaanyg törүүлzhee. Chingis törөxdöö baruun gart shagayn chinee nözh atgan, törzhee.

Translation of (1): "When they were in Deli'ün boldaq, on the river Onan, Genghis Khan was born; when he was born, he held a clump of blood, the size of a knuckle, in his right hand."

degree of social differentiation or stratification develop linguistic variants divided by social boundaries; these are called sociolects. The average member of a larger speech community will typically be a native speaker of a dialect and, where applicable, may use a sociolect as well. Normally, many individuals will be able to use—or at least to understand—other dialectal or sociolectal variants of the larger speech community, especially individuals with a high degree of geographical or social mobility (or both).

It is not always easy to differentiate between a dialect and a language, and the determination is often made according to nonlinguistic criteria. For example, there is certainly no problem in determining the boundaries of the Icelandic language. It is the only indigenous language of the population of Iceland; its internal dialectal differentiation is minimal, and any indigenous population out-

side of the island does not use it. On the other hand, some languages of continental Europe are not so straightforwardly definable. A case in point may be the language pair formed by Low German and Dutch: Spread over a large territory in northwestern Europe from Flanders to northeastern Germany, speakers from opposite ends of this area will have little or no ability to communicate with one another in their vernaculars; however, the actual linguistic differences largely disappear as one moves from either end to the border zones of the Netherlands and Germany, where local variants spoken by individuals on both sides of the border are close enough to allow unimpeded communication. Such zones, in which linguistic differences increase gradually with geographic distance, are commonly called dialect continua. The fact that variants spoken in one country are referred to as dialects of Dutch, while those on the other side of the border are known as variants of (Low) German, is not justifiable on linguistic reasons, but rather is a consequence of political considerations and language standardization. Cases of sometimes very large dialect continua being differentiated into languages for historical and political reasons are widespread in Europe and elsewhere; examples in Europe include the West Romance dialect continuum (or DC), comprising French, Provençal, Italian, Catalan, Spanish, and Portuguese; the Scandinavian DC, comprising Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish; and the South Slavic DC, comprising Slovene, Serbo-Croat, Macedonian, and Bulgarian. Outside Europe, national languages such as Hindi and Urdu, Thai and Lao, Turkish and Azerbaijani, and Zulu and Xhosa may be mentioned. The fact that all these variants are generally perceived as and officially referred to as languages is due to the existence of nationally recognized standard languages, which may be close to, but often differ considerably from, the variants (or dialects) acquired as first languages by many speakers.

### The Importance of Writing

Whereas in unwritten languages sometimes a certain amount of dialect leveling may be observed (initiated, for example, by a commonly felt pressure to imitate a pres-

tige variant, such as that of a politically or culturally dominant subgroup, a ruling clan, or maybe a center of trade and commerce), language standardization in the narrower sense of the word can only begin with the introduction of writing. Of course, the formation of discernable individual languages out of large dialect continua often precedes any purposeful standardizing intervention; thus, when people in northeastern France began to write in their vernacular (rather than in Latin) in 842 (with the Oath of Strasbourg, which united the Western and Eastern Franks), it marked the beginning of French as a written language, just as the so-called “Riddle of Verona” (a short text, which is possibly the first attestation of colloquial Italian, dating from the ninth century CE) marked that of written Italian. However, the early phases of most written languages are—often for centuries—characterized by the parallel use of several regional (and, sometimes, social) variants; thus, premodern phases of written English (especially in the Middle English period) comprise texts in Northumbrian, Southumbrian, Mercian, Kentish, and other variants. The long way to what is nowadays known as Standard (British) English is marked, among other things, by the rise of London and its aristocracy, the works of Chaucer and the Bible translation of Wycliffe and Hereford in the fourteenth century (which set a linguistic standard much imitated and considered authoritative in following times), the codification of English orthography in Samuel Johnson’s dictionary (1755), and other important events.

At the beginning of a literary tradition, scribes and writers most often try to write down their particular vernacular—frequently on the basis of existing orthographic norms of a different language (so, for example, the orthographic norms of Latin were adopted by those writing in Romance language vernaculars). The need for a unified standard may arise for a variety of reasons: For example, rulers or governments may wish to possess a unified written medium for their realm, which will allow a centralized control of administrative affairs. In modern times, the wish to propagate the idea of a unified nation may drive the efforts to create a national standard lan-

guage, which is viewed as emblematic of a (possibly new) nation-state. Literate people and learned bodies may wish to define rules regarding how literature should be produced, very often on the basis of the usage of “classical” authors, who are taken as models for all future literature, both in terms of content and aesthetic form. And, of course, regionalist and nationalist movements operating within the boundaries of a larger state may use language and its standardization to propagate the public acceptance of a regional group as a population possessing the right to separate nationhood. In some cases, standard languages that transcend state boundaries are recognized and actively used: All German-speaking countries recognize the standard codified by the dictionaries of the Duden publishing house based in Mannheim, Germany, and in all Arabic-speaking countries the morphological and syntactical (and, for public broadcasting purposes, also the phonological) model of Classical Arabic, as codified in the Quran, is regarded as the unquestioned norm for any public use of the language. Only in Christian Malta, where Islam plays no role but the vernacular language is a variety of Arabic, has an autochthonous written standard, based on the Latin alphabet, been developed.

Reflecting this roster of motives, language standardization may be driven by a variety of agents, among them individuals (such as, for example, Antonio de Nebrija, the author of a descriptive grammar of Spanish in 1492), autonomous societies (such as the Gaelic League, or Conradh na Gaelige, in Ireland, active since 1893), semiofficial normative organizations (such as the Norwegian Language Council, or Norsk Språknemnd, founded in 1951), or official governmental bodies (as was the case for the standardization of the welter of official regional languages in the former Soviet Union). Especially for the latter two cases, in which a government purposefully interferes with the norms of the official language(s) of a state or nation, the term *language planning* is widely used.

## Reforms of Orthography

The most widespread and well-known instances of language planning or language standardization are reforms

of orthography. They may be motivated by the urge to simplify existing orthographies, which are felt to be too complicated (as has been the case with the simplification of Chinese characters in the People's Republic of China since the 1950s, the Danish orthography reform of 1948, and the simplification of Russian orthography in 1917). Another possible motive is the political wish to differentiate a language (sometimes quite artificially) from a closely related one spoken in a neighboring nation. Sometimes a different script is used to serve this purpose: A case in point is that of the "Moldavian" language, a variant of Romanian, linguistically barely different from the national language of Romania, but spoken in the territory of the former Soviet Republic of Moldova and written in Cyrillic script until the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 (after which Moldovans not only reverted to use of the Latin script, but even abandoned the name *Moldovan* in favor of *Romanian*). The case of Tajik is similar: Linguistically a variant of Persian, Tajik was written in the Cyrillic script, rather than in Arabic script (as Persian is), when the area was part of the Soviet Union, and Cyrillic continues to be used in present-day Tajikistan. Finally, the case of Serbian and Croatian may be mentioned. These two are mainly differentiated by the use of the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets, respectively (linguistic differences between these variants of Serbo-Croat do exist, but their boundaries do not follow the cultural boundaries between Catholic Christian Croats and Orthodox Christian Serbs).

Standardization activities are, however, not limited to orthography: All linguistic subsystems may be the focus of planning activities. When it comes to the morphology and syntax of languages, however, the possibilities of introducing highly artificial norms that do not have any basis in any of the actually spoken varieties, are naturally limited. Those norms may be based on older spoken and written varieties of the languages, and they may be artificially conserved in a written norm, at times expanding certain usages beyond the scope actually found in the spoken languages. Thus, the use of certain past-tense forms is artificially preserved in written Standard German, while those forms have practically vanished from most spoken variants.

## Reforming the Lexicon

Next to orthography, the lexicon of a standard language is arguably the area most often targeted by standardization activities. Two different tendencies may be singled out as most typical here: First, agents of language planning or standardization may feel that the language uses an unwelcome number of foreign elements (loanwords) from a different language, which should be replaced by "native" words; such attitudes and activities are usually referred to as linguistic purism. The donor language may be a formerly politically dominant language, the influence of which planners may seek to reduce after, say, political independence (as was the case with Russian elements in Latvian and other languages of former Soviet republics); it may be the language of a neighboring culture or state or nation, which is viewed as hostile by certain nationalist activists, or as the target of ethnic hatred (which explains the movements against French elements in pre-World War I Germany); finally, in some language communities a general consensus may prevail, at least among the cultural elite, that the language should be more or less kept free of *any* foreign elements; well-known cases of institutional purism include the normative activities of the Académie Française for French, or those of the University of Reykjavik for the Icelandic language, which was and continues to be extremely successful in coining and propagating new words for modern concepts based on the language material of the older Icelandic literature.

The second tendency when it comes to standardizing the lexicon is the planned expansion of the lexicon of a language. This is often felt necessary when a language is adopted as the standard written medium of a newly independent nation, but language politics for minority languages with official status in the former Soviet Union were also characterized by this tendency, as are language politics for official minority languages in the People's Republic of China. In some cases, the adopted language may not have been used widely in writing before (or only for limited purposes), and widely known and usable lexical items for numerous purposes (technical, legal, scientific, political) may be lacking; often in such cases, language planners introduce loan elements from

*I have three treasures. Guard and keep them: The first is deep love, The second is frugality, And the third is not to dare to be ahead of the world. Because of deep love, one is courageous. Because of frugality, one is generous. Because of not daring to be ahead of the world, one becomes the leader of the world.* • LAOZI (SIXTH CENTURY BCE)

another language; if nationalistic ideology does not intervene, the languages of former colonial powers may remain sources of the expansion of such vocabularies (for example, the role of English as a source for modern terminology in most written languages of India, or that of French in many languages of western Africa).

Sometimes language standardization or planning activities may lead to rather unusual results: In this context, the phenomenon of diglossia should be mentioned. Diglossia is the presence of two different written norms for one language in one society. One example is Modern Greek, in which well into the twentieth century two written norms competed for general acceptance, one based upon ancient Greek and considered more “pure,” and the other based on contemporary vernacular Greek (which gained much ground as the twentieth century waned). A second well-known example is that of Norwegian, in which both a city-based written norm that resembles Danish and a more countryside-based, “reformed” (i.e., largely purged of Danish characteristics) norm continue to be used side by side.

Language planners may choose a language as the national standard that is not spoken by any sizable population in their country at all, as was the case with the adoption of Urdu as the national language of Pakistan. Urdu was the (written) variety of Hindustani used in large parts of India, including the city of Old Delhi. Felt as emblematic for the new Islamic nation of Pakistan, it was adopted as its national language, although only in a relatively small pocket around Karachi was it used as a native language (Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluchi, and Pashto being more widespread as first languages in the country).

Finally, there is one case in which a language that actually died out was raised to the status of a national standard through the combined effort of a community with a strong commitment to its national identity and heritage: Israeli Hebrew. Centuries after it had ceased to be anybody’s first language, it was consciously revived by Jewish settlers in the Middle East in the early twentieth century, was declared the national language of Israel in 1948, and now boasts around three million native speakers.

## Language Standardization and World History

As the examples mentioned throughout this article indicate, language and language standardization are profoundly intertwined with world history. What languages are accorded status in a region affects the lives of peoples in that region, potentially marginalizing some while securing the fortunes of others. It is not surprising that conquering peoples try to stamp out or denigrate use of the language of the conquered, nor is it surprising that language becomes a rallying point for nationalistic revolutionary movements. In nation-states in which multiple primary languages are spoken, the degree to which language issues can be amicably resolved is often a strong indicator of the stability of the country. As a political tool, language standardization has the potential both to create unity and to sow the seeds of dissent.

*Stefan Georg*

*See also* Esperanto

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## Laozi

(6TH CENTURY BCE)  
CHINESE PHILOSOPHER

Laozi (Lao-tzu, Lao Tzu), who is commonly credited with writing the Daoist classic, the *Daodejing* (*Tao-te Ching*—Classic of the Way of Power), was among the most influential people in Chinese history, second to, if not equal to, the philosopher Confucius (551–479 BCE).

Ideas in the *Daodejing*, although seemingly mysterious and paradoxical, are subtle and profound and have influenced every aspect of Chinese civilization (government, philosophy, religions, sciences, medicine, arts, and martial arts).

The name “Laozi” means “old master.” However, little information about the man exists. The earliest record of Laozi is in *Shiji* (Records of the Grand Historian), written by Sima Qian (145–87 BCE?) of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). In the biography of Laozi, Qian gave Laozi’s birth name as “Li Erh,” which was the name of a staff official at the imperial library of the Zhou dynasty (1045–256 BCE). Laozi cultivated learning but did not reveal his knowledge or ability. As the Zhou dynasty declined, Laozi decided to leave. At the city gate, at the request of the gatekeeper, he wrote two books, *Dao* and *De*, with a total of about five thousand characters (words). No one knew where he went then, and Qian wrote that some people said that Laozi lived to the age of 160 or 200 and attributed the longevity to the cultivation of Dao.

Qian dated Laozi as the contemporary of Confucius because Qian wrote about a visit from Confucius to Laozi. Using Confucius as a medium, Qian referred to Laozi as a dragon, the most auspicious and grand symbol in Chinese civilization to illustrate the breadth, depth, and versatility of his words. Qian also mentioned another person, Lao Laizi, who also wrote Daoist text and who also was the contemporary of Confucius, but Qian did not identify Laozi as Lao Laizi.

Some modern scholars question whether Laozi was the contemporary of Confucius and date him in the third century BCE, during the Warring States period (475–221 BCE). Other scholars support Sima Qian’s dating.

During the second century BCE, at the end of the Han dynasty, folk beliefs blended with Daoist ideas and developed the religion of Daoism. After that Laozi was venerated as the founder, and the *Daodejing* became a text with magical and protective power for followers of several schools of religious Daoism. When Buddhism became popular in China, legend claimed that Laozi went to the West and was reincarnated as Buddha. During the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE) Laozi was honored

## The Opening Chapter of Laozi’s *Daodejing* (The Way and the Power)

Ch.1. 1. The Dao that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tao. The name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name.

2. (Conceived of as) having no name, it is the Originator of heaven and earth; (conceived of as) having a name, it is the Mother of all things.

3. Always without desire we must be found,

If its deep mystery we would sound;

But if desire within us be,

Its outer fringe is all that we shall see.

4. Under these two aspects, it is really the same; but as development takes place, it receives the different names. Together we call them the mystery. Where the Mystery is the deepest is the gate of all that is subtle and wonderful.

as an imperial ancestor to enhance the prestige of the imperial family, who had the same last name. Temples were built for Laozi, and Daoist monasteries were popular throughout the Tang dynasty. Moreover, the *Daodejing*, as a book about philosophy and governance, was adopted as a text in the civil service exam for sixty-six years, along with Confucian classics. From the third through the tenth centuries “Laozi” was a common name for Chinese intellectuals as well as religious people.

The *Daodejing* consists of eighty-one short chapters of philosophical prose, which often are paradoxical; therefore, commentaries on the text became important. Two commentaries are Ho-shang Gong’s commentary of the Han dynasty and Wang Bi’s commentary of the fifth century, which became the standard version. Recent tomb excavation unearthed an earlier version of this text that has slight variations. Some scholars believe that the *Daodejing* is an anthology by more than one author. The thought in the book, however, is consistent.

The *Daodejing* states that a metaphysical, all-comprising, and organic “Dao” is the originator and sustainer of all



**A highly stylized portrait of the philosopher Laozi traveling on a bull. The portrait was popular in the west around the turn of the twentieth century.**

things in the universe. It can't be described. As the *Daodejing* states, "the *Dao* that can be told is not the constant *Dao*," yet this *Dao* is modeled after naturalness or spontaneity and can also be discerned in ordinary or even lowly things.

The *Daodejing* draws its inspiration from the observation of nature, for which it has a profound preference. It exhorts frugality, contentment, and tranquility and promotes few desires. Moreover, contrary to common assumptions, it claims that the weak overcome the strong and that the soft overcome the hard. The *Daodejing* states, "Of all things in the world, nothing is more soft and weak than water, yet none could rival water in dissolving the hard and the strong." Some scholars believe that the *Daodejing* teaches people means of self-preservation during troubled times. The *Daodejing* also proposes ways for a sage ruler to govern. Its ideal society is a simple and primal society where people are contented. Moreover, its best government has only a shadowy existence: It interferes little with people's lives either in taxation or labor conscription. The *Daodejing* states, "I [the ruler] practice *wu-wei* [nonactions] and the people were self-transformed; I love tranquility, and the people became pure and good . . ." However, the *Daodejing* is not just a creed for simplicity and contentment, it also embraces and understands changes, making it a seemingly simple but profound text.

Ideas in the *Daodejing* have been applied in Chinese government, notably during the early Han dynasty under the emperors Wen and Jing (180–141 BCE). Under the name of "Huang-Lao" (combining the name of the legendary Yellow Emperor with "Laozi"), the early Han government was frugal and nonactive and levied light taxes to allow citizens to recover from the heavy taxation and wars of the previous Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE). Near the end of the Han dynasty and for the next several centuries, religious Daoism thrived. People revered Laozi as a deity, ideas in the *Daodejing* were adopted, and eventually a large collection of Daoist scriptures was written. Daoism also influenced Chinese arts. Along with *Zhuang Zi* (Master Zhuang), another Daoist classic written during the Warring States period, the *Daodejing* inspired literati landscape painting, most notably during the Song dynasty (960–1279). The scene was usually of one or two scholars strolling among mountains and trees.

Daoist ideas also inspired many of China's most treasured poems. People often consider Li Bai (701–762 CE), a Daoist of the Tang dynasty, to be China's greatest poet. Daoism also inspired Chinese primitive sciences and martial arts and influenced Chinese medical theories and practices. Daoists' search for a longevity elixir promoted the development of alchemy (a chemical science and speculative philosophy that aimed at, among other goals, the discovery of a means of indefinitely prolonging life).

Laozi's *Daodejing* fundamentally changed Chinese civilization. It balanced goal-oriented, ethically motivated, and duty-bound Confucianism with a sense of individual freedom in its tranquil appreciation of the beauty of nature and understanding of changing and unpredictable fortunes. Since the late eighteenth century the *Daodejing* has also attracted many Western minds. Today it is one of the books most translated into English. Scholars and laypersons explore and perceive it from different angles, comparing it with Christianity, appreciating its tranquility and love of nature, seeking an individual's freedom from highly structured modern society, or simply studying the ritual and practices of the religion of Daoism. Western intellectuals have freely interpreted and explored the text in their own search for a space in a

highly standardized and bureaucratic world. Regardless of whether Laozi or more than one author wrote the *Daodejing*, it has significantly influenced Chinese civilization, and its influence has spread beyond the Chinese horizon and into world history.

Lily Hua

See also Confucianism

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## Latter-day Saints

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), also called “the Church of Jesus Christ,” is the fifth-largest denomination in the United States. The church is often called the “Mormon” church because of members’ belief in *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ* as a book of scripture in addition to the Bible. Headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah, but with members in 159 countries, the Church of Jesus Christ has quickly established itself as a significant world denomination. Scholars have referred to it as “a new religious tra-

### When and Where World Religions Began

4000–2500 BCE	Hinduism	South Asia
1300–1200 BCE	Judaism	West Asia
500–400 BCE	Buddhism	South Asia
	Confucianism	China
	Zoroastrianism	West Asia
	Jainism	South Asia
400–221 BCE	Daoism	China
1st century CE	Christianity	West Asia, Europe
3rd century CE	Manichaeism	West Asia
6th century CE	Shinto	Japan
7th century CE	Islam	West Asia
11th century	Orthodoxy	West Asia
15th–16th century	Sikhism	South Asia
16th century	Protestantism	Europe
19th century	Latter-day Saints	North America
	Babi and Baha’i	West Asia
19th–20th century	Pentecostalism	North America

dition” (Shippis 1985, 149) and have seen in its growth “the rise of a new world faith” (Stark 1984, 18).

### Founding and Membership

The Church of Jesus Christ was founded on 6 April 1830, in Fayette, New York, by Joseph Smith Jr. (1805–1844), who, as a fourteen-year-old boy, sought an answer to which of the many competing Christian denominations he should join. He testified that he was visited by God and Jesus Christ and was instructed to join none of the denominations. Church members believe that Joseph Smith Jr. was called as a prophet and received divine revelations, many of which were published in the *Doctrine and Covenants*, a book of Smith’s received revelations and part of the Latter-day Saint canon of scriptures.

Since the time of Joseph Smith Jr., the Church of Jesus Christ has experienced dramatic growth. By the end of

2003 the church had a worldwide membership of nearly 12 million, 53 percent of whom were female and 47 percent male. Less than half of Latter-day Saints live in the United States (5,503,192) and Canada (166,442). Some countries in the South Pacific (389,073 members total) and many Latin American countries and regions have comparatively large Latter-day Saint populations, including Mexico (980,053), the Caribbean (133,969), Central America (513,067), and South America (2,818,103). The church is still a small minority but has experienced substantial growth in Asia (884,091), Africa (203,597), and Europe (433,667).

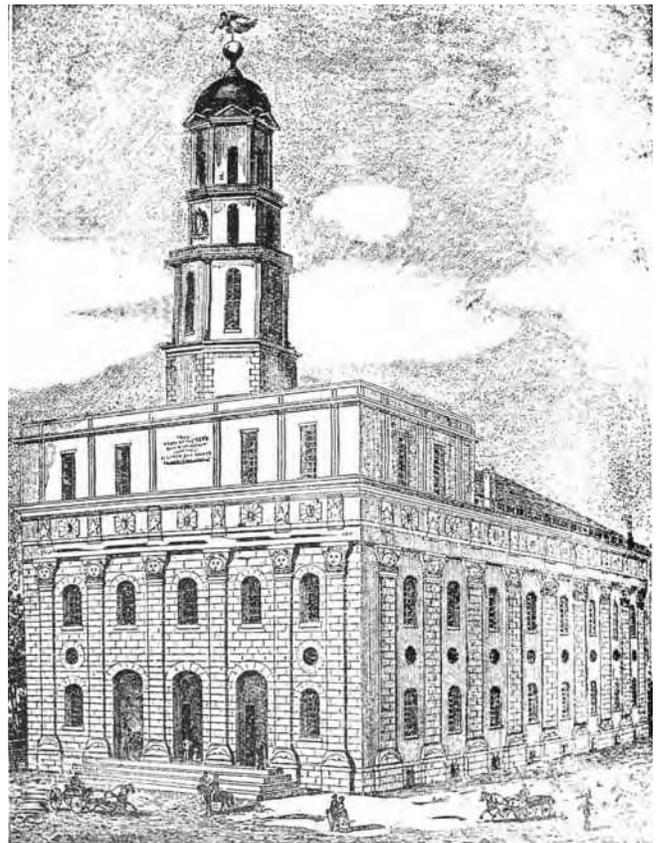
### Basic Beliefs and Practices

Core teachings of the church include beliefs in Joseph Smith Jr.'s call as a modern-day prophet, the church as a restoration of the original pure Christianity established by Jesus Christ during his mortal ministry, acceptance of *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ* as a translation of records of ancient prophets in the Americas and, with the Bible, as divine scripture. Church members believe in Christ and see him as the head of their church, but the church does not belong to the Catholic, Protestant, nor Eastern Orthodox families of churches. Many of the basic beliefs of the church are stated in the *Articles of Faith*. Key doctrines include the restoration of divine priesthood authority; continuing revelation to church members and modern prophets; high moral standards of honesty, chastity before marriage, and fidelity after marriage; and a health code that prohibits the consumption of alcohol, tea, and coffee and any form of substance abuse. Church members pay one-tenth of their incomes to the church as a tithe and are encouraged to fast monthly and give the money they would have spent on food, or more, to a fund to help the needy. The church also has an extensive welfare program, designed to meet the temporal needs of church members who are unable to provide for themselves or their families.

The Church of Jesus Christ has 119 operating temples throughout the world, which are used to conduct ordinances such as marriage ceremonies, but are not used for

ordinary weekly worship services. Latter-day Saint doctrine teaches that marriages solemnized (“sealed”) in Latter-day Saint temples do not dissolve at death and that the family is the core unit of the church and society. The church also encourages education and offers a subsidized loan fund for members seeking higher education in developing countries. The church also has an extensive educational system, including Brigham Young University in Utah, one of the largest private universities in the United States.

Many university-age single men and women, as well as retired married couples, serve as full-time missionaries for the church around the world for one to two years. At the end of 2002 more than sixty thousand missionaries were



**The Temple of the Latter-day Saints built at Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1841.**

serving at their own expense in the region of the world where they were assigned by church headquarters, in many cases learning a foreign language. Local leaders of the church are not salaried ministers. They, along with most members who serve as part-time teachers, leaders, and youth leaders in local congregations, are lay volunteers who give of their time for a few years in an assigned church position while continuing normal employment.

### Historical Development

The early years of the Church of Jesus Christ were marked by persecution and movement westward. During the first two decades of the church, members were driven to Ohio; to Independence, Missouri; to Far West, Missouri; and, after being the subject of an extermination order by the governor of Missouri, to Nauvoo, Illinois. After the martyrdom of Joseph Smith Jr. at the hands of an angry mob in 1844, the Latter-day Saints eventually migrated 2,000 kilometers west to Salt Lake Valley, now part of Utah, under the leadership of the second president of the church, Brigham Young (1801–1877). After moving to Utah the Latter-day Saints faced an occupying army from 1857 to 1860, sent by U.S. President James Buchanan, who acted on false rumors of a Latter-day Saint rebellion.

Early official persecution and mob violence against Latter-day Saints constitute one of the harshest examples of religious persecution in U.S. history. Friction arose from religious, cultural, and political differences with their fellow frontier people, particularly over issues of slavery, which was legal in Missouri, and fears of Latter-day Saint political domination.

Another point of contention was the Latter-day Saint practice of polygamy (plural marriage), which was publicly taught from 1843 until it was discontinued in 1890, and efforts by the Latter-day Saints to establish economically self-sufficient communities. Fears of Latter-day Saint practices led to federal U.S. legislation from 1849 to 1896 attacking polygamy, denying civil rights to polygamists and nonpolygamous members of the church, and dissolving the Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Legal challenges by Latter-day Saints to anti-polygamy legislation resulted in the first U.S. Supreme

Court cases interpreting the free exercise clause of the U.S. Constitution: *Reynolds v. United States* (1878) and *Davis v. Beason* (1890), which upheld federal legislation against both polygamy and the Church of Jesus Christ.

Despite the persecutions of the early years of the church, missionary work continued to fuel its growth. During the 1840s thousands of people joined the Church of Jesus Christ from missionary efforts, particularly in Great Britain, and immigrated to the Americas. As early as the 1850s, missions were opened in Chile, France, Germany, Gibraltar, Hawaii, India, Italy, Malta, Scandinavia, South Africa, the South Pacific, and Switzerland. Since that time international missionary efforts have increased, but by the 1920s church policy no longer encouraged members to gather at a central geographical region.

During recent years the international growth of the church has been increasingly reflected in LDS demographics. By 1996 more church members lived outside the United States than in, only 30 percent of members lived in the western United States, and fewer than 20 percent lived in Utah. As of 2002 church members belonged to 26,143 local units and spoke 175 languages. During the last forty years the church has had a growth rate of about 50 percent per decade. Based on this growth rate, sociologist Rodney Stark has argued that Latter-day Saints “will soon achieve a worldwide following comparable to that of Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, and the other dominant world faiths” (Stark 1984, 18).

*Elizabeth A. Sewell*

*See also* Religious Freedom

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## League of Nations

The League of Nations was created in the wake of the first World War. It was effective from 10 January 1920, with its seat in Geneva (in neutral Switzerland). It cannot be dissociated from the ravages of the Great War and the emergence of its conception as “the war to end all wars,” even though the League totally failed in its goal of preventing the outbreak of another world war. During the Paris Peace Conference, largely dominated by Wilson’s Fourteen Points of 8 January 1918, the final draft of its Covenant (constitution) was agreed upon by the leaders of France, Great Britain, and the United States, known as the “Big Three” (Georges Clemenceau, David Lloyd George, and Woodrow Wilson), on 14 February 1919. The Covenant became part of the Treaty of Versailles (28 June 1919). Point 14 argued that “a general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.” Though European intellectuals had broached the idea of an international peacekeeping organization before the war, and a “League of Nations Society” was founded in Britain in 1915, the proposal has therefore remained associated with President Wilson.

The two great European victors, prime ministers Clemenceau and Lloyd George, had grave reservations, for different reasons. France would bow to the discipline of such an organization only if it felt safe against renewed German attack, and during the discussions, Wilson persuaded Clemenceau that if he agreed to join in the creation of the League of Nations, the United States would

### The Covenant of the League of Nations

The high contracting parties, in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

guarantee the inviolability of France—and Lloyd George agreed to associate himself with the proposal. In Britain, the Conservatives, or the “party of empire,” as they liked to call themselves, were suspicious of this American idea, which might well be a ploy to sap Britain’s world role. Most important, Lloyd George had reservations about the proposed clause concerning sanctions by other League members if one member was attacked—the gist of what came to be known as collective security. Economic sanctions would penalize exporting countries like Britain, and military intervention would of necessity rely on the Great Powers’ involvement if it was to have any efficacy—which would also be onerous to Britain, with the largest navy in the world. Thus Britain would lose the freedom to make its own judgments and be automatically committed to costly measures possibly decided by others. But for President Wilson, this clause was the essence of the League—as indeed subsequent events were repeatedly to demonstrate—and Lloyd George relented, because he knew that this was the only way he could obtain reciprocal concessions from Wilson.

Much the same arguments on the loss of sovereignty to other (implicitly, lesser) nations were heard in the United States, especially in Republican circles, with their traditional isolationist desire to avoid entangling alliances. But Wilson refused to listen to these warnings, and despite the reluctant support of Clemenceau and Lloyd George, he was unable to persuade the United States Senate to provide the necessary two-thirds majority to ratify the

*Until he extends the circle of his compassion to all living things, man will not himself find peace.*

• ALBERT SCHWEITZER (1875–1965)

Treaty on 29 November 1919 (the vote was 49 for, 35 against). The League was mortally wounded, since its credibility and viability as an international peacekeeping force was seriously impaired, the more so as Bolshevik Russia had not been invited to join. Britain and France, both severely weakened by World War I, were left to provide leadership for an organization that never really managed to establish itself as an undisputed moral authority, let alone a respected military arbitration force.

The League had some success in settling minor border disputes between Bulgaria and Greece and Iraq and Turkey in the 1920s, but when it had to face its first major crisis involving two powerful members, the invasion of Manchuria, China, by the Japanese in September 1931, its impotence was made clear to all. Neither Britain, which had a wide but indefensible presence in South and Southeast Asia, nor the United States, which aspired to replace Britain as the major Western power in the area, was prepared to alienate the Japanese, who were allowed to keep the territories conquered by military force—the prevention of which was the *raison d'être* of the League. And when the League refused to recognize the new puppet state of Manchukuo, Japan resigned in protest (March 1933), thus setting a pattern followed by other unscrupulous states: aggression leading to purely verbal condemnation, seen as a pretext for withdrawal from the League.

Only a few weeks earlier, Hitler had become chancellor of Germany, which had been admitted in 1926. At the earliest opportunity, provided by the failure of the World Conference on Disarmament sponsored by the League, Nazi Germany left the organization, in October 1933. Italy followed suit in December 1937, after its invasion of Ethiopia and its easy defiance of sanctions imposed by the League. The Soviet Union, which had joined in 1934 because it feared Nazi Germany, was expelled in December 1939 after its invasion of Finland. The year 1940 marked the *de facto* demise of the League, even though it continued to exist *de jure* until its remaining economic and humanitarian activities were officially taken over by the new United Nations organization on 19 April 1946.

*Antoine Capet*

See also Treaty of Versailles; United Nations; World War I

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## Leisure

Leisure occupies a major role in the lives of most people. Its history, like most other things, activities, or concepts, depends on how it is defined but this has been particularly difficult for a variety of reasons. For one, it has been impossible to define leisure in such a way that the definition is both inclusive (i.e., all forms of leisure are included) and exclusive (i.e., everything that is not leisure is excluded). Moreover, few other languages around the world have a word that has the same meaning as the English word *leisure*, making a cross-cultural understanding of the concept problematic. In North American and European leisure research, the term has been most often defined in three ways. First, leisure has been defined as free or unobligated time. Second, it has been defined as action or participation in “leisure activities.” Third, leisure has been defined as an experiential state of mind or being wherein meaning is the critical issue.

### Leisure as Free Time

The idea that leisure as free time contributes to the development of civilization is central in the “surplus theory” of cultural evolution that developed in the middle of

the twentieth century. American anthropologist Franz Boas stated this thesis most clearly:

A surplus of food supply is liable to bring about an increase of leisure, which gives opportunities for occupations which are not absolutely necessary for the needs of life. In turn the increase of population and of leisure, which may be applied to new inventions, give rise to a greater food supply and to further increase in the amount of leisure, so that a cumulative effect results. (1940, 285)

However, evidence accumulated since the late 1950s, initially based on studies of the Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert in southwest Africa, refutes the idea that food collectors have little or no free time compared to sedentary agriculturalists. The anthropologist Elman Service indicated that the Arunta, for example, an aboriginal hunter-gatherer group from Australia, have abundant free time, claiming that “The Arunta . . . are literally one of the most leisured people in the world” (1958, 10).

With the development of civilization, the amounts of free time, as well as its use, varied substantially between

men and women and among social classes. In ancient Athens the leisure of upper-class males was supported by the labor of women, slaves, and working classes. In ancient Rome, public games, known as *ludi*, began during the third century BCE. The number of holidays increased rapidly with seventy-six celebrated by the first century BCE. By the fourth century CE, 175 holidays were devoted to theatrical performances, chariot races, and gladiatorial combats.

In post-Roman Europe, the agricultural cycle and the Roman Catholic Church largely dictated the free time of commoners. Sundays and saints’ days provided free time opportunities. Attempts to regulate working hours met with mixed results. A 1495 law in England prescribed a 5 A.M. until 7 P.M. working day but 10- or 10½-hour days were common. Tradesmen often took an informal holiday on Mondays because raw materials were not delivered until late that day or the following morning, a practice that came to be known as “Saint Monday.”

The Industrial Revolution, beginning in the mid-1700s in England, had the most important influence on the



**Women in a park in Beijing in 2003 participate in a group dance/exercise each day.**

## Kites in Korea

*This account of kite flying in Korea provides details of the activity in the late nineteenth century and also provides a glimpse into the rivalry that existed between the Koreans and Chinese.*

It is customary for all classes in Korea from His Majesty, the King, down to fly kites. Women sometimes fly kites from their yards, but it is said that anyone can tell a kite flown by a woman. The owner of a kite is often considered unable to fly it, and when he goes away, another who understands kite-flying will take the reel and play it.

The Koreans say that the Chinese do not know how to fly kites, and that when a Chinaman grows tired after having sent up his kite with a heavy string, he will tie it to a tree and lie down and watch it.

The time for kite-flying is the first half of the first month. After this time, if any one should fly a kite he would be laughed at, nor will any one touch a lost kite.

On the fourteenth of the first month it is customary to write in Korean characters on kites a wish to the effect that the year's misfortunes may be carried away with them. Mothers write this for their child, with his name and date of birth. The letters are placed along bamboo frames so that they may not be seen by any one who might be tempted to pick the kite up. Boys tie a piece of sulfur paper on the string of such a kite, so that when the kite goes into the air the string will burn through and the kite fall.

Source: Culin, S. (1895). *Korean games with notes on the corresponding games of China and Japan* (p. 12). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Department of Anthropology and Paleontology.

allocation of time to labor and leisure since the development of agriculture. It segmented days into specific periods of work time and leftover time through the imposition of "clock time" while factory work segmented families. Men, and frequently boys, left their homes to work in factories and mines while women and girls remained at home. Religious leaders often saw factory work as providing discipline and advocated long hours of work while recreation and play were devalued.

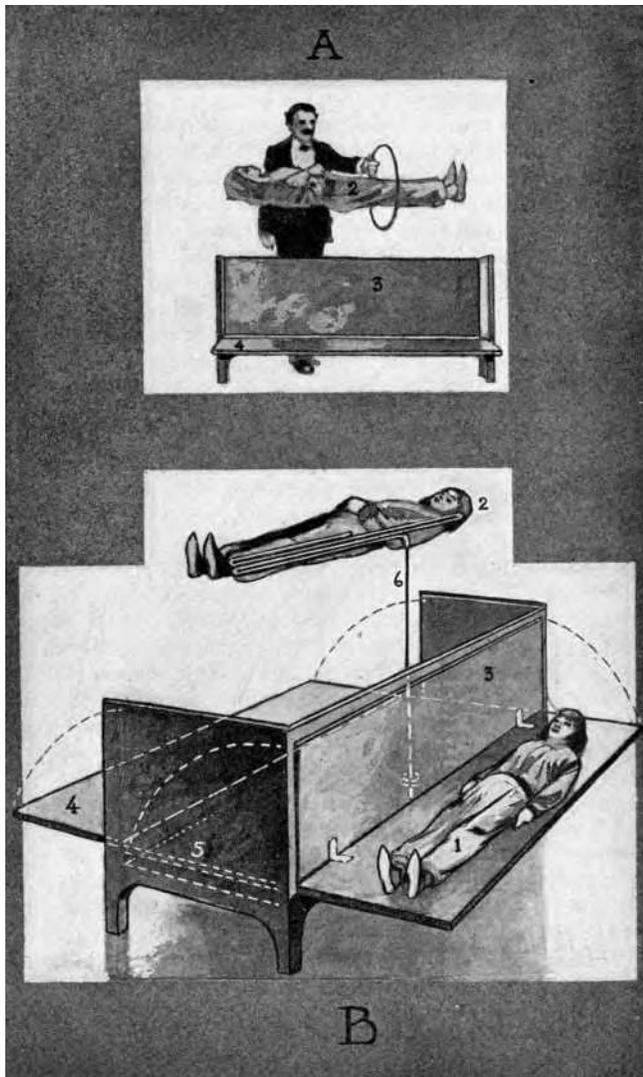
Hours of work declined only slowly from as many as 80 per week in early factories to 50 in much of Europe by 1847. The 8-hour day became widespread only after World War II. Although 40 hours of work per week remains the legal standard in North America, France legislated a 35-hour work week in 1998 and industry-employee-negotiated 35-hour work weeks are common elsewhere in Europe. The vacation, another form of leisure as free and unobligated time, is also largely a product of the Industrial Revolution. Two weeks vacation per year is typical in the United States. Chinese workers currently average about 15 days of paid vacation per year, and Japanese workers 25, while Europeans receive between 4 and 6 weeks per year.

How industrialization and technological change has influenced free-time availability is unresolved. In her 1991 book, *The Overworked American*, economist Juliet Schor claimed that Americans are working longer hours since the 1960s because of employer demands coupled with employees' preference for more money rather than more free time. On the other hand, John C. Robinson and Geoffrey Godbey, in their 1997 book *Time for Life*, state that Americans have more free time than ever before, about 5 hours per week more than in the 1960s. The contrast between Schor's and Robinson and Godbey's results stems, at least in part, from the manner in which they gathered their data. Schor used aggregate work time estimates from the U.S. government and pollsters while Robinson and Godbey's data were based on time diaries kept by research respondents.

## Leisure as Activity

The most common leisure activity for humans, both past and present, is undoubtedly resting or sleeping. The anthropologist Lauriston Sharp indicated that the Yir Yiront, an Australian Aboriginal tribe, devoted the majority of their leisure to rest:

Any leisure time the Yir Yiront might gain by using steel axes or other western tools was invested, not in "improving the conditions of life," and certainly not in developing aesthetic activities, but in sleep, an art that they had thoroughly mastered. (1952, p. 82)



**The Floating Lady Trick. Diagram A shows how it appears to the audience. B. shows how it is really performed using a rubber human form and sliding panels.**

Socializing with family and friends surely occupied a major segment of the free time of members of early food-collecting societies. Games are ubiquitous in known human cultures, past and present, as well. Leisure in ancient Greece, albeit for male citizens and supported on the backs of women and slaves, included Olympic sports, games, narrative and drama, art, debate, and contemplation. The Romans added several activities to those already practiced by the Greeks, such as gladiatorial combats, public baths, and the circus. The precursors to many modern games and sports were developed in central, south, and east Asia, such as chess (India), cards (China), and polo (central Asia). Music, art, and poetry were popular pastimes for the elite classes in China and flourished during

the Han (206 BCE–220 CE) and the Tang (618–907 CE) dynasties. Along with games, music, art, and forms of narrative, festivals provide recreation for individuals in both technologically simple and complex societies. Recreational drug use, especially alcohol, and recreational sex, including prostitution and varieties of pornography, have been common in most of human history.

In post-Roman Europe, between approximately 1000 and 1400 CE, leisure activities for nobility, clergy, freemen, serfs, and slaves were prescribed and proscribed by both secular and ecclesiastical authority. Hunting was popular with nobles but, when practiced by peasants, was often regarded as poaching and was strictly prohibited. Board games, such as chess, checkers (draughts), and backgammon were popular but gambling games, including dice and card games, were frequently forbidden. Stylized war games in the form of tournaments were popular among upper classes while feasts, ball games, bull and bear baiting, dogfighting, and cockfighting were enjoyed by commoners. Alcohol lubricated much of leisure, especially for males.

Many entertainments, including music, minstrel shows, the circus, and theater became popular during the first half of the eighteenth century while participatory and professional sports flourished during the second half of the century. Increased financial means for workers combined with new modes of transportation, such as the train and streetcar, changed leisure in Europe and North America in the second half of the nineteenth century. These ushered in a commercialization of leisure, moving it from the home or local gathering places, such as the church or the pub, to the countryside, amusement parks, and resorts. The development of the automobile during the first third of the twentieth century further freed leisure seekers. The expansion of mass media such as newspapers, books, and magazines in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the introduction of movies in the early part of the twentieth century and commercial radio in the early 1920s, and the rapid development of television in the post-World War II era individualized and commercialized the leisure landscape. This trend has continued with the introduction of the personal computer in the late 1970s, publicly available services on the

Internet in the mid-1980s, and the World Wide Web in the early 1990s. Computer games and Internet use, involving activities from shopping to pornography, are now both major leisure providers in the developed world and in urban areas in the developing world.

### **Leisure as a State of Mind**

The meaning of leisure has depended on social status, broadly defined, in human groups throughout history. In technologically simple societies, and even in sedentary peasant communities, the most basic social divisions between males and females and adults and non-adults differentiate leisure in terms of time, activities, and meaning. Prior to industrialization and the institution of clock time, the separation, and therefore the meaning, of work and leisure was less distinct. For men, hunting was often arduous but also afforded excitement and companionship with peers. For women, food gathering and some kinds of chores included socializing with family and friends.

The meanings that Europeans and areas of the world colonized by them attribute to leisure are largely defined by events and eras such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, and, in more recent years, the rise of materialism and consumerism. The Renaissance, with beginnings in fourteenth-century Florence, Italy, was, in many ways, in contrast to Catholic theocracy and the asceticism of the Protestant Reformation that began with Luther's "Ninety-five Theses" in 1517. The Renaissance notion of secular humanism held that human beings, and their works, have intrinsic value, apart from their relationship to God. Hence, art, music, literature, and the events of daily life are important and meaningful, in and of themselves.

Reformation doctrine, under the influence of John Calvin, held that righteousness, sobriety, faithfulness, self-discipline, and hard work were evidence of being in a state of grace while consumption and pleasure seeking were not. Hence, leisure is a lure to sin and a threat to righteousness. Calvinists attempted to suppress the festival calendar, sport, gambling, dancing, drinking, and other traditional recreations of European culture. Sixteenth-

century Catholicism, in reaction, also tried to purge profane elements from the lives of church members. The pagan elements of carnival mocked Lent and, in 1562, the Council of Trent denounced the festivals and drunkenness associated with saints' days.

In England, under the influence of the Sabbatarian movement of the late sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, saints' days were abolished, although Sunday was kept as a day of rest. "Blue laws" were introduced in England and America that prohibited numerous leisure activities, such as theater, as well as commercial transactions on Sundays. Remnants of blue laws, such as "dry" (i.e., no alcoholic beverages sold) townships or counties in some states in the United States, or the prohibition of certain kinds of commercial transactions (e.g., no Sunday



**A woodcut of dancers at a wedding feast in Germany in the sixteenth century.**

auto sales in some states) still exist. While the Reformation and subsequent religious thought may have influenced leisure meanings, in many cases, traditional leisure pursuits simply were kept out of the public eye as with the use of alcohol under Prohibition in the United States between 1920 and 1933.

## Outlook for the Twenty-first Century

Changes in leisure since the Industrial Revolution have been driven by the combined influences of technological change, demographic change, and economic change. The digital video disk (DVD), the cell phone, now with the capacity to take and send photos, and even space station vacations are recent examples of technological influences on leisure. While young people comprise major segments of populations in developing countries, the populations of developed nations are aging. Both the kinds of leisure available and the economic support for them must account for these differences. Leisure in many parts of the world will also be influenced by the rising status and economic power of women. With many national and local economies around the world depending on tourism, leisure travel will increase despite the recent threats imposed by terrorism. The same forces that determined leisure time, leisure activities, and leisure meanings in the past will continue to do so in the twenty-first century.

Garry Chick

See also Dance and Drill; Festivals; Games; Modernity; Music—Genres; Sports

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# Lenin, Vladimir Ilich

(1870–1924)

FOUNDER OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, LEADER OF THE BOLSHEVIK RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917, AND FIRST HEAD OF STATE OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Vladimir Ilich Lenin was a brilliant political thinker whose theories shaped Communist thought and influenced all factions of the Marxist movement. The success of the Bolshevik revolution served as an inspiration to revolutionaries around the world in their efforts to obtain self-rule. He was born Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov in Simbirsk, Russia, in 1870. His middle-class parents were both teachers who shared a deep concern for social conditions. Like his two brothers and two sisters, Lenin absorbed his parents' values at an early age. His educational interests in Greek and Latin pointed toward following his parents' career path into teaching.

In 1887, his family's run-ins with the czarist government, which ended with his radical brother's execution, deeply affected him. He continued his education, graduating from high school and enrolling at the University of Kazan to study law. He was expelled and exiled because

of his developing radical views. He spent this time avidly reading revolutionary political writers, especially Karl Marx. In January of 1889, he became a Marxist. Two years later, he passed the law examinations and briefly practiced law in Samara before devoting himself full time to revolutionary activities. Between 1893 and 1902, he studied the problem of revolutionary change in Russia from a Marxist perspective and worked out the essential features of what later was called Leninism. During that period, Lenin's participation in various Marxist activities got him imprisoned and exiled to Siberia, where he met and married Nadezhda Krupskaya in 1895. It was during this period that he began using his pseudonym "Lenin."

Lenin struggled to reconcile Marxist theory with economic reality in peasant Russia. Marx had predicted that revolution would occur in developed capitalist nations, where an outraged proletariat (an industrial working class) would rise up against capitalists who controlled the means of production. The Russian intelligentsia argued that agricultural Russia was immune to capitalism, and therefore, Marxism. Along with other Marxists, Lenin believed that the development of industrial capitalism in Russia held the key to radical social change, and that capitalism had in fact already begun. Yet Lenin remained troubled by the problem of how Russian workers would develop the radical consciousness necessary for effective political action; he argued that their support of the czar actually perpetuated their oppressive conditions. To awaken the proletariat, Lenin planned to develop a cadre of hardened professional revolutionaries ("vanguard of the proletariat") who would be willing to impose strict party discipline and lead peasants and workers through the necessary stages of economic evolution—from agrarianism to capitalism to socialism—in order to achieve full socialism.

Lenin went abroad in 1900, and with others he organized the clandestine newspaper *Iskra* (The Spark), designed to ignite radical consciousness. In *Iskra* and other works, Lenin vigorously rejected the idea of political alliances with liberals and other bourgeois elements because they would stifle the revolution, and instead

stressed the importance of social, rather than political, democracy as the basis for individual freedom. He also organized the Bolshevik wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labor (RSDL) party in the summer of 1903. The RSDL party would later permanently split into the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions.

After 1903, Lenin struggled to develop this vanguard organization. He had an unswerving faith that the Bolshevik system would achieve a system of small soviets (or committees) that would run the country at the local, state, and national levels. In reality, he never succeeded in moving the party past its Jacobin need for secrecy and its reliance upon a strong, dictatorial leader. He proved merciless on political issues, and showed himself to be a masterful political tactician. Although in forced exile until 1917, he maneuvered for control over party committees and publications. When World War I broke out in 1914, Lenin traced the causes of the war to the imperialist convictions and greediness of the warring nations. The existence of pro-war socialists and the failure of the peasants and bourgeoisie to rebel against a war that was destroying them reinforced Lenin's conviction that his vanguard party concept was the only way of attaining peace. Following his lead, Russian Bolsheviks refused to support the war effort.

Germany, looking to remove Russia from the war, returned Lenin from exile in Switzerland via Germany in April of 1917. Lenin denounced the liberal provisional government led by the Mensheviks, which had replaced the czarist government, and he called for an armed socialist revolution. During this time, he gained vital support from Leon Trotsky (1879–1940). An abortive uprising against the government in July forced Lenin into brief exile once again. In September, he slipped back into Russia and by the following month, he had successfully brought the Bolsheviks to power. On 7 November he formed the first Bolshevik government, completing the revolution that had begun only months before.

Lenin quickly consolidated power by reorganizing various party factions into the Russian Communist party, establishing a secret police, and totally revamping the

*Anyone who conducts an argument by appealing to authority is not using his intelligence; he is just using his memory.* • LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452–1519)

wrecked Russian economy along Marxist principles. He accepted a humiliating peace treaty with Germany in 1918 to end Russia's fighting in the war. That same year civil war broke out, and he fielded a Red Army against dissident forces. Known as the Whites, the dissidents failed, in part because of their refusal to recognize the right of self-determination of all peoples, something Lenin strongly advocated.

A shattered economy and perilous conditions forced Lenin to back away from his pure Marxian policies. He granted some capitalist activity to restore light industry and retail operations, and permitted peasants to sell their produce on the open market, but these minor concessions did not mean Lenin had turned away from his goal of a Marxist Russia and eventually a Marxist world. He established the Comintern in 1919 to ensure that the Russian party would remain in control of the Marxist movement. But even though he exercised merciless, even cruel dictatorial power in the government (he had a cousin executed essentially for noncompliance), he never had absolute control over party affairs, and in later years, his enmity with Joseph Stalin tore apart the Communist movement.

Beginning in 1922, a series of strokes hobbled him, and he died two years later at the age of 53. The impact of the strokes and of untreated syphilis on his mental abilities denied him the opportunity to eradicate the abuses of his socialist ideals and the corruption of power. Instead, the vanguard organization he created led to the rise of Joseph Stalin and the demise of socialism as he had envisioned it.

*James G. Lewis*

See also Revolution—Russia; Russian-Soviet Empire

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## Leonardo da Vinci

(1452–1519)

RENAISSANCE ARTIST, SCIENTIST,  
AND ENGINEER

Leonardo da Vinci is recognized as one of the great universal geniuses of Western history. His contributions to art, architecture, geometry, engineering, anatomy, and science were remarkable, anticipating the inventions and ideas of future centuries.

Leonardo was born in the Tuscan countryside, the illegitimate son of a notary. He was trained in the Florentine workshop of Andrea del Verrocchio (1435–1488), but by 1472 he is recorded as member of the guild of painters in his own right, and evidence of his growing reputation began to build. Works from this early period include the *Adoration of the Magi* (1481–1482), a painting left unfinished, as were so many of Leonardo's projects.

In 1482 or 1483 Leonardo left Florence for Milan to serve the ruler, Lodovico Sforza (1452–1508). His duties at the Milanese court were wide and included not only painting, sculpture, and architecture, but also military and civil engineering, stage design, and interior decoration. The life of a courtier allowed Leonardo time to pursue his interests in the natural world and mathematics. His notebooks, kept throughout his life and written in mirror writing, reflect his wide-ranging interests. Studies of human anatomy, wind and water, plants and animals, machines, and optics occupied his restless mind. Heavily illustrated, these notebooks constitute a document of Leonardo's curiosity and his ingenious investigation of mysteries such as flight.

In addition to creating some of his most famous paintings during this period—for example, *The Last Supper* (1495–1497) in Santa Maria delle Grazie—Leonardo



worked to fulfil the commissions provided by his master, such as an enormous bronze horse honouring Lodovico's father, Francesco Sforza. Although Leonardo managed to produce a clay model, the horse was never cast; Milan fell to King Louis XII of France in 1499, and Leonardo fled the city.

He accepted in 1502 a position as military engineer for the infamous Cesare Borgia (c. 1475–1507), but his hopes for Borgia patronage did not fully materialize, and Leonardo returned to Florence. There he perfected his *sfumato* style (subtly shaded figures blending into the composition) in his *Virgin, Child and St Anne* (begun in 1502 but not completed until 1516), and attempted a new fresco technique for *The Battle of Anghiari* (1502–1503), commissioned for the Hall of the Great Council, the central deliberative chamber of the Florentine Republic. Unfortunately, the work is altogether lost as his experimental technique failed: The plaster did not dry evenly and the paint did not adhere.

Leonardo's second residence in Florence was consequently not very productive, although he did begin the portrait that would become perhaps the most famous painting in the world, the *Mona Lisa* (1503–1506). Returning to Milan in 1508, Leonardo resumed his responsibilities at court, but this time for the French, who were masters of the city until 1512, when the Sforza dynasty briefly returned. Again, most of his artistic projects were never carried to fruition (an exception is his *Vir-*

### A portrait of Leonardo da Vinci.

*gin of the Rocks*, 1503–1506), in part because of his growing interest in scientific pursuits, especially anatomy.

In 1513 Leonardo set out for Rome. He served the Medici family, who had returned as rulers of Florence in 1512, including the head of the family, Pope Leo X. It is probable that Leonardo accompanied Leo to Bologna to meet with King Francis I of France. The young king recognized Leonardo's genius and convinced him to come to France in late 1516 or 1517, where Leonardo was presented with a small chateau at Cloux (Clos-Lucé), near the king's residence at Amboise. Leonardo continued his theoretical work and engaged in specific commissions for Francis, including designs for elaborate entertainments and grand royal palaces (which were never built). He also completed some of the unfinished paintings he had brought with him. Leonardo's health had already begun to decline, perhaps the result of a stroke; in August 1519 he was dead, and was buried in Amboise.

The contribution of Leonardo to the culture of the West was enormous. His wide-ranging genius united many aspects of technical and creative skill (such as designs for a parachute and flying machines) to establish new heights of High Renaissance art; indeed, the art historian Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) saw in Leonardo the moment when the ancients were at last surpassed. Most significantly for world history, Leonardo believed in the power of human observation. His curiosity about nature and the world drove him to investigate and record the forces that drive the natural universe and define man's place within it.

*Kenneth R. Bartlett*

See also Art—Europe; Renaissance

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# Letters and Correspondence

Correspondence, the process by which people communicate over distance, is intricately connected to the technology of writing, which emerged 5,000–7,000 years ago. Written correspondence marked a transition from oral communication as civilizations became more complex and permanent records of transactions became increasingly necessary. From its roots, correspondence served both a political and a socioeconomic function, asserting authority but also representing personal emotions and attitudes of the author.

## Political and Social Functions

Writing systems existed by around 3000 BCE, but mobile written communication only became practical roughly 1200 BCE when papyrus, bamboo, silk, and other types of paperlike materials replaced bone, shells, and stone, most of which were controlled by elites.

The Chinese development of paper by the second century CE facilitated communication for commoners, especially for sending ritual messages venerating familial ancestors. Because paper was cheaper than silk or bamboo, more people could write letters, and its function expanded beyond a merely economic or political role. Outside China, correspondence continued to be written on more expensive material such as parchment, which increasingly replaced papyrus after the eighth century CE. In Mesoamerica, correspondence, also written on animal hides, often showed the genealogies of dynasties, the boundaries of power, and social contracts. Globally, then, technological changes created practical and mobile mechanisms of communication across long distances.

Before this, official correspondence was the primary form of written communication in societies. Thus, the political form of correspondence such as the Hammurabic Code (c. 1780 BCE) preceded the social function usu-

ally ascribed to letters, serving as a way for leaders to correspond with their subjects by delegating laws and responsibilities. But it also served as a means of diplomatic exchange to solidify alliances, establish economic contact, or deal with conflicts.

## Correspondence and Cultural Contact

Another important function of correspondence is the exchange of ideas and knowledge across cultural boundaries. The Islamic world, for example, maintained communication throughout the vast kingdoms through narratives by travelers like Ibn Battuta (1304–1368 or 1369 CE), who discussed his encounters with Muslim communities in Africa. Ibn Battuta's travels, like Marco Polo's (1254–1324 CE) to China, provided readers with cultural descriptions of other regions, and were important elements of cultural contact in a growing world network.

In addition, the spread of paper from China to Southwest Asia to Europe in the first millennium CE further transformed the nature of communication between peoples. As printing became more mechanized, rapid diffusion of texts enabled writers to reach larger audiences. The development of the newspaper and political pamphlet, both forms of public correspondence, was only possible because of the emergence of Chinese block printing during the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE), and the subsequent emergence of the printing press in Europe around 1450 CE. Once people gained access to public forums, letters and pamphlets encouraged political and social confrontation. As an example, Martin Luther (1483–1546 CE) wrote public missives to the German nobility soliciting their support against papal authority; his writings challenged political and religious alliances throughout Europe and helped launch the Protestant Reformation.

## Class and Gender

Throughout this period, however, letter writing remained confined to a relatively small portion of any given population, though the changing technologies incorporated

## Letter to a Sister

*Letters sent by travelers are an important historical resource for learning about world history. Among these letters are many written by women—some who traveled alone, others in company with their husbands—which often detail the events of daily life in other cultures. The following letter was written by Sarah Pike Conger, wife of a member of the legation to China in 1902.*

LEGATION HOME, PEKING

**March 9, 1902**

My recent visit to a special service at the Lama Temple was full of interest. The service was a peace-offering to the god of peace and prosperity. With chanting and other music, about two hundred Lama priests entered the large hall of worship. In the center, in front of the altar on which were burning candles and incense, sat the living representative of the long line of Lama priests. He was in his altar chair, and was dressed in rich robes. In front of him was a table and upon it were a bell, a rattle, holy water, and other articles of worship, which he used at intervals during the ceremony. The other priests sat on three long rows of stools on either side and seemed to be

classified and to take their parts according to their order. Their chanting, ringing of bells, clapping of cymbals, tinkling of rattles, drinking of tea, burning of incense, kowtowing, and putting on of rich robes and knight-like hats; the marching, the placing before them of a skeleton image, the chanting, counting, and hand manoeuvres connected with much else, awakened a strange line of reasoning as I stood there for an hour intensely interested. While in this temple, I noticed there was burning oil in small brass cups before the Buddhas. This oil is of the very best, and gives a white light which never goes out. Is not this a little thought-ray from eternity's pure radiance? I left the Lama Temple with food for thought, research, and reflection.

There were no Chinese women in this great hall of worship. I meditated. My thoughts turned to the past and to the different stages of the world's worship. This problem presented itself to me, and I took it home to work upon: Why should the worship of the Supreme Creator, Protector, and Sustainer of all goods be so hedged in by forms, ceremonies, laws, and rituals, as to bar out woman?

Source: Conger, S. P. (1909). *Letters from China*. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., pp. 211–212.

more classes of people. As early as the eleventh century CE, manuals emerged in Europe that taught people correspondence skills. By the eighteenth century, autodidactic manuals were fairly widespread and cultivated business and social writing as well as accounting skills designed to facilitate correspondence between business owners and their clientele. Similar types of manuals emerged toward the end of the Ming dynasty in China (1368–1644 CE).

Especially important in the social function of correspondence was the uniform inclusion of women. Women's roles as letter writers are occasionally described as autobiographical, but women's letters equally portrayed knowledge of political affairs, frequently listed business transactions, or subtly undercut perceived social roles. In China, the historian Ban Zhao (45–116 CE) wrote a tract

for her daughters on proper feminine behavior in a patriarchal society. Margaret Paston's (d. 1484) family letters reflect her belief in the importance of letter writing as a form of power and persuasion in medieval England.

## The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Correspondence became more widespread in the nineteenth century as education globally became more accessible and as postage, paper, and writing utensils became less expensive. In so-called "semiliterate" societies, where the practice of writing maintains connections to oral traditions, letters were not so much private affairs, but very public forums of communication. For example, into the late twentieth century in the Sudan, a letter between family members was often transcribed in public; once re-

ceived, someone who could read then conveyed its contents in a public space. In this way, the community kept abreast of familial issues, and oral and written traditions remained balanced. Another example is twentieth-century Polynesia, where people managed family affairs and conducted business via letters after the introduction of writing.

Finally, in regions where writing systems had been co-opted or transformed (such as the Yucatan Peninsula or South Asia), letters—both public and private—served as venues for social conflict. During the British Raj in India (1858–1947), for example, Indians vocalized their discontent with internal affairs or imperial policy through their access to public correspondence in newspapers. Thus, written correspondence served not only the elite; subordinate groups and classes utilized the same technologies to challenge the system.

### Twenty-First-Century Trends

As the world becomes increasingly interconnected via technologies such as e-mail, text messages, or facsimiles, written communication continues to change both in speed and fluency. On the one hand, it is becoming increasingly democratic, with the Internet fostering instant global communication. On the other hand, it is also subject to potentially insidious effects as seemingly very personal letters are capable of being sent to mass recipients for financial or other gain. In both cases, just as with the emergence of the first written symbols, technology continues to shape and restructure the way in which humans correspond both within and between communities.

Sharlene S. Sayegh

See also Missionaries; Social History; Tourism; Writing World History

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## Liberalism

Liberalism is probably the most elusive concept in the modern world's repertory of political philosophy. It has been used to describe a panoply of antithetical positions, ranging from left to center to right in the political spectrum, and referring primarily for some to the economic arena, for others to the political arena, and for still others to the cultural arena. There is consequently no single correct meaning for the term, but rather a series of meanings, each of which has to be situated historically in its location and evolution.

We should start with the first usages of the term. Liberalism is etymologically derived from the Latin word *liber*, which means “free.” But free from what and from whom? Or is it rather, free to do something, and then what and to whom? For the Romans *liber* was the opposite of *servus*, therefore free from a subordinate status. As an adjective with political connotations, the term *liberal* seems to have been first used in France during the years of the Directory. Cruz Seane (1968, 157) attributes first use “probably” to Benjamin Constant in 1796 speaking of “liberal ideas.” Brunot (1937, 660–661) starts its career in Year VIII (1797–1798) as a term opposed to “sectarian” and “Jacobin.”

Everyone seems to agree that the adjective became a noun in Cádiz in 1810–1811, when it was applied to a group of the Spanish Cortés. A member of the Cortés, the

Conde de Toreno, writing some sixty years later, says that the public described the “friends of reform” as *los liberales* (cited by Marichal 1955) Billington (1980, 554, n. 33) says this led to the creation of a *partido liberal* in 1813 (see also Cruz Seane 1968, 158). Manning (1976, 9) claims that “the original implications of the term liberal were for the most part derogatory.” But this is not at all clear from the description of the Cortés. It comes into French and British political usage in 1819 (see Bertier de Sauvigny 1970, 155; Halévy 1949, 81, n.3), but it will be another quarter century before the Whigs become the Liberal Party.

The next stage in the story was the construction of liberalism, which defined itself as the opposite of conservatism, on the basis of what might be called a “consciousness of being modern” (Minogue 1963, 3). Liberalism always situated itself in the center of the political arena, proclaiming itself universalist. Sure of themselves and of the truth of this new worldview of modernity, liberals sought to propagate their views and intrude its logic within all social institutions, thereby ridding the world of the “irrational” leftovers of the past. To do this, they had to fight conservative ideologues whom they saw as obsessed with fear of “free men,” men liberated from the false idols of tradition. In other words liberals believed that progress, even though it was inevitable, could not be achieved without some human effort, without a political program. Liberal ideology was thus the belief that, in order that history follow its natural course, it was necessary to engage in conscious, continual, intelligent reformism, in full awareness that “time was the universal friend, which would inevitably bring greater happiness to ever greater numbers” (Schapiro 1949, 13).

Liberalism as an ideology, as opposed to liberalism as a political philosophy—that is, liberalism as a metastrategy vis-à-vis the demands of popular sovereignty as opposed to liberalism as a metaphysics of the good society—was not born adult out of the head of Zeus. It was molded by multiple, often contrary, interests. To this day the term evokes quite varied resonances. There is the classic “confusion” between so-called economic and so-called political liberalism. There is also the liberalism of

*Liberalism is trust of the people tempered by prudence.  
Conservatism is distrust of the people tempered by fear.*

• WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE (1809–1898)

social behavior, sometimes called libertarianism. This mélange, this “confusion,” has served liberal ideology well, enabling it to secure maximal support. Liberalism started ideological life on the left of the political spectrum, or at least on the center-left. It presented itself as the opponent of the conservative thrust after 1815, and as such it was considered by conservatives to be “Jacobinical” (Rémond 1982, 16). But as liberalism gained momentum, support, and authority as an ideology, its left credentials weakened; in some respects it even gained right credentials. But its destiny was to assert that it was located in the center. It was thus conceived in the eighteenth century by Constant, who considered it “a ‘moderate’ and ‘central’ position between the two extremes of Jacobinism (or ‘anarchy’) and Monarchism (‘the fanatics’)” (Marichal 1956, 293). It was thus institutionalized in the liberal parties of the nineteenth century and celebrated by Schlesinger (1962) in the twentieth century as the “vital center.” At all these times, liberals claimed the position between the conservatives or the right, those who wanted to slow down the pace of normal change as much as possible, and those (variously called democrats, radicals, socialists, or revolutionaries) who wanted to speed it up as much as possible. In short liberals were those who wished to control the rate of change such that it occurred at what they considered to be an optimal pace.

The two emblematic figures in the development of this metastrategy were Guizot and Bentham. Guizot was a historian, a man of letters, and of course a politician. Bentham was a philosopher and an advocate of concrete legislative action. In the end the eyes of both were focused on the state. Guizot defined modernity as “the substitution in government of intellectual means for material means, of ruse for force, Italian politics for feudal politics” (1985, 243; see Rosanvallon 1985, 223–230). He sought a way to mute popular sovereignty without returning to the divine right of kings. He found it by claiming the existence of an “irresistible hand” of reason progressing through history. By arguing this more political version of the Smithian “invisible hand,” Guizot could establish as a prior condition for the exercise of the right to popular

sovereignty the possession of “capacity,” defined as the “faculty of acting according to reason” (Rosenvallon 1985, 91, 95). Only if suffrage were limited to those having this capacity would it be possible to have a “scientific policy” and a “rational government.” And only such a government would eliminate the triple menace of “the return of arbitrary government, the unloosing of popular passions, and social dissolution” (Rosenvallon 1985, 255–256; see also 156–158).

Guizot’s reputation was to fade, but Bentham’s reputation as Great Britain’s quintessential liberal has never ceased to be asserted. Elie Halévy pointed out that Bentham took a starting point not too different from that of Rousseau but had it end up not with revolution but with classic liberalism:

Each individual is the best judge of his own interests. Hence we ought to eliminate all artificial barriers which traditional institutions erected between individuals, all social constraints founded upon the presumed need to protect individuals against each other and against themselves. An emancipatory philosophy very different in its inspiration and in its principles but close in many of its practical applications to the sentimental philosophy of J.-J. Rousseau. The philosophy of the rights of man would culminate, on the Continent, in the Revolution of 1848; the philosophy of the identity of interests in England in the same period in the triumph of Manchesterian free trade concepts. (1900, iii–iv)

On the one hand, for Bentham society was the “spontaneous product” of the wills of its individual members, and therefore “a free growth in which the state could have no part.” But at the very same time, and this is crucial for Bentham and for liberalism, society was “the creation of the legislator, the offspring of positive law.” State action was therefore perfectly legitimate, “provided the state was a democratic state and expressed the will of the greatest number” (Halévy 1950, 332).

We come here to the heart of the question. Was liberalism ever a metastrategy of antistatism, or even of the so-called night watchman state? One must distinguish between the text of laissez-faire and individual rights that constitute the public ideals of liberalism and the subtext

## Selection from John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty* (1859)

*Mill’s essay On Liberty, excerpted below, is considered to be a seminal text on political liberalism.*

The object of this Essay is to assert one very simple principle, as entitled to govern absolutely the dealings of society with the individual in the way of compulsion and control, whether the means used be physical force in the form of legal penalties, or the moral coercion of public opinion. That principle is, that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilised community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forbear because it will be better for him to do so, because it will make him happier, because, in the opinion of others, to do so would be wise, or even right. These are good reasons for remonstrating with him, or reasoning with him, or persuading him, or entreating him, but not for compelling him, or visiting him with any evil in case he do otherwise. To justify that, the conduct from which it is desired to deter him must be calculated to produce evil to some one else. The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.

of a metastrategy to regulate the pace of change in the modern world. Neither the Utilitarians nor subsequent versions of liberals found laissez-faire or individualism and state intervention in contradiction one to the other. In De Ruggiero’s words (1959, 99) projects of legislative reform were seen to be “a necessary complement” to the principles of individualism.

*If past history was all there was to the game, the richest people  
would be librarians* • WARREN BUFFETT (B. 1930)

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the Home University Library commissioned three short volumes, one on each of the three great ideologies: conservatism, liberalism, and socialism. In the small book on liberalism, L. T. Hobhouse summed up what he called “the heart of liberalism” as follows:

[L]iberty is no mere formula of law, or the restriction of law. There may be a tyranny of custom, a tyranny of opinion, even a tyranny of circumstance, as real as any tyranny of government and more pervasive.

[F]reedom is only one side of social life. Mutual aid is no less important than mutual forbearance, the theory of collective action no less fundamental than the theory of personal freedom. (1994, 56, 59–60)

After 1945 the term *liberalism* lost whatever coherence it had had before then. In the United States it was used to emphasize the component of reformist action, and toward the end of the twentieth century became virtually a term of opprobrium. In Great Britain and some Commonwealth countries, it retained its quality of centrism. And in many countries of continental Europe, liberal parties emphasized economic conservatism (but were secularist).

In the 1980s a new term, *neoliberalism*, came into common vocabulary. Neoliberalism seemed to mean primarily an emphasis on laissez-faire, a distinct distancing of its advocates from any association with social reformism. It seemed indeed to be an ideology largely advocated by conservatives, albeit without the historical emphasis of conservatives on the importance of traditional authorities (and mores).

While liberalism could be considered to be the dominant ideology of the world-system in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, liberalism seemed to have become very much a minority point of view besieged on all sides.

*Immanuel Wallerstein*

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## Libraries

Libraries contribute significantly to the advancement of civilization. Since human beings began to record ideas and information for later recall, collections of those records, consisting of a few items or millions, have been viewed as important in preserving the memory of society. Records have been kept throughout the world for five thousand years, and though each period and locality is distinct, many issues, such as preservation and classification, are the same.

## The Nature of Libraries

Libraries are collections of graphic records, organized for accessibility and maintained for the benefit of individuals in the community they serve. Libraries generally consist of portable physical entities (books) made of durable materials that contain written and artistic notations of reasonable length. The standard unit in libraries has been called the “generic book” because through the millennia it has utilized various materials—bones, skins, clay, bamboo, papyrus, paper, magnetic tapes, and plastic—and taken many forms—tablets, rolls, codices, reels, and disks. When collections consist primarily of records of institutions and individuals that are organically related—that is, they share a common creator, subject or purpose, as opposed to isolated, random artifacts—and maintained for access because of their continuing value, they are referred to as archives. When they consist of creative texts dealing with cultural and historical themes, they are called libraries.

After human beings began to speak, the need arose to preserve orally transmitted information. Although visible marks of any kind could record some ideas, in order to transmit information reliably from one generation to another and ultimately from one culture and era to another, a system needed to be developed whereby those marks would be conventional enough to convey complex ideas over time—that is, the marks needed to be somewhat standardized in order to be understood by others. After several centuries of experimentation with pictographic symbols and multishaped tokens and their representations, writing appeared in both Mesopotamia and Egypt sometime before about 3000 BCE.

## Ancient Libraries

Early collections of a few clay tablets or papyrus rolls were likely to be primarily archival repositories, but within centuries, books that included religious, historical, literary, and scientific texts appeared and true libraries began, often in conjunction with archives. Many early library collections were housed in temples, where scribes produced and maintained them. These temple libraries were established throughout the Fertile Crescent and in Egypt, India, and China. Caretakers of these collections were

faced with problems of preservation, classification, and physical arrangement.

Among the oldest library archives is the collection at Ebla, a city in northwestern Syria dating to at least the middle of the third millennium BCE, which contained more than fifteen thousand tablets, including a variety of archival records, as well as linguistic reference works, chronologies, gazetteers, manuals dealing with the physical world, and religious and literary works. Similar repositories existed at Mari in northwestern Iraq and Boghazkoy in modern Turkey. Though the physical evidence is not as abundant in Egypt, archival collections also appeared there during this period, according to inscriptions on temple walls and surviving scrolls. While small collections were found throughout the Fertile Crescent, the library of the Assyrian Assurbanipal reached its peak in Nineveh in northern Iraq in the seventh century BCE. Although the library was buried in the destruction of the Babylonians in 612 BCE, the British excavated it in the nineteenth century and much of the collection is now in the British Museum.

Evidence exists that the Mycenaean civilization of the late second century BCE was the heir of developing library processes and technology, but it was only after about 600 BCE that Greek libraries and archival repositories become common. Focusing on epics composed much earlier, by the sixth century BCE the movement toward wider reading and collecting was well underway. In the late fourth century BCE, Hellenic civilization promoted broader inquiry and utilization of the written word, which resulted in a rising volume of both scholarly and popular works. The great Alexandrian Library in Egypt, founded about 300 BCE, became a repository for materials from all over the known world and was a center for scholarship and original research. Along with smaller libraries at Pergamon and Athens, it would continue these functions for several centuries, until its decline in the fourth to seventh centuries CE.

As heir to the Greek tradition, Rome recognized the value of the library, and through confiscated books and new copying began to build libraries of its own. The emperors Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian established libraries in Rome in the first and

*Books are not life, but then what is?* • MARVIN MUDRICK (1921–1986)

second centuries CE. These collections at Rome, which typically contained separate rooms for Greek and Latin books, and similar ones in the provinces were housed in temple-like buildings and later in public baths. They were widely used and considered symbols of civilization.

During the early centuries of the current era, the form of the book changed from the scroll (or roll) to the codex, the form of book we know today. This change in format enabled texts of greater length to be bound together as a unit, enhancing portability and ease of use. During this period, recognized collections of writings developed, including major works of mythology, history, philosophy, and religion. (For example, the Bible of the Christians, consisting of approximately sixty-six books, written over a period of more than a millennium, assumed its form during this period and was itself a kind of library.) Christian libraries, such as the one at Caesarea in Pales-

tine (c. 200–c. 800), provided major repositories for theological and historical writings.

The weakening of central imperial authority and barbarian threats, as well as the rise of organized Christianity and the early monastic movement, brought challenges and changes to the cultural environment of the late Roman Empire. The decentralization of control and influence encouraged local manifestations of governmental and church institutions, including libraries, which spread to the farthest reaches of the Empire. After about 600, when in the Western portion of the empire the church had assumed many of the stabilizing institutions of society, scholarly efforts centered largely on preserving old texts and keeping existing learning alive by writing texts. Libraries continued to flourish at Constantinople in patriarchal and academic libraries until the fifteenth century.



**Missions have often used libraries in the education of the indigenous people they serve. This photo shows the impressive library building in the Serampore mission compound in India.**

In Asia, books and libraries grew in significance in the period of antiquity. The Aryans, who brought Vedic traditions to South Asia about 1500 BCE, supplanted the Harappan culture already established in the Indus Valley. They in turn provided the environment for the rise of Jainism and Buddhism in the sixth century BCE—each religious tradition also developed its own canon of religious writings. Like Judaism and Christianity, which took root in the centuries spanning the divide of the eras BCE and CE, Jainism and Buddhism had significant written literature. Their extensive texts joined a developing archival system to produce library collections maintained by individual societies. The experience of the Han dynasty in China (206 BCE–220 CE) with the expansion of Buddhism was in some ways similar to the challenge posed to the later Roman Empire by the expansion of Christianity with respect to the consolidation of governmental authority and the preservation of cultural heritage. In particular, the Han dynasty experienced the proliferation of Buddhist texts, sometimes without official sanction. Meanwhile, Han emperors encouraged the compilation and editing of Confucian writings and a variety of other texts, including those in the arts and sciences, as well as the maintenance of such collections. The invention of paper and the extensive use of block printing in this period also expanded the production of books and increased the number of collections available to governmental and cultural institutions, and to individuals. These works were frequently copied and collections were maintained in monasteries and other protected sites. The Cave of a Thousand Buddhas near Tun-Huang in Chinese Turkestan housed one such collection, which had been developed about 1035 and was discovered as recently as 1907. This famous cache of texts was collected in the years prior to the cave being sealed, about 1035, which invaders threatened. It was discovered by Aurel Stein and was dispersed to several repositories in Asia and Europe. Eventually massive collections of these works were reproduced by Chinese imperial authorities for access and for preservation. Two major hand-written encyclopedias were produced—one between 1403 and 1408 (more than eleven thousand volumes) and another

between 1736 and 1795 (thirty-six thousand volumes). The latter was produced in seven copies of which two are still largely extant. (The works not selected for inclusion were subsequently lost to succeeding generations.) The writings of Confucius, Buddha, and their followers were brought to Japan and Korea in the sixth and seventh centuries CE, and schools, books, and libraries soon followed.

### **Medieval Libraries**

While the arts of publishing flourished in Asia and monks and court officials preserved materials as best they could in Europe, the rise of Islam, beginning in the seventh century, formed a link between East and West through its growing network of scholarship and commerce. The librarians and bibliographers of this period began to promote a cross-pollination of cultures, languages, and traditions.

As Muslims translated Greek and Latin manuscripts into Arabic and produced their own literature, they also soon introduced papermaking from China across their domain to Andalusian Spain. By the ninth and tenth centuries major urban centers like Baghdad and Cairo enjoyed numerous libraries—many of which were open to the public—that supported institutions of learning culture such as schools, mosques, and palaces. By searching existing collections and employing copyists and binders, Caliph al-Hakim II (961–976), for example, built an extraordinary library in Cordoba with about 400,000 volumes—the catalogue itself consumed forty-four volumes. Some scholars suggest that the intellectual activity in the great mosque in Cordoba, which attracted scholars and students from across the Near East and Western Europe, served as a catalyst for the establishment of new universities and the transmission of important knowledge from East to West—of papermaking, for example. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and afterward, warfare from within the Islamic regions and from invaders resulted in the decline and loss of many of the great collections. In many cases only individual items have survived. The barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire, including Rome itself, in the fifth and sixth centuries, had different results in the East and the West. In

*Strength cannot keep pace with intelligence.* • SUMERIAN PROVERB

the region governed by Constantinople (Byzantium) the institutions of state and church, drawing on Greek cultural foundations, continued relatively intact until the coming of the Persian and Islamic conflicts from the middle of the first millennium. Substantial libraries remained open in the capital and smaller ones in major cities until the Fourth Crusade (1204) and the capitulation to the Turks in 1453. Though libraries were significant in the early Eastern Empire, they had declined considerably by its end. In contrast, in the early medieval period (600–800) libraries in Western Europe suffered from the fragmentation of the Roman Empire that brought chaos and instability.

In the West, monastic libraries, stimulated generally by the growth of the Benedictine order and the missionary activity of Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks, began to flourish widely, so that by the time of Charlemagne (c. 742–814) the preservation of remaining classical manuscripts and current writing was assured. Most of these libraries contained fewer than several hundred volumes. Cathedral libraries, which supported schools and scriptoria, grew slowly and began to serve clergy and civil servants not associated with a cloister. Some of these schools, such as the one in Paris, were antecedents of universities that appeared in the twelfth century; others, such as Chartres and York, were not. Later, other orders joined in copying activities.

The coming of the first Western European universities resulted in the formation of libraries with broader responsibilities than those of monasteries and archival repositories. Beginning with the early models of Padua, Salerno, Bologna, Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge, universities proliferated in Europe until, by the sixteenth century, they had become symbols of regional pride. Most of these institutions had central libraries, often built up by donations and under the custody of one of the masters. (The Bodleian Library at Oxford and the library of Trinity College, Dublin, date from the early seventeenth century.) At Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere, individual colleges maintained separate and independent collections that only later, if ever, were integrated into the general collection.

Until the coming of moveable-type printing in the fifteenth century, books and archives were not always easily distinguished and may have been housed together. Within fifty years of the appearance of the moveable-type printing that Johann Gutenberg developed about 1450, the presses of Europe increased production from a trickle to a flood of new scholarship and creative works, as well as of more accessible editions of the classic works from the ancient and medieval periods. These publications, possibly 100,000 titles by 1500, were both scholarly and popular works and contributed to creating and preserving the new ideas introduced by the Renaissance. While elite collectors would prefer manuscripts and lavishly illustrated volumes for some time to come, the less expensive and more portable printed books found an enthusiastic market—for example, in libraries and with collectors who would ultimately be benefactors of libraries.

### **Early Modern Libraries**

This new category of book collectors who established personal libraries included members of the noble and upper classes, both those with hereditary titles and those who had accumulated wealth through commerce, manufacturing, and banking. They typified the enthusiastic response of the human spirit to the new ideas and knowledge that encouraged the building of libraries. Libraries became the possession not only of the privileged segments of society, but also, eventually, of the middle classes.

Early examples of this kind of princely library include that of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary (1440–1490), whose magnificent collection was dispersed by the invading Turks in the early sixteenth century. The Medici family in Florence exemplifies the merchant class; among the Medici projects was its great library, now the Laurentian Library, one of the first modern libraries to have its own building (1571). Other wealthy families competed in building library and art collections that brought them esteem. The Papal library at the Vatican, which dates its modern founding to Nicholas V and Sixtus IV in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is another

*And yf that olde bokes were aweye, Yloren were of remembraunce the keye. [And if all old books were lost, Lost too would be the key of memory.] • CHAUCER (1342/43–1400)*

good example. As books became more appealing as collectors' items, the gentleman's library became a trademark of the social class. Some of these collections grew into their own institutions; others merged through sale or bequest into other collections.

In the sixteenth century, libraries were increasingly attainable by the middle class through the proliferation of popular printed reading material. Books became cheaper and more widely available, and thus were collected by more people—a trend that has accelerated to the present. Political, religious, and social groups all tried to exploit the potential for promoting their messages; the Reformation and the civil conflicts accompanying it unleashed the power of political pamphlets and books. The Lutheran Reformers promoted education and reading as a public good that demanded public support, which made libraries even more significant. The Jesuits likewise considered a serious education, requiring books and libraries, to be essential in promoting the Catholic faith. Beginning in the early eighteenth century the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) published and distributed Protestant religious and educational materials throughout the British Empire, and through the influence of the Reverend Thomas Bray (1656–1730) they established several kinds of libraries for popular and clergy use, notably in England and the British colonies in America.

The growth of nationalism and colonialism from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries supported the spread of books and libraries. The voyages of the Portuguese, Spanish, French, and British explorers yielded journals, maps, and specimens that resulted in further research and study and new books to record new ideas. Royal and national libraries, as well as libraries of societies and other institutions, collected this material, which enriched their museums and laboratories as well as their libraries. The colonialism that often followed nationalistic adventuring provided opportunities for those with an interest in books and libraries to press for translation work, literacy, education, and cultural integration. In Asia and Latin America and then later in Africa, agencies

in the colonizing nation established schools and libraries as desirable institutions in their nation's colonies abroad. Like the SPG, the Jesuit missionaries provided books and libraries for the colleges they established in China, Japan, India, Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere.

As they profited from their new ventures, royal houses and noble families began to assemble library collections that served as treasure houses of books. Beyond the local nobility and regional princes, the sovereigns of the royal houses began to consolidate their bibliographical holdings so that libraries were not dispersed periodically. Thus began the royal and ducal libraries in Europe that frequently merged into royal libraries for the nation and, ultimately, national libraries. These institutions, such as those in France, Prussia, Austria, Spain, and Sweden, were destined to become some of the great national libraries of the eighteenth century and beyond. They would be joined by comparable institutions such as the British Museum-Library (now British Library) in 1753, the U.S. Library of Congress in 1800, and the Russian State Library and the National Library of China in the twentieth century. These libraries, like those of other nations, continue to hold a place of honor and responsibility as repositories of the national cultural record. They perform a functional as well as a symbolic role because they frequently lead in organizing library activities for the nations they represent.

## **Libraries Since the Enlightenment**

The history of libraries since the Enlightenment includes not only the proliferation of national, private, and university libraries, but also the extension of access to libraries by the broader citizenry, through public and school libraries. Professionalization—first among academic librarians in Europe and then among public librarians in North America—became increasingly important. Among the issues that concerned the profession of librarianship were diversification of clientele, specialization in resources, and management of technological change.

University and college libraries continued to multiply in Europe and North America during the Enlightenment

## Robert Graves: The Library at the French Abbey at Quarr

*Robert Graves (1895–1985) was one of the twentieth century's most versatile and original writers, able to address the most agonizing issues of his time. Graves' insight into contemporary life had a clear source—the First World War—during which he served as a twenty-year-old officer in the Royal Welch Fusiliers. From the early part of the war, Graves fought in the trenches of Northern Europe, an experience that by no means left him blind to the social realities revealed by the war.*

On a daily basis, he witnessed inequalities of his culture's class system, and tried to understand the slaughter of his fellow soldiers, classmates, and friends. When he returned home to England, he recovered from his ordeal in the trenches and realized not only that the civilian population had little notion of the brutality of the war, but also that the public was being systematically misled by the politicians and the press. Graves translated his disillusionment into his classic autobiography, *Good-bye to All That*. The book's title refers to Graves' development during and after the war. In order to overcome both the physical and psychological wounds incurred during the war, Graves had to thoroughly understand and distance himself from the values of his culture. The excerpt below provides Graves' commentary on another side of life that he saw during the war: a library in the French abbey at Quarr.

I made friends with the French Benedictine Fathers, who lived near by. Driven from Solesmes in France by the anticlerical laws of 1906, they had built themselves a new abbey at Quarr. The abbey had a special commission from the Vatican to collect and edit ancient church music. Hearing the Fathers at their plain-song made me for the moment forget the War completely. Many of them were ex-Army officers who had, I was told, turned to religion after the ardours of campaign or disappointments in love. They saw the War as a dispensation of God for restoring France to Catholicism, and told me that the Freemason element in the French Army, represented by General "Papa" Joffre, had now been discredited, and that the present Supreme Command, Foch's, was predominantly Catholic—an augury, they claimed, of Allied victory.

The Guest-master showed me a library of twenty thousand volumes, hundreds of them black-letter. The librarian, an old monk from Béthune, begged me for an accurate account of the damage done to his quarter of the town. The Guest-master asked whether I should like to read any of the books. There were all kinds: history, botany, music, architecture, engineering, almost every other lay subject. I asked him whether they had a poetry section. He smiled kindly and said, no, poetry could not be regarded as improving.

Source: Graves, R. (1957). *Goodbye to all that* (pp. 251–252). New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc.

and the nineteenth century, the growth peaking only in the late twentieth century when fewer completely new academic institutions were created. As democratic movements in education propelled more students toward higher education, the libraries of collegiate institutions had to keep pace with new subject matter, new curriculum emphases, new teaching methods, new technologies, and fresh challenges in general. The mechanization of printing in the mid-nineteenth century further increased the production of books and journals of all kinds. Beginning in Germany and spreading to the North Atlantic community and beyond, the growth of graduate and professional programs leading to advanced degrees stimulated more comprehensive collections of research materials, which in turn stimulated the increased publi-

cation of books, reports, and journals. The great American university research libraries, such as those at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and their public counterparts at Michigan, Illinois, California at Berkeley, and elsewhere, made their advances at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and they have continued to grow to the present. The rise of capitalism in the nineteenth century extended the possibilities for accumulating wealth. Some entrepreneurs built and supported private libraries and art collections, many of which eventually became units of the great research libraries. Some, mostly in the United States, have retained their independent status, such as the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., and the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. These unique research

libraries are monuments to the efforts and resources of individuals.

Along with existing national libraries, private libraries, and university libraries, social libraries made an appearance in the eighteenth century. Most common in Northern Europe and North America, they focused on a carefully selected collection that served the purposeful leisure reading of a homogeneous body of readers. Frequently these libraries required membership and dues and were open only to those who met certain qualifications. An example of this was the Library Company of Philadelphia (1731), which issued shares to a limited number of persons, who thereby underwrote the support of the collection that was available to all members. Building on a few earlier models and a long informal tradition of popular literature, these libraries were sometimes sponsored by benefactors, societies, or associations. Peaking in number and popularity in the middle of the nineteenth century, they served as a kind of transition between libraries for the elites and the public library movement that followed. Variations in names and missions are reflected in the different forms that they assumed, such as athenaeums, lyceums, literary societies, and mercantile libraries, to name a few of the more common types. They differed from circulating libraries, which were primarily commercial lending operations for profit.

Though there are isolated early examples of public funds committed to community libraries, public libraries—that is, tax-supported libraries serving the general public—made their appearance in the mid-nineteenth century, initially in Great Britain and the United States. The growth of educational opportunities, the expansion of popular reading material, the pressure for democratic institutions, pride in local cultural institutions, and philanthropy—all played a part in bringing this movement together at mid century. In Great Britain the Public Libraries Act of 1850 permitted local municipalities to gain the approval of tax ratepayers to support a library (library provision became compulsory in 1964); major public libraries were created in Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester. In the United States, on a state-by-state basis, beginning with New Hampshire and other New England states from 1849 to 1854, taxing authority to

permit the establishment of public libraries was approved. The Boston Public Library, which opened in 1854 under this legislation, became a model of what was possible, and in the next century the idea spread from New England to the whole United States. The large city public libraries, such as those in Boston, New York, Cleveland, and Detroit, joined the older idea of the municipal reference library, common in Northern Europe, with the popular reading room of the social library.

With the establishment of the American Library Association in 1876 and its British counterpart a year later, the new public libraries began to organize on a national and state basis to ensure that appropriate legislation was passed to support them through local taxation, and state and national support. The idea spread throughout Europe and to the nations touched by European culture. In most countries public libraries became an agency of the national, provincial, or state government, whereas in the United States they are locally authorized and maintained, even if they enjoy some state or federal support and are often under the general supervision of a state library commission or a state library. The modern library movement in North America and Western Europe, embracing various types of libraries, turned its attention to the education of librarians and to the issues that librarians faced in managing their enlarging collections, such as cataloging and classification and other matters relating to processing of materials, as well as to service to the public through the provision of reference works and other information services. Melvil Dewey (1851–1931) was an influential American librarian in this formative process.

Public libraries have frequently operated in conjunction with the public school system and may rightfully claim that they are institutions of continuing education for the citizenry. Because a public library serves the community interest with public funds, its role has been debated for the past two centuries. Some have seen its collections and services as a force for social advancement and cultural improvement, whereas others have seen public libraries as enforcers of the conformity that tends to restrict resources to those who represent the mainstream culture.

School libraries, while relative latecomers as a distinct entity, have their roots in small schoolroom collections.

They found their earliest expression in secondary (or high) schools that became more common in the late nineteenth century in North America and Europe.

Cooperation between children's services in public libraries and school libraries has received much discussion, with some arguing that school libraries should focus on curriculum-related material and public libraries on general and leisure reading. Emphasis on the values of reading and the intellectual stimulation that it brings has benefited both approaches to children and youth. Standards for school libraries (or the lack thereof) adopted by governmental bodies have determined the course of school libraries, so that in some regions they are taken more seriously than in others.

Finally, there are "special" collections, which include governmental, business, association, museum, and subject-specific libraries. Though there are ancient examples of these kinds of collections, frequently integrated with archival repositories, they have proliferated since the beginning of the twentieth century. (The National Library of Medicine in Washington, D.C., is an example.) These libraries increasingly network with one another, using the latest information formats and technology. In the United States, networks are supported by the Special Libraries Association, founded in 1909, and similar bodies exist in other industrialized countries.

## **The Globalization of Libraries**

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, efforts to unify the library profession began in the United States and Great Britain and then spread to Scandinavia and the rest of Europe and to societies under their cultural influence. National library associations came into being—some representing all types of libraries and others focusing on special types. During this period (1875–1925) world's fairs and convocations on both sides of the Atlantic provided opportunities for librarians from various countries to gather to discuss common practices, problems, and challenges, including cooperation and the use of newer technologies. The beginning of what would be the International Federation of Library Associations

(IFLA) in 1927, following an international conference in Rome, brought library leaders together and led to the promise of cooperation in matters of mutual interest, such as cataloging standards, interlibrary borrowing and lending, access to materials, disaster relief, and the stimulation of library development.

As the tensions of World War II, the Cold War, the independence struggles of the 1960s, and the post-Soviet period overshadowed national and local issues, international linkages and networking proved significant in preserving communication among librarians throughout the world. Cooperation with UNESCO, the major national libraries of the world, and the leading library associations enabled IFLA to become an effective forum for global librarianship. Today nearly every nation is represented in the several thousands of associations and institutions



**A public library in a Spanish colonial building in Guadalajara, Mexico, in 2003.**

whose members attend annual conferences that convene around the world. The principal national libraries along with other major research libraries contribute significant resources and leadership to international cooperation initiatives.

Beginning about the time of World War II the new discipline of information science became important for libraries and librarianship. This field sought to study the properties of information—its creation, organization, use, preservation, and effects. In the last decades of the twentieth century, information technology—including digital catalogs, digital libraries, and the World Wide Web—became commonplace in the libraries of the industrialized world.

Thus, as the twentieth-first century begins, librarians everywhere are bound more closely than ever through their associations and electronic technologies and are better able to provide universal service to their patrons. The role of libraries as depositories of physical materials has broadened to connect users with a variety of information formats. Although libraries span the spectrum from the largest national institutions to the smallest village collections—from specialized research materials to the most popular items to read, view, or hear—for millions of patrons around the world, they still serve as intermediaries between the creators and the consumers of ideas and information.

*Donald G. Davis, Jr.*

See also Computer; Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Information Societies

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## Lincoln, Abraham

(1809–1865)

U.S. PRESIDENT

Abraham Lincoln was president of the United States during the American Civil War and is credited with saving the Union and freeing the slaves. He was born 12 February 1809, in a log cabin in Kentucky. His family moved several times, eventually settling in Illinois. Lincoln had little formal schooling; he was taught to read by his stepmother. He loved books, read for the bar, and eventually became a successful lawyer, well known for personal integrity. He married Mary Todd, the daughter of a slave-owner in Kentucky.

By 1832 Lincoln developed an interest in politics and served in the state legislature and in the United States Congress. He allied himself with the Whig Party, which distrusted what it perceived as a growing slave power in the South that corrupted the cause of democracy. Lincoln joined the Republican Party shortly after its founding in 1854. His reputation both as a lawyer and for his personal integrity made him an obvious choice to challenge the incumbent Democratic senator from Illinois, Stephen A. Douglas. Their campaign centered on a series of debates over the extension of slavery into the territories that caught the attention of the entire nation. Newspapers printed the speeches verbatim. In the end

*I am a firm believer in the people. If given the truth, they can be depended upon to meet any national crises. The great point is to bring them the real facts.* • ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1809–1865)

the Democrat-dominated Illinois senate reelected Douglas, senators being elected by the state legislature rather than by popular vote at the time.

The losing senatorial campaign propelled Lincoln to the Republican nomination for president in 1860. Lincoln won the election, though with only a plurality of popular votes, from the northern tier of states. Many considered the Republicans too radical; most in the party, like Lincoln, were not abolitionists, but were opposed to the spread of slavery. Yet for many in the South, Lincoln was seen as especially dangerous, which prompted Southern states to begin to secede from the union in December 1860. In spite of calls for him to intervene, Lincoln remained silent, thinking that it would be imprudent to act before his inauguration the following March. By then, however, eleven states had seceded and adopted a new constitution creating a Confederacy.

On 12 April 1861, the Civil War began, when troops of the newly formed Confederacy fired on Federal troops attempting to resupply Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor. Scholars disagree over responsibility for that event: Lincoln for ordering the fort resupplied, or the South for firing.

Early in the war, which both sides thought would be short, Lincoln had widespread popular support. He had early difficulties finding a general who could win. Frustrated by generals who lacked offensive drive and tactical knowledge, Lincoln resorted to reading everything he could about military tactics. Eventually, he settled on Ulysses S. Grant.

As the war dragged on, he faced increasing criticism domestically and even within his own cabinet. He responded by suspending the writ of habeas corpus, arresting and jailing those deemed a threat, and closing Democratic newspapers that criticized the war effort. Lincoln's justification for those actions was that they were necessary to preserve the Union.

Internationally, European nations seemed poised to intervene on the side of the South. Partially in response, and following a Northern victory at Antietam, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which declared that slaves would be freed in states still in rebellion on

1 January 1863. Critics noted that no one was actually freed. But the proclamation gave new purpose to the war, deterred foreign intervention, and gave hope to those in slavery.

As the war continued, Lincoln's supporters feared that he could not be reelected. The Democrats nominated General George McClellan, whom Lincoln had dismissed. The fall of Atlanta in September 1864 restored confidence to the nation and brought a second term for Lincoln.

With that election success, Lincoln pressed for the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which would actually free the slaves. Lincoln also turned toward the issues of Reconstruction. His proposed leniency toward the South faced substantial opposition in Congress. His pocket veto of the Wade-Davis bill in 1864 was a harbinger of difficulties to come.

At the end of the war, in April 1865, Lincoln visited the former capital of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia. There, evidencing his emerging iconic status, newly freed slaves pressed to touch his hand. Only days later, however, John Wilkes Booth assassinated Lincoln in Ford's Theater in Washington, D.C. In the national mourning that followed, those who only shortly before had been vehement political opponents turned their rhetoric to encomium.

The mythology that developed after Lincoln's assassination makes it difficult to separate fact from fiction. "Honest Abe" and "Father Abraham" are familiar sobriquets. "Great Emancipator," however, is controversial. Revisionists remind that the Emancipation Proclamation freed no one. Others accuse Lincoln of racism, pointing to his active support for resettlement in Africa. Lincoln's elegant rhetoric and political acumen did, however, hold the nation together. The hope of freedom his words engendered eventually became reality.

The mythology of Lincoln as the "Great Emancipator" reverberates throughout the world and continues to define Lincoln. This is particularly evident in Africa and Latin America. Russian texts point not only to Lincoln's anti-slavery stance, but also to Lincoln's heritage as a revolutionary figure. Like many mythological figures, Lincoln

*I am, however, encouraged by a keen sense of WORLD LITERATURE as the one great heart that beats for the cares and misfortunes of our world, even though each corner sees and experiences them in a different way.* • ALEXANDER SOLZHEHNITSYN, (20TH CENTURY)

rises above the reality and is interpreted by what people feel is important in their own world view.

Dorothy O. Pratt

See also Slave Trades

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## Literature and Women

Historically, women have both penned and been the subject of literary works since ancient times, but their relationship to the literary realm has been mediated by their struggle to become literate—to be able to write, read, and critique literary works—and by their insufficient participation in the production process. As objects under the male gaze, they have largely been stereotyped or downright ignored, and rarely presented as autonomous agents of history. Furthermore, women writers have historically been marginalized by their male counterparts, and many of their works either remain unacknowledged or tokenized by literary critics. With the rise of the global women's movement, and the feminist movements in the West in the last millennium, male and female scholars alike are rediscovering and celebrating foundational works of women's literary production from ancient times to the present.

### Ancient Women Writers

Some of the earliest writings and evidence of women's literacy have been found in excavations of the ancient

cities and cultural centers of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, Asia, and the Americas. The earliest known female writer, and the earliest known author of all literature, Enheduanna, lived and wrote around 2300 BCE, almost two thousand years before the “Golden Age” of Greece, in what we know today as the Middle East. She was an Iranian (at the time part of what is present-day Iraq) writer, priestess, poet, and princess, daughter to King Sargon I of Akkad, who created the first historical empire. The paucity of writing about this important author and poet as well as her exclusion from world literature and women's literature anthologies is not surprising given that her works have only recently resurfaced. All of the artifacts upon which translations of Enheduanna's work are based come from the Old Babylonian period nearly a half millennium after her existence and include at least two and possibly three major hymns directed to the goddess Inanna, the goddess of battle. These works were rediscovered in excavations at Ur in 1921, but the first translations of her work into English did not occur until 1968 when W. W. Hallo and J. J. Van Dijk translated *The Exaltation of Inanna* by Enheduanna. More recently, German scholars Annette Zgoll and C. Wilcke have separately identified up to forty-nine newly publicized texts, resulting in a new, updated translation by Zgoll.

Although no evidence has been unearthed so far of literary works written by ancient Egyptian women, they did have a goddess of writing—the goddess Seshat, the “female scribe.” Other than Seshat, very few women were depicted with a scribe's writing kit in the surviving scrolls, as the preferred writing medium of papyrus has not endured the passage of time like the clay tablets of Mesopotamia. The high-ranking or royal women who were literate were often given a private tutor who taught them reading and writing. For example, Neferura, the female pharaoh Hatshepsut's (reigned 1503–1482 BCE) daughter, had a private tutor, Senmut. Excavations in Egyptian tombs have provided evidence that at least some ordinary housewives were able to read and write—there were laundry lists, female fashion advice, and other female concerns found in preserved papyrus scrolls. A detailed history of the role of women in Ancient Egypt is

## Selection from *The Tale of Genji*, Part I, Page 1.

In a certain reign there was a lady not of the first rank whom the emperor loved more than any of the others. The grand ladies with high ambitions thought her a presumptuous upstart, and lesser ladies were still more resentful. Everything she did offended someone. Probably aware of what was happening, she fell seriously ill and came to spend more time at home than at court.

It may have been because of a bond in a former life that she bore the emperor a beautiful son, a jewel beyond compare. The emperor was in a fever of impatience to see the child on the earliest day possible. When he was brought to the court, the paulownia was full in bloom in the garden.

The emperor's eldest son was the grandson of the Minister of the Right. The world assumed that with this powerful support he would one day be named crown prince; but the new child was far more beautiful.

Source: Murasaki Shikibu. (1978). *The tale of Genji* (E. G. Seidensticker, Trans.). New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Retrieved August 4, 2004, from [webworld.unesco.org/genji/en/index.shtml](http://webworld.unesco.org/genji/en/index.shtml)

provided in Capel, Markoe, and Markoe's *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*.

The Greek Sappho is one of the most well-known female poets of all time. She was born toward the end of the seventh century BCE, during the Greek Archaic Period. A native of Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, Sappho was one of the two (with Alcaeus) great leaders of the Aeolian school of lyric poetry. She was widely acclaimed for the originality of her brilliant lyric poetry, and lived to be honored by her people for her literary gift. Poetry in her day was usually accompanied by music and dance, and Sappho was so accomplished at composing in all three modes that she acquired a reputation for being the divine inspiration of the muses, and was even referred to as the tenth muse. The debate and speculation about her expression of strong passion toward other women has been the subject of many articles, books, presentations, conferences, and even Web sites. However, in her pre-Freudian society, women often congregated and, among

*Literature is my utopia.*

• HELEN KELLER  
(1880–1968)

other social activities, shared the poetry they had written, and their open expression of love and passion toward one another, whether sexual or not, was acceptable and commonplace. Her lyric poems formed nine or ten books, but of these only fragments have weathered the ages and no piece is longer than sixteen lines. The most important is an ode to Aphrodite, which may be the most complete of the works that have survived.

The first recorded female playwright, Hroswitha of Gandersheim, was born in 932 CE to the Saxon aristocracy. She became a Benedictine cloister nun early in life, and was known for her witty and farcical plays. A century later, Anna Comnena became the first female historian. Born in 1083, Comnena detailed the reign of her father, Alexius I, and the exchanges between the Byzantines and western crusaders of the first crusades in her fifteen-volume history of her family, titled *Alexiad*. Comnena lived in an era when women chiefly were expected to remain secluded in their quarters (called *gynaeceum*) attending solely to family matters. They covered their faces with veils in public and were not even allowed to appear in processions. However, in her writings it is evident that she was allowed to express her own thoughts and serve an important role of preserving her family's history.

In the realm of theology, composition, and visionary writing, Hildegard von Bingen, born in 1098, published the visionary *Scivias*. Known as "Sybil of the Rhine," she was highly revered for her treatises about natural history and medicinal uses of flora and fauna as well as minerals and stones. She founded several convents, and is the first composer whose biography is known. She has been beatified and is often referred to as St. Hildegard. She wrote, composed, and was a respected leader and wise woman at a time when few women were accorded these privileges.

Japanese writer Murasaki Shikibu is credited with writing the world's oldest novel and one of the finest, *The Tale of Genji*. Written in the Heian (794–1185) period in Japanese history, in the early eleventh century, when prose and poetry by women scarcely existed in the West, the work followed a tradition of romances depicting life among the court nobility of Japan. Shikibu was born into

## A Selection from an American Slave Narrative: Maria Jackson, Interviewed by Ed Cune, 13 December 1938.

*Slave narratives, both written by former slaves and collected by others through oral history projects, have become an important component of the historical record. Narratives by women are especially important as they give voice to those silenced by race, gender, and poverty.*

I was borned 'way down in Alabamy, and dat was 79 years ago last March, at dat place named Noda-Suga (Notasulga). My daddy was borned and raised right hyar in Georgy, down in Oglethorpe County at the old Dr. Hutchin's place. Chile dey named a little town in Oglethorpe for Mr. Hutchins and dey sho was good whitefolks. His wife was named Miss Mary Jane Hutchins, and dat sho was one good 'omen in dis world.

My daddy was named Jim Neely, and he comed all the way to Alabamy to marry my mammy. Her name was Rose Neely, and he stayed on in Alabamy 'til long after the War was over. Mammy belonged to old

Miss Chess Marr. She was sold off one time, but I don't 'member 'bout dat. Thar was one chile dat was younger than me durin' the war, and it was a long time after it was over 'fore dem whitefolks would tell us, we was free. But mammy and daddy got back togedder after the war and it was a long time 'fore us come to Georgy.

My granddaddy sent fer us then, yes that he did. He sent a one horse waggin plum to Alabamy to bring us back. The man he sent was sick with a swelling when he got there, just swelled all over. I never seed the lak, and it sho was a long time 'til he was able to ride back in that waggin.

I don't 'member how long it tuk em to git back in that waggin but I does 'member dat Daddy siad [sic] it sho' a long hard trip 'cause it warn't lak times is now, and folks lived a long ways.

Source: Retrieved from American Slave Narratives: An Online Anthology. [roads.virginia.edu/~hyper/wpa/wpahome.html](http://roads.virginia.edu/~hyper/wpa/wpahome.html)

the Fujiwara family, daughter of the governor of a province, who was a well-known scholar. He allowed Shikibu to study with her brother, even letting her learn some Chinese classics, which was considered improper for females at the time. In its length (more than one thousand pages in the English translation), complexity, realism, psychological depth, and literary distinction, *The Tale of Genji* is considered a masterpiece of Japanese literature.

### The First Feminists

With the publication of her poetry in the fourteenth century, poet and philosopher Christine de Pisan became the first woman to earn her living through writing. She is widely believed to be the first feminist writer in the history of literature. Many of de Pisan's works urged that women be allowed to participate more fully in society. She also denounced the way women were portrayed in medieval literature. For example, in her long poem *Letter to the God of Love*, she complained that women were often described as dishonest and unreliable. She openly

criticized misogynous literature in a controversial debate known as the *Querelle des Femmes*, a debate which is thought to have also inspired many British women writers who came after her.

Indeed, British women writers argued strongly for women's literacy, even as they were forced to use pen names so as to avoid scandal. However, the first known feminist argument published in English is credited to one Margaret Tyler, whose true identity remains a mystery. In 1578, Tyler argued that women have the same capacity to research and write as men do, and that they should be allowed not only to write, but also to choose their own subjects. A decade later, in 1589, another writer whose identity is still unclear but who went by the penname of Jane Anger became the first major female polemicist in English. In a lengthy tract called *Jane Anger: Her Protection for Women* (1589), she challenged the misogyny present in Elizabethan culture and asked, "Was there ever any so abused, so slandered, so railed upon, or so wickedly handeled [sic] undeservedly, as are we women?" Other First Feminists, as Moira Ferguson calls them,

*For historians ought to be precise, truthful, and quite unprejudiced, and neither interest nor fear, hatred nor affection, should cause them to swerve from the path of truth, whose mother is history, the rival of time, the depository of great actions, the witness of what is past, the example and instruction of the present, the monitor of the future.* • MIGUEL DE CERVANTES (1547–1616)

include Aphra Behn, the first female British playwright and a spy for the British government; Mary Collier, author of *The Woman's Labour*, in 1739; Ann Cromartie Yearsley, author of "A Poem on the Inhumanity of the Slave-Trade" in 1788; Catherine Sawbridge Macaulay Graham, who in 1790 published *Letters on Education*; and the most influential British feminist thinker of her time, Mary Wollstonecraft, who said, "It would be an endless task to trace the variety of meanness, cares and sorrows, into which women are plunged by the prevailing opinion, that they were created to feel than reason, and that all the power they obtain, must be obtained by their charms and weakness." Wollstonecraft advocated for a more humanitarian approach to Native American Indians, and in her *A Vindication of the Rights of Man* (1793), attacked slavery as well. Her persuasive and passionate call for human justice is exemplified in her most famous work, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, written in 1792.

Following in the line of daughters of the nobility around the world who had access to literacy, the Indian poet Mira Bai, a devotee of Krishna and a princess who renounced her royal family, was the only female among the sixteenth-century Bhakti poets. Her poems celebrate women's songs and folk traditions, and are often directly addressed to a female friend or an audience of women. At a time when infringement of the rules of chastity, modesty, and seclusion for married women was an insult to the family of a noblewoman, her writings showed a remarkable sensuality, and were considered to be quite subversive.

In the Americas, there is also a rich history of women authors that has only recently begun to be rediscovered and celebrated. Societal and cultural attitudes resulting from the legacy of colonization, genocide, forced destruction, and undermining of indigenous people's traditions and values have led to a literary canon that is characterized by the inadequate representation of female-authored works. Of the autonomous ancient peoples of Mesoamerica (i.e., Central and South Mexico, including the Gulf Coast, the Yucatan Peninsula, Guatemala, and parts of El Salvador and Honduras, the general area where high civilizations flourished between 1000 BCE and 1521 CE), it

is the Aztec princess Macuixochitl "5-Flor" (5-Flower) who stands as the lone female voice in a rare compilation of poems by thirteen Aztec poets published by Don Miguel León Portillo, Mexico's leading indigenous scholar, in the 1960s. Daughter of the great adviser to seven Aztec emperors, Tlatoani Tlacaélel, Princess Macuixochitl 5-Flor exemplifies the high status that the daughters of the ancient Aztec nobility could achieve. Hers is so far the only female literary voice that remains from precolonial Mesoamerican history, even though there are several chronologies of the conquest that provide a secondhand portrayal of women and their experiences in colonial America. Of these representations, perhaps the most famous in Latin America and in world literature is the figure of La Malinche, an Indian woman who served as interpreter, guide, mistress, and confidante to the Spanish invader Hernán Cortés during the time of the conquest. Considered by some as the first woman of Mexican literature, and by most Mexicans before the modern period as a traitor, prostitute, and symbol of national betrayal, her story has been the topic of countless and oftentimes contradictory descriptions and interpretations and, with the rise of Chicana and Mexicana writers and critics such as Adelaida R. Del Castillo, Cherrie Moraga, and Elena Poniatowska in the twentieth century, of more positive reconstructions.

The first feminist, and undoubtedly the greatest poet of the Americas in the seventeenth century, the Mexican poet Juana Ines de la Cruz, was born in 1651 in San Miguel Nepantla, a village south of Mexico City. Her given name was Juana Ines Ramirez. She was a Jesuit nun, a woman of genius whose ideas and accomplishments were ahead of her time. With works like *Respuesta a Sor Filotea* (Response to Sor Filotea), *Protesta Que Rubrica con Su Sangre* (Profession of the Faith Signed with Her Own Blood), and *Carta Atenagorica* (The Athenagoric Letter) Sor Juana, a Jesuit nun, became the first woman in the Americas to speak out against the injustices done to women and called for their education. She wrote amazing lyrical poetry, of which her most famous are her *Redondillas*. She also wrote comedic plays that criticized the passive role that was expected of women in the

Selection from: Christine de Pisan's *Epistre au dieu d'amours* (Letter of the god of love), 1399

To one and all about we make it known  
 That here, before our court, complaints have come  
 To us, and plaints so very piteous,  
 From women, both the old and younger ones,  
 From noble ladies, maidens, merchants' wives,  
 From all of womankind, wherever found,  
 Most humbly asking us to intervene.  
 Failing our help, they'll be completely shorn  
 Of every shred of dignity, and shamed.  
 The ladies mentioned here above complain  
 Of damage done, of blame and blemished name,  
 And of betrayals, very grievous wrongs,  
 Of falsehoods uttered, many other griefs,  
 Endured each day from those disloyal men  
 Who blame and shame, defame and deceive  
 them.

Source: de Pizan, C., Hoccleve, T., & Sewell, G. (1990). *Poems of Cupid, God of love: Christine de Pizan's Epistre au dieu d'Amours and Dit de la Rose*. Thomas Hoccleve's *The Letter of Cupid: editions and translations with George Sewell's The Proclamation of Cupid* (T. S. Fenster & M. C. Erler, Eds.). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Middle Ages, and challenged the female archetypes in medieval literature. Her secular poetry, her rhetoric, music, plays, and pursuit of scientific knowledge were unheard of in her society, especially by a nun, and she was in the end censured for her analysis of a sermon given by a Jesuit priest she disagreed with. When she refused to stop writing secular works, she was forced by the archbishop to turn over her books, scientific instruments, and other possessions, and died alone of an unknown epidemic that swept her convent. She is often compared to the Greek Sappho and has influenced countless women writers after her.

### Highlights from the 1800s and Early 1900s

The late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw a proliferation of publications by women. After centuries of calling for greater access to literacy and education, to legal rights and labor rights, the international women's struggle for human and civil rights intensified and reached new heights. An influential group of American women, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, composed the "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions," outlining the main issues and goals for the emerging women's movement, at the First Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. The first gains in the international suffragist movement earned women the right to vote in countries like Sweden (1862, in local elections), Scotland (1881, local elections), and New Zealand, which became the first and only country to allow women to vote before the end of the nineteenth century, in 1893. In the United States, at the same time when Southern white women created Confederate memorial societies to help preserve the memory of the "Lost Cause," newly emancipated Southern black women formed thousands of organizations aimed at "uplifting the race." Then, in 1866, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony formed the American Equal Rights Association, an organization for white and black women and men dedicated to the goal of universal suffrage. It was in this environment of division and cooperation that African-American women's writings began to proliferate. The works of these writers spanned several literary genres, including poetry, essays, short stories, histories, narratives (including slave narratives), autobiographies, novels, theological works, social criticism, and economic and philosophical treatises. Although the first known book of poetry by an African-American, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* by Phillis Wheatley, appeared in 1773, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that novels like Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) and *Our Nig* by Harriet Wilson (1859) appeared. This is perhaps due to the fact that before the Civil War, most people of African descent were held in bondage in the United States. Sojourner Truth once remarked, in reply

to an allusion to the late Horace Greeley, “You call him a self-made man; well, I am a self-made woman.” Indeed, what may be considered the first testimonial work by an African-American woman, *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth: A Northern Slave*, a dictated memoir by Sojourner Truth, was published in 1850, and the first collection of essays by an African-American, Ann Plato’s *Essays*, was published in 1841.

Other important African-American women writers include Harriet Jacobs, Nancy Prince, Elizabeth Keckley, and Ellen Craft. Jacobs, who was born in 1813 and wrote the most in-depth pre-Civil War slave narrative written by an African-American woman in America, published her *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* in 1861. The book was thought to be written by a white woman until the rediscovery of Jacobs’s works in the 1980s, as she had not used people’s real names and claimed the pseudonym Linda Brent for herself in the narrative. Nancy Prince, who published *Narrative of the Life and Travels of Mrs. Nancy Prince* in 1850, provided the first autobiographical account of life as a free black woman in antebellum America. It is also an important contribution to the genre of autobiographical travelogues, since she documents her travels to Russia, Jamaica, and different parts of the United States over the course of eighteen years and provides a firsthand account of the 1824 flood of St. Petersburg, the deaths of Emperor Alexander I and Empress Elizabeth, and the Decembrist Revolt of 1826. Elizabeth Keckley, who wrote *Behind the Scenes, or, Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House* as a personal account of life in the White House, challenged the predominant stereotypes of women, and African-American women in particular, in the nineteenth century. A friend and confidante of Mary Todd Lincoln, she was highly criticized for claiming that she was a friend of a white woman, and the wife of a president at that. The oldest son of President Lincoln, Robert Lincoln, waged a campaign against the book, and was successful in having the book withdrawn from publication. She went on to found a school for young black girls in 1863, was president and founder of the First Black Contraband Relief Organization, and represented Wilberforce University at the 1893 Columbian World’s Exhibition in Chicago.

## Selection from: The Myth of the Latin Woman

On a bus trip to London from Oxford University where I was earning some graduate credits one summer, a young man, obviously fresh from the pub, spotted me and as if struck by inspiration went down on his knees in the aisle. With both hands over his heart he broke into an Irish tenor’s rendition of “Maria” from *West Side Story*. My politely amused fellow passengers gave his lovely voice the round of gentle applause it deserved. Though I was not quite as amused, I managed my version of an English smile: no show of teeth, no extreme contortion of the facial muscles—I was at this time of my life practicing reserve and cool. Oh, that British control, how I coveted it. But Maria had followed me to London, reminding me of a prime fact of my life: you can leave the Island, master the English language, and travel as far as you can, but if you are a Latina, especially one like me who so obviously belongs to Rita Moreno’s gene pool, the Island travels with you.

Source: Cofer, J. O. (2003). The myth of the Latin woman. In J. B. de Hernandez (Ed.), *Women writing resistance: Essays on Latin America and the Caribbean* (p. 109). Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Ellen Craft’s amazing account of her and her husband’s escape from slavery, *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom*, is considered to be “one of the first examples of racial passing, cross-dressing, and middle-class performance in a society where each of these boundaries were thought to be distinct and stable” (Brusky 2000). Craft dared to use her light skin to pass as a white male in order to travel by train and boat, with her husband William Craft posing as her slave. Their escape, and particularly Ellen’s disguise, illustrates the interlocking nature of race, gender, and class, for Ellen’s passing had to be successful in all three arenas simultaneously in order for them to travel undetected. And since William’s narrative voice actually tells the story, *Running* also shows how difficult it was, even for a woman bold and daring enough to escape slavery in this way, to find a public voice as a black woman. Indeed, like her disguise, which involved poultices that “muffled” her and allowed her to avoid

conversation, Ellen's voice is given through the filter of William's perspective.

The mid-nineteenth century also saw the publication of one of the earliest precursors to contemporary Chicana (Mexican-American) literary tradition. With the publication of her novels *Who Would Have Thought It?* in 1885 and *The Squatter and the Don* under the pseudonym C. Loyal) in 1872, Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton became the first writer to publish a novel from the perspective of the Californios, the dispossessed population living in Alta California at the end of the U.S. invasion of Mexico that began in 1846 and ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848. Ruiz de Burton's novels and personal writings provide a scathing condemnation of the new rulers and the forms of ruling imposed upon the conquered population and give balance to mainstream histories of this period of American history.

In Spain, the nineteenth century produced the most celebrated female author of her time, and arguably one of Spain's most important literary figures. Emilia Pardo Bazan, born in 1852, was a Spanish countess who wrote over five hundred short stories and essays, more than forty novels, and seven plays. She also edited and published several magazines in her lifetime, including *La Revista de Galicia* and *Nuevo Teatro Critico*, and in 1892 founded La Biblioteca de la Mujer (The Woman's Library). Having had her first work published at the age of eight, she won many awards, perhaps the most notable of which was the *Crux Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* (Cross for the Church and Pontiff), which she received from Pope Benedict XV. Of all her works, perhaps her best known piece is *La cuestión palpitante* (*The Critical Issue*), written in 1883. A polemical essay that discusses naturalism, it introduced the French and Russian literary movements to Spain and started an important literary controversy in which she championed the free will of the individual. In 1916 she became Professor of Contemporary Literature at Central University of Madrid, a position created solely for her.

Born in 1882, Adeline Virginia Stephen, or Virginia Woolf, is credited with developing a new kind of prose that she associated with female consciousness and with her precise evocations of states of mind and body, and

thus joined Proust and Joyce in a move away from the conventions of modernist realism and linear plot to a more complex ordering of her narratives, including juxtapositions of diverse points of view, incomplete perspectives, and time and space displacement. *A Room of One's Own*, perhaps her most famous work, examines the history of literature written by women and argues for women's economic independence and the privacy of a room in which to write. Originator of the Bloomsbury Group, she was a successful publisher, founding Hogarth Press in 1917 with her husband, Leonard Woolf. She was also an activist in the suffrage and feminist movement, and taught as a volunteer at Morley College, which provided educational opportunities for workers, although her weak health and severe bouts of depression and mental illness plagued her until 1941, when she committed suicide.

## Contemporary Women Writers

The French writer Simone de Beauvoir, with the publication of her book *The Second Sex* in 1953, is considered by some to have inspired the second wave of the feminist movement with her in-depth discussion of women's oppression and of their role as "other." Indeed, her comprehensive treatise on women weaves together history, philosophy, economics, and biology and postulates on the power of sexuality. The 1970s and 1980s were enormously important in feminist literary theory and women's studies, with major contributions by Helene Cixous of France, Teresa De Lauretis of Italy, Belgium's Luce Irigaray, Donna Haraway of the United States, Bengali exile Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Julia Kristeva of Bulgaria, among others. Then, in the late 1980s, women of color and Third World women such as Kumari Jayawardena of Sri Lanka, Chandra Talpade Mohanty of India and the United States, Ella Shohat of the United States, Paula Moya of the United States, Lata Mani of India, Trinh T. Minh-ha of Vietnam and the United States, Gloria Anzaldúa of the United States, and Cherrie Moraga of the United States published powerful writings that theorized, challenged, dialogued with, and expanded discussions of feminist theory, gay/lesbian/queer black

feminist theory and Chicana/Latina feminist theory, and enriched the fields of postcolonial and Third World women's literature.

Women writers in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have continued to speak out against oppression, to redefine the boundaries of what are considered acceptable literary forms and subjects, and to gain more widespread recognition of their works. However, the literary canon is still in much need of revision that must insist upon the incorporation of women writers who have been ignored and omitted from literary history. One example of a text that follows this ideal of equality and inclusiveness is Shirley Geok-Lin Lim and Norman A. Spencer's *One World of Literature*. This amazing anthology, originally published in 1993, offers an impressive array of twentieth-century male and female authors, and one of the most complete collections of full texts and excerpts by women writers from around the world. Highlighting the works of a diversity of writers like Bessie Head of Botswana, Rosario Ferré of Puerto Rico, and Jamaica Kincaid of Antigua, this anthology is essential reading for anyone interested in women in world literature. The anthology represents the works of brilliant female authors seldom known outside their own countries as well those known worldwide. The works of Ama Ata Aidoo of Ghana, Fawziyya Abu-Khalid of Saudi Arabia, Wang Xiaoni and Ding Ling of China, Ambai and Amrita Pritam of India, Ishigaki Rin of Japan, Shirley Geok-Lin Lim (the editor herself) of Malaysia, Elizabeth Jolley of Australia, and Margareta Ekstrom of Sweden are coupled with those who have achieved a wider international reach, such as Nobel Prize winner Nadine Gordimer of South Africa, Mahasweta Devi of India, Zhang Ailing of China, Isabel Allende of Chile, and Margaret Atwood of Canada. According to Shirley Geok-Lin Lim and Norman Spencer, "we live in an age in which an understanding of global cultures is more critical than ever... we are all affected by individuals, events and ideas from other cultures and countries, a truth the late twentieth century has brought home to almost everyone" (Lim & Spencer 1993, xv). It is with this spirit in mind that works such as theirs are beginning to bring balance to a literary world where women's literacy, women's writing and its

assessment, and the representation of women as autonomous subjects has tended to suffer under the weight of homogeneity, unilateralism, patriarchy, ethnocentrism, and the Western gaze.

Claudia M. Huiza

See also Global Imperialism and Gender; Women's and Gender History

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## Locke, John

(1632–1704)

ENGLISH PHILOSOPHER

John Locke was a leading intellectual in late seventeenth-century England whose work in philosophy, political theory, education, and theology played a major role in shaping eighteenth-century thought.

Born in Somerset, England, Locke was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, where he earned his BA degree in 1656. Although educated in a traditional arts curriculum, he became interested in medicine and science and received a medical degree from Oxford in 1675. His association with people such as the physician Thomas Sydenham and the physicist Robert Boyle brought him into contact with some of the leading scientific ideas of the day. Locke became a fellow of the newly founded Royal Society in 1668.

Locke was active in public affairs through his involvement with one of the most powerful leaders of the day, Lord Ashley, later the first earl of Shaftesbury. Locke's political fortunes waxed and waned with Ashley's from 1667 to 1683. Serving as secretary to the newly established Board of Trade and Plantations from 1673 to 1675, Locke was involved in a variety of policy debates on commercial affairs. He lived abroad for health reasons from late 1675 to spring 1679, returning to the Shaftesbury household during the Exclusion Crisis, when Protestant nobles led by Shaftesbury sought to exclude

James, the Catholic brother of King Charles II, from succeeding to the throne. After Shaftesbury's fall from power in 1681, Locke remained in England until the Rye House Plot (to assassinate King Charles II and his brother James) was discovered, and he fled to Holland in 1683. Locke lived in exile in Holland until William and Mary assumed the throne in 1688.

Returning to England when William and Mary assumed the throne, Locke published books in a wide range of fields that had occupied him during the 1680s. *A Letter Concerning Toleration* and *Two Treatises of Government* were published anonymously in 1689. These were followed by four editions of *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690, 1694, 1695, 1700), two additional letters on toleration (1690, 1692), selected papers on interest and money (1692, 1695), *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695), and two *Vindications of the Reasonableness* (1695, 1697).



**Political philosopher John Locke.**

From 1696 to 1700 he was a commissioner on the Board of Trade and Plantations. Retiring for health reasons, Locke spent his last few years revising the *Essay* and writing commentaries on the letters of Saint Paul. Along with the philosophical essay, "The Conduct of the Understanding," these theological writings were published posthumously.

*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* is one of the seminal contributions to British empiricism (a theory that all knowledge originates in experience). His primary goal was to grasp the limits of human understanding. He criticized the notion that people possess innate ideas about the world. People acquire knowledge about the world through simple and complex ideas that originate in sensation and reflection. Locke also explored the role of language in human knowledge and tried to mark out the relationship between reason and faith. Locke's theory of ideas and his analysis of substance, primary and secondary qualities, personal identity, and the problem of free will set the terms of debate for the philosophical work of Francis Hutcheson, George Berkeley, and David Hume.

Although written initially during the Exclusion Crisis of the early 1680s, Locke's *Two Treatises* was published as a defense of the ascension of William and Mary to the English throne. Rejecting the English political writer Robert Filmer's theory of the divine right of kings, Locke argued that political power flows directly from the people. In the hypothetical state of nature regulated by God's natural law, people are free and equal beings possessing certain inalienable rights. In order to protect their lives, liberties, and properties people join into political communities. Political power thus arises to accomplish limited goals. If political leaders extend their power too far, the people reserve the right to revolt against them. Locke's social contract theory became the hallmark of Whig ideology in Britain throughout the eighteenth century and played a major role in the founding of the United States.

Like his philosophical and political ideas, Locke's educational and theological writings were grounded in a respect for the individual and the power of reason to order human affairs. He was sensitive to the role that experience plays in the education of youth and the development of one's moral character. He viewed a church as a voluntary

association of people who come to worship together in matters of faith. He argued for toleration among Protestant sects who were potentially willing to tolerate the religious opinions of the other sects. His goal was to convince Protestant groups that they had an interest in tolerating one another. Significantly, this toleration did not extend to Roman Catholics, who, Locke believed, were committed to the secular authority of the pope. Much of the British, French, and U.S. versions of the Enlightenment (a philosophic movement of the eighteenth century marked by a rejection of traditional social, religious, and political ideas and an emphasis on rationalism) can be seen as working out many of the ideas initially developed by Locke.

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See also Political Thought

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## Logistics

Logistics is all of the activities of warfare that support strategy and tactics. In recent years people increasingly have used the term *logistics* to refer to a particular approach to supply-chain management in business and

industry, particularly with regard to multinational corporations

The term *logistics*, first used by the Swiss military theorist Baron Antoine-Henri de Jomini (1779–1869) in his *Summary of the Art of War* (1837–1838), embraces troop mobilization, reinforcement, and replacement; weapons, ammunition, and matériel production, procurement, transportation, and handling; catering and canteen services; construction engineering; organization of military and civilian labor forces; equipment and maintenance; medical services; housing; pay and welfare; mail; fuel; and transportation of troops and supplies. To Jomini logistics was of equal importance with strategy and tactics, but his more influential contemporary, the Prussian military strategist Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831), saw logistics as subordinate to them.

As soon as human groups began to fight one another, they discovered that their ability to prevail over an opponent required careful attention to providing their fighters not only with weapons but also with continuous access to all the necessities of life and doing so in such a way that their fighters could maximize their power, their mobility, and the range in which they could be effective. If the fighting force was self-contained, carrying all of its necessary supplies, it would be powerful and move quickly but only for short distances. If the fighting force relied on local supply, feeding on the agricultural production of the area of operations, it could operate only in fertile areas during or just at the end of growing seasons. If it was supplied from bases that already existed in its own rear area or that were constructed as the force moved, it would be powerful and could range far but not quickly.

## **Ancient Warfare**

Early in the second millennium BCE the Assyrian empire deployed an army of more than one hundred thousand men. This army had a central military barracks with arsenals of weapons and a system for procuring the enormous number of horses needed for cavalry, chariots, and pack trains. Moreover, it had access to the services of a government bureau that provided forced labor for military building projects. Moving within the empire, Assyrian troops were issued travel rations from provincial

supply centers, but after they moved beyond its borders and into enemy territory they lived off the land, which both diminished their need for a supply train and damaged their enemy's agricultural infrastructure. As much as possible, their line of advance took advantage of rivers and other waterways to transport materials, especially the huge siege engines, which were devices used to attack enemy fortresses.

People know of King Alexander of Macedon (reigned 336–323 BCE) for his brilliant leadership in battle, but his fabulous conquests were in large measure because of his careful and thorough logistical arrangements. When he marched into Asia, he made sure that his troops carried as much gear and supplies as possible, eliminating the need for a long and slow train of baggage carts. He stayed close to the sea as long as he could and used inland waterways as well to utilize the superior carrying capacity of ships over carts. Often his spies and advance scouts bribed enemy officials not to destroy warehouses or crops before Alexander's troops could seize them, and he kept these officials on when he conquered their territory to take advantage of their ability and expertise. Ranging as far as India, he still managed to keep a line of communication back to Greece and Macedon to enable him to govern the full extent of his conquests and maintain a steady supply of reinforcements. With such arrangements his army could march 24 kilometers a day and covered 18,000 kilometers in eight years.

The ancient Romans were famous for building roads whose extent and engineering were a major element in the Romans' ability to move and supply their armies and create an empire extending from Britain to southwest Asia. Less noted was their development of the important logistical function of medical care, which was aimed not only at caring for those wounded in battle but also at ensuring the general health of the troops. Permanent Roman army camps had bathhouses to foster cleanliness, and the water from these bathhouses was used to flush the sewers and latrines, which are a major health problem for any large military force. Every army camp, every large fortress, and even many smaller fortresses had a hospital staffed by doctors expert in amputation of limbs, extraction of arrows, treatment of skull fractures,

and other necessities of military medicine. Armies on the move had field orderlies to assist the wounded on the battlefield and move them to field hospitals. These medical services played an important part in maximizing the power of the Roman army.

## Medieval Warfare

Before the early modern era the biggest problem of logistics was the provision of an adequate and constant food supply for men and horses. The Mongol conquests of the twelfth century CE in South Asia, Central Asia, Southwest Asia, and Russia, as well as the Mongol attacks into Europe, were made possible not only by their tactical audacity and innovations, but also by the fact that their horses could travel 96 kilometers a day and subsist on grass, unlike European horses, which needed large supplies of grain. The Mongol penetration of Europe was halted west of the central European plain largely by the unavailability of sufficient pastureland. The significance of horses in logistics is obvious from the Agincourt campaign of 1415 when the English king, Henry V (c. 1386–1422), had to scour his realm for the twenty-five thousand horses needed to mount the cavalry portion of the six thousand men he took to France and to haul supplies for the entire force. Henry's logistics train also included 60 grooms, 86 yeomen (attendants), 120 laborers, 120 miners, 124 carpenters, and 20 surgeons. To finance this effort, Henry had to take loans and break up one of his crowns to use the pieces as collateral.

## Modern Warfare

We should not be surprised, then, that one of the greatest logistical breakthroughs in warfare was the development of banks and other financial institutions that let rulers and states raise more money for military supplies and payrolls and to pay back the money over longer periods of time. This breakthrough enabled European states during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to keep professional standing armies and to equip them well. Even so, the expense of these armies and their supplies meant that the armies were kept relatively small and that they fought with a constant eye on their lines of communication back to their bases. When mass armies were re-

cruited by Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), they could stay in the field only by supplementing their stores with foraging. When Napoleon's Grand Army of 400,000 men invaded Russia in 1812, however, the army could not find enough forage. Its horses and men died in droves before they reached Moscow, from which they had to retreat over territory that they had already picked clean; only 30,000 men survived.

The Industrial Revolution transformed warfare by providing deadlier weapons and the means for manufacturing them in huge quantities and shipping them more quickly and less expensively. No invention of the time was more important than the railroad. During France's 1859 war against Austria, France deployed 604,000 men and 129,000 horses by railroad to northern Italy in just eighty-five days. During the U.S. Civil War, which began two years later, campaigns were built around the movement of troops and supplies by railroad, and railroads became targets of military action. The Prussian chief of staff, Helmuth Karl von Moltke (1800–1891), incorporated railway schedules into his plans for troop mobilization, deployment, and resupply, insisting that resources should no longer be wasted on frontier fortifications but instead should be used for the strategic development of railroads.

The organization of the complex process of industrial production was also important for the development of logistics. Using structures and concepts drawn from business firms, the Union Army during the U.S. Civil War developed the modern model of military medical services, integrating battlefield assistance to the wounded, evacuation to field hospitals, organized surgical care, and careful record keeping to provide a seamless and documented treatment of the wounded.

## The Two World Wars

The impact of industrial organization and production upon logistics became glaringly apparent in World War I. The very outbreak of the war was dictated by German planning that tied troop mobilization, deployment, supply, and operations so closely together that Germany could not respond to any mobilization of troops by any European power in any other way than by attacking deeply

into France through Belgium, a war by timetable that failed in part because German planners put more troops on roads and railroads than could be moved rapidly enough to keep to the plan. Hostilities having begun, Germany had to supply its armies in France, deep inside Russia, and later in Romania while sending munitions and matériel to its allies Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

Britain had to move troops and supplies constantly across the English Channel, bring troops to Europe from India and Africa, and send troops from Britain to Turkey, the Balkans, Italy, and southwest Asia while battling German submarines in the approaches to the British Isles to assure a constant and sufficient flow of food and raw materials. All of the belligerents needed maximum production from farms and factories to keep their economies functioning while making war on an undreamed-of scale. The edge of the Allied powers (Russia, France, England, Italy, United States) was clear: Between 1915 and 1918 they outproduced the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman empire, Bulgaria) in coal production by 2.3 billion metric tons to 1.2 billion, in crude steel production by 150 million metric tons to 75 million, in aircraft frame production by 110,549 to 52,269, in aircraft engine production by 149,646 to 45,358, and in shipbuilding by 1,491 to 765. World War II featured even more impressive logistical feats, with the Allies (France, England, China, Russia, United States) producing seven times as many planes as the Axis (Germany, Italy, Japan), five times as many trucks and artillery pieces, and four times as many machine guns and tanks. This material was delivered to the Russians by convoys around Norway and to the Chinese by trucks via the 560-kilometer-long mountainous Burma Road or by plane from India over 24,000-kilometer-high mountains.

### The Contemporary Era

During the years after World War II the superpower confrontation demanded the development of nuclear weapons stockpiles and increasingly sophisticated delivery systems alongside the maintenance of large armies and stocks of conventional weapons. At the same time peripheral wars such as those in Korea, Vietnam, Algeria, Afghanistan, and the Falkland Islands placed severe pressures on

the military capabilities of the large powers and raised problems of rapid deployment and the use of special forces. During the post-Vietnam era the United States developed AirLand, a system of combined operations capable of meeting a Soviet offensive in Europe or deploying appropriate forces to Third World conflicts. Using this new mode of warfare in the 1991 Gulf War, the United States shipped 540,000 troops with 417,000 metric tons of ammunition, 300,000 desert camouflage uniforms, 200,000 spare tires, and 150 million rations into the theater of operations in less than four months. During the 2003 Gulf War, the 101st Division—17,000 soldiers, 5,000 vehicles, 1,500 shipping containers, and more than 200 helicopters—moved from Fort Campbell, Kentucky, to a forward base in Kuwait in just six weeks.

The handling of such complex tasks with such rapidity reflects the impact of the computer age on logistics, and just as the elaboration of operations management during World War II transformed business operations during the postwar era, so the military management of an almost infinitely complex supply chain has carried over into business. During the past decade *logistics* has become a management buzzword, and business firms, whose procedures have often been adapted to military use, are adapting procedures tested by the military to conduct business on a global scale.

Joseph M. McCarthy

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## Long Cycles

Strictly speaking, for events of the up-down-up pattern, or for any similar sequence of events, to be a cycle rather than a wave, they should satisfy the requirement that the upward trend itself generates the upper turning point and the subsequent downward trend, while that downward trend in turn generates the lower turning point and the subsequent up. That is, to be a true cycle, the movement must be endogenously generated.

Sociocultural and political long cycles have received much attention. The Chinese—at least until the rise of Marxist historiography in China—and the ancient Egyptians conceptualized their history in terms of dynastic cycles, as did foreign students of China and ancient Egypt. Two fourteenth-century examples are of special interest: In China, Luo Guangzhong wrote in the *San guo zhi yan yi* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms) that “the empire, long divided, must unite, long united, must divide.” In Morocco, the historian Ibn-Khaldun (1332–1406) identified generational cycles in dynasties in which the achievements of the founders were buried by the third generation, thus giving rise to a new dynasty. Ancient Greek tragedy was marked by the principal character’s taking a tragic course of action as a result of the actions of those in previous generations. Generational cycles also appear in alternating progressive and conservative U.S. political thought and policy, as identified by the historians Arthur M. Schlesinger and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

But the concept of long cycles raises the question, How long is long? When, for example, does one generation end and another begin, since people are born all the time? In the case of climatic cycles, the sociologist Sing Chew identifies cycles that extend for millennia and that had important social consequences, such as ages

during which civilization all but disappears. Climatologists can distinguish much longer cycles still, with biological and hence social consequences. So how long is long? Aristotle observed that people have a hard time identifying the long cycles they live through because a cycle—or even one of its up or down phases—can last more than a lifetime. We can also identify shorter cycles nested within longer and these within even long ones.

### Cycles versus Progress

Only a century or two ago did the idea of “progress” begin to persuade many people that they lived in a world of unidirectional development; it was at that point that the concept of cycles began to lose fashion. Cycles were replaced by stages or a staircase of steps leading ever upward from “traditional” society ultimately into paradise. That was the view of the philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), who developed the idea of a dialectic of thesis, antithesis, and (improved) synthesis; it was also the view of the political theorist Karl Marx (1818–1883), who used Hegel’s dialectic to explain how political systems developed and were replaced. Subsequent Euro-American historians, philosophers, and social scientists have followed in their path, down to the scholar Francis Fukuyama, who pronounced the end of history in 1992.

But as most of the world was left out of—or fell or was pushed backward and downward by—the Eurocentric view of stages of historical development, cycles have come back into fashion again. That happens when things are going badly: When times are bad, people hope that they are only in a temporary downward phase of a cycle that will turn up again. When things are going well, on the other hand, they hope that good fortune will last forever, and cycles again go out of fashion. So interest in cycles is itself cyclical. Since 1967, the world economy has been in a long cyclical downswing of which (as on previous occasions) some—recently especially East Asia—have been able to take advantage to improve their position in the world economy at the expense of those most hit by the crisis of a long economic cycle, and interest in long economic cycles has mushroomed. Some, such as the economist and sociologist Joseph

Schumpeter (1883–1950), believe that cycles are real and inextricable features of political life. Throughout world history, long cycles have created opportunities for social and political action on the upswing, and they have set limitations to such action on the downswing.

### **Relating Economic Long Cycles to Other Cycles**

The Dutch economists J. van Gelderen (1891–1940) and Samuel de Wolff (1878–1960) and then the Russians Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) and Nikolay Kondratieff (1892–c. 1938) identified the phenomenon of the long economic cycle in the early years of the twentieth century. Long cycles are sometimes termed “Kondratieff’s waves” after the latter, who saw cycles of fifty to sixty years in length, about half of them expansive and the rest contractive. Strictly speaking, Kondratieff saw long swings only in prices, and mostly in the economies of single countries. Those cycles are complemented by twenty-year-long cycles, originally identified in the construction industry by and named after the economist Simon Kuznets (1901–1985). Beginning with Schumpeter in the 1930s, technological invention and (more importantly) its implementation through economic innovation have been seen as the engine that drives the cycles. Additionally, the search for both kinds of long cycles has been extended from prices to production and income, as well as to an ever-wider world political economy.

During the present downturn—which began after the post–World War II boom came to an end—Kondratieff long cycles have been traced even farther back, to the 1700s by the economist and historian Andre Gunder Frank, and then to 930 CE starting in China by the political scientists George Modelski and William Thompson. The social scientist Joshua Goldstein related major war to long economic cycles. The sociologist Albert Bergesen related long economic cycles to cycles of colonialism; with Immanuel Wallerstein he related them also to the rise and decline of hegemonic power in the world. The sociologist Beverly Silver related long cycles to labor movement. Marta Fuentes, writing with Frank, related them to other social movements, and students in a seminar at the University of Amsterdam related them to social phenom-

ena as diverse as colonialism and philosophy. Bergesen also attributes changes in artistic style and the current fashion for postmodernism to long hegemonic and economic cycles. Modelski and Thompson however, find two Kondratieff economic cycles for each long hegemonic cycle. Yet all long cyclists still remain in a small—though growing—minority. There are those, especially the economist Solomos Solomou, who on empirical grounds dispute the possibility of measuring such long cycles, and indeed, their very existence. Peter Grimes devoted ten years to searching for and devising ingenious measures and indices to identify worldwide Kondratieff cycles, or even waves, but was unable to find them empirically.

### **Very Long Cycles**

Several scholars have identified even longer political economic social cycles, some with two-hundred- or three-hundred-year up and down phases, or even longer. Moreover, these long cycles are now being traced, identified, and dated back into the fourth millennium BCE with near simultaneous periods of expansion across most of Afroeurasia, which suggests that already then the peoples of this landmass were part of a single world system. Expansions were followed by subsequent long periods of crisis, such as the “dark age” between 1200 and 1000 BCE, when civilization largely died out in Anatolia, Central Asia, and North Africa, and when Moses led his people out of crisis-weakened Egypt. These were periods as well of breakdown of empires, near-continuous wars among smaller political units, and heightened authoritarianism within them. The question is whether or not the study of these earlier cycles will help us understand and act in our present and future.

*Andre Gunder Frank*

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# Luther, Martin

(1483–1546)

GERMAN REFORMATION LEADER

**M**artin Luther was a German monk, teacher, and preacher whose work helped to usher in the Protestant Reformation. Luther was born in the German town of Eisleben, Saxony. He attended Erfurt University from 1501 to 1505, after which his father wished him to pursue the study of law. However, Luther was strongly attracted to the order of the Augustinian Hermits in Erfurt, which he joined on 2 July 1505, in direct disobedience to his father's wishes. Luther was ordained to the priesthood in 1507, and celebrated Mass, which in that day was understood to be a representation of the sacrifice of Christ. Luther moved to the Augustinian house in Wittenberg in 1510, under the authority of his superior, Johannes von Staupitz. Luther became a doctor of theology in 1512, and began to lecture on Scripture.

Beginning in 1515, Luther began to experience terrors in his conscience on account of his awareness of his sinful affections, which led him to feel that he was under the wrath of God. Luther termed these experiences *Anfechtung* (trial or assault), following the language of German mystics such as Johannes Tauler. Luther at first thought that his experience of trial was meant to free him from selfishness in conformity to Christ, so that he might be condemned and crucified with Christ. Since a Christian ought to be willing to be punished to hell for her sins, Luther objected to the preaching of indulgences, which were a way Christians could lessen the punishment they owed for sins by means of funds given to the church. In 1517, Luther sent his Ninety-five Theses debating the legitimacy of indulgences to other universities and bishops, which were published and widely distributed very



quickly, making Luther internationally famous. The pope began hearings in Rome to excommunicate Luther on the basis of the way Luther questioned the authority of the pope in the Ninety-five Theses.

In light of his growing controversy with Rome, and his own terrors of conscience, Luther's teaching continued to develop. Luther was especially moved by Staupitz's claim in confession that Christ in his death had made the sins that terrified Luther his own, and wanted instead to give Luther his righteousness, in an event of faith that

Staupitz called “the royal marriage.” Luther took this idea of Staupitz’s and made it central to a new understanding of faith, which some date around the year 1519, though others date it as early as 1515. After 1519, Luther began to teach that nothing the person can do could free the person from the feeling of sin and wrath in the conscience. Only Christ can do this by his death on the cross, which he offers to sinners in the preaching of Gospel. Only faith in the Gospel and trust in the work of Christ can bring peace to the terrified conscience. The Mass does not represent the sacrifice of Christ, but offers the promise of forgiveness. When people believe the Gospel, argued Luther, they are then spontaneously led to share the burdens of their neighbors out of love, but none of this frees them from sin or makes them righteous before God. Luther outlined this teaching in several treatises written in 1520.

By 1521, Luther’s refusal to recant his teaching led him to be excommunicated by the pope and placed under a ban by the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. However, Luther’s own ruler, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, did not think that Luther received a fair hearing, and so protected him from both the pope and the emperor. In the same year, Luther concluded that monastic vows contradicted genuine Christian faith, and by 1525 Luther married a former nun, Katherine von Bora. Luther sought to reform the churches in Saxony gradually, following the lead of the elector, which brought him into conflict with those who wanted to pursue reform more quickly. Luther also came into conflict with the philosopher Erasmus over the free choice of the will, and with the reformers in the Swiss territories over their understanding of the Lord’s Supper, leading to a permanent break between the Lutheran and Reformed churches Luther continued to lecture on scripture in Wittenberg until his death in 1546, in the

hope that he could teach the next generation the true meaning of the Gospel.

By rejecting monastic vows as a legitimate expression of Christian faith, Luther raised marriage and the family to genuinely spiritual estates, and made them the locus of education in faith by means of his German translation of the Bible and his Small Catechism. By allowing the Elector of Saxony to protect him after 1521, Luther began a period in which temporal rulers would be given the power in the Church previously accorded to bishops, which would raise problems of its own over time. By testing the whole of received tradition by the sole criterion of the clear Word of God in Scripture, Martin Luther initiated a movement of criticism that extended beyond the scope of his own reform efforts. The Reformed and Anabaptist movements used the same criterion to criticize both the Roman Church and Luther himself. The criticism of both Scripture and tradition by reason in the age of the Enlightenment can be seen as a further development of the comprehensive critique of tradition initiated by Luther.

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*See also* Protestantism

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# Macedonian Empire

The emergence of Macedon as a major imperial power during the fourth century BCE was a pivotal event in world history. In a little more than a half-century the ancient center of gravity in southwest Asia shifted from Mesopotamia (between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers) and southwestern Iran to the eastern Mediterranean basin. The Persian Empire, which had dominated the vast region from India to Anatolia (in modern Turkey) for more than two centuries, disappeared, being replaced by a series of Macedonian kingdoms. The social and cultural changes were equally profound. Greeks became the new elite, and knowledge of the Greek language and Greek culture became the key to social and political influence as the incentive to learn millennia-old hieroglyphic and cuneiform scripts and the cultures encoded in them declined sharply, leading to their eventual disappearance during the early centuries CE.

## History

Balkan (relating to countries of the Balkan Peninsula, including Macedonia) nationalism has made the identity of the Macedonians a controversial subject. Recent discoveries suggest, however, that the Macedonian language was, in fact, a form of Greek related to the dialects spoken in northern Greece. Although Macedonian may have been a Greek dialect, this linguistic relationship was obscured by sharp differences in culture between Macedo-



nians and Greeks. The most important of these differences was that Macedon was a territorial state ruled by kings, not a state divided into mutually independent city-states, as Greece was.

During most of its early history the Macedonian monarchy was weak. Situated in the northern Balkans, Macedonian kings, to retain their thrones, had to struggle constantly against foreign enemies and powerful nobles with royal ambitions. Only in the mid-fourth century BCE did this situation change as a result of the political and military reforms of King Philip II (360–336 BCE), which transformed Macedon into the strongest military power in the eastern Mediterranean and overseer of an empire that stretched from southern Greece to the Danube River. Threatened with ruin by Philip's assassination in 336 BCE, his work was saved by the accession of his son Alexander III (Alexander of Macedon, 336–323 BCE), who carried out his father's plans to invade the Persian Empire.

Alexander was twenty years old when he became king. When he died in Babylon in 323 BCE at the age of thirty-three, he had transformed the world that the Greeks knew. In the course of a campaign that extended from the Mediterranean to western India, his army repeatedly defeated the armies of the Persian Empire and brought under Macedonian rule Egypt and all of ancient southwest Asia. Whatever plans Alexander may have had for his empire, however, were aborted by his premature death, leaving to his successors the task of creating a new state system in the territories of the former Persian Empire.

Four decades of bitter struggle were required for that state system to emerge. Efforts to keep Alexander's em-

pire intact were frustrated by the ambitions of his generals, who sought to divide it among themselves. When the wars of Alexander's successors ended in 281 BCE, his empire had been replaced by a state system dominated by three large kingdoms: that of the Antigonids in Macedon, the Seleucids in Asia, and the Ptolemies in Egypt. From the beginning, however, the new kingdoms' survival was repeatedly threatened by both internal and external threats.

The Seleucids' kingdom was the most vulnerable. King Seleucus I (311–281 BCE) ceded India to Chandra Gupta (c. 324–300 BCE), the founder of the Maurya dynasty, and his successors lost much of the territory conquered by Alexander in central Asia to the Parthians (Iranian-speaking nomads) and rebellious Greek settlers, who carved out kingdoms in eastern Iran and Bactria (modern Afghanistan). Meanwhile, struggles with the Seleucids to preserve their holdings in southern Syria and Palestine and native rebellions in southern Egypt undermined the Ptolemies' hold on Egypt. Attempts to restore royal authority in the early second century BCE by King Antiochus III (223–187 BCE) and King Ptolemy V (204–180 BCE) were frustrated by Rome, and a little more than a century later the last vestiges of Alexander's conquests had disappeared, having been absorbed into the empires of the new masters of southwest Asia: the Romans and the Parthians.

## **The Macedonian Kingdoms**

The emergence of the Macedonian kingdoms created a new world for the Greeks. While the cities of Greece declined, the kings founded splendid new Greek cities in



their kingdoms. Although Greek literature contains little evidence concerning the operation of the Macedonian kingdoms, archaeological evidence in the form of inscriptions and papyri has remedied this deficiency, making clear that the kingdoms were conquest states organized on the basis of two principles. First, a kingdom belonged to the king; and second, his business had priority over everything else. Although these principles were common to all the kingdoms, their application is clearest in Egypt because of the rich papyrological (relating to papyrus) evidence for the functioning of the government.

Egypt's wealth was its rich agricultural land, which the Ptolemies divided into two categories: royal land dedicated to basic agricultural production and "released land" used to support soldiers, government officials, and even Egypt's numerous temples. The main nonagricultural sectors of the economy, such as textile, papyrus, and oil production, were organized as state monopolies in order to maximize royal revenue. An extensive administration based in the capital Alexandria but with agents—Greek at the upper levels and Egyptian at the lower—throughout Egypt supervised the system. Over the system as a whole was the king, who ruled as an autocrat whose word was law. The establishment of a cult of the living ruler

and his ancestors enhanced the legitimacy of royal autocracy and afforded subjects a means of demonstrating their patriotism, loyalty, and gratitude for the protection and other benefits provided them by their ruler.

### **Life and Culture in the Macedonian Kingdoms**

Whereas Alexander may have hoped to govern his empire with the aid of native elites who accepted his rule, his successors rejected that hope, relying instead on Greeks to fill key administrative posts. As a result, for more than a century Greeks moved east to populate the new cities founded by the kings. For the first time Greeks and other travelers could be confident that the Greek language was sufficient to find them ready welcome everywhere from the Mediterranean to the borders of India.

The greatest of the new cities was Alexandria in Egypt, which eventually grew to enormous size with a population reaching half a million people and possessed splendid public buildings and amenities unknown to the cities of old Greece. The greatest of these amenities was the lighthouse known as the "Pharos," a 121-meter-high polygonal tower whose beacon fire guided ships to Alexandria harbor.

*If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.* • PLUTARCH (45–125)

Alexandria was the first of Alexander's foundations and the site of his tomb, but the Ptolemies made it the capital of Egypt and the premier city of the Hellenistic (Greek) world. Built on the site of an Egyptian town named "Rhakotis," Alexandria possessed a multiethnic population that included Macedonians, Greeks, Egyptians, and a large Jewish community. Despite the diversity of its population, Alexandria was organized as a Greek city-state, and only Greeks and Macedonians enjoyed full citizenship rights.

In the new kingdoms culture became a tool to enhance royal prestige. Like Alexander, the Ptolemies encouraged prominent Greek intellectuals to settle in Alexandria. Supported by Egypt's riches, they subsidized artistic and scientific work by establishing cultural institutions of a new type, namely, the Museum, a research center where scholars supported by government stipends could pursue their studies, and the Library, which was intended to contain copies of every book written in Greek. Eventually, its collection supposedly reached 700,000 papyrus rolls.

The Ptolemies were passionate about expanding the royal library's collections. Jewish tradition claimed that King Ptolemy II ordered the preparation of the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Jewish Bible; King Ptolemy III stole the official Athenian copy of the works of the great Greek tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. However its books were acquired, the Library offered unprecedented resources for scholarly research in every field of intellectual endeavor. Doctors and writers receiving government stipends had, however, to earn their keep, serving as physicians and tutors to members of the royal family and celebrating its achievements. The poet Callimachus created a monumental catalogue of 120 books in the library while writing elegant poems in honor of the royal family. Similarly, the poet Theocritus also extravagantly praised the achievements of Ptolemy II in his poems.

The greatest achievements of Hellenistic intellectuals, however, were in scholarship and applied science, where their works remained standard for the rest of antiquity.

Callimachus and other scholars such as Zenodotus and Aristarchus founded the critical study of Greek language and literature and prepared standard texts of the Greek poet Homer and the other poets that are the ancestors of those texts we still use. The mathematician Euclid summed up the results of three centuries of Greek mathematics in his *Elements*, which was still used to teach plane geometry until the early twentieth century. The geographer Eratosthenes established the principles of scientific cartography and produced a strikingly accurate estimate of the circumference of the Earth on the basis of evidence collected by Hellenistic explorers. The physicist Ctesibius pioneered the study of ballistics and the use of compressed air as a source of power, while other scientists experimented with the use of steam to operate simple machines. Medicine also advanced greatly. The doctors Herophilus and Erasistratus made fundamental discoveries concerning the anatomy and functions of the human nervous, optical, reproductive, and digestive systems by dissecting corpses, even vivisectioning criminals whom the government provided for the advancement of science.

Alexandria was the greatest of the new cities founded by Alexander and his successors, but it was not atypical. The rulers of the other kingdoms pursued the same goals as the Ptolemies in their urban plans. Like Alexandria, the Seleucid capitals—Antioch in Syria and Seleucia in Mesopotamia—were large-scale, planned, multiethnic urban centers with splendid monuments. Even in remote Bactria, archaeology has revealed at Ai Khanum near the Oxus River a Greek city with broad streets, a special government center, and elegant temples and villas. These cities were also cultural centers. Thus, Antioch also had a library like Alexandria, albeit smaller, as did the city of Pergamon in Anatolia, while at Ai Khanum the remains of imported Greek books have been found in the royal treasury. The kings also encouraged native elites to transform their cities into Greek cities complete with the same amenities found in the royal capitals by rewarding them with citizenship and tax privileges.

## Alexander of Macedon in Battle

*In the extract below, the historian Plutarch describes Alexander leading the Macedonians in battle:*

... the combat with Porus took off the edge of the Macedonians' courage, and stayed their further progress into India. For having found it hard enough to defeat an enemy who brought but twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field, they thought they had reason to oppose Alexander's design of leading them on to pass the Ganges too, which they were told was four miles broad and six hundred feet deep, and the banks on the further side covered with multitudes of enemies. For they were told that the kings of the Gandaritans and Praesians expected them there with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. . . . Alexander at first was so grieved and enraged at his men's reluctance, that he shut himself up in his tent, and threw himself upon the ground, declaring, if they would not pass the Ganges, he owed them no thanks for any thing they had hitherto done, and that to retreat now, was plainly to confess himself vanquished. But at last the reasonable persuasions of his friends and the cries and lamentations of his soldiers, who in a suppliant manner crowded about the entrance of his tent, prevailed with him to think of returning. Yet he could not refrain from leaving behind him various deceptive memorials of his expedition, to impose upon after-times, and to exaggerate his glory with posterity, such as arms larger than were really worn, and mangers for horses, with bits of bridles above the usual size, which he set up, and distributed in several places. He erected altars, also, to the gods, which the kings of the Praesians even in our time do honor to when they pass the river, and offer sacrifice upon them after the Grecian manner. . .

Source: Plutarch. (1931). Alexander. In *Everybody's Plutarch* (R. T. Bond, Ed. & J. Dry). New York: Dodd, Mead, & Company.

## The End of the Macedonian Era

Despite their achievements, the Macedonian kingdoms had serious weaknesses, most importantly the limited support of their non-Greek subjects. In these kingdoms ethnicity and privilege were linked, and Greek identity was the ethnicity that counted even though Greeks and Macedonians made up less than 10 percent of their population. Thus, although elite non-Greeks sought Greek status through education, few Greeks acquired a sound knowledge of the languages and cultures of Egypt and Asia. The new Greek cities were essentially islands of foreign domination and culture in a largely non-Greek landscape. As a result, native unrest and separatism prevented the last Ptolemies and Seleucids from mounting effective resistance to the advances of the Romans and Parthians.

The end of the era of the Macedonian kingdoms did not, however, mean the end of Greek influence in their former territories. Macedonian conquest had effectively linked culturally and commercially the entire vast territory from India to the Mediterranean, and that linkage not only survived but also expanded westward to the Atlantic and northeastward toward China under Roman and Parthian rule. Likewise, Greek culture and the Greek language also continued to function as a common elite culture and language in the Roman West, while Greek art and the Greek alphabet found new uses in central Asia, providing Buddhism with the iconography (traditional images or symbols associated with a subject, especially a religious or legendary subject) to express the humanity of the Buddha and enabling the Saka and other peoples of the region to write their languages for the first time.

*Stanley M. Burstein*

*See also* Alexander the Great; Greece, Ancient

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*The first method for estimating the intelligence of a ruler is to look at the men he has around him.*

• NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI (1469–1527)

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# Machiavelli, Niccolo

(1469–1527)

ITALIAN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER

Niccolo Machiavelli has exerted an extraordinary influence on modern thought and practice throughout the world. His writings and career are subject to varied interpretations, but the most common have given rise to a word found in most languages, *Machiavellianism*, suggesting deceit, tyranny, and the dictum that the end justifies the means.

Born in Florence, Machiavelli was one of four children of Bernardo Machiavelli, an impoverished lawyer whose ancestors had held important political positions until the rise of the de' Medici dynasty. Niccolo received a mediocre education, but his father's well-stocked library provided some compensation.

In early adulthood Machiavelli witnessed a momentous event that would help shape his character and career. In 1494 King Charles VIII of France invaded Italy to press a claim to the kingdom of Naples. The four dominant city-states—Florence, Venice, Milan, and the Papal States—were thrown into turmoil. In Florence the incompetent ruler, Piero de' Medici, was forced into exile, and a republic was established. On 19 June 1498 Machiavelli was elected to the important post of secretary of the second chancery, a government organ dealing with both domestic and foreign affairs.

Machiavelli frequently undertook diplomatic missions, on which his primary responsibility was to observe and report back to Florence. He proved to be an astute observer. Among the major political figures whom he visited were King Louis XII of France; Maximilian I, holy Roman emperor; Pope Julius II; and Cesare Borgia, the warrior son of Pope Alexander VI and the ruler of the papal state Romagna. None made a greater impression on him than Cesare Borgia.

In 1512 Spanish troops from the kingdom of Naples entered Tuscany and restored Florence to de' Medici rule. Machiavelli was summarily dismissed from the government and briefly imprisoned. Bereft of a job, he retired with his wife and children to the family villa Sant'Andrea, outside of Florence. Most of his life after 1513 was spent in writing, and his use of Italian for his writings helped to promote Italian as a major literary language.

Machiavelli's most important work was *The Prince*, a manual for rulers that he completed in December 1513. He began his manual with the assertion that he was writing a realistic guidebook, based on his own experience. Predicated on his thesis that humankind is essentially evil, he advised rulers to be constantly vigilant. They must be perceived as being just, compassionate,

## Selection from Machiavelli's *The Prince*

Merriam-Webster's 11th Collegiate Dictionary defines Machiavellian as "suggesting the principles of conduct laid down by Machiavelli; specifically marked by cunning, duplicity, or bad faith." As the extract below indicates, Machiavelli might have wished a leader's conduct to be more high-minded but felt that such behavior did not equate with great accomplishments.

How praiseworthy it is for a prince to keep his word and to live by integrity and not by deceit everyone knows; nevertheless, one sees from the experience of our times that the princes who have accomplished great deeds are those who have cared little for keeping their promises and who have known how to manipulate the minds of men by shrewdness; and in the end they have surpassed those who laid their foundations upon honesty.

You must therefore know that there are two means of fighting: one according to the laws, the other with force; the first way is proper to men, the second to beasts; but because the first, in many cases, is not sufficient, it becomes necessary to have recourse to the second. Therefore, a prince must know how to use wisely the natures of the beast and the man. . . .

Since, then, a prince must know how to make good use of the nature of the beast, he should choose from among the beasts the fox and the lion; for the lion cannot defend itself from traps and the fox cannot protect itself from wolves.

Source: Machiavelli, N. (1979). *The portable Machiavelli* (P. Bondanella & M. Musa, Trans. & Eds., pp. 133–134). New York: Viking Penguin.

religious, and trustworthy, but even if they actually possessed such virtuous characteristics, they must be prepared to abandon them when it suited their own interests. A prince should wish to be feared rather than loved, if he has to choose between fear and love. He should not object to being considered a miser because too much generosity leads to higher taxes and thus alienates the people. Machiavelli also urged rulers to take advantage of opportunities and not assume that

chance, or "fortune," is the major determinant of events. The ruler most worthy of emulation, according to Machiavelli, was Cesare Borgia because he knew how to combine law and order with deceit, political assassination, and secrecy. *The Prince* ended with a highly emotional appeal to Lorenzo de' Medici, to whom the book was flatteringly dedicated, to form a national army and drive foreigners out of Italy. Because the ideas expressed in *The Prince* ran counter to Christian morality, the book was subsequently condemned and placed on the Index of Prohibited Books of the Catholic Church.

After *The Prince* Machiavelli resumed writing a book he had begun earlier, *The Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy*. Contrary to his support of autocracy in *The Prince*, he now advocated the type of government that had existed under the Roman republic. He saw in this republic a balance between the interests of the aristocracy and those of the common people. He praised Rome's pagan religion as a necessary foundation for the state, unlike the Roman Catholicism of his own day, which he blamed for Italian corruption and weakness.

During this period of enforced retirement Machiavelli turned his facile pen to other literary forms, such as poetry, drama, and biography. His most successful genre was drama, and his *The Mandrake Root*, an amusing as well as anticlerical comedy, attracted wide audiences. *The Mandrake Root*, like his novella, *Tale of Belagor, the Devil That Took a Wife*, also reflected a contempt for women that verged on misogyny.

After Lorenzo de' Medici's death in 1519, Machiavelli's relations with the de' Medici family improved. He was commissioned by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici and the University of Florence to produce a history of Florence. Beginning the narrative with the fall of Rome, he traced Florentine history to 1492. In describing the de' Medici period he wrote more as a fawning politician than as a historian.

In 1525, as Machiavelli prepared to present his *Florentine Histories* to Pope Clement VII (the former Cardinal Giulio de' Medici), the Italian peninsula was threatened by Charles V, holy Roman emperor and king of Spain. Two years later Charles V's Spanish infantry and German Lutheran troops sacked Rome, causing the de' Medici



Pope Clement VII to take refuge in Castel Sant'Angelo and the de' Medici government in Florence to collapse.

A republic was quickly reestablished in Florence, but because Machiavelli had been associated with the de' Medicis, he was excluded from office, much to his distress. He died on 21 June 1527 and was buried in the Church of Santa Croce. A contradictory figure in his own time, Machiavelli continues to elicit blame and praise in the twenty-first century, but his influence on political thought is undeniable.

*Elisa Carrillo*

See also Forms of Government—Overview; Renaissance

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## Magellan, Ferdinand

(1480–1521)

PORTUGUESE EXPLORER

Portuguese sailor Ferdinand Magellan led a crew whose survivors circumnavigated the earth from 1519 to 1522. Most people in the sixteenth century understood that the earth is a sphere; despite longstanding beliefs to the contrary, as early as the third century BCE the Greek mathematician and geographer Eratos-

thenes proved this fact by geometry. Nevertheless, Magellan's circumnavigation was the first empirical proof that the earth is round. Magellan also proved that the Americas were not necessarily a barrier between Europe and Asia; rather, merchants could sail from one continent to the other by passing through a strait Magellan discovered at the southern tip of South America, duly named the Strait of Magellan.

Born about 1480 in either Sabrosa or Porto, Portugal, Ferdinand Magellan was the son of Rui de Magalhaes and Alda de Masquita, both nobles. Queen Leonor of Portugal brought Magellan as a boy to Lisbon, where he served as her page. He joined the Portuguese fleet in 1505 and sailed to the Indian Ocean, where he served until 1512. Wounded in one battle and decorated for valor in another, Magellan rose to the rank of captain in 1512 and returned briefly to Lisbon. The next year he was wounded again, in a battle against Muslim Arabs, or Moors, in the Mediterranean Sea. Despite Magellan's wounds and heroism, King Manuel of Portugal refused twice to increase his pay, suspecting that Magellan had traded with the Moors. Magellan denied the charge, and in 1517 pledged loyalty to Spain, Portugal's rival.

The rivalry arose between Spain and Portugal over which nation would be the first to circumvent the land route from India to the Iberian peninsula over which merchants carried spices. The Genoese sailor Christopher Columbus thought he had done this in 1492 by sailing west from Spain, on whose behalf he set out. But by Columbus's death in 1506, Europe's monarchs and merchants understood that he had found not India but a new land altogether. In the meantime, Portugal had beat Spain in the maritime race to India when Portuguese sailor Vasco da Gama reached Calicut, India, in 1498, claiming the Indian Ocean and with it the spice trade.

The Spanish were thus stuck with a new continent they initially regarded as an impediment on the way to Asia rather than an economic opportunity of its own. Spanish explorer Vasco Nuñez de Balboa sparked a glimmer of hope by discovering a new ocean, which Magellan would later name the Pacific, in 1513. If a strait could be found between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, Spain would be



### The Straits of Magellan at the southern end of South America.

The way to the Indian Ocean now lay open, but Magellan ultimately had little chance to rejoice. Anchoring off the island of Cebu in the Philippines, Magellan and his most loyal men went ashore in April of 1521, lured there by the king of Cebu on the pretense that he was Christian and wanted Magellan's help in ridding the island of heathens. The natives instead

able to sail west to Asia and contest Portuguese control of the spice trade.

This task fell to Magellan. His status as a nobleman, his service in the Indian Ocean, and his heroism inspired the confidence of Emperor Charles V, the king of Spain, who in March 1518 granted Magellan five ships. After amassing provisions and a crew of nearly 270 men, Magellan sailed on 20 September 1519, southwest into the Atlantic Ocean in search of a strait through South America.

He faced trouble from the outset. Each excursion into a river of South America ended in a cul de sac, and by March 1520, winter in the Southern Hemisphere prompted Magellan to halt at Port San Julian on the eastern coast of South America and put his crew on short rations. Furious that Magellan had not retreated north to warm waters, the captains of three of his ships mutinied. Magellan restored order, only to have one ship run aground. Worse, while in port Magellan discovered that his suppliers had cheated him with provisions for six months rather than the eighteen he had ordered. The men had no choice but to eat anything they could find: worms, insects, rats, or sawdust.

With only four ships and short of food, Magellan renewed the expedition that August, and by October 1520 entered the strait that would lead him to the Pacific and then bear his name. So circuitous was the passage that Magellan had to divide his ships to reconnoiter parts of the strait. His largest ship instead deserted Magellan, sailing back to Spain. After more than a month, Magellan's remaining three ships at last navigated through the strait and into the Pacific Ocean.

attacked Magellan. Covering the retreat of his men, Magellan was wounded repeatedly and bled to death. Of the remaining three ships, two were in such poor condition that the crew abandoned them. Only eighteen survivors returned in the last ship to Seville, Spain, on 8 September 1522, completing the circumnavigation of the world Magellan had begun nearly three years earlier.

*Christopher M. Cumo*

*See also* Expansion, European; Maritime History; Spanish Empire

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## Mahavira

(c. 599–527 BCE)

INDIAN RELIGIOUS LEADER

The historical significance of the Indian religious leader Mahavira lies in his revolutionary worldview of amity and harmony with all living beings. His teachings became the foundation of one of the world's oldest

religions, Jainism. His teachings are also the basis of the Jain canonical literature (*Agama*), which not only plays a significant role within the religion but also is regarded as a primary source for understanding the history of ancient India. Two of Mahavira's core teachings—the principle of ahimsa (nonviolence) and the philosophy of *anekanta* (many-sided reality)—have universal significance and are relevant to contemporary inquiries in peace building, ecology, bioethics, and animal rights.

Jainism regards Mahavira as the twenty-fourth *tirthankara* (ford maker) or *jina* (spiritual conqueror). Having overcome attachment and aversion he attained omniscience and preached the way to overcome worldly suffering and attain *moksa* (liberation from the cycle of rebirth). Jains (the followers of the *jina*) use the epithet “Mahavira” (great hero) instead of his given name, “Vardhamana,” and follow his adherence to ahimsa in thought, word, and deed amid adverse circumstances.

Vardhamana was born to mother Trishala and father Siddhartha, members of a royal clan, at Kundagrama in the ancient kingdom of Vaishali near the modern city of Patna in eastern India. His parents were followers of Parshvanatha, the twenty-third *tirthankara*, who is said to have lived during the ninth century BCE. At age thirty Vardhamana renounced his kingdom and became a mendicant practicing austerity in search of enlightenment for thirteen years. Throughout this period he frequently fasted, sometimes for long periods of time and often without even water. During the thirteenth year Mahavira attained *kevalajnana* (infinite knowledge) and became omniscient. For the next thirty years Mahavira taught about ahimsa and compassion and attained nirvana (liberation) in 527 BCE.

Although ahimsa was recognized as a virtue in the Vedas (Hindu sacred writings), such recognition remained a mere scriptural knowledge. In reality Vedic society during Mahavira's time operated on a fundamental inequity rooted in the caste system and relied for its well-being on the widespread use of slavery and the large-scale sacrifice of animals (*yajna*). In this context Mahavira's teachings were revolutionary. He taught the true meaning of ahimsa and compassion. A precondition of the practice of ahimsa, according to him, is knowledge

of the various forms of life: earth, water, fire, wind, vegetation, and mobile beings with two or more senses. Equally important is the awareness that in essence all living beings, regardless of their life form, are equal; all experience pleasure and pain; and all desire to live. Violence against others, in his view, is violence against oneself. This sense of our being the same as other beings, explained Mahavira, is at the core of compassion and nonviolence. Therefore, he preached the principle of universal amity and friendship. Salvation of the self, according to Mahavira, is deeply connected with one's concern for universal well-being. Every thought, word, and deed has a result and creates happiness or suffering for oneself and for others.

In addition to the virtue of being nonviolent, Mahavira emphasized the virtues of telling the truth, not stealing, being celibate, and not being possessive. He prescribed these as the *mahavrata* (great vows) for mendicants; lay Jains may observe these vows in a limited manner as *anuvrata* (small vows).

Mahavira's philosophy of understanding reality with respect to a given context (*naya*) became the basis for the Jain philosophy of *anekanta*. Jains not only evolved their own theory of knowledge (*anekantavada*) in the context of their metaphysics and ontology (a branch of metaphysics concerned with the nature of being), but also, more importantly, were concerned about questions such as, “What constitutes valid knowledge, and how is such knowledge acquired?” In the latter sense the philosophy of *anekantavada* allows room for multiple views of reality and reduces conflict often arising from absolutist views of reality. Based on Mahavira's teachings of ahimsa and *anekanta*, Jains observe vegetarianism, reject the slaughter of animals for human consumption, and, in the context of world religions, advocate harmony and peace, acknowledging the equality of all spiritual traditions. Many people see Mahavira's emphasis on simplicity and *aparigraha* (nonpossession, nonattachment) as a valuable antidote to the rising culture of consumerism at a global scale.

Tara Sethia

See also Jainism; Nonviolence

*Quinine was one of the medicinal poisons; one of the strongest of these. Four grammes could make one deaf and giddy and short-winded; it acted like atropine on the visual organs. . . it was as intoxicating as alcohol; workers in quinine factories had inflamed eyes and swollen lips and suffered from affections of the skin.* • THOMAS MANN (1875–1955)

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# Malaria

A parasitical infection of the blood that produces high fevers and debilitation, malaria is one of the oldest diseases afflicting human beings. It first emerged in Africa, and as human beings migrated outward approximately 100,000 years ago, they brought malarial infections with them. Malarial fevers have been a scourge of humanity throughout much of the inhabited Afro-Eurasian landmass ever since. Historians of disease estimate that malaria has probably killed more people than any other disease in history.

Early migrants crossing the land bridge from Asia into North America at the end of the last ice age apparently did not sustain the chain of infection, and it is generally held that malaria became established in the Western hemisphere following European contacts with the New World in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Malaria became the first truly global infection that was carried by a vector (an organism carrying a pathogen)—in this case, the mosquito, and today the parasitical infection is found in a broad tropical band that stretches around the globe.

There are four species of single-celled microorganisms (*Plasmodium falciparum*, *P. vivax*, *P. malariae*, and *P. ovale*) that live in both anopheles mosquitoes and human beings and that cause malarial infections in human beings. The most common form outside of tropical Africa, vivax malaria, is also the most widely distributed. The most common form in tropical Africa, falciparum malaria,

is the most virulent. All four types of parasite are transmitted to human beings via the bite of the female anopheles mosquito. One part of the parasite's life cycle takes place within the female mosquito; another part takes place within the human being. Because there are different malarial parasites and many different subspecies of anopheles mosquitoes, the ecological conditions that support malarial infection vary from one microecology to another; therefore, the global picture of malarial infection can be described as a mosaic of local infections.

Most anopheles mosquitoes breed in standing water. Low-lying marshy areas and the edges of streams and rivers have long been associated with danger to human health, and malaria was probably one of the earliest scourges of the river-basin civilizations, such as the Nile, Tigris-Euphrates, Indus Valley, and Yellow River. Malaria is also associated with environmental transformation. The cutting down of forests to create arable land often provides a suitable habitat for the breeding of anopheles mosquitoes. Infected people or animals, even during short visits, are able to introduce the parasite into the new environment and establish the disease. It is likely that malaria spread outward from the river-basin civilizations into other early agricultural societies.

Both European and African immigrants introduced malaria to the Americas, and the disease became one of the most severe public health problems in the hemisphere. The incidence of malaria in the middle latitudes of North America and Western Europe decreased markedly during the twentieth century, however. In North America this was achieved through public health interventions such as the installation of window and door screens, chemical therapy (with quinine and, later, synthetic antimalarial drugs), the use of mosquito larvicides, and the draining of mosquito habitats. In Western Europe the extension of mixed farming systems is largely credited with the reduction in infection; there, anopheline mosquitoes began to take their blood meals primarily from domesticated livestock, which are not susceptible to the disease. Malaria continues to be a significant problem in South and Central America, South and Southwest Asia, the Western Pacific, and Africa. Over the course of the twentieth century, the annual number of

## Indigenous Control of Malaria in East Africa

*The following account of methods used by the Masai of what is now Kenya in the early twentieth century to control malaria predates modern methods that are quite similar.*

Malaria (*eng odjongani*). At the start of the chill, the patient is given an emetic, for example, a cold, strong extract of the bark of ol mokotan (*Albizzia anthelmintica*). Even before the fever breaks out, a decoction of *os sogonoi* bark is administered, through which, in many cases, the outbreak of the fever is supposed to be prevented or alleviated.

It is interesting that the Masai—so they say—have always regarded the bite of the mosquito as a prerequisite for an attack of malaria. They say that the latter, with its bite, inoculates the person with a poison that causes malaria. For this reason they never lay out their kraals [courtyards] in the vicinity of a swamp or other standing water, and also avoid those places in whose surroundings during the rainy season longer standing puddles form. In order to drive away the mosquitoes they burn (in the camp or in the hut) the peppermint-scented *ol enoron* (*Plectranthus Merkeri*, Gürke). If a kraal is badly afflicted with mosquitoes, its inhabitants leave it immediately out of fear of fever.

Source: Merker, M. (1910). *The Masai: Ethnographic monograph of an East African Semite people* (pp. 237). Berlin, Germany: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen).

deaths from malaria has risen in Africa, which is today the global center of malarial infection.

Following the outbreaks of epidemic malaria during World War I, the League of Nations established a commission to survey the global status of the disease. Malarialogists were enthusiastic about the prospects of reaching malaria sufferers and providing them with quinine to relieve their symptoms and break the parasite's life cycle. These hopes proved elusive, however, as the global demand for quinine greatly outstripped the supply.

Following World War II, malariologists turned their attention to the destruction of the mosquito vector, and a major World Health Organization initiative was launched

to spray DDT to eliminate the anopheles threat. This was initially successful, and the global rates of infection plummeted—until the overuse of DDT produced resistance in the mosquito population.

Since the 1970s, malarial parasites have become increasingly resistant to synthetic antimalarial drugs. Synthetic antimalarials in combination with artemisinin, a natural product long used in China, is currently the best hope of the medical community for fighting the disease. Considerable attention has also been focused on the efficacy of insecticide-impregnated bed nets that protect against the mosquito's bite.

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See also Cinchona; Diseases—Overview; Quinine

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## Mali

The Mali empire flourished in Africa from the first half of the thirteenth century to the early fifteenth century. Preceded by the Ghana empire and followed by the Songhay empire, Mali was the second of the three early great empires of the western Sudan and was a dominant power below the Sahara Desert. The ancient heartland of the empire occupied a relatively compact region of the

## Key Events in the History of African States

8TH CENTURY BCE	Cush (in southern Egypt and northern Sudan) invades and conquers Egypt; Shabaka of Cush establishes Egypt's twenty-fifth dynasty.
6TH CENTURY BCE	Meroë becomes the capital of Cush.
1ST MILLENNIUM CE	Wagadu (Ghana) empire flourishes.
1ST-3RD CENTURY CE	Kingdom of Cush flourishes, engages in trade with Rome.
MID-3RD CENTURY CE	Aksum replaces Cush as principal supplier of goods to Rome.
EARLY 6TH CENTURY CE	Aksum loses its Nile Valley and southern Arabian provinces.
6TH CENTURY	Nubian kingdoms (Nobadia, Makuria, and Alodia) flourish.
8TH CENTURY	City of Aksum abandoned.
9TH-14TH CENTURY	Centralization of political power in central Africa leads to the formation of the kingdom of Kongo.
10TH-12TH CENTURY	Hausa states emerge.
c. 1150-EARLY 14TH CENTURY	Saifawa dynasty rules in Kanem, in the Lake Chad basin.
EARLY 13TH CENTURY	Wagadu reduced to a tribute-paying vassal of Soso and Mali.
13TH CENTURY	Nubian kingdom of Alodia begins to disintegrate.
13TH-14TH CENTURY	Loose alliance among the seven Hausa states.
MID-13TH-MID-15TH CENTURY	Mali empire flourishes on the Upper Niger River.
1290-1450	Great Zimbabwe flourishes in southern Africa.
15TH CENTURY	Empire of Songhai is expanding.
15TH CENTURY	The East African island of Kilwa is a leading trading center.
1591	Songhai loses its independence to invaders from Morocco.
17TH-18TH CENTURY	Bornu, in the Lake Chad basin, is one of the largest states in Africa.
1808-1903	Sokoto caliphate flourishes in West Africa.
1818-1879	Zulu kingdom flourishes.

**The Sankoré Mosque, Timbuktu, allegedly dating from the fourteenth century. Timbuktu, Mali, 1984.**

upper Niger River and its tributaries in what is now northeastern Guinea and southern Mali. However, at the height of its powers during the fourteenth century, scholars believe, the Mali empire controlled territory from the mouth of the Senegal River on the Atlantic coast eastward to include the kingdom of Gao and the salt mines of Tadmekka in the Sahara.

### **Beginnings**

By the end of the eleventh century the decline of the Ghana empire left a vacuum, which made possible the rise of the Soso, a southern group of the Soninke people. According to oral tradition Soso rulers belonged to the Kante clan, under which the Soso extended their authority over their neighbors and reached the height of power during the reign of Sumaworo Kante early in the thirteenth century. The former territories of Ghana at the desert edge and those of the Mande chieftaincies in the upper Niger River region to the south came under Sumaworo's rule. Toward the middle of the thirteenth century, after a successful rebellion against Soso domination, the Mande chieftaincies unified under the leadership of Sunjata Keita and established what would develop into the Mali empire. The transfer of hegemony (influence) from Ghana to the Soso and then to Mali marks a gradual shift of the political center of gravity southward from the edge of the Sahara to the more fertile savanna and the waters of the upper Niger River. In addition to gaining control of important long-distance trade routes running from south to north and west to east, Mali had access to extensive sources of both iron and gold in the south and salt mines of the Sahara in the north.

### **Oral Tradition and Mali's History**

The history of Mali's origins comes from Muslim scholars of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, but much of what has entered the literature derives from oral tradition for which no independent confirmation exists, and it is therefore problematic in terms of Western academic standards of historiography (the writing of history). The epic narrative of the central hero Sunjata and his contempo-



raries in Mande oral tradition illustrates the Mande people's own view of the glorious past. It credits their ancestors with establishing one of the great empires of the medieval world, but the historical accuracy of specific details is impossible to gauge.

The principal Mande clans frame their identities in terms of descent from the founding ancestors, who are recalled by professional bards (*jeliw*) who narrate oral tradition. For Sunjata, who is credited with establishing the basis of empire, an elaborate genealogy is recited and leads to his father, a member of the Konate clan. The consensus among knowledgeable informants in both Mali and Guinea identifies him as the ruler of Konfara. As Maghan Konfara (king of Konfara) he is said to have ruled from the town of Farakoro, which appears in his more complete name, "Farako Manko Farankonken." Konfara's supposed location on the Kokoro River near the present-day border of Guinea and Mali would position it to control the gold fields of Bure and also account for its particular importance among the other preimperial Mande chieftaincies. Scholars are not certain that Mali ever had a capital as the term is normally understood. Probably several major commercial entrepôts (intermediary centers of trade and transshipment) existed, and the seat of government was wherever the *mansa* (king) was in residence. At the time of the Mande's defeat of its Soso oppressors, possibly in the 1230s, a place called "Dakajalan" is said to have been Sunjata's center of operations. Much later, perhaps during the fourteenth century, the town of Niani on the Sankaran River apparently became an important administrative or commercial center.

In Mande traditional narrative the bards begin with episodes describing how the hero's mother, Sogolon



Conde, and his father, Maghan Konate of Konfara, are brought together to produce Sunjata, the child of destiny. Deadly conflict between Sogolon and a jealous co-wife (whose son Dankaran Tuman is Sunjata's rival half-brother) eventually drives Sogolon into exile with Sunjata and his siblings. The collective Mande chieftaincies subsequently fall under the tyrannical rule of Sumaworo, king of the Soso. Desperate for a powerful and effective leader, the Mande people send a delegation to bring Sunjata back from exile. With the support of various legendary figures who are still recognized as important ancestors, Sunjata organizes a rebellion that defeats Sumaworo and his Soso army, unifies the old Mande chieftaincies, and establishes the foundations of empire. Writing during the fourteenth century, the north African scholar Ibn Khaldun was acquainted with the existence of Soso as an intermediate kingdom between Ghana and Mali. He refers to Sunjata as "Mari Jata," which is one of several names used by traditional bards to praise the hero. Citing oral informants of his day, Ibn Khaldun wrote that Mari Jata conquered the Soso and ruled for twenty-five years.

### **Sunjata's Successors**

The quality of Sunjata's successors was uneven, with Mali enjoying times of prosperity and expansion under

capable rulers but periodically enduring dismal leadership and political instability. According to Ibn Khaldun, Mari Jata (Sunjata) was succeeded by his son Mansa Uli, who was described as a great king who made the pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia during the reign of al-Zahir Baybars, the Mamluk sultan of Egypt (1260–1277). A later ruler, the insane Khalifa, was assassinated because he shot arrows at his people and killed them for sport. By late in the thirteenth century the royal Keita line had become so weak that the kingship was usurped by a former slave named "Sakura," who restored Mali to its former power but died while returning from pilgrimage in about 1298. After Sakura the throne reverted to two more descendants of Sunjata successively before passing to Musa, a descendant of one of Sunjata's brothers.

People have described the twenty-five years of Mansa Musa's reign as the golden age of the empire of Mali. He consolidated control of lucrative trade routes and established embassies in north Africa. He also expanded the empire to include the kingdom of Gao on the eastern bend of the Niger River and valuable salt deposits in the Sahara. Musa brought wide recognition to Mali through his famous pilgrimage to Mecca of 1324–1325. Accompanied by his wife, Inari Kanute, and more than a thousand subjects, Musa arrived in Cairo in July 1324 and created a sensation through his generous gifts of gold, including fifty thousand dinars (gold coins) to the sultan of Egypt to announce his arrival. After completing his pilgrimage to Mecca, Musa returned to Mali accompanied by an architect from Spain who went to live in Tombouctou in Mali, as well as four Muslim dignitaries from the tribe of Quraysh (the Prophet Muhammad's people) who settled permanently in Mali with their families.

When Mansa Musa died in 1337 his son Mansa Magha succeeded him, but Magha died after four years and was replaced by Musa's brother Sulayman. Mansa Sulayman was a powerful ruler who held together the vast empire that his brother had consolidated. The north African traveler Ibn Battuta visited Mali during Sulayman's rule in 1352–1353 and said that travel in the country was safe but that Sulayman's subjects disliked him. Ibn Battuta met Sulayman and later wrote a de-



tailed description of the splendors of the Malian royal court. Ibn Battuta witnessed an episode when Kasa, the king's senior wife, apparently plotted with Jata, a son of Mansa Magha (Mansa Musa's son), to overthrow her husband. Mansa Sulayman averted the coup d'état but died seven years later in 1360.

### **Decline of the Empire**

The Mali empire had reached its zenith under the rule of Mansa Musa and Mansa Sulayman, but in 1360, the year of Sulayman's death, civil war broke out between his family and that of his deceased brother Musa. After much bloodshed Jata, the grandson of Mansa Musa who had plotted the coup d'état with Sulayman's wife Kasa, prevailed over his rivals and succeeded to power as Mari Jata II (1360–1373). He proved to be a tyrant, and his despotic rule seriously damaged the empire and ushered in thirty years of governmental dysfunction during which court officials sometimes attempted to restore order by seizing control from incompetent members of the royal lineage. In 1390 power was finally restored to a descendant of the original branch of the dynasty founded by Sunjata, but by that time the great days of the Mali empire had passed. Early in the fifteenth century Mali lost control over the salt mines in the Sahara and the important trading and intellectual centers of Jenne and Tombouctou, which by the mid-fifteenth century would fall under the control of the expanding Songhay empire.

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## **Manichaeism**

**M**anichaeism was a religion founded in Mesopotamia during the first half of the third century CE that incorporated aspects of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Buddhism. It was the only sect emerging from the Near Eastern Gnostic traditions to survive beyond the first three centuries CE and to attain global status. At various points in medieval times, its influence extended from France to China and its popularity rivaled that of Catholic Christianity and Buddhism. While almost universally attacked by the mainstream religious traditions of the West, the teachings of Manichaeism came to shape debates within Judaism, Christianity, and Islam concerning the nature of good, evil, humans, and the world.

### **History of the Movement**

Manichaeism was founded by Mani (or Manes; 216–276 or 277 CE), a Persian prophet who proclaimed himself “the messenger of God come to Babel” and the Paraclete (Holy Spirit). He held that God had revealed himself at various times and places in human history: as the Buddha in India, Zoroaster in Persia, and Jesus in Palestine. Mani believed that each of these figures taught that the path to salvation came through gnosis (spiritual knowledge) rather than through faith or acts. In 242 Mani set out to disseminate his message publicly, traveling extensively in central Asia and, according to some sources, visiting India and China. While only fragments of his written works survive today, they reveal that Mani certainly had familiarity with the Christian synoptic Gospels and the epistles of Paul, Jewish orthodox and non-canonical texts, Zoroastrianism, and Mahayana Buddhism. He reportedly said: “As a river is joined to another to form a powerful current, just so are the ancient books joined in my writings; and they form one great wisdom, such as

has not existed in preceding generations” (BeDuhn 2000, 6). Mani’s challenges to the Zoroastrian priesthood, the Magi, led to his execution in 276 or 277.

Mani’s teachings, however, spread rapidly. By 370 Manichaean churches could be found throughout much of the Roman Empire, from southern France to North Africa. Augustine of Hippo (354–430), the profoundly influential Christian bishop and theologian, served for nine years as a Manichaean novice before his conversion to orthodox Christianity in 386. While violently suppressed in the old Roman provinces in the sixth century, Manichaeism continued to flourish in Persia and Chinese Turkestan for centuries, even becoming the state religion of the (Chinese) Uighur empire (eighth century to mid-ninth century CE) in 762. In western Europe, especially France, a significant revival of Manichaeism occurred in the eleventh to thirteen centuries. It was labeled the Albigensian heresy and its challenge to the Roman Catholic Church was perceived as so great that Pope Innocent III (reigned 1198–1216) ordered a crusade against the “scourge of God,” bringing a violent end to the movement in the West. In China, Manichaeism persisted until 1600.

## Beliefs and Cosmology

Like the Zoroastrian and Gnostic belief systems that influenced it, Manichaeism portrays the universe in radically dualistic terms. The universe is constituted by two oppositional forces: light and darkness. Light corresponds to the spiritual realm, the realm of goodness. Darkness corresponds to the material and bodily realm, which is evil. History is to be played out in three stages: a golden age when the realms of darkness and light are distinct and separate; a middle age in which light and darkness battle for control of the universe; and a final age in which the realms again will be separated, with the spiritual returning to the realm of light and the material being relegated to the realm of darkness. We presently are in the middle age, the time of the great cosmic battle between the forces of good and evil.

The realm of light is ruled by and equated with God, who is known as the King of Light or the Father of Light. The material realm is ruled by an independent and pow-

## When and Where World Religions Began

4000–2500 BCE	Hinduism	South Asia
1300–1200 BCE	Judaism	West Asia
500–400 BCE	Buddhism	South Asia
	Confucianism	China
	Zoroastrianism	West Asia
	Jainism	South Asia
400–221 BCE	Daoism	China
1ST CENTURY CE	Christianity	West Asia, Europe
3RD CENTURY CE	Manichaeism	West Asia
6TH CENTURY CE	Shinto	Japan
7TH CENTURY CE	Islam	West Asia
11TH CENTURY	Orthodoxy	West Asia
15TH–16TH CENTURY	Sikhism	South Asia
16TH CENTURY	Protestantism	Europe
19TH CENTURY	Latter-day Saints	North America
	Babi and Baha’i	West Asia
19TH–20TH CENTURY	Pentecostalism	North America

erful Archon (God) of Darkness, or Hyle (matter), who uses the process of creation to trap light in a fleshly cell. The two gods are in cosmic battle, with the universe as their battlefield. Christ, the Buddha, and other prophets came to earth to impart to humans knowledge of how to release the light imprisoned within the material realm by the God of Darkness. In some Manichaean depictions, the creator God of Genesis *is* the Archon of Darkness, and Christ is the serpent in the garden, imparting good knowledge to Adam and Eve as a path to liberating the light. In China, Mani himself became known as the Buddha of Light.

Manichaean dualism and its resulting cosmic war are used to account for the existence of evil in the world: Evil emerges in this realm when the Archon of Darkness wins a battle over the good, but not omnipotent, King of Light. All material creation is evil in its very conception.

Humans, being spirit incarnate, are in a tragic and flawed state, subject to evil and ignorance through the imprisonment of their spiritual essences in fleshly bodies.

### Prescriptions and Practices

Because during this life humans live in the corrupt, material realm, Manichaeism attempted to separate them from the actions of the Archon of Darkness as much as possible. Manichaean clergy (the Elect) were held to the highest standards of purity: sexual abstinence (since each new birth constituted another spirit imprisoned in the flesh and hence a victory for the forces of Darkness), vegetarianism (since meat was judged to be more highly impure than vegetables), refusal to participate in food preparation (since the chopping of even vegetables harmed the light trapped within them), and abstinence from all forms of violence against human or animal (for the spiritual light could be liberated properly from living entities only by knowledge, not by slaughter).

Of these priestly prohibitions (likely a reflection of the influence of Buddhism), only the dictate against all forms of killing was required equally of the Manichaean laity, making Manichaeism a completely pacifistic religion in theory. The actual practice was somewhat different, with Manichees who fell short of the ascetic ideals often attributing their failings to a determinism resulting from their role as pawns in the cosmic battle between the forces of light and darkness.

### Manichaeism Today

In contemporary intellectual discussions, Manichaeism is most often used as a perjorative term, describing a radical dichotomy between good and evil that allegedly misconstrues the nature of reality. The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, for example, writes that it is “a Manichean heresy to assert that war is intrinsically evil and contrary to Christian charity” (National Conference of Catholic Bishops 1983, 162). The historian Bernard Lewis claims that the tendency of some forms of modern-day Islam to demonize Christians and Jews as “enemies of God” is attributable to Manichaeism’s influence on Islam. Whether such accusations are fair or not, the Manichaean depic-

tion of the world as a place of cosmic conflict between the forces of the spirit and those of the flesh doubtless has had a profound influence on modern Jewish, Christian, and Muslim discussions of humans and the world.

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## Manorialism

Manorialism is the organization of rural economic production and socio-political relationships that characterized large parts of medieval western and central Europe from perhaps as early as the seventh century through the fifteenth century, with important aspects of the organization surviving until the French Revolution. The term comes from the division of rural land into manors, local legal jurisdictions subject to a lord (*seigneur* in French), whence the roughly equivalent term *seigneurialism*. The lord exercised legal and economic rights over the labor and produce of the peasant population living

within the boundaries of his manor. Whether manorialism existed in other parts of the world—as a phenomenon, an ideal type, or a stage of development—is a vexing question historiographically (relating to the writing of history) and complicates any assessment of manorialism in world history.

### **Characteristics of Manorialism**

The basis of manorialism was the legal relationship of lord to peasant, which came in two basic forms. The first form, the one most closely associated with the word, was the legal subjection of unfree peasants or serfs who were tied to the land they farmed and owed labor services to the lord. The second form, free peasants who rented from the lord, however, regularly constituted at least a portion of the population of most manors.

These two types of people were associated with three types of land that made up manors. First, demesne land was the part of the manor controlled directly by the lord. Its produce supported him and his dependents, either directly or indirectly through sale on the market. Second, dependent holdings obligated the holder to provide some combination of labor services on the demesne, a portion of the output of the holdings themselves, or a cash payment in lieu of either to the lord, the specific obligation varying according to the custom of the holding. Third, free peasant holdings owed monetary rent but no labor services or other dues, although the holder was still subject to the legal jurisdiction of the lord of the manor. Not every manor had all three types of land—some lords dispensed with any demesne holding, leasing all the land out to tenants, for example—nor was the fit between types of people and types of land always perfect. Peasants who were free in their person might hold dependent land and thus owe labor services, whereas serfs could also lease land that did not owe labor services. Manorial land types may also be divided by the use to which they were put, which might cross boundaries of individual holdings. Farming of grain and legumes occupied the bulk of most manors, but small plots were

devoted to vegetable gardens, and fields lying fallow could support animals (usually pigs), which could also be grazed on forest land where the lord hunted game and on more extensive pasturage.

In addition to the income that the lord derived from the demesne and from rents, he charged for the use of large capital investments such as mills, bakeries, wine presses, and fish ponds, for the right to feed pigs in the woods, and seigneurial dues. These dues included the payment that peasant tenants owed the lord each time a holding changed hands by death (and in some cases by sale) and, above all, the income derived from the lord's court. Peasants had legal rights but paid to bring cases to court and often paid fines.

The somewhat artificial nature of manorial boundaries, corresponding to legal jurisdictions and not to the human geography of the countryside, may be seen in the fact that one manor might encompass several villages or parts of villages, whereas a village might be split between two (or even more) manors. Nor did manorial boundaries match local parish boundaries. Variation is, in fact, the constant in manorial organization because the proportions of free and unfree land, demesne, and free and unfree peasants and therefore of modes of economic exploitation differed from place to place and in the same place through time. Although the “typical” manor is thought of as belonging to a lay lord living in a manor house or even a castle, many manors were held directly by the king of the country and administered by a royal overseer (and indeed many lay lords, holding many scattered manors, employed professional managers as well), and a large number of manors were held by institutions, especially the Church. Church manors might be held by a collective such as a monastery or by an individual such as a bishop. Manorial management also reacted differently to wider economic changes. The rise of a more monetary economy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries usually stimulated a shift to rents and money payments but sometimes had the opposite effect: In much of central and eastern Europe, labor services became more burdensome over time as lords shifted demesne production to cash

*I believe that every right implies a responsibility; every opportunity, an obligation; every possession, a duty.* • JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER JR. (1874–1960)

crops for sale in western Europe, a trend that extended well into the early modern period. Any generalizations about manorialism must therefore come highly qualified.

## **Origins and History of Manorialism**

Manorial organization arose from the conditions of insecurity and decentralization of power that beset the western Roman Empire from the fourth century on. In such conditions, small free farmers became more likely to commend themselves and their land to a powerful local landowner who pledged to protect his commended farmers in exchange for a portion of the produce and labor. In a period of declining population such arrangements suited the powerful as well because they were able to lock in a secure labor supply for their estates and to consolidate the landholdings in particular areas. As the economy of western Europe contracted further between the fifth and ninth centuries, manorial organization also offered at least the ideal of local self-sufficiency, although few manors were ever completely self-sufficient, trading when possible for scarce necessities such as salt and metal.

The recovery of the European economy that began during the tenth century brought transformations to manorial organization. More money, increased trade, and the penetration of markets into the countryside tied most manors more and more into a hierarchical network of exchange that extended throughout western Europe and beyond. Reactions to the challenges and opportunities presented by the new economy varied but tended in the long run in western Europe to reduce serfdom and labor services in favor of a free class of peasant renters, although this reduction was balanced by the increasing burdens of serfdom in central and eastern Europe noted earlier; indeed, the changes in the two regions were linked by the market economy connecting them. The extent of the influence of market relations in western Europe by 1348 is demonstrated by the effect of the Black Death that hit that year: The resulting labor shortages led not to decreased peasant freedoms (as one would expect in a traditional society politically domi-

nated by a coherent elite and as in fact did happen in places such as Egypt at the same time and had happened in Rome during the fourth century, as we've seen), but rather to higher wages and increased peasant freedoms. Serfdom effectively ended in England after the Black Death, and its burdens generally declined elsewhere on the continent without ending entirely. A monetized market in land and labor increasingly replaced manorial organization everywhere in strictly economic terms.

Manorialism survived the Middle Ages in the weakened form of seigneurial rights and dues. What survived of manorialism, in other words, was not the economic core but the legal structure of privilege and political income that originally had facilitated the economic function but now lived a life of its own. This legal structure and related noble tax privileges were attacked by Enlightenment (a philosophic movement of the eighteenth century marked by a rejection of traditional social, religious, and political ideas and an emphasis on rationalism) philosophes (the deistic or materialistic thinkers of the French Enlightenment) under the misleading name “feudalism” and eliminated by the French Revolution. This Enlightenment blending of manorialism with feudalism was then compounded during the nineteenth century by the German political philosopher Karl Marx, who extended this conflation of the terms in analyzing the postclassical, preindustrial economy of Europe (and the rest of the world)—the economy of the period between the fall of Rome and the beginnings of the rise of merchant capitalism and the bourgeoisie in the sixteenth century—as the “feudal mode of production.” Unless one is using the (highly problematic) Marxist category, however, manorialism is not the same as feudalism, if the latter term has any coherent meaning. The difference may be summed up succinctly: The legal and economic relationship between free lords and mostly unfree peasants is manorialism; the legal and political relationship between free lords and free vassals is feudalism. The usually posited relationship between the two organizations is that manorialism is the economic organization that supported the political system of feudalism and that the

two together constituted “feudal society.” In general, *manorialism* has been less damaged as a useful term by this blending than *feudalism* and remains a current analytic category in medieval European history.

### **Manorialism beyond Europe?**

For world historians, however, the question remains: How useful is the term beyond the confines of medieval Europe? Undeniably some form of legal and economic relationship always tied peasants to elite classes in preindustrial societies. However, do any such ties constitute manorialism? Or does a form need to share certain characteristics with the European phenomenon in order to qualify? Is a “feudal” political structure one of the characteristics necessary to produce manorialism? The philosophical and methodological problems that such questions raise are both difficult and central to the process of studying world history.

The classic case of the extension of manorialism to a non-European society is in the history of Kamakura Japan (1180–1333), and it is tied intimately to notions of Japanese feudalism. In this case the political relationships among members of the Japanese warrior class rested on an economic base of *shoen*, or rural estates that generated income that was allotted to warriors, presumably as an analogue to the assignment of manors to European warriors for their support. However, on close inspection manorialism and the *shoen* system share few similarities (nor was Kamakura Japan definably “feudal”), so use of the term creates more confusion than it sheds analytic light. Not only is the same true of other cases where manorialism has sometimes been claimed to exist, as, for instance, in Byzantium, czarist Russia, and some places in India, but also the entire intellectual approach to ‘finding’ manorialism outside of Europe is suspect at its foundations. Of all the varied ways in which the extraction of surplus wealth from a subject peasant class by a political elite has been organized, why privilege a medieval European system in comparative analysis? The answer more often than not (for both manorialism and even more for feudalism) is simply that the European

case has been studied first and most carefully and that sometimes on that basis the European case has been taken as paradigmatic (a typical example) for the world as a whole (this is the case with Marxist analysis of preindustrial economic organization globally and explains the importance of “feudalism” and its supposed mode of production to the historiography). Either answer and especially both in combination are Eurocentric in the worst possible example of that historiographical disease. Taking Europe first tends to lead to “shoehorning”—fitting non-European cases into the European pattern for the sake of maintaining a comparison; taking Europe as paradigmatic is simply untenable philosophically.

This author, and probably a majority of working world historians, therefore would treat manorialism in a restricted way as simply one variant of lord-peasant relations in the scope of world history and restrict use of the term to its medieval European time and place. In this way manorialism provides valuable data for comparative studies and generalizations about lord-peasant relations but provides neither a model nor a framework for such studies.

*Stephen Morillo*

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## Mansa Musa

(REIGNED C. 1312–C. 1337 CE, D. C. 1337)

RULER OF THE EMPIRE OF MALI

**M**ansa Musa, also called Kankan Musa, ruled the West African empire of Mali at its height. Under his reign, Mali expanded its territories and strengthened its control of West Africa's salt and gold trades. However, Mansa Musa is best remembered for his extravagant hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca in 1324, which fostered stronger diplomatic, cultural, and scholarly ties between Mali and Islamic North Africa. As a result, stories of Mansa Musa's power and wealth spread throughout the Islamic world as well as Europe, elevating the kingdom of Mali onto the world stage.

Mansa Musa's Mali emerged from the earlier empire of Wagadu (or Ghana, 300 CE–1240). Around 1050, Wagadu was invaded by the Almoravids (Berber Muslims), who swept through the Mauritanian Sahara, Morocco, and al-Andalus (Muslim Spain). After the Almoravid invasion (1054–1076), the empire of Wagadu fell apart. Around 1240, Sundiata, Mansa Musa's legendary Mandinka ancestor, defeated another regional power and former vassal state of Ghana, the Susu armies of Sumanguru, allowing Mali to emerge as the empire of Ghana's successor.

When Mansa Musa began his reign in 1312, Mali already controlled the trans-Saharan trade routes between the salt deposits of Taghaza (in the central Sahara) in the north and the gold-bearing lands of Wangara (southern savannah and forest regions of West Africa) in the south. During his reign, Mali strengthened its control of the trade routes by seizing important cities such as Gao and Tombouctou (on and near the Niger River, respectively), and Walata (in present-day Mauritania). His

forces expanded westward to the Atlantic coast of Takrur (in present-day Senegal) and eastward beyond the Middle Niger.

Mansa Musa brought the western Sudan under a unified economic and legal system. Mali's successful extension of law and order came as a result of the unity provided by Mansa Musa's sponsorship of Islam. The administrators, traders, and many of Mali's urban subjects were Muslims. Islam provided a shared value system, which facilitated safe travel, especially for the Wangara gold traders, who operated freely, despite clan or territorial differences. The great Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta (1304–1368/69), who traveled through Mali shortly after Mansa Musa's reign, marveled at Mali's great level of security.

However, Mansa Musa still ruled over a primarily non-Muslim population. During his travels, Ibn Battuta complained about the incorporation of indigenous Mandinka customs into court ceremonies, festivals, and daily life. In fact, Mansa Musa's legitimacy, in the eyes of the Mandinka, rested largely upon his descent from Mali's founder, Sundiata, who continues to be prominent in the oral traditions of Mali. Similarly, al-'Umari (1301–1349), a great chronicler from Cairo, noted that while Mansa Musa extracted tribute from the gold-producing non-Muslims of his empire, he was reluctant to force them to convert to Islam for fear of damaging his empire's economy.

Despite the blend of religious and cultural traditions present in Mali, there is little doubt concerning Mansa Musa's piety and commitment to Islam, as evidenced in his well-chronicled hajj in 1324. According to the North African historian Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), he arrived in Cairo accompanied by a caravan that included some 12,000 servants and 80 camels laden with loads of gold dust. Al-'Umari explained how Mansa Musa's lavish spending depressed the price of gold in Cairo for the next twelve years.

While in Cairo, Mansa Musa was persuaded to visit the Mamluk sultan, al-Malik al-Nasir (reigned 1309–1340). Several Arab sources include an anecdotal account of their meeting. When asked to kiss the ground

before the sultan, Mansa Musa flatly refused. However, he offered to prostrate himself before Allah, his creator. This clever compromise won him the respect of al-Malik al-Nasir. The sultan honored Mansa Musa as an equal, allowing him to sit at his side, and gave him robes of honor and the necessary provisions for his journey to Mecca.

Mansa Musa's sensational display of wealth, power, and piety helped to expand Mali's influence beyond West Africa. Under Mansa Musa, ambassadors were established in both Egypt and Morocco. Mansa Musa also brought Egyptian scholars to Mali. With the help of learned men such as the Andalusian poet and architect Abu-Ishaq Ibrahim-es-Saheli (died c. 1346 CE), Mansa Musa built a royal palace and new mosques in Tombouctou and Gao, which introduced the distinctive burnt mud brick and wooden-post architecture found throughout the western Sudan.

North African scholars also helped to encourage the establishment of Islamic schools. Mansa Musa sent students to study Sunni Maliki Islamic law in Fez and Cairo, and North African scholars came to Niani, Tombouctou, and Djenne. This exchange of scholars laid the foundations for the creation of the great Sankore University in Tombouctou, which became famous throughout the Islamic world during the time of the Songhai empire (flourished 1450–1591). Therefore, Mansa Musa's reign and pilgrimage were essential in the development of Islamic scholarship in West Africa.

Even in Europe, Mansa Musa's pilgrimage aroused interest. The famous *Catalan Atlas*, created by Abraham Cresques in 1375, depicts Mansa Musa seated on a throne, holding a nugget of gold. The *Catalan Atlas* announced Mansa Musa's wealth, the presence of a sophisticated state in the African interior, as well as the commercial opportunities available in West Africa.

Mansa Musa's reign brought prosperity and security to the West African empire of Mali. He skillfully administered one of the largest empires in the fourteenth-century world. He fostered enduring cross-cultural interaction with the Islamic world while still maintaining many of Mali's traditional religious and cultural prac-

tices. Through trade, diplomatic, and scholarly ties with North Africa, Mansa Musa's reign exposed West Africa to the world beyond the Sahara. Thus, Mansa Musa is considered one of the greatest precolonial statesmen in African history.

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See also Africa; Islamic World

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## Mao Zedong

(1893–1976)

LEADER OF THE CHINESE  
COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

Mao Zedong, reared in a middle-class peasant family in central Hunan province, became a leading architect of China's twentieth-century Communist revolution. Inspired by the antiforeign nationalism of the May Fourth Movement, he became a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921. When cooperation with the Guomindang (GMD, or Nationalists) collapsed in 1927, Mao retreated to the countryside.

*We must learn to do economic work from all who know how, no matter who they are. We must esteem them as teachers, learning from them respectfully and conscientiously. We must not pretend to know when we do not know.* • MAO ZEDONG (1893–1976)

Mao's view that China's peasants, as the most oppressed social class, were the most revolutionary, clashed with the more traditionalist Communist views of the other CCP leaders, who were focused on China's rather small industrial-worker class. From 1927 to late 1934, Mao championed the peasant struggle, building with Zhu De (1886–1976) and others an army that used guerrilla tactics against GMD forces. Forced to flee from their bases in southeastern China, Mao and others led the army to northwestern China on what became known as the Long March. In 1935 Mao became the chairman of the CCP, and his views on the nature of China's revolution became dominant.

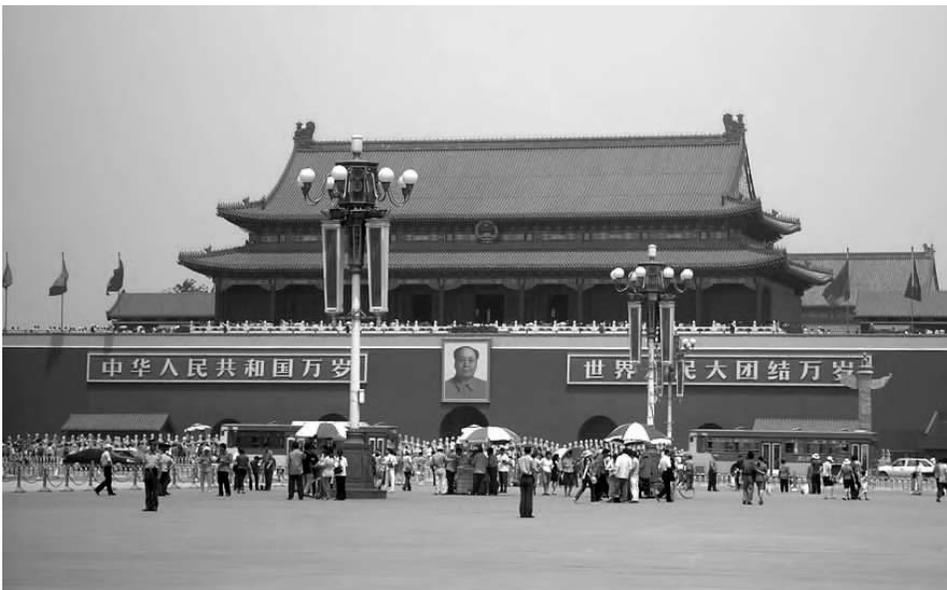
Japan's takeover of Manchuria in 1932 and its war with China in 1937 shifted Mao's attention from internal struggle toward the external imperialist threat. While the CCP fought anti-Japanese rear-guard actions from 1936 to 1945, Mao formulated his theoretical views of a socialist revolution in China. He departed from traditional Marxist doctrine in the emphasis he gave to the role of peasants, but he retained the concepts of class struggle and the vanguard role of the party. His views were enshrined in the CCP's Seventh Congress constitution as Mao Zedong Thought.

Nationalist spirit spread support for the CCP. Half-hearted attempts at coalition government in 1945 pre-saged civil war against the GMD. CCP victory led to Mao's founding the People's Republic of China in the fall of 1949. By the summer of 1950, China was drawn into Cold War struggles in Korea (Mao's son was killed in U.S. bombing there) and fought U.N. forces to a draw, setting the stage for anti-Americanism over continued U.S. support for the GMD government in Taiwan.

Domestically, Mao turned attention to China's socialist transformation. First on the agenda was land reform. Keeping the promise of "land to the tiller" made by the Nationalist revolutionary Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), Mao immediately pushed policies that by 1955–1956 resulted in the basic collectivization of newly distributed land into agricultural producers' cooperatives. Following the Soviet Union's definition of socialism, China also achieved basic state ownership of industry by the time of the Eighth CCP Congress in 1957. While other CCP leaders, especially Liu Shaoqi (1898–1969) and Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997), were ready to consolidate early achievements, Mao, disturbed by the problems of corruption and bureaucracy, first invited then quashed criticism from intellectuals in the Hundred Flowers initiative and ensuing

campaigns against those deemed reactionary. He argued that consolidation could result in loss of momentum, even reversal, by entrenching a new generation of elites. Mao's response, the Great Leap Forward (1958–1959), aimed at creating a "new socialist man." Rightist intellectuals and others would be reformed through physical labor, especially at the ill-conceived backyard steel furnaces which, he promised,

**Mao's tomb in Tiananman Square, Beijing.**



would permit China to overtake Great Britain in iron and steel production. This mass campaign also aimed at transferring technology to the countryside using the new People's Communes as the social, economic, and political interface with the center. Famine and failures resulting from the Great Leap created the first serious break within the CCP leadership and some disillusion with Mao among the general Chinese population.

Relations with the Soviet Union also suffered from these failed policies. Criticism of Mao's perceived departures from Soviet models resulted in Soviet withdrawal of technical experts, which disrupted major infrastructure projects. Mao retaliated by denouncing the Soviet Union for following the "capitalist road" and defended his policies as the logical next step in the world socialist movement, a position that exacerbated the Sino-Soviet split. At home, Mao condemned many within the party for taking the capitalist road and for failing to continue the revolution; in response, he launched the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Closing schools, mobilizing the masses, especially Red Guard youth, and using his own cult image, he hoped to create a generation of "revolutionary successors." Attacks on authority, however, threatened chaos. Mao sent students to the countryside to "learn from the peasants" and institutionalized the Cultural Revolution at the Ninth Party Congress, establishing Revolutionary Committees in factories, government offices, and communes.

China's admission to the United Nations, Mao's perception that he had been betrayed by Lin Biao (1907–1971), his intended successor and continued Sino-Soviet border disputes prompted Mao to invite U.S. President Richard Nixon to China in 1972, despite U.S. involvement in Vietnam. From 1972 until Mao's death in 1976, ideologues, including Mao's wife Jiang Qing, tried to assert power under cover of Mao's name.

In addition to the well-known influence of Mao's ideas of "people's war" using guerrilla tactics adopted by Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, there are also Maoist groups such as the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) in Peru, the Naxalite movement in India and recently in Nepal under the leadership of the self-proclaimed Maoist leader Com-

rade Prachanda. These have also emphasized Mao's strategy of a peasant-led anti-imperialist anti-bourgeoisie struggle for seizing power rather than his economic development model.

*Dorothea A. L. Martin*

See also China; Revolution—China; Revolutions, Communist

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## Maritime History

Maritime history is the study of the role mariners play in creating and maintaining commercial and cultural relationships between different parts of the world in peace and war. Commerce at sea and naval warfare are central to the development, structure, and expansion of local, regional, and international relationships. They have played a formative and often determining role in shaping the world as we know it, not just among people dependent daily on the sea for their livelihood, but for those who live deep in continental interiors well away from the tang of salt air. The study of maritime history is crucial to a proper understanding of the rise and fall of civilizations, human migration, and the resulting spread of language, religion, technology, religions and political systems, and flora and fauna across the world. It is equally important for understanding interactions over relatively short distances, both in enclosed seas like the Mediter-

*You tell the men there are four ways of doing things on this ship: The right way, the wrong way, the Navy way, and my way. They do things my way, and we'll get along just fine.*

• HUMPHREY BOGART AS LT. COMMANDER PHILIP FRANCIS QUEEG IN *THE CAINE MUTINY*

anean and in continental interiors accessible by rivers and lakes.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, about 90 percent of world trade travels by water. Carrying goods by ship is in most instances more energy efficient than transporting goods overland. The energy required to move a ton of freight one kilometer by ship is about one-fifth that required to move it by train and as little as one-tenth that required to move it by truck. Ground transport has been an attractive alternative for shippers only since the development of railways, the internal combustion engine, and hard-top roads in the past two centuries. Until well into the twentieth century it could take as long for a ship's cargo to cross a pier as it did to cross the ocean.

## **The Start of Maritime Endeavor**

Because of the diverse environments in which maritime endeavor takes place, the erratic diffusion of technology, and differences in approach to commerce, few generalizations about the course of maritime history are possible. People have been going to sea for tens of thousands of years: Australia was settled by sea from Indonesia thirty to forty millennia ago, there are stone carvings of Scandinavian vessels from ten thousand years ago, and Scotland's Outer Hebrides were settled about 4000 BCE. Broadly speaking, before 1500 BCE, there was considerable regional interaction across Eurasia, but several maritime cultures evolved in relative isolation.

In terms of oceanic seafaring, the most impressive achievement occurred in Oceania, where between 1500 BCE and 1500 CE people settled virtually all the habitable islands of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia from the Solomon Islands to Rapa Nui (Easter Island) and New Zealand to Hawaii. To do this, they developed a diverse repertoire of vessels unlike anything found in Eurasia or elsewhere. Although they developed virtually no navigational instruments or written instructions, they navigated by a combination of celestial observation, reading winds and swells, and observing the habits of fish, sea mammals, and birds, amassing a body of information transmitted by oral tradition.

Sails were apparently unknown in the Americas before 1500—except perhaps to mariners who traded between Ecuador and the Pacific coast of Mexico. But traders paddled dugouts and canoes on sea routes from New York to Newfoundland and inland to the Great Lakes and Mississippi. Less well documented are the achievements of the Arawak and Carib of the Caribbean, and the coastal people of the Pacific Northwest, southern Alaska, and the Aleutians. Farther north, Arctic and sub-Arctic mariners traveled, fished, and whaled from skin boats along the northern coasts of Eurasia and North America.

## **The Ancient World**

The first civilizations whose use of ships and boats can be said to have contributed to or reflected the advanced states of their technology and political organization are found from the eastern Mediterranean to the western Indian Ocean in the third millennium BCE. On the Nile, the mastery of shipbuilding and navigation was crucial to the political, economic, and social unification of Egypt. The earliest depiction of a sail is on a late-fourth-millennium vase found in Upper Egypt. By the reign of Sneferu (c. 2600 BCE), the Egyptians were sailing regularly to the Levant for cedar wood. They also traded on the Red Sea to Punt (Somalia, perhaps) for myrrh, gold, electrum (an alloy of gold and silver), incense, and cosmetics. Egyptian records also include the first accounts of fighting between ships, in fourteenth-century BCE accounts of the invasion of the Sea People. The Egyptians also used the Nile to transport thousand-ton blocks of stone hundreds of kilometers from their quarries to the building sites of the pyramids.

Comparable activities advanced domestic and foreign commerce, as well as state formation and expansion, among Egypt's Bronze Age (third to second millennia BCE) contemporaries, notably Minoan Crete (and later Mycenaean Greece) and the Levantine port cities of Ugarit, Byblos, and Tyre. Mesopotamians used boats on the networks of canals they built for flood control, irrigation, and transportation, and in the third millennium BCE there was long-distance trade under sail between the Persian Gulf and the Indus Valley civilizations. Shipping laws in

## No Nation Owns the Seas

*In the excerpt below, English historian William Camden (1551–1623) recounts the conflict between Spain and England over freedom of the seas.*

Bernardinus Mendoza, Ambassador for Spain in England, made an angry and vehement demand for satisfaction from the Queen, complaining that the Indian Ocean was navigated by the English. The reply that he received was as follows:—That the Spaniards by their unfairness towards the English, whom they had prohibited from commerce, contrary to the right of nations, had brought these troubles upon themselves; that Drake would be ready to answer in due form of law if he were convicted by sufficient evidence and proof of having done anything contrary to law; that the wealth referred to had been put aside with the design of satisfying the Spaniards, although the Queen had freely expended a greater amount of money than Drake had brought against the rebels whom the Spaniards had stirred up in Ireland and England. Besides, Her Majesty does not understand why her subjects and those of other Princes are prohibited from the Indies, which she could not persuade herself

are the rightful property of Spain by donation of the Pope of Rome, in whom she acknowledged no prerogative in matters of this kind, much less authority to bind Princes who owe him no obedience, or to make that new world as it were a fief for the Spaniard and clothe him with possession: and that only on the ground that Spaniards have touched here and there, have erected shelters, have given names to a river or promontory; acts which cannot confer property. So that this donation of alien property (which by essence of laws is void) and this imaginary proprietorship, ought not to hinder other princes from carrying on commerce in these regions, and from establishing Colonies where Spaniards are not residing, without the least violation of the law of nations, since prescription without possession is of no avail; nor yet from freely navigating that vast ocean, since the use of the sea and the air is common to all men; further that no right to the ocean can inure to any people or individual since neither nature or any principle of public user admits occupancy of the ocean.

Source: Camden, W. (1615). *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha* [annals of affairs in England and Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth]. London, n.p.

the Code of Hammurabi anticipate later Mediterranean law and custom, and the third-millennium Epic of Gilgamesh includes the archetypal stories of the ark and flood, and of the sea-wandering hero. The former are best known from the later Hebrew Bible, while Homer's *Odyssey* (early first millennium BCE) is the best-known model for the latter. Neither Gilgamesh nor *Odyssey* can be identified with specific historical figures, but the geography of the stories is grounded in the experience of the authors' respective contemporaries.

The first examples of maritime expansion on a scale that allowed for sustained two-way transmissions of culture, as distinct from one-way migrations or low-volume trade, come from the Mediterranean world of the early first millennium BCE. In the ninth century BCE, the Phoenicians established colonies at Carthage, in the western Mediterranean, and on the Atlantic coasts of the Iberian Peninsula and Morocco, and the Greeks began to colonize the Black Sea and northern Mediterranean. The Persian invasions of Greece in the early 400s BCE were de-

feated in part by the Athenian victory at the naval battle of Salamis, which helped foster the concept of a dichotomy between maritime powers and land-based powers, although such distinctions are rarely clear-cut.

Maritime matters assumed ever greater importance in the following centuries, and the Pharos (lighthouse) at Alexandria—which Alexander of Macedon founded and which remains a major port 2,300 years later—and the Colossus marking the entrance to Rhodes harbor were among the wonders of the ancient world. During the Hellenistic period, Alexander's successors embarked on the world's first naval arms race, a major source of friction being the control of eastern Mediterranean timber supplies, a competition for naval resources not unlike that which made the Baltic a focus of attention in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries CE, or the Persian Gulf in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Rome wrested control of the western Mediterranean from the Carthaginians during the Punic Wars of the third and second centuries BCE. Although the Romans

disdained the sea, their survival depended on secure shipping lanes. Pompey the Great eradicated Mediterranean piracy in the first century BCE, Octavian's victory at Actium was the defining battle of the Civil War, Rome fed on grain imported from Sicily, Spain, and Egypt, and the empire's northern borders held only so long as the Romans controlled the Rhine and Danube Rivers and the English Channel. When barbarians reached the Mediterranean in the fifth century CE, the different fortunes of the Roman west and Byzantine east were due partly to the fact that the Byzantines had an effective navy.

A coherent picture of maritime activities in Asian waters between India and China emerges only around 1000 BCE, and does not come into sharp relief for another five centuries. There are glimpses of Indian maritime life in Hindu writings like the Rig Veda and the Upanishads (late second millennium BCE) and Buddhist scriptures, as well as decrees from the reign of India's Asoka (third century BCE). Alexander had renewed the Mediterranean world's interest in the Indian Ocean, and the most detailed accounts of trade are from Greek and Roman geographies—Ptolemy described the world as far east as the Malay Peninsula—and merchants' handbooks from the second century BCE to the second century CE. Despite western participation in Asian sea trade, indigenous traders were of far greater consequence. In addition to their traffic in material goods, maritime merchants carried Buddhism and Hinduism from India to Southeast Asia. The importance of Indian merchants in mainland Southeast Asia is illustrated in two foundation stories for the kingdom of Funan, a productive rice-growing region that dominated east–west trade from Oc Eo, a port near the Mekong River on the Gulf of Thailand coast of Vietnam.

As was true in Egypt and Mesopotamia, Chinese maritime endeavor began on the rivers that they tamed by building canals for irrigation and transportation. Although the Chinese traded with Korea and Japan from an early date, they were more attracted to the southern trade, which began with the absorption of the southern Yue people in the fourth century BCE, and with their first forays against Vietnam, some of which were carried out by sea. By the time Funan declined in the fifth century CE,

Chinese monks and traders were regularly sailing through Southeast Asia as far as Ceylon and other lands within the Buddhist world.

## **The Medieval Period**

The rise of Islam in the seventh century led to a reorientation of Mediterranean trade, signaled especially by the Muslim capture of Alexandria and the rerouting of Egypt's grain trade from Byzantium to Jidda, the Red Sea port of Mecca. The Arab caliphs relied on indigenous maritime communities in the eastern Mediterranean to man their fleets. Despite several naval assaults, the Muslims did not take Byzantium; but they did capture a large portion of the east–west trade in a Mediterranean world divided between a Christian north and Muslim south. The balance of power began to shift again around the year 1000, when Venetian merchants penetrated the Mediterranean and Black Sea trading networks of the Byzantine empire. The Venetians were well placed to capitalize on the Crusades at the end of the century. Although the First Crusade reached the Levant overland, the coastal Crusader states required reinforcement by sea, and Venetian, Genoese, Pisan, and other merchants secured favorable privileges for the flourishing Asian trades in exchange for their services.

One reason for the decline of Roman rule in the British Isles in the fourth and fifth centuries had been pressure from Germanic raiders from northwest Europe. The maritime expansion of northern peoples accelerated under the Vikings, whose rapid and far-flung expansion was facilitated by the adoption of the sail, which reached the Baltic in about the seventh century. The Vikings raided the British Isles and the fringe of Europe as far as Muslim Spain. They crossed the North Atlantic to Iceland (in the wake of Irish monks), Greenland, and Newfoundland. The rivers of eastern Europe carried them from the modern Baltic states, Poland, and Russia to the Caspian and Black Seas. Between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, many Vikings served in the Byzantine emperor's elite Varangian Guard. The most celebrated of these was Harald Hardradi, who in 1066, as king of Norway, invaded England with a fleet of three hundred ships. He was defeated by the Anglo-Danish king Harold

Godwinson at the Battle of Stamford Bridge, near York. Two weeks later, Harold Godwinson was killed at Hastings in battle with the army of William (the Conqueror), Duke of Normandy. A descendant of the first Viking raider/settlers of northern France, William had crossed the English Channel with some nine hundred ships to claim the English throne.

In many respects, William's victory marks the end of the Viking Age. Over the following century, the Baltic and North Sea trades passed to Germanic merchants who sailed under a loose confederation known as the Hanseatic League and specialized in bulky commodities such as grain, timber, fish, and wool, carried in capacious ships known as cogs. The prosperity of northern Europe would depend on such trade for centuries to come.

Of greater moment in this period was the Islamic expansion, via Arab and Persian sea traders, down the coast of East Africa as far as Mozambique and eastward to China. During the nearly seven centuries spanned by the Tang and Song dynasties (618–1279), China's overseas trade flourished. The expatriate Arab, Persian, Armenian, Jewish, Christian, Malay, and Japanese traders who thronged the ports of Guangzhou, Quanzhou, and Yangzhou numbered in the hundreds of thousands. Periodic bouts of violent xenophobia, in which tens of thousands of foreigners were killed, compelled these foreigners to withdraw temporarily to Tonkin (Vietnam).

Increased traffic between the China Seas and the Indian Ocean affected the politics of Southeast Asia. By the seventh century, ships had abandoned the Southeast Asian coastal route to sail directly across the South China Sea, and the Srivijayan states straddling the Strait of Malacca dominated the route between the Far East and the Indian Ocean. East–west trade also enriched southern India and the Maldives. In the eleventh century, the expansionist Chola kingdom of southern India invaded Srivijaya, 2,400 kilometers east across the Bay of Bengal. The Cholas could not capitalize on their victory at such a distance, but the emerging state of East Java was able to supersede its weakened neighbor. In their ascendancy, the Javanese inaugurated the first large-scale exploitation of the Spice Islands (Melaku) in east-

ern Indonesia. Thanks to the prosperity at either end of maritime Asia, cloves, nutmeg, and mace became staples of trade from Song China to Fatimid Egypt and the Mediterranean.

## **The Early Modern Period**

Merchant states jockeying for control of Mediterranean and European trade routes spread a common commercial culture across Christian Europe. Their success depended on the outcome of this period's two major struggles: the Christian advance against Muslim Spain, and the Muslim expulsion of Crusaders from the Levant in 1291. While the latter forced Venetian, Genoese, and other Christian merchants to seek their fortunes elsewhere, the loosening of Muslim control in the Strait of Gibraltar literally opened a new outlet for their commercial aspirations. The start of direct sea trade between the Mediterranean and Northern Europe in the 1270s was a catalyst for economic growth in northwest Europe, which gradually came to rival the Mediterranean in commercial prosperity.

As a result of increased maritime commerce between northern Europe and the Mediterranean, shipbuilding underwent several crucial changes that resulted in the development of the first generation of full-rigged ships in the fifteenth century. These large, strongly built carracks, or naos, were built around a skeletal framework, rigged with a combination of square sails (set perpendicular to the centerline of the hull) and fore-and-aft lateen sails, and carried centerline rudders instead of side-mounted steering oars. In addition to having increased carrying capacity and operational endurance, these carracks could mount heavy ships' guns, the use of which altered the nature of commerce and naval warfare.

Important though developments in the European and Mediterranean world were in facilitating Europe's overseas expansion, the lure of Asia's wealth was no less significant. Indian merchants from Gujarat (northwest India) and modern Bangladesh had long composed the major foreign trading community in Southeast Asia. When these states were converted to Islam in the 1200s,



the religion and its associated cultural norms—including language and law—spread easily through the networks of trade to the east. By the end of the fifteenth century, Islam was firmly established in maritime Southeast Asia—the first western monotheistic religion to take root east of India.

At the start of China's Yuan dynasty, Khubilai Khan launched four overseas invasions: of Japan (1274 and 1281), Vietnam (1283), and East Java (1291). None was successful, but the expedition against Java helped pave the way for the emergence of the Majapahit empire that dominated the trade of Island Southeast Asia for two centuries. Between 1405 and 1433, the Ming dynasty exercised more direct influence on the region. During this periods, seven Chinese fleets under the Muslim Zheng He passed through the region en route to Indian Ocean ports from Sri Lanka to East Africa, Mecca, and the Persian Gulf. With crews numbering in the tens of thousands, these fleets suppressed piracy, introduced coinage as a medium of exchange in Southeast Asia, and bolstered the importance of the Muslim communities there. Although Chinese overseas commerce was officially banned in the mid-1400s, the twin movements of Muslim and Chinese merchants through Southeast Asia were the two most significant factors behind the emerging prosperity that attracted European interest at the end of the fifteenth century.

Europe's conquest of the Atlantic began with the start of direct maritime trade between the Mediterranean and northern Europe in the thirteenth century. Within two hundred years, Europeans had settled Madeira, the Azores, and the Canary and Cape Verde Islands. Motivated by a combination of ideology and profit characteristic of much subsequent European expansion, in the mid-1400s Portugal's Prince Henry ("the Navigator") promoted the exploration of the coast of West Africa, a source of gold, slaves, and cheap pepper. These efforts led to the search for a sea route to the Indies, which culminated in the epochal voyages of Christopher Columbus's transatlantic crossing (1492), Vasco da Gama's opening of a sea route between Europe and the Indian Ocean via southern Africa (1497–1499), Ferdinand Magellan's

and Juan Sebastian del Cano's east–west circumnavigation of the globe (1519–1521), and Andrés de Urdaneta's discovery of a west–east route across the Pacific (1565). The age of Columbus and his contemporaries (including shipwrights, bankers, cartographers, and gun-founders) is a defining point in world history. But the achievements of the age were the result of collective and cumulative experience, not of individual inspiration. Moreover, progress was hard won; mortality rates for sailors were high and there were many failures, notably the search for the Northwest and Northeast Passages to the Orient.

## The Birth of Global Trade

Approaches to maritime trade differed according to a variety of factors. When the Spanish reached the Americas, they encountered no preexisting maritime commercial system, which helps account for the explosive if haphazard way their American empire grew. In Asia, the Portuguese sailed into a mature commercial network the keys to which they learned early on. Although the Portuguese crown monopolized the spice trade and issued passes for indigenous traders, the Portuguese never dominated all regional trades and many found it more lucrative to participate in the so-called "country trades" within Asia rather than on the long-distance routes between Asia, Africa, Portugal, and Brazil. There were comparable differences of approach to trade between the Dutch and English in the seventeenth century. No sooner had the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius articulated a philosophy of free trade in *Mare Liberum*, to counter the Portuguese monopoly, than he helped justify Dutch monopolies in Asia directed specifically against the English, who fell back on trade in high-volume, low-value Indian goods. Both the Dutch and English East India companies would lay the groundwork for their respective governments' nineteenth-century colonial policies.

The movement of people on a scale sufficient to create social transformation through the transmission of language, religion, and material culture, as well as crops and flocks, accelerated after 1500. The most important vectors for cultural change were the mass movement of African

slaves (between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries), European transatlantic and Australian emigrants (through the twentieth century), and Chinese and Indian coolie laborers transported to Africa and Latin America (nineteenth and twentieth centuries).

In purely commercial terms, intraregional trades remained more important than long-distance ones. Chinese shipping carried the bulk of Asian trade until the nineteenth century, while the maritime integration of northern and southern Europe that began only two centuries before Columbus continued vigorously throughout this period. The bulk of Dutch wealth derived not from the Indies, but from European trades and fisheries. Europeans also dominated the Atlantic world, a rapidly evolving commercial and cultural space bounded by Europe, West Africa, and the Americas, where their influence was indelible.

Starting in the eighteenth century, Europeans undertook a wave of exploratory voyages animated by a spirit of scientific inquiry, though their objectives remained practical: safe navigation, new markets, and the desire to make allies or conquests to forestall the advance of rivals. In the 1760s, a French expedition under Louis-Antoine de Bougainville included ethnographers, zoologists, and botanists, an approach emulated by England's James Cook and his successors. Britain and France sustained active programs of exploration in the Pacific that continued through the Napoleonic Wars. In the nineteenth century, the Russians and Americans were active in the business of maritime exploration. Russian efforts were ancillary to the country's eastward expansion across Siberia and Alaska, while the Americans were motivated by rivalry with the British in the Pacific Northwest and Pacific whaling grounds. Efforts to find the Northwest and Northeast Passages also resumed in the nineteenth century; the latter was transited in 1878–1879, the former in 1903–1906. The coastal exploration of Antarctica began around the turn of the twentieth century. At the same time, prompted by the need to lay submarine cables and to study the health and potential of commercial fisheries, and later by the need for submarine mining and environmental monitoring and atmospheric research, scientists turned to the exploration of the oceans themselves.

## **The Steam Age**

The advent of commercially viable steam navigation—signaled by the launch of Robert Fulton's North River Steam Boat in 1807—followed by the development of iron and steel shipbuilding, transformed the world. It would take thirty years for steam to be adapted to ocean shipping, but in the meantime steam vessels capable of stemming powerful river currents did as much to open continents as they would to connect them.

The development of the steamship coincided with the Pax Britannica, which was guaranteed by two factors: imperial Britain's navy was functionally equal to that of the next two largest navies combined, and by 1900 its merchant fleet accounted for more than half the world's shipping. The rapid growth of industrial capitalism in Europe and North America helped ensure the colonial aspirations of nations with long histories of overseas commerce like France and the Netherlands, and gave rise to new maritime powers such as the United States, Germany, Japan, and to a lesser extent Russia. The need for coaling stations was a significant factor in the burst of European colonialism at the end of the nineteenth century. The cost of fuel (a new factor in shipping costs) led to the construction of the Suez and Panama Canals, among others, and dramatic redirections of ocean commerce. Age-old harbors astride sailing ship routes became backwaters while others such as Singapore, on more direct routes favored by steamers, became major trading hubs almost overnight.

Maritime rivalry was among the factors that led to the outbreak of World War I, and at the start of the twentieth century the public in maritime countries took a keen interest in both their navies and their merchant fleets, especially North Atlantic passenger ships. The United States merchant marine emerged from World War I as a major maritime power, second only to Britain. Thanks to an aggressive shipbuilding program in World War II, the U.S. merchant marine was the world's largest by 1946.

Since 1950, the world's merchant fleet has grown enormously, nearly threefold in the numbers of ships and more than fivefold in total tonnage. At the same time,

*The great masses of the people  
will more easily fall victims to  
a big lie than to a small one.*

ADOLF HITLER (1889–1945)

industry consolidation and huge gains in efficiency (due especially to the development of containerization since 1960) have reduced the numbers of people employed in maritime industries and forced port facilities away from traditional urban centers such as London and New York. This transition has gone all but unnoticed in the West because ship operators of the European maritime powers of the last century have transferred their ships to “flags of convenience”—foreign registries with more lax labor, safety, and environmental standards. In Asian countries such as Japan, South Korea, and China, however, merchant shipping and shipbuilding is an integral part of the national economy, a fact that suggests an imminent reorientation in the balance of world power.

Lincoln P. Paine

See also Navigation; Piracy; Sailing Ships

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## Marriage and Family

Marriage and the family are undoubtedly among the most significant social, political, and economic institutions for women, men, and children. Despite this, there is no concrete definition of either *marriage* or *family*. Across time and across cultures, the terms have radically different meanings. In the thirteenth century, Mongol leaders would have up to a hundred wives, while in Iran, other Middle Eastern nations, and West Africa, polygamous marriages were common until the twentieth century. In the West, extended families were common until the fourteenth century, when the nuclear family (father, mother, and children) was beginning to emerge as the most common living arrangement. In the early seventeenth century, the emphasis moved to the companionate marriage, with the husband and wife ideally as affectionate partners, and the family home serving as a refuge from the wider world. Similarly, age at marriage altered markedly. In precolonial India, ideally the upper-caste girl would be married in her infancy. In plague-stricken fourteenth-century Europe, teenage girls were married to much older men, while a century later in northwestern Europe, men and women both married in their mid- to late twenties.

*Early marriage, long love.* • GERMAN PROVERB

Thus experience of family and marriage could vary dramatically, depending on time and place. As these examples indicate, marriage could be a contract between two adults or many, it could be arranged or chosen, it could be between equals or between superior and inferior. The family could also take numerous and fluid forms: from extended kinship groups, to households including servants and laborers, to the nuclear family, to single parents with children, and so on. Neither marriage nor the family are “natural” concepts, but ones that are formed by culture, society, and the economy. To study these, we can rely on traditional historical sources such as marriage and census records, private family archives, cultural documents, and church sources. For details of early marriage bonds that may be lost, hidden, or simply never recorded, we can also consider demographic and anthropological surveys, which provide details of life in preliterate societies.

### **Marriage as an Exchange**

Through much of history, marriage was an economic transaction: a cultural agreement based on the exchange of a dowry. It was a civil arrangement, not necessarily a religious one. In Italy, for example, in the fourteenth and

fifteenth centuries, the marriage rites were threefold. Initially, there would be an announcement of a binding engagement, followed by the “ring day,” a celebration at the home of the bride for the exchange of gifts. Finally, there was a public celebration at the home of the groom, followed by the private consummation of the marriage. Throughout these stages, a religious blessing was ideal, though in no way essential. Marriage rites varied markedly across cultures, but the main emphasis was still on forming the family as an economic union, and on the payment of a dowry, which shifted wealth from one family to another.

Marriage was also frequently used as a tool for forming and solidifying networks and alliances between families, kinship groups, villages, or regions. This was common across wide geographic areas and time frames. Anthropologists suggest that in kin-ordered societies, marriage operated to encourage alliances, ensure biological diversity, and to act as an insurance policy in case of disaster. In the thirteenth-century Chinese Middle Kingdom, marriage was treated as the foundation of social interplay: an opportunity to form bonds and linkages between families, be they elite or more common. In the fifteenth cen-



**A carved-wood marriage chest from Italy, c. 1510. The bride's dowry possessions would be placed in such a chest.**

tury, a series of intertwining marriages between various kingdoms and noble families served to unite the disparate Spanish domains into a single, powerful state. Similarly, in the sixteenth century, marriages between the children of regional rulers encouraged the unification of both Japan and the Mughal empire in India.

The social and economic networks of marriage operated on a grander scale through colonization. When the Spanish colonized their territories in South America, few Spanish women traveled, and most Spanish men took mistresses and wives from among the indigenous peoples. For some, this was an attempt to subdue the locals and formalize trade networks, though in time the mestizos, the offspring of mixed-race unions, were to become an important population in their own right. A pattern of marriages between the male colonizers and the female colonized continued to be a notable feature of the colonization process. However, in other areas such as frontier Australia and in South Africa under apartheid, intermarriage was socially and even legally barred.

Until relatively recently, the arranged marriage was the norm across the globe. There were some dissenters, including the French Enlightenment philosophers who suggested the absence of love and desire would hinder the primary obligation of the family, the production of children. More generally, arranged marriages were seen to balance the two functions of marriage: reproduction and the creation of alliances. Arranged marriages still continue in various regions, most notably in India and the Middle East. In other regions, ideas about personal, individual happiness frequently led to the idea of a “love” marriage, and arranged marriages began to break down in the United States in the years after the American Revolution and in England in the 1700s and 1800s. The companionate marriage was seen to be the basis of the contented individual and the stable, happy family.

### **Family and the Social Order**

In a broader sense, the family was to form the basis for social, political, and legal order. Early Christians, for example, promoted celibacy and feared sex as a carnal sin. Only sex for reproductive purposes was not seen as

## A Marriage Transaction in Ancient Mesopotamia (c. 3000–1500 BCE)

*The following text is an excerpt from the accounting records of a marriage between a man from Larsa and a woman from Ur. As has been the case in many societies over time and across cultures, the marriage was as much an arrangement between families as between the man and woman.*

His mother came to Ur and they brought for her 1 sheep, worth 1½ shekels silver, 1 second-class beer and 1 measure of barley-flour . . . and they brought for her 20 litres of bread, 40 litres of beer and 1 offering sheep worth 1 shekel silver. On the day they bathed, 1 measure of beer for the feast. On the day she left, 20 litres of bread, second-class beer, and 1 offering sheep worth 1 shekel silver. On the day he entered my house, 1 sheep worth 2 shekels silver was slaughtered, 1 measure of barley flour was baked, 2 second-class beers were poured. He was entering my house for 4 months and his daily commons were 10 litres of bread, 20 litres of beer, 1 second-class beer. Over 4 months: 4 bushels of bread, 8 bushels of beer, 60 second-class beer; 10 litres fine oil worth 10 shekels, 10 litres sesame-oil worth 1 shekel, his ointment. . . .

Source: Postgate, J. N. (1992). *Early Mesopotamia: Society and economy at the dawn of history*. London and New York: Routledge.

corrupt, and hence the family was to provide a refuge from sin. During the Christian period, polygamy was largely banned, inheritance laws tightened to reflect the priority of the official wife, and divorce was widely eliminated. Penalties for bastardy and adultery were increased and monogamy encouraged.

The idea that the family could ameliorate social disorder is a recurrent one through much of world history, and continues right through to the twentieth century. In fascist nations such as Spain and Italy, modernity was feared and the traditional mother was frequently constructed as the bastion of familial and hence national

*The basic discovery about any people is the discovery of the relationship between its men and its women.* • PEARL S. BUCK (1892–1973)

order. The family came to be seen as a symbol of the state, and the strong and unified family became linked to national stability. This is a broad theme, and most nationalist discourse invoked the family as a basic unit of the nation-state. A few examples will illuminate this: In colonial India, domesticity in the Hindu household came to be seen as a bulwark against the West. In Ireland, the family was seen as the defining point of Irish culture, and a defense against English influence. In later socialist nations, the family was seen as both the building block for the nation and the symbol of socialist strength.

Challenges to the stability of the family were increasingly constrained by law and custom. In the Qing dynasty in China (1644–1912), for example, the throne could be passed to the son of a concubine. More generally, however, social order was sought through the establishment of the legal family, and land was passed down through the legitimate sons, especially the eldest son. Access to divorce, too, was tightened. In France, the Civil Code (1804) strengthened the patriarchal model of the family and made divorce extremely difficult—a man who was

adulterous could only be divorced if he brought his mistress into the family home.

## Gender and Family

If marriage and family was the experience of most men, women, and children, it was understood differently depending on gender. In precolonial Australia and Africa, a sexual division of labor operated, though food production and distribution was shared. This meant that the labor of all adults was valued and men and women contributed to the economic and ritual aspects of family life. Similarly, in the early Christian period, men and women both had access to land and the means of production, though overall there is speculation that the rise of agriculture may have created or enhanced the gendered division of family roles.

In China, the Song women of the thirteenth century had considerably stronger rights within marriage than did their later counterparts. Women were generally allowed to remarry if widowed, they retained control over their dowries, and they could inherit property. This period saw the spread of foot-binding among elite

women; however, in general women had greater freedoms than they were to have in China in later periods.

In Europe, too, in the late Middle Ages women became increasingly constrained by concepts of marriage that excluded them from public office and the ownership of property. Within the concept of marriage, the wife was to be legally subject to her husband. This had strong practical implications: On divorce, all goods and properties belonged to the



**A Hindu marriage ceremony in the late 1800s.**



husband, and only in exceptional circumstances could women sue, borrow or loan money, make contracts, or go to court. Under the renewal of Roman law, the father also retained all rights to children. The early modern period saw increasing restrictions on women, particularly married women.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the gendered division of labor meant that tasks and roles within the family were strictly divided. In general, the husband was the worker, the wage earner, and the supporter and protector of the family. Ideally, the male worker was supposed to earn enough to support not only himself, but his whole family as well. For women, marriage, reproduction, and housewifery were increasingly seen as their natural and indeed only vocations. The restriction of women to the domestic sphere of marriage and family had severe and long-lasting repercussions, including the lack of civil and public rights.

### **Changes to the Family**

In demographic and social terms the shape and size of the family began to change toward the end of the nineteenth century. For most women across the world, marriage and family had meant an almost continuous cycle of pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding. In wealthy nations, a decline in married fertility began in the mid- to late nineteenth century, as awareness of rudimentary birth control including abstinence spread. This change was not necessarily instigated by new technology, but by the knowledge that it was socially and economically advantageous to have fewer children. This pattern has slowly trickled down to other regions, and since the 1970s, developing nations have seen their birthrates decline, though not as notably as in developed regions.

In general, the decline in family size has been voluntary, with families preferring to educate fewer children, and with women gaining careers and interests outside of the home and family. In contrast, China has manufactured its fertility decline to a remarkable extent. From 1979, the Chinese government has coerced families to follow the “one child” policy, through a mixture of social and economic encouragements and disincentives. The one-child family would receive a range of rewards, from

cash bonuses to priorities for childcare, education, housing, and medical care.

### **The “New” Family**

Under the influence of the various stages of feminism, many Western women gained rights during marriage and within the family, including the right to divorce and child maintenance. Across the continents, other women did too. From 1931, Mao Zedong forbade arranged marriages and loosened up divorce legislation, and in 1950, China offered women equal rights to divorce and property entitlements. Eastern European socialist states gave women the right to paid employment, but did not reduce the burdens in the home: Shopping, cooking, and housework were still the responsibility of women.

The twentieth century has also seen wide and varied changes to what we mean by the term “family,” and in particular a challenge to the idea of the nuclear family. If in the past, marriages were most frequently ended by death of one of the spouses, more recently rates of divorce have skyrocketed. Divorce is in itself not new: In Muslim Southeast Asia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, over 50 percent of marriages ended in a simple divorce. The scope of divorce has, however, increased. In the United States, one in two marriages ends in divorce, and in both China and the Arab world, the divorce rate is now one in four. Our ideas about what it means to be a family have shifted rapidly, with one-half of American children now living with only one of their biological parents. Many Western couples live together before marriage or indeed never marry at all, and same-sex unions (whether marriages or partnerships) have also increased.

In conclusion, the terms *family* and *marriage* are not static or fixed, but are fluid and changing, dependent on society, culture, and the economy. What remains continuous, however, is the importance of families in all their forms to social and political organization, to the individuals who live within them, and to the study of world history.

*Lisa Featherstone*

*See also* Kinship; Social History

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## Marx, Karl

(1818–1883)

GERMAN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER

Karl Marx's extensive critique of capitalism as an economic and social system driven by class conflict, exploitation, and alienation and his vision of its replacement in the logic of history by a humane, egalitarian, and democratic Communism found worldwide resonance after his death and fundamentally altered the way large numbers of intellectuals, workers, and peasants regarded

### Karl Marx: A Regular Contributor to the *New York Daily Tribune*

The philosopher, social scientist, historian and revolutionary, Karl Marx (1818–1883), is without a doubt the most influential socialist thinker to emerge in the nineteenth century. Although he was largely ignored by scholars in his own lifetime, his social, economic and political ideas gained rapid acceptance in the socialist movement after his death. Until the recent dissolution of the Soviet Union almost half the population of the world lived under regimes that claim to be Marxist.

While Marx's most famous work is no doubt *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), he was also a regular contributor to a U.S. paper, *The New York Daily Tribune*. Between 1854–1861—well after the publication of *The Communist Manifesto*, the *Daily Tribune* published nearly two hundred articles by Marx about events in Europe.

Source: Retrieved August 27, 2004, from <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/subject/newspapers/new-york-tribune.htm>

historical change and social and political struggle. The power of his analysis and its fervent call to action inspired revolutionary parties and movements to overthrow governments in Russia, China, Vietnam, Cuba, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique. The success of those revolutions shaped key features of the twentieth-century world and called more attention to his writings, but Marx himself would probably not have endorsed much of what was done in his name. When he read how French Marxists were applying his ideas he told his son-in-law Paul Lafargue, "If anything is certain, it is that I myself am *not* a Marxist!" (Marx and Engels 1993a, 353).

With interests spanning philosophy, journalism, political agitation, economic theory, and satire, Marx had an astonishing capacity for rapidly assimilating everything he read and for setting his ideas on paper. In addition to keeping voluminous notebooks, he published major works in economics, philosophy, and political analysis. A profound and systematic thinker who was by

## Selection from Karl Marx's "Theses on Feuerbach," 1845

II. The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a *practical* question. Man must prove the truth, that is, the reality and power, the this-sidedness of his thinking in practice. The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking which is isolated from practice is a purely *scholastic* question.

III. The materialist doctrine that men are products of their circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men who change circumstances and that it is essential to educate the educator himself. . . . The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as revolutionising practice.

VIII. Social life is essentially *practical*. All mysteries which mislead theory into mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice.

XI. The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point is to *change* it.

Source: Tucker, R. (Ed.). (1972) *The Marx-Engels reader* (pp. 108–109). New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

nature an optimist, Marx believed that ideas should be employed to change the world and that, if theory is to be at all meaningful, theory has to inform practice. In line with that thinking, he was active in radical politics most of his life.

As a young man, Marx studied philosophy and received a doctorate from the University of Berlin in 1841. Because his radical ideas barred him from a university career in Prussia (the largest German state), he went to work as a journalist in Cologne, but Prussian authorities closed the popular newspaper he edited in March 1843. Immigrating to Paris, he became attracted to French socialist groups and met his lifelong collaborator, the

*Workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose  
but your chains.* • KARL MARX (1818–1883)

German socialist Friedrich Engels. Expelled from Paris for subversive journalism in 1845, Marx traveled to Brussels, Belgium, where he founded Communist correspondence committees and continued writing. Involved in an organization of radical artisans, in 1848 he and Engels published what became his most widely read work, the *Communist Manifesto*. In it Marx outlined his views on the necessity of economic and political revolution, the role of modes of production, exploitation and class struggle in history, and the inevitability of Communism arising out of capitalism. Soon after its publication, revolutions exploded across Europe, overthrowing or threatening governments in France, Austria, Prussia, and Belgium. Marx moved back to Cologne to edit another popular newspaper, but authorities closed it as well, and he fled Germany in 1849, finally landing in England, where he remained for the rest of his life.

Believing that fresh revolutions were about to break out in Europe, Marx wrote articles about the significance of the 1848 revolutions and was active in the Communist League in London. Disagreements about the timing of a revolutionary uprising led to a split in the league, and Marx retired from active politics for the next decade. Marx spent most the 1850s and 1860s researching history, politics, and economics in the British Library, taking volumes of notes for his monumental study of the operation and history of capital, the first volume of which he published in 1867. During this time his family lived in near poverty, and Marx declared that his dedication to finishing *Capital* caused him to have “sacrificed health, happiness, and family” (Marx and Engels 1993b, 366). Such an admission must have pained him greatly because his greatest joy in life was his family. A gruff and blunt public debater, Marx was considerate, generous, and playful within his family. His only regular source of income, however, was his articles on contemporary politics for the *New York Tribune*, a radical newspaper with the largest circulation in North America. Marx also received money from Engels to make ends meet, and his income would have been adequate for his family, but he and his wife, Jenny, had bouts of extravagance and generosity that caused continual financial crises. With a sense of irony

## Selection from *The Communist Manifesto*, 1848

[I]f the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

[T]he Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. **WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

Source: Tucker, R. (Ed.). (1972). *The Marx-Engels reader* (pp. 352–353, 362). New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

Marx would often reflect that he, who wrote so much on capital, had so little talent in managing it. In 1864 an inheritance from his mother and a bequest from a friend, along with an annuity given him by Engels in 1869, finally brought financial relief.

Marx cofounded the International Working Men's Association (also known as the "First International") in 1864, bringing together revolutionaries from Europe and North America who sought the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of an economic and political commonwealth. Marx's health deteriorated after a partial stroke in 1873, and he became less and less capable of the sustained intellectual and political effort that had characterized his life.

Marx never finished *Capital*, his life's work. Volumes 2 and 3 were left as manuscripts, which Engels edited

after Marx's death, and the other five volumes that Marx envisaged never were even drafted. Still, Marx will be remembered for the scope of his historical and social vision as well as for his contributions to economic and social thought and to revolutionary theory and practice. As a young man he once mused, "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it" (Marx and Engels, 1993c, 3). His work inspired countless others to see his point.

Alexander M. Zukas

See also Communism and Socialism; Political Thought

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## Marxism

See Communism and Socialism; Marx, Karl; Revolutions, Communist

*The free press is the mother of all our liberties  
and of our progress under liberty.*

• ADLAI E. STEVENSON (1835–1914)

## Mass Media

Mass media—communications media intended to reach large numbers of people—have played an important role in world history, rousing populations in various times and places to resist governmental or other oppression and calling those in power to account. It is not surprising that in many countries rulers have refused to permit a free press, and journalists have even been killed for speaking out. In some countries the media are nothing more than the official voice of those in power, whereas in others the media have served as the voice of resistance or even revolution.

### The First Print Mass Media

Perhaps the first newspaper was the *Acta Diurna* (Daily Transactions) in ancient Rome. Julius Caesar decided to make the proceedings of the government available to the citizenry, and starting in 59 BCE, they were posted in public places. Later versions were called the *Acta Urbana* (Transactions of the City) or the *Acta Senatus* (Transactions of the Senate). These news sheets were hand-copied by scribes, probably on papyrus, and they were undoubtedly subject to government oversight and control. Good news about the Roman empire was much more likely to appear in print than bad news. In addition to the daily doings of those in power, the *Acta* contained birthday and wedding announcements and information about new buildings being dedicated. Later emperors expanded the role of the *Acta*, using them to disseminate favorable stories about themselves or unfavorable stories about particular rivals. The *Acta* seem to have been very popular and to have reached a wide audience; those who could not read stood waiting until someone (a professional town crier or literate passerby) would read the news aloud. The orator and historian Tacitus (c. 56–c. 120 CE) wrote in his *Annals* that people from all walks of life eagerly read the various *Acta*, and political leaders found them an invaluable resource.

Another ancient empire that made use of something resembling a newspaper was Tang-dynasty China (618–

907 CE), where the *Di bao* (Court Gazette) contained news gathered by various members of the governing elite. Originally intended for members of the imperial court, it was later expanded to include the intellectuals, but unlike the *Acta*, it was not posted anywhere that the general public could read it. By the time of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), newspapers received wider dissemination, but the elites still wanted information restricted to a select few and wanted control over what the general public read. It was not until the 1800s that the newspaper industry in China began to flourish.

### Early European News Sources

Although the Chinese inventor Bi Sheng had developed a method of printing using movable wood blocks around 1041, Europe did not make use of moveable type until Johannes Gutenberg developed his printing press around 1438.

Prior to the mid-1800s, European publications that reported on news events were called by various names. One of the oldest forms of publication to survive is the *coranto*; the first *coranto* was published in Amsterdam in December 1620 and was more of a pamphlet than what we would today call a newspaper. Most of the *corantos* were published in Dutch. They focused on business news and on political news that might affect business. Amsterdam was a very cosmopolitan city, with merchants who traveled throughout the known world. They wanted to know what was going on in other countries where they might engage in commerce. As a result, *corantos* became very popular; at one period in the mid-1600s there were as many as eight weeklies or biweeklies, bringing news from Africa, Asia, Italy, Germany, and elsewhere.

In Italy there was the *gazette*, a weekly news sheet that seems to have originated in Venice in the mid-1500s (although some historians question the date, as they also question whether the sheet really took its name from the coin *gazeta* with which one paid for it). *Gazettes*, like *corantos*, contained business and political news and were read both by the general public and by the many

*Good news may be told at any time, but ill in the morning.* • GEORGE HERBERT (1593–1633)

merchants who came to Italy. In Germany there were weeklies as early as 1615, and a daily newspaper, the *Leipziger Zeitung* (Leipzig Newspaper), began in 1660. These newspapers covered politics, culture, and science, and provided important information during the Thirty Years' War. But the German press was frequently subjected to restrictions by the government.

In Paris, as early as 1488, there were *occasionnels*—government leaflets about four pages in length. Mostly published in Lyon and Paris, they were mainly brief summations of what the government was doing. From about 1529 there were also the *canards*, publications of a more sensational and sometimes polemical nature. French exiles living in Amsterdam published broadsides that criticized the intolerance of King Louis XIV; these publications were called *lardons* (“jibes”), and the exiles, mostly Huguenots, had them smuggled into France during the late 1690s. Early in 1777, Paris gained its first daily newspaper, the *Journal de Paris* (Newspaper of Paris), but the government maintained strict control over what could be printed. An underground press existed for dissenting voices. There were also some women who participated in journalism, publishing a monthly newspaper called the *Journal des Dames* (The Ladies' Newspaper), which first appeared in 1759. Its editors believed in “the female public's right—and obligation—to be informed about controversial matters” (Landes 1988, 58–59). Unfortunately, as with other newspapers of that time, it frequently encountered government censorship, as well as resistance to its call for greater female participation in public life. It ceased publication in 1778.

In Spain under King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, all printers had to be licensed. The first Spanish newspaper was probably the *Correos de Francia, Flandres y Alemania* (News of France, Flanders and Germany), founded by Andres de Almansa y Mendoza in 1621. In Spain's colony in Mexico, the *Gaceta de Mexico y Noticias de Nueva España* (Mexico Gazette and the News of New Spain), regarded by some as Mexico's first newspaper, appeared in January 1722, published by Juan Ignacio María de Castorena y Ursúa, who later became Bishop of Yucatan.

In England the earliest surviving newspaper, from September 1621, is the *Weekly Newes from Italy, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, France and the Low Countreys*. It followed the format of the Dutch *corantos* and at first carried mostly business news, although gradually it expanded to include natural disasters, wars, and so forth. In 1641 reports from Parliament were issued for the first time. The first daily was the *Daily Courant*, founded by Samuel Buckley in March 1702. Magazines such as the *Tatler* also began to proliferate around this time; they offered opinions about current events. As demand for newspapers and news publications continued to increase, so did government restrictions, sometimes indirectly, through excessive taxes on printers, and sometimes directly, with dissenting presses being shut down entirely. After a brief period of relative freedom during the 1640s, when journalists could even criticize the king and hundreds of pamphlets and news sheets were seen in London, press censorship was reimposed by Oliver Cromwell in 1655. The same sort of control occurred in the British colonies. The first newspaper in North America, *Publick Occurrences*, was published in September 1690 and was immediately shut down. The next colonial American newspaper, the *Boston News-Letter*, appeared in 1704 and had to submit itself to the British censors in order to continue publishing. It survived for the next seventy-two years by avoiding controversy and not criticizing the monarchy. European immigrants to North America from other countries also established newspapers. The first to appear, a German-language paper, was *Philadelphische Zeitung* (Philadelphia Newspaper), which was begun in 1732.

## **Print Media in the British Empire**

Throughout the British empire, English was the preferred language for journalism, since most of the newspapers were founded by entrepreneurs from Great Britain. This excluded everyone who could only read in the vernacular, but it did help any local journalists who were fluent in English to get hired. In Calcutta, India, James Augustus Hickey started the *Bengal Gazette* in Jan-

uary 1780. To help cover the expenses of publishing, he began taking advertisements, but the newspaper still lasted only two years, due in large part to Hickey's controversial reporting about the governor-general. Even in a faraway place, the British government took a dim view of criticism by the press. Although the *Bengal Gazette* is regarded by some as the first Indian newspaper, other sources note that in 1777 a member of the Parsi community named Rustomji Kashaspathi founded a newspaper called the *Bombay Courier*. A few newspapers in local languages did begin to emerge in the 1800s, but the most influential newspapers were English-language papers. Among the best-known was the *Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce*, founded in 1838; today it is known as the *Times of India*, a name it began using in 1851.

In Canada the first newspaper appeared in March 1752; the *Halifax (Nova Scotia) Gazette* began as a two-page tabloid, with news from England, Europe, and other British colonies. Its founder was the printer John Bushell. Although it was published in Canada, it did not cover local births, deaths, or marriages until about 1769; most of what it printed at first was material aimed at government officials, merchants, and the military. More local in its focus was the *Toronto Globe* (today the *Globe and Mail*), founded by Scottish émigré George Brown in 1844. The *Globe* sent correspondents all over eastern Canada to cover the news. And in Montréal, the *Gazette* began in 1778 as a French-language newspaper, switched to a bilingual format, and finally became all English in 1822.

In Australia one of the first newspapers was the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, founded in 1803. Three British men who had worked there, Alfred Stephens, Frederick Stokes, and William McGarvie, went on to found the *Sydney Herald* (today the *Sydney Morning Herald*) in 1831. The *Herald*, originally a weekly and only four pages long, expanded and became a daily in 1840.

Cape Town, South Africa, had a newspaper as early as 1800; the founders of the *Cape Town Gazette* were Alexander Walker and John Robertson, and it published

articles in both English and Afrikaans. There was no black newspaper in South Africa until 1884, when *Imvo Zabantsundu* (Xhosa: Native Opinion) appeared for the first time. Founded by black journalist John Tengo Jabavu, it published in the Xhosa language and English, and was unique in addressing current events and politics from a black perspective and in giving black poets and essayists a way to get their ideas into print.

## Historical Censorship of Print Media

The excuse often given for government censorship of the press has been that journalism is unreliable, and in its formative years, there may have been some truth to this claim, since some of the news sheets were filled with unfounded rumors, and some writers used sensationalism to attract an audience. But the real problem for the ruling classes was that the press began taking sides in political issues. Many readers saw the newspapers as a way to learn perspectives that differed from the official version given by those in power. Then, as now, the powers-that-be had their own "official" publication. The rulers often hoped theirs would be the only version, but in England, to give one good example, other publications developed, some of which questioned the government. There were ongoing tensions between the rulers and the publishers: Rulers didn't mind getting some positive publicity from a newspaper, such as when in 1622 King James I of Britain explained in print why he had decided to dissolve parliament. But monarchs often tried to shut down newspapers that they perceived as too critical. In France printers and publishers were sometimes arrested and flogged for publications deemed seditious or defamatory. In at least one case, in England in 1584, a Catholic printer, William Carter, was sentenced to death because it was believed that an allegorical story he had written in one of his widely disseminated books was really an attack on the queen's Protestant faith.

Despite the best efforts of various European monarchs to muzzle the press, journalists continued to make their opinions known, and as the years passed, reporters and columnists showed they could shape public opinion. In

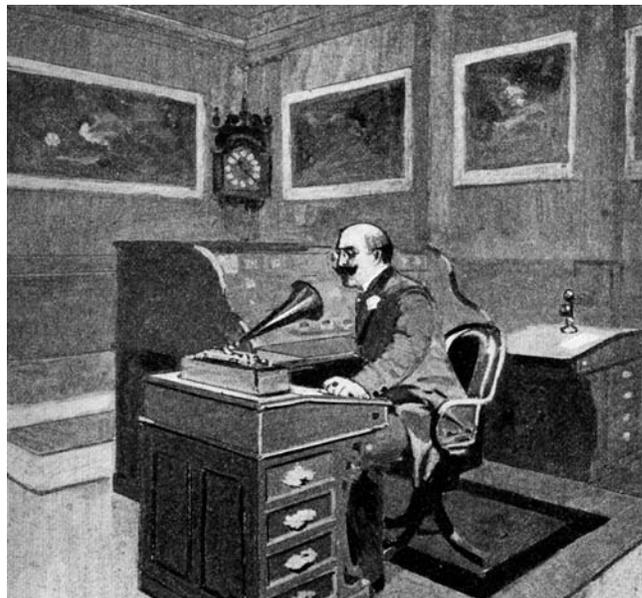
**An editor dictating into a phonograph,  
middle step between writing and the  
personal computer.**

England the influence of the press grew so much that by the early 1800s, British journalists were being referred to as the “fourth estate,” in reference to the three classes (or estates) of society: the nobility, the clergy, and the common people. It was suggested that in addition to the original three, there should be added a fourth, the journalists, who were in some ways the most influential of all, since their telling of a story could bring praise or disapproval from thousands of people.

**Freedom of the Press and  
Sensationalist Journalism**

The idea of freedom of the press was advocated by scholars and poets from at least as early as the poet John Milton’s famous *Areopagitica: A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing* to the Parliament of England, in 1644, but it wasn’t until the mid to late 1700s that any countries created laws to formally protect journalists. Scandinavia led the way in 1766, with Sweden being the first country to abolish censorship and introduce a law guaranteeing freedom of the press, followed by Denmark and Norway in 1770. Freedom of the press became part of the newly independent United States’ Bill of Rights—the first ten amendments to its constitution—which was ratified in 1791.

Earlier centuries had seen the occasional publication of unfounded rumors or sensationalist stories, but in the nineteenth century, as newspapers proliferated, so did some of those excesses. Perhaps the most disturbing was “yellow journalism.” Named after a character in a U.S. comic strip, the “Yellow Kid,” in its milder forms it was just a preoccupation with scandal, rumor, and sensationalism. The Canadian journalist James Creelman was well-known in the late 1800s for his dramatic and hyperbolic writing. As a correspondent for several New York newspapers, he reported from dangerous places, while interviewing some of the most controversial newsmakers of his day in a “you are there” style. The style of writing was very exaggerated and filled with words that made it seem as if the writer was in mortal danger just for writing the story. Creelman was what his age would have considered shocking—when he wrote about atrocities during the Sino-Japanese war, for example, his narratives



were so graphic that people could not believe such horrible things were true. He was among that era’s best known correspondents, and saw himself as a truth-teller. In England, William T. Stead, the publisher of London’s *Pall Mall Gazette*, reacted against what he saw as the blandness of the British press by creating a strategy to appeal to the working-class person rather than the educated elite. He began using screaming headlines and more illustrations, as well as actively crusading against a variety of social problems that affected the poor; for example, in the mid-1880s, the *Gazette* did a series on child prostitution, at that time called “white slavery,” showing how easy it was for poor children to be exploited. At that time standards were quite different, and even writing about prostitutes was considered in questionable taste. The pages of the *Gazette* enabled Stead to advocate for a number of causes, including women’s suffrage and his era’s antiwar movement. Yellow journalism was eventually seen as negative by the public when journalists began to compete with each other at being more sensational and more graphic—again, within the limitations of the era, in which “bad language” was not permitted no matter what.

Sensational reporting sold newspapers, but yellow journalism could also have serious consequences. In an era before the concept of objective reporting had been enshrined in the journalist’s vocabulary, many newspapers were unashamedly partisan. This could be a mixed blessing. In Hungary, for example, there was revolution in the air in 1848, as many Hungarians wanted inde-

*Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost.* • THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743–1826)

pendence from Austria. It was the press that led the charge, thanks in large part to Lajos Kossuth, a lawyer whose views were considered radical by those in power. A fiery orator and writer, Kossuth used his position as editor-in-chief of the underground *Pesti Hirlap* (Newspaper from Pest) to promote nationalism and lead the drive for independence. While encouraging nationalism had a positive result in this case, there were other occasions when stirring up nationalistic fervor did more harm than good. The Spanish-American war in 1898 was largely attributed to newspaper owner William Randolph Hearst, who encouraged his reporters to inflame the U.S. public to support a war that most modern historians agree need never have been fought.

## **Telegraphy and Wire Services**

The mid- to late 1800s saw further expansion of journalism throughout the world. Technology was partly responsible: Steam driven locomotives now carried people to other cities more quickly, which was good news for reporters trying to cover an assignment. Better news was the invention of the telegraph, which made communicating from distant points infinitely faster. In both Europe and North America, new companies were founded to serve as resources for gathering news. The first news agency was founded in 1832 by Charles-Louis Havas; named Agence Havas, it originally translated the newspapers from foreign countries but by 1835 expanded to cover events around the globe. The government continually monitored it, but Agence Havas became a reliable resource for French-language newspapers. It survives to this day under the name of Agence France Presse. In May 1848 the Associated Press (AP) opened in New York. Founded by David Hale and James Gordon Bennett, it offered its U.S.-affiliated newspapers access to news dispatches from all over North America. In 1858 AP was able to receive dispatches from Europe for the first time, via transoceanic cable.

As use of the telegraph expanded, it became possible for the newspapers to receive and disseminate news on the same day, even from distant colonial outposts. This contributed to the impact journalism had on a society

that increasingly sought more information about world events. In Europe, in October 1851, a German immigrant working in London, Paul Julius von Reuter, began sending stock market quotations between London and Paris via cable. Prior to telegraphy, he had used the so-called “pigeon post,” sending the information via carrier pigeons. His new company, Reuters, quickly expanded, offering news-gathering services similar to those of the Associated Press. The British press were among his first customers, but soon Reuters had affiliates throughout Europe. In 1865 Reuters was the first European news service to have the story that President Lincoln had been assassinated. Other European countries also established their own news-gathering organizations, often because of demands from businesses for global information that might affect them. Outside of Europe, the new technology was slow to arrive, so newspapers such as Australia’s *Sydney Herald* still relied on news from ships until transoceanic cables were successfully laid and telegraph connections were established in major Australian cities, between 1858 and the mid-1870s.

A lack of modern telegraphy was also a problem in China. The Qing government appeared not to see the need for telegraph cable until it fought a war with Russia in the 1870s. Lack of speedy communication hampered treaty negotiations and led to several unfavorable treaties. The public was outraged, and this provided the impetus to begin expansion: From 1884 to 1899, 27,500 kilometers of cable was laid. The encroachment of other countries on China’s sovereignty and territory led to a feeling of nationalism that manifested itself in the establishment of many newspapers and magazines from the 1860s through the 1880s. In the rest of the world, certain Latin American countries laid down telegraph lines in the 1850s, as did the Ottoman empire, and lines were laid down in European colonies as well.

## **Radio and Television**

The 1900s brought yet another dramatic change in journalism, as a result of another technological advance. The inventors Guglielmo Marconi and Nikola Tesla were both experimenting with wireless communication, or what would later be called radio. It is generally agreed

upon that the first broadcast was an experiment done by a Canadian engineer, Reginald Fessenden, on Christmas Eve 1906 in Massachusetts.

Some of the earliest commercial radio stations worldwide were operated by corporations, with the hope of selling merchandise or radio equipment. In North America, one of the first stations was XWA (later CFCE) in Montreal, owned by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company; it went on the air in December 1919. Another early station, KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was owned by Westinghouse, which manufactured electronic equipment, while another, 8MK (later WWJ) in Detroit, Michigan, was owned by a newspaper, the *Detroit News*. At least one early North American station—WIAE in Vinton, Iowa—was owned in 1922 by a woman, Marie Zimmerman. Mexico got its first station

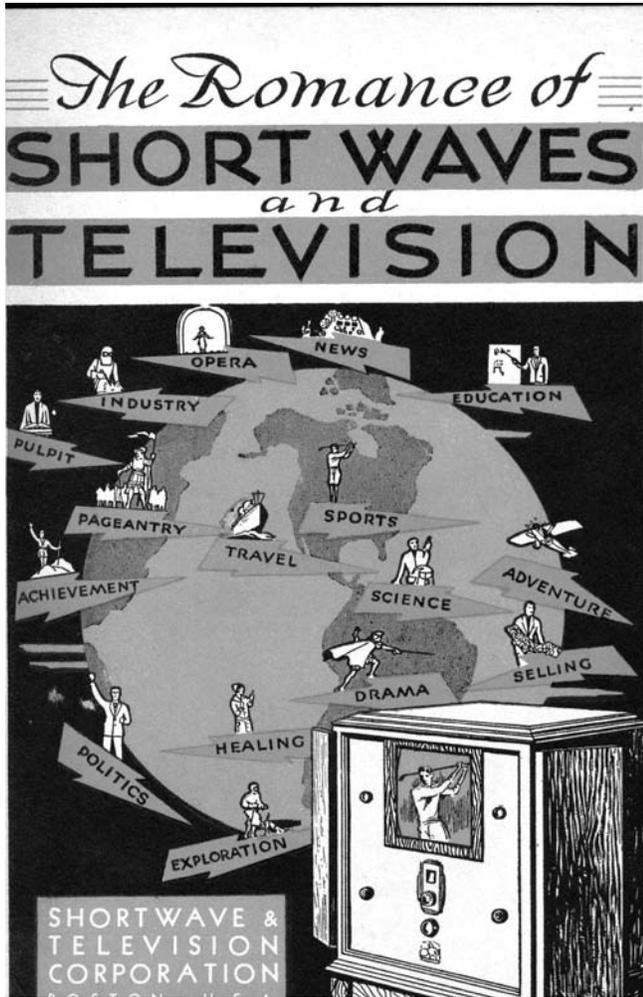
in December 1923, when CYL took to the air, owned jointly by two businessmen, Raul and Luis Azcarraga, and the Mexico City newspaper *El Universal* (The Universal). Puerto Rico's first commercial station, WKAQ, went on the air from San Juan in 1922, started by Joaquin Agusty, who was well known for his work with amateur radio. And one of the first radio stations in Cuba was PWX, owned by the Cuban Telephone Company in Havana; American radio fans reported hearing its powerful signal in 1922.

News was broadcast at a few stations in 1921 and 1922, and live sporting events were also broadcast during that time. But the staple of American programming was music. At first, because many of the owners were from the upper class, they felt their duty was to educate and to offer "good" music (opera and classical, as opposed to jazz, which they felt was vulgar), but gradually the public demand for dance and popular music won out at most stations. Radio was unique because it was the first mass medium to bring people an event as it was happening, and it also provided the poor and people of color access to places from which they were often excluded. With radio, people could hear the greatest vocalists, learn from famous professors, or just enjoy the hit songs in the privacy of the home. Radio helped to create a common culture, as certain songs or certain performers became popular across the country.

Early radio broke down borders in other ways too: Signals carried great distances, and listeners competed to see who could receive stations from the farthest away. In 1921 Eunice Randall, the first women announcer in Massachusetts, told a newspaper that she had received fan mail from people who heard her in London. Radio magazines such as *Radio News* began printing lists of stations from foreign countries, so that listeners could write down the ones they heard. And it was not just in North America that radio changed people's lives. *Radio News* reported in September 1925 how broadcasting was affecting the peasants in an impoverished Russian village. A radio and loudspeakers had been set up in a



**A typical *Radio News* cover from 1923.**



**A rare 1930 cover photo of a brochure from one of the early mechanical TV stations. Early TV was marketed as being magical and amazing and maybe even romantic, despite only having a 2-3 inch TV screen on which to view things. This TV station, W1XAV, was owned by a company called Shortwave and Television (they were involved in both media).**

put the first stations on the air were able to afford to operate a radio station.

In many countries it was the government that operated the stations, which were supported by a receiver fee that listeners had to pay in order to own a radio receiving set. Great Britain was one such country. The British Broadcasting Company was founded in 1922, and the first station, 2LO, went on the air in November of that year. Right from the beginning, government interests tried to limit how much news could be broadcast, fearing that radio could influence the public's political views; newspapers also lobbied the government to restrict radio from doing news at all, since print journalists saw radio as competition.

As in Britain, in France, Denmark, and Germany the government quickly established control of broadcasting in the early 1920s. In at least one place, radio broadcasting was entirely controlled by the Catholic Church: Vatican City's first station was built in late 1930; the station would enable the pope spread his message worldwide.

In Argentina, a commercial station, Radio Argentina, was licensed in November 1923, and a high powered station, LPZ in Buenos Aires, was on the air in 1924. Argentina was also an excellent market for American-made radio receivers. In Peru, as early as July 1921, a government-run shortwave station in Lima was put on the air at the request of President Augusto Leguia; it mainly broadcast weather reports and other information useful to the military and the police. The first commercial station in Peru was probably OAX in Lima, which went on the air in June 1925, broadcasting entertainment and educational programming. Many stations in Latin America were run by private companies, and although they were sometimes subjected to government censorship, in general, they were free to broadcast.

In China, American and British businessmen seem to have set up the earliest radio stations; one of the first was

public listening room so that people could gather and hear the news of the world; crowds eagerly awaited these broadcasts so they could find out what was happening outside the confines of their village. Meanwhile, the government had just begun permitting private ownership of radio sets in Moscow, and already over 50,000 receivers were in use. By the mid-1920s, many European cities were hosting radio expositions at which the public could meet radio broadcasters and see the newest radio receiving equipment.

By late 1926 the United States' first national network was on the air—the National Broadcasting Company, or NBC. It was able to offer its affiliates excellent programs with famous performers because the network was entirely supported by advertisers, who often chose the talent and decided what got on the air—a prerogative that resulted in women being relegated to stereotypic roles and minorities seldom being hired at all. By the end of the 1920s, few of the small entrepreneurs who had

in Shanghai in 1922. But the government did not allow radio broadcasting to become widespread; by 1931 there were only eighteen stations operating in the entire country. In contrast, radio was welcomed in Japan, where amateurs had been demanding it since the early 1920s. Tokyo's JOAK was the first commercial station, going on the air in March 1925 and quickly followed by stations in Osaka and Nagoya. Nippon Hoso Kyokai (the Japan Broadcasting Association, or NHK) was established as the official national broadcasting company of Japan in 1926. Modeling itself after the BBC, it took control of the three stations on the air and continued to expand throughout the country.

During the 1930s, NHK was also involved with experiments in early television, as was the Soviet Union, which conducted experiments with television as early as 1931. There were TV broadcasts in the Netherlands in 1935, and Great Britain inaugurated its national service in November 1936: The first British television broadcast featured a song called "Magic Rays of Light," which certainly expressed the amazement people who witnessed it must have felt. Even prior to the establishment of electronic television, Great Britain was home to very primitive mechanical stations that broadcast sporadically in the late 1920s. A Scottish-born inventor, John Logie Baird, is regarded as the father of mechanical television in Great Britain, and he received considerable publicity despite the poor quality of the picture his system produced. In the United States, the inventor Charles Francis Jenkins was the father of mechanical television, and he too supervised some stations in the late 1920s. But it was the development of a far superior technology, electronic television (credited in the United States sometimes to an independent West-Coast inventor named Philo Farnsworth and sometimes to a corporate inventor who worked for RCA, Vladimir Zworykin), that eventually led to the United States' successful television industry.

Colonialism played a major role in the history of international broadcasting. Colonial governments set up radio stations (and later TV stations) and controlled their content, as they had with newspapers. Even stations that were set up as noncommercial were operated by and

often benefited corporate interests. The British Marconi Company, which wanted to sell receiving sets, attempted to open stations in Bombay (now Mumbai) and Calcutta, India, as early as 1922. An amateur organization in India, the Radio Club of Bombay, did some programming beginning in 1923, but the first commercial stations did not begin till 1927. When it became evident that World War II was on the horizon, interest grew in expanding the radio broadcasts to give the public more news and entertainment during difficult times. But a national service (All India Radio) did not flourish till India achieved independence in 1947. And in Central America, the United Fruit Company had great influence on what was broadcast, making sure news reports were favorable and nobody challenged the company's control over the banana industry. Even under colonial administration, nationalism could lead to conflicts about what should or should not be broadcast. In the British mandate of Palestine (present-day Israel), the British set up the Palestine Broadcasting Service in March 1936. Although BBC announcers trained the staff and programming was offered in Hebrew, Arabic, and English, neither Jews nor Arabs were happy with what was on the air. The same problem occurred in a number of other ethnically divided countries, where ethnic tensions played out in a struggle for control of the country's radio stations.

### **The Media Divide: Comparing Rich and Poor Nations**

One organization that has been monitoring trends in international media is UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), which held its first international conference on communication policies in 1974 in Costa Rica. At that conference, a declaration was issued, urging that in crafting their communications policies, nations should take into account national realities but also the promotion of free expression of thought and respect for individual and social rights. In subsequent conferences, declarations were made about the necessity of protecting the rights of journalists and giving all people—not just the rich and



the powerful—access to information. An international commission, with members from fifteen countries, convened in 1977 and began issuing reports on the state of the media. Their first report, *Many Voices, One World*, was issued in 1980 and was the first in-depth study of the media in both rich and poor countries. It identified disparities in access to media: In Africa, for example, 1976 statistics showed that only 3 percent of the population owned a radio, which was troubling because “[r]adio is of vital importance to developing countries because of [the] low penetration of newspapers into rural areas and . . . because of illiteracy on a mass scale” (MacBride 1980, 122–127). The commission also identified the countries that had kept pace with advances in communication technology—Japan, for example, composed only 5 percent of Asia’s population yet it had “66 percent of the press circulation, 46 percent of the radio receivers, 63 percent of the television sets and 89 percent of the telephones” (MacBride 1980, 122–127), according to 1979 research. The study found that while India had 835 different newspapers, 8 African countries had no daily newspaper at all, while others had only a weekly or a biweekly that was not distributed outside of main centers of population. Even in developed countries that had radio or newspapers or television, most of the coverage was about what was going on in the biggest cities. And although media consolidation was not the issue in 1980 that it is today, there was already evidence that a handful of elites controlled the communication in many countries. As the commission noted, issuing a declaration about press freedom or equal access did not mean that those goals would be reached or that governments would cooperate.

Since that first UNESCO report, more countries now have technology, and a growing number have Internet newspapers. Perhaps the first in Africa was the *Mail and Guardian Online*, started in South Africa in 1994. Saudi Arabia began an English-language service, *ArabNews Online*, around 1998; it was an offshoot of the English-language daily newspaper, *Arab News*, which had been established in 1975. What the average Saudi has access to remains limited. The ability to communicate in English

was desirable primarily for the elite, who were taught the language in private schools so they could engage in commerce with the West. The average person mainly went to religious schools, but the educated elite then and now were taught English. The fact that the on-line *Arab News* publishes in English provides it with the ability to reach out to educated Saudi expatriates as well as to American and British diplomats. The ruling class and the clerics in Saudi Arabia at first opposed modernizations such as radio, which by all accounts did not start till the 1930s—the clerics only accepted radio when King Abd al Aziz tied its use to the religious purpose of airing scriptural lessons and teaching illiterate people more about their religion. For those who have access to it, the Internet can provide a means of resisting tyranny. Women human rights activists in Afghanistan founded RAWA (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan) and made use of online communication and a website to mobilize supporters worldwide during the repressive Taliban regime of the 1990s. Even in countries in which the average citizen lacks access to the Internet, exiles are often able to use it to spread the word of what is happening in their country. It has become harder for repressive regimes to control information or prevent it from being disseminated.

## **Mass Media and Violence**

Being a journalist can be a dangerous occupation: The International Press Institute in Vienna stated that in 2003, sixty-four journalists were killed; nineteen of them died in Iraq and nine in Columbia. Also in 2003, the Committee to Protect Journalists named Iraq, Cuba, Zimbabwe, Turkmenistan, and Bangladesh as the most unsafe places for journalists. According to the CPJ, while Iraq was a war zone and any reporting from a war zone can be dangerous, the other countries had repressive governments that lock up and in some cases torture journalists whose opinions they do not like. In Haiti, where news is still spread by *teledjol* (word of mouth) and illiteracy is rampant, the government has tried to suppress the country’s radio stations: Jean Dominique, director of

*Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the liberty of the press is the palladium of all the civil, political, and religious rights.*

• JUNIUS (ATTRIBUTED TO SIR PHILIP FRANCIS 1740–1818)

a popular language station, denounced the government accused it of rigging the elections; he was gunned down in April 2000. The media have also been used by those in power to incite the population to violence. One especially egregious example of this occurred during the Rwandan genocide of 1994, when a government radio station, RTML, encouraged Hutus to murder members of the Tutsi minority. Radio broadcasts referred to Tutsis as “vermin” and “cockroaches” and repeatedly demonized them. Transcripts show that some announcers even pointed out where Tutsis were living and encouraged Hutus to kill them.

### **Looking to the Future**

In the Muslim world, the arrival of the cable news television station Al-Jazeera (Arabic: The Peninsula) in 1996 has been dramatic. Critics have called the Qatar-based station sensationalistic and biased and have accused it of stirring up anti-Jewish and anti-American sentiments in the Arab world. But many Muslims counter that it is the first network to report from a pro-Arab point of view. Unlike CNN or Fox, American cable networks with a decidedly American and Western viewpoint, Al-Jazeera called American forces in Iraq “occupiers” and referred to those who were fighting against the Americans not as “militants” but rather as “resistance fighters” or “martyrs.” Al-Jazeera has grown in size and influence in the years since its founding; it will be interesting to see the direction it takes in the years to come.

While globalization has affected how business is done worldwide, it has also affected the mass media. In the United States, deregulation of broadcast media began in the 1980s under President Ronald Reagan, culminating with the 1996 Telecommunications Act, signed by President Bill Clinton. The Telecom Act lifted restrictions on how many stations could be owned by one company. Rather than encouraging competition as proponents claimed it would, the end result was consolidation of power into the hands of a few giant media conglomerates, several of which (Clear Channel Communications, which soon owned over a thousand radio stations and a major concert promotion company; and News Corpora-

tion, owner of cable channel Fox News as well as numerous newspapers and magazines) had ties to conservative politics and the Republican party. In the buildup to the invasion of Iraq, critics accused these conglomerates of stifling dissenting views and only broadcasting coverage in favor of going to war. Similar media consolidation occurred in Canada, where in the period from 1985 to 2000, consolidation occurred in dramatic fashion. By 2000, 68 percent of all television stations were controlled by five giant companies, and one conglomerate, the Hollinger Corporation, soon owned or had a financial interest in 80 percent of Canada’s daily newspapers. Eventually, financial problems caused Hollinger to sell off many of those newspapers, but they were bought up by another conglomerate, CanWest. Media consolidation is also a fact of life in parts of Europe. In England, there has been increasing pressure on the government to relax media ownership laws. One major proponent of removing the limitations is Rupert Murdoch; in addition to owning the American conglomerate News Corporation, he also owns several British newspapers (including the *Times of London* and a tabloid, the *Sun*) and a satellite programming service called BSkyB (British Sky Broadcasting), as well as media properties in Australia. Murdoch has been accused by his critics of censoring news stories that are contrary to his political views. Meanwhile, in Italy, the controversial prime minister Silvio Berlusconi, also had ties to media ownership; companies owned by his family dominate Italian television, and he has attempted to pass legislation that would permit his conglomerate to expand its ownership of newspapers. He has also used his influence to make sure the state-run broadcaster RAI is controlled by a board of directors that is favorable to him. Critics have accused him of using his wealth to manipulate media coverage, in order to avoid having his questionable financial dealings scrutinized.

In other countries too, a similar trend towards consolidation can be seen. Where media were at one time comprised of government-run monopolies, the new concern is that commercial media conglomerates are stifling opposing voices in the same way that the state-run media once did.

*Let no one enter who does not know geometry.* • INSCRIPTION ON PLATO'S DOOR (C. 427–C. 347 BCE)

There are some hopeful media signs in countries where repression used to be a part of life. After the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, an era of comparative freedom of the press began in Russia. While the press has since been reigned in somewhat by the government of President Vladimir Putin, who took office in 2000, it is still far more free than it was in the era of Soviet rule. In Haiti radio stations that were shut down by the government have quietly reopened since the ouster of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 2004. And in Rwanda a new radio service promotes not hatred but friendship and entertainment. Similar to pop music radio stations in the United States, Rwanda Radio in Kigali has opportunities for listeners to call in, a morning talk show, modern pop music, and even a children's trivia contest in which the winners get to talk on the air. Young and articulate announcers offer listeners helpful information about health, and they also teach tolerance. Where radio had once been part of the problem, it is now trying to be part of the healing process.

*Donna L. Halper*

See also Computer; Radio; Telegraph and Telephone

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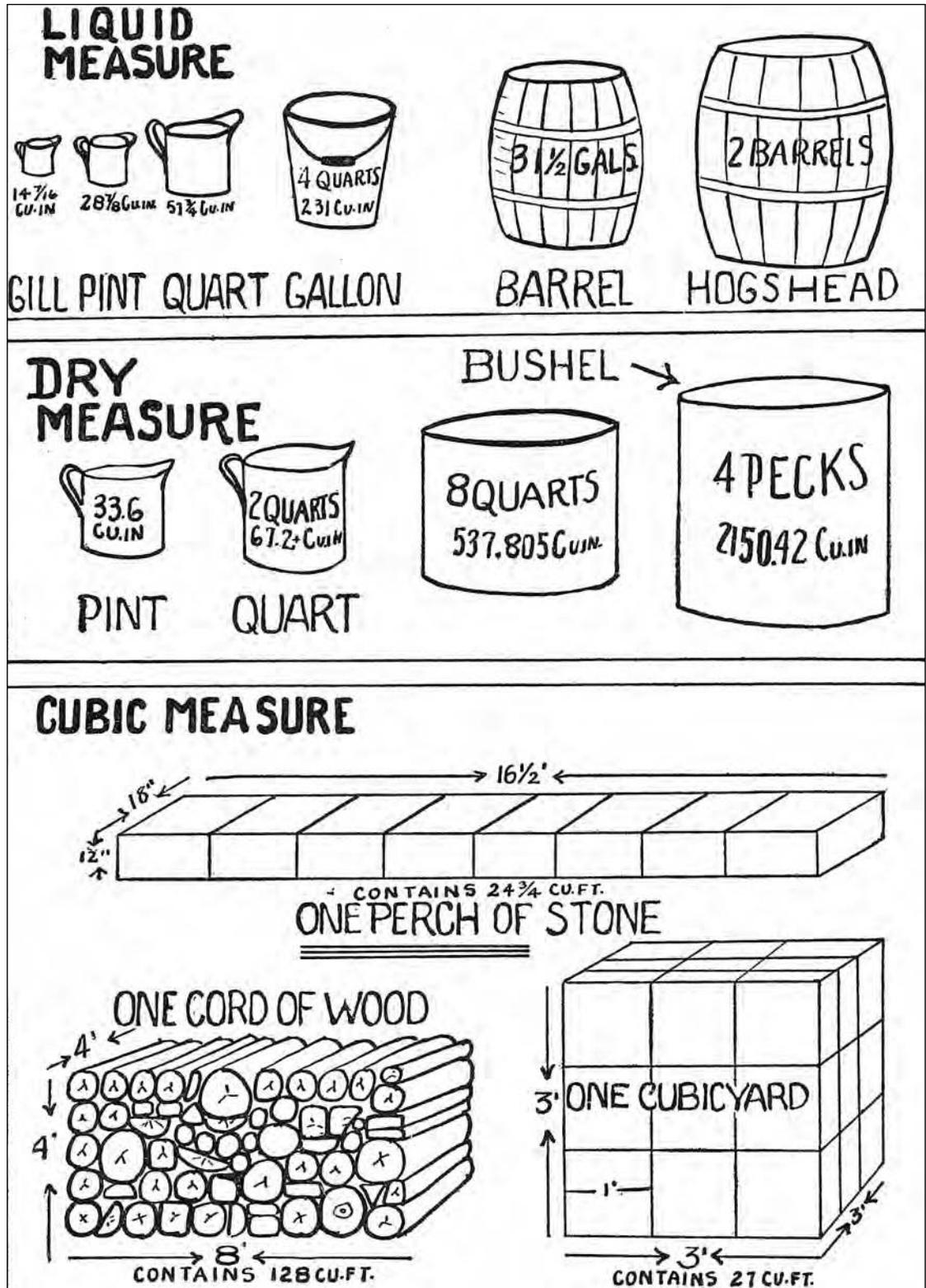
## Mathematics

The traditional history of mathematics became rigid at the turn of the twentieth century, reflecting the European global hegemony (influence) of that era. According to this traditional history the first mathematics worthy of the name arose in ancient Greece and led directly, but for the Dark Ages, toward the modern mathematics of Western universities today.

During the last fifty years historians of mathematics have broadened their subject's horizons. New historical evidence and changing attitudes toward other cultures have made this history of mathematics more complex and more global. Equally important have been changes in what is considered mathematics. The key to the study of a truly global history of mathematics has been flexibility in the definition of *mathematics* itself. The term *ethnomathematics* refers to the mathematical practices of a particular society and includes mathematical processes beyond the narrow academic sense, in recreations, art, numeration, and other fields. A more conceptually inclusive definition of *mathematics* has led directly to a more geographically inclusive history of mathematics. We can see the greatest diversity in mathematical practices by comparing counting systems around the world, such as the Incan quipu, a knot-tying system for recording numbers.

### Toward a Hellenistic Synthesis

Hundreds of well-preserved clay tablets (most dating from c. 1700 BCE) disclose the sexigesimal (base sixty) numeration system of ancient Mesopotamia, a system sufficient for the development of an ancient algebra. The sources for early Egyptian mathematics are far fewer. The earliest, the Ahmes Papyrus, is a copy of an earlier version from about 1900 BCE. In addition to developing an arithmetic distinctive for its reliance on unit fractions ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , etc.), Egyptians elaborated a practical computational geometry with methods for calculating the volume of a truncated pyramid and approximating the area of a circle.



A table of standard measures from an early twentieth-century encyclopedia.

Only recently have historians begun favorably to reevaluate the achievements of Mesopotamia and Egypt because none of their earliest mathematics adopted the deductive and theoretical approach of the Greeks—an approach that has become enshrined in modern definitions of mathematics. The Greeks themselves, however, explicitly acknowledged their debt to the Egyptians. Moreover, after the conquests of Alexander of Macedon spread Greek thought throughout southwestern Eurasia, a shared Hellenistic culture united the mathematicians of the new world order, and the great Greek geometer Euclid (early third century BCE) taught in the Egyptian capital Alexandria. The Hellenistic world witnessed an extraordinary synthesis of Greek deductive geometry with the algebraic and empirical mathematics of neighboring peoples.

### Indian Mathematics

The earliest Indian mathematics was expressly religious in purpose. The geometry developed in the *Sulbasutras* (technical appendices to the Vedas, c. 3000 BCE) adopted sophisticated techniques, including the Pythagorean theorem, for the proper orientation and construction of effective sacrificial altars. A hymn from the *Atharavaveda* (a Veda—the name translates to Sacred Knowledge of Magical Forms) describes a complex design of overlapping triangles for meditation.

Possibly during the Vedic (relating to Hindu sacred writings) period, and certainly by the seventh century CE (perhaps inspired by the counting boards brought by Chinese travelers), a decimal place-value system arose that in principle is like our own: Distinct numerals represented the numbers 0 through 9, and each instance of a numeral would be associated with a decimal scale based on its position in the number. (The first dated inscription of such a system, however, comes from Cambodia in 683.) Most early mathematical knowledge was preserved orally in verse.

The decline in Vedic sacrifices after about 500 BCE shifted the focus of Indian mathematics. The developing Buddhist and Jaina (relating to a religion of India originating in the sixth century BCE and teaching liberation of the soul) traditions involved large numbers. The collec-

tion of Buddhist texts *Samyutta Nikāya* (The Grouped Discourses), for example, defines a *kalpa* as a unit of time longer than that needed to erode a rock of one cubic mile by wiping it with silk once a century. The Jains worked with series and permutations, and they theorized that not all infinite numbers are equal, an insight that would elude Western mathematics until the nineteenth century. Only with the practical, commercial algebraic examples of the Bakhshali manuscript, composed in the first centuries CE, did Indian mathematics lose its primarily religious applications.

Later Indian mathematics would achieve breakthroughs in indeterminate equations, as well as in trigonometry and its application to astronomy. Algebraic work used Sanskrit letters abbreviating the names of colors to stand for unknown qualities, like the modern  $x$  and  $y$ , and until the modern period the use of letters of the alphabet to represent numerals would reinforce the poetry of Indian mathematics. The research on power series (series—sum of a sequence of terms—in which the terms follow a certain pattern and are infinite) for pi and trigonometric functions by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century mathematicians in Kerala in India anticipated many of the results achieved by the English physicist and mathematician Isaac Newton and the German philosopher and mathematician G. W. Leibniz—independently, or perhaps through the Portuguese—in the seventeenth century. Proofs and derivations of formulas were quite rare throughout the Indian mathematical tradition.

### Chinese Mathematics

The first existing numerals appeared on Chinese Shang dynasty (1766–1045 BCE) tortoise shells used for divination, which used symbols to indicate 1 through 10, 20s, 100s, and 1000s. The oldest treatise is the *Zhoubi Suanjing* (The Arithmetical Classic of the Gnomon and the Circular Paths of Heaven) (500–200 BCE), an archaic astronomy text that contains a demonstration of the Pythagorean theorem. In China counting rods were used for elementary arithmetical operations at least by the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE). China also boasts the earliest known magic squares, which are matrixes of numbers in

*There are  $10^{11}$  stars in the galaxy. That used to be a huge number.  
But it's only a hundred billion. It's less than the national deficit!  
We used to call them astronomical numbers. Now we should call  
them economical numbers.* • RICHARD FEYNMAN (1918–1988)

which every row, column, and major diagonal produces the same sum. Interest in magic squares as protective talismans encouraged their spread to Mongolia and Tibet, although they were limited in size to three by three until Yang Hui's work in the thirteenth century.

The principal classic source was the *Jiuzhang Suanshu* (Nine Chapters of the Mathematical Art), composed during the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). Eminently practical, its nine chapters included 246 problems treating land surveying, proportions of millet and rice, volumes of three-dimensional solids, and tax assessment. Some results were precocious, and the approaches to simultaneous linear equations closely approximated the methods later developed by the German mathematician and astronomer C. F. Gauss (1777–1855). The preeminence of this work sparked during later centuries numerous commentaries elucidating the often obscure explanations. If for some people the commentaries inhibited creative work, other people used the commentaries to introduce original research.

Although geometry largely stagnated at the level of the *Jiuzhang Suanshu*, Chinese scholars made important advances in algebra and arithmetic. During the fifth century Zu Chongzhi calculated pi to seven decimal places, an achievement first surpassed by the Indian mathematician Madhava around 1400. In 1247 the “0” sign for zero first appeared, and later in the century Guo Shoujing became the first Chinese mathematician to tackle spherical trigonometry. Both developments may have occurred under Arab or Indian influence. Zhu Shijie (1280–1303) presented the French scientist and philosopher Blaise Pascal's triangle and algebraic methods for solving simultaneous equations and equations of high degree. Only in the eighteenth century would European algebra catch up with Chinese.

## Islamic Mathematics

The Islamic 'Abbasid caliphate (the office or dominion of a Muslim spiritual leader) (750–1258 CE) sponsored missions to gather astronomical texts (and scholars) from a variety of cultures. Islamic mathematics had two major

sets of sources. The first consisted of Persian and Indian sources that featured prominently astronomical tables and an algebraic approach. The second set of sources was Hellenistic, sometimes transmitted through Syrian intermediaries and translations. In their deductive and abstract approach these works in the second, Hellenistic set of sources betray their Greek origins.

The most famous developer of the first Islamic mathematical tradition was al-Khwarizmi (c. 780–c. 850). His treatise *Hisab al-jabr w'al-muqabala* (Calculation by Completion and Balancing) gives us the word *algebra*, and his *Algorithimi* introduced the word *algorithm* and the Indian positional number system—which had probably first moved out of India with Nestorian (relating to a church separating from Byzantine Christianity after 431) Christians, who found it useful in calculating the date of Easter. In the second mathematical tradition Thabit ibn Qurra (c. 836–901) proved the Pythagorean theorem, attempted a proof of Euclid's parallel postulate, and made discoveries in mensuration (geometry applied to the computation of lengths, areas, or volumes from given dimensions or angles) and spherical trigonometry.

In addition to preserving these earlier texts in Arabic translation and making further progress within these two traditions, several mathematicians of the Islamic world worked toward a synthesis of Greek deductive geometry and Indian algebra. The fusion of the two streams is best represented by the application of geometry to algebra evident in the geometric solution to quadratic and cubic equations pursued by al-Khwarizmi and the Persian poet and mathematician Omar Khayyam (c. 1040–1123). In addition to pursuing further work on the parallel postulate, Omar Khayyam pursued calendar reform and a theory of proportions useful for the inheritance problems of Islamic law. Jemshid Al-Kashi (1380–1429) relied on a near-circular polygon of 805,306,368 sides to approximate pi to sixteen decimal places. Arab mathematicians enhanced the Indian number system by introducing in the tenth century a small vertical line over the units place to serve the same purpose as the modern decimal point. Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (1201–1274) anticipated the math-

**A mechanical calculating machine from the 1800s which was later replaced by electric calculators and then computers.**

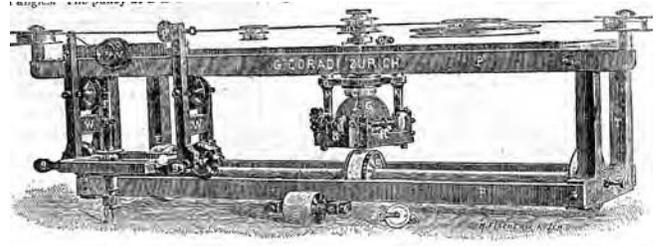
emational improvements of the model of the cosmos developed by the Polish astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543).

## **Toward a European Synthesis**

Indian numbers reached Europe by the tenth century, were popularized by the *Liber abaci* (Book of Calculation) of the Italian mathematician Leonardo Fibonacci (1170–1250), and slowly overcame prohibitions by various governments (concerned that the system facilitated fraud) that lasted until King Charles XII of Sweden (1682–1718). The Hindu-Arabic system of our modern numbers attracted merchants with its usefulness in calculations—and attracted swindlers with its easily altered numbers. In Europe resistance to mathematics was not limited to the new number system. The German religious reformer Martin Luther considered mathematics hostile to theology, and the establishment of the Savilian chair in geometry at Oxford University in England prompted concerned parents to withdraw their sons, lest they be exposed to diabolical mathematics.

During the early modern period, as Europeans increasingly exerted influence across the globe, they also began to dominate a mathematical tradition that itself was absorbing compatible elements from other cultures. The dominance of a single stream of mathematics, perhaps fed by many cultural tributaries, is characteristic of modern mathematics.

Europe's mathematical exchange with China illustrates how global connections created this single stream. In 1607 the Jesuit Matteo Ricci and the Christian convert Xu Guangxi (1562–1633) translated Euclid's *Elements* into Chinese. Although Euclid's deductions contrasted sharply with the inductive approach of the *Jiuzhang Suanshu*, the translation proved highly influential in subsequent Chinese mathematics. Many of the technical geometric terms coined by Xu remain in use today. Other cross-cultural mathematical connections are less certain. Mathematics from Kerala may have traveled to China, and the *Elements* may have already been introduced by



Arabs. In the other direction, the Jesuits possibly reported some advanced Chinese algebra back to Italy.

Under Chinese imperial sponsorship the text *Shu Li Jing Yun* (Collected Basic Principles of Mathematics, 1723) marked the end of the integration of Western techniques into Chinese mathematics. During the next emperor's reign a new closed-door policy restricted access to Western research. Some Chinese worked on critical editions of ancient mathematical texts, while others conducted research in isolation from the West. In 1859 Dai Xu (1805–1860) proved the binomial theorem independently of Newton, whose own 1676 proof had not yet reached China.

Outside the mainstream of Western mathematics stood the Indian prodigy Srinivasa Ramanujan (1887–1920) and his discoveries in the theory of numbers. Although his genius had no contemporary rival, his knowledge of mathematics was limited. Some of his theorems (for example, on the theory of prime numbers) have thus been described as brilliant but wrong. His cavalier attitude toward proof was once attributed to this background, although it in fact fits the Indian pedagogical tradition of leaving demonstration and commentary to students.

The last century has brought a remarkable international tradition of mathematical scholarship often transcending geopolitical divisions. In 1897, 208 mathematicians met in Zurich, Switzerland, as the first International Congress of Mathematics (ICM). Representing sixteen countries, they included twelve from Russia, seven from the United States, and four women. The Cambridge ICM of 1912 counted 82 non-Europeans among its 574 participants. Founded just after World War I, the International Mathematical Union (IMU) excluded the defeated Germany until the IMU adopted a policy of principled neutrality in the 1920s—a policy that would endure despite the challenges of World War II and the Cold War. The mainstream did divide somewhat as Communist and Western mathematicians developed results in

parallel, at a lag in either direction, often with different methods. The Commission on Development and Exchange (known before 1978 as the “Commission for Exchange of Mathematicians”) was established in 1959 to facilitate the development of mathematics beyond industrialized countries. The African Mathematical Union formed in 1976, although the exodus of mathematicians from underdeveloped nations to Western research institutes continues to concern some observers.

## Outlook

As historians discover new sources and question old attitudes, the global history of mathematics will continue to expand. The nature of mathematics perhaps makes it more likely to move across cultural boundaries intact, and serious inquiry into the global dissemination of mathematical ideas has only begun. Unfortunately, because so much mathematics has evolved in traditions that do not value the citation of sources, exact lines of transmission will be hard to re-create.

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See also Al-Khwarizmi; Enlightenment, The; Newton, Isaac; Scientific Revolution

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*The extension of women's rights is the basic principle of all social progress.* • CHARLES FOURIER (1772–1837)

# Matriarchy and Patriarchy

Patriarchy has emerged as an important explanatory concept in contemporary feminist theorizing and research to account for the development and maintenance of systematic gender inequality through male dominance that resulted in the oppression of women and children. Like other widely used terms in feminist research and theory, such as *feminism* and *gender*, there are several views of patriarchy and its usefulness as an explanatory concept for understanding women's oppression.

Matriarchy, on the other hand, has not received as widely accepted a response as an explanatory concept in feminist theorizing about the historical development of social relations between men and women. Of particular concern here is the debate concerning the existence of matriarchal societies in the emergence of human societies. Specifically, this debate centers around the notion that a pre-matriarchy existed prior to the emergence of patriarchal societies in the neolithic and foraging eras. This debate has emerged in feminist religious studies, particularly in relation to finding the historical antecedents of contemporary feminist goddess spirituality and documenting what might be called a sacred history for the movement. Also relevant here are the recent attempts of American historians to explain the unequal economic and political position of African-Americans as a result of the myth of the “black matriarch.”

Through the discussion of matriarchy and patriarchy as explanatory concepts, this essay will highlight the ways in which these concepts constitute a form of discourse about power in social and relational terms as well as in institutionalized contexts. We will underscore the shifting and changing explanatory modes of the terms *matriarchy* and *patriarchy* while we provide an overview of the associated meanings of these concepts.

## What is Patriarchy?

In its simplest terms, the word *patriarchy* draws its roots from the Greek (*pater* = father and *arch* = rule; literally,

*A little more matriarchy is what the world needs, and I know it.* • DOROTHY THOMPSON (1893–1961)

“rule of the fathers”). However, the concept of patriarchy encompasses more than the organization and social relations of power within families and households. It also addresses the systemic discriminatory practices of unequal power that institutionalize male dominance in social, cultural, economic, and political life with the attendant ideological justification in religious and legal frameworks that serve to both institutionalize and naturalize this power dynamic.

Drawing on the theoretical insights of sociologist Bonnie Fox, four major perspectives on patriarchy as an explanatory principle in feminist theorizing and research, including their limitations and insights, can be identified. These include (1) patriarchy as “collective male dominance”; (2) patriarchy as a “self-contained system,” (3) patriarchy as a system of reproduction; and (4) patriarchy as a “sex/gender system.”

In the first instance, “patriarchy as collective male dominance,” the perspective defines patriarchy in universalist terms. It is precisely the lack of attention to causality and the resultant ahistoricity and essentialism of this perspective that renders it problematic, since it asserts that all men, at all times, have sought out dominance over women. For Fox, attention to causality through a focus on social relations is crucial.

The second perspective, “patriarchy as a system,” addresses the problem of causality by locating the material basis of patriarchy in the domestic, household relations between men and women. From this perspective, the basis of patriarchy is the economic dependence of women on men and the control of their sexuality through heterosexual marriage. What theorist Heidi Hartmann calls the “sexual division of labour,” which allows men to benefit from women’s domestic labor, is the basis of men’s dominance over women. The critique of this perspective is the problem of motive: From this perspective, male agency expressed as the desire to dominate women is seen as the motivation for the establishment of patriarchy.

In the third approach, “patriarchy as a system of reproduction,” the problem of motive is located in the reproduction of human beings. Patriarchy, from this perspective, is rooted in the control and management of human

reproduction in the context of capitalism. The focus here is on the control of women’s sexuality and fertility as capitalism and patriarchy are seen as “dual systems.”

From the fourth perspective, “patriarchy as a sex/gender system,” the emphasis is on the production of gendered and sexed individuals in traditionally defined terms. From this perspective, patriarchy is intimately concerned with both the production of “gendered subjectivity”—that is, the production of “men” and “women” as culturally defined and the production of “gendered subjectivity itself”—that is, the production of two distinct sexes and genders. Thus, patriarchy is a “system involving the production of two distinct sexes and genders that are disposed to mutual sensual attraction and dependence in terms of labour, ensures biological reproduction, and a functioning economic unit consisting of a man and a woman” (Fox 2001, 325). The sex/gender system is a basic part of the way in which human societies have developed and is historically variable.

The synthesis that Fox highlights is that patriarchy from the perspective of being a sex/gender system is involved in both the production and the reproduction of people and the social organization of societies in a fundamental fashion. In situating patriarchy as a sex/gender system involved with the production of gendered subjectivity, it is important to look at three interrelated areas: the production of subsistence, the production of people, and the production of sexuality as integral at the level of both social structure and the individual, including both interpersonal relations and subjectivity.

## **Resisting Patriarchy**

Since patriarchy is a fundamental aspect of how human beings’ subjectivity and social organization is organized and given its inherent inequality, how can it be resisted? On what basis can the struggle to end gender inequality and women’s oppression be waged? The answer to this question has occupied feminist theorists and activists across a variety of political strata and involved both the transformation of interpersonal relations and the wider social structure. One idea that has received particular attention is that dismantling patriarchy lies in challenging the normative definitions of subjectivity in

*The dogma of woman's complete historical subjection to men must be rated as one of the most fantastic myths ever created by the human mind.* • MARY RITTER BEARD (1876–1958)

the production of masculinities and femininities under capitalist production.

Thus, lesbianism, for instance, is seen as a political resistance to patriarchy by theorist Adrienne Rich precisely because it challenges the sex/gender system's reproduction by removing women from their historical role of subordination in heterosexual marriage and sexuality. From this perspective, "compulsory heterosexuality" is the fundamental means through which male dominance is perpetuated. Compulsory heterosexuality points to a situation in which women are compelled through cultural norms imposed by men to enter into the system of heterosexual sex and marriage that ultimately does not benefit them and maintains their subordination. Lesbianism, therefore constitutes a form of resistance to heterosexuality. However, as compelling and influential as Rich's thesis was, the concept of compulsory heterosexuality was challenged on the grounds that the locus of women's oppression is not based in marriage or heterosexuality but rather in the supervaluation of masculinity and masculine desire over women's sexuality.

### **Challenging Patriarchy as an Explanatory Concept**

One of the main challenges to patriarchy as an explanatory concept for all women's oppression emerged from the theorizing of black women and other women of color who criticized the essentialism and universalizing tendencies of an explanation that did not take into consideration the importance of race, color, and class as social relations of power. Their critique addressed the notion that all women's experiences are based in gender oppression and argued for a consideration of the interrelated matrixes of power based on race, class, and gender. Women's lives were affected differently in different parts of the world during different historical time periods, depending on their relationship to race, class, and gender power relations.

From this perspective, white women married to men who owned enslaved Africans in the U.S. South and elsewhere in the slaveholding societies of the Americas did not experience gender oppression due to patriarchy in the same way that enslaved black women did. In fact,

their gender, class, and race status in a society in which chattel slavery was intimately tied to hierarchies of race and color gave them privileges that distinguished them from enslaved black women. Thus, the histories of slavery, racism, and sexual exploitation experienced by black women need to be addressed to understand black women's oppression. By assuming a singular feminine experience through the uncritical use of the concept of patriarchy and failing to consider women's divergent historical experiences, feminist analysis runs the risk of repeating the inequities based on race and class. The charge is that because the normative feminine experience is invariably layered by class- and race-based assumptions, white, middle-class Western women's experiences become central to feminist analysis and theorizing.

In the face of such theorizing, the concept of patriarchy continues to be used with attention to historicity. Theorist Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, for example, defines patriarchy as a pyramid of interlocking dominations. She uses the term *kyriarchy* from the Greek *kyrios* (lord or master) to describe the patriarchal power that operates on the basis of interlocking systems of oppression based on gender, race, class, culture, and religion.

### **Matriarchy and Myth**

While the use of the concept of patriarchy to explain women's oppression has gained currency in contemporary feminist theorizing, its opposite, *matriarchy* (rule of the mothers), has not been as widely accepted, and some have doubted the past that it describes. A debate emerged within feminist religious studies circles concerning the reality of pre-patriarchal cultures in which women's lives and interests were celebrated. Evidence of this time in human history when the feminine principle was not devalued is directly related to the evidence of religious practices and imagery that celebrate the feminine principle in the form of a mother god (as opposed to the father god of patriarchal cultures).

The work of scholars such as Carol P. Christ, Merlin Stone, and Marija Gimbutas recast and reinterpreted the historical record. Christ, for example, challenged

## The Prerogatives of Patriarchy in the Arab World

The prerogatives of patriarchy are reflected in the differential pressures placed on male and female Muslims when they are contemplating a religious intermarriage. Should a Muslim woman wish to marry a non-Muslim, the prospective husband must convert to Islam. In contrast, a Muslim male may marry a non-Muslim woman without the requirement that she convert to his religion. The underlying rationale for this practice is that husbands not only have more power than wives to enforce a particular religious environment within the home, but also, in the event of a divorce, since children traditionally remain with the husband's lineage, the children of a non-Muslim father would be lost to the faith.

The virginity of the unmarried female is highly valued and there are often extreme negative sanctions invoked against women who engage in premarital sexual relations. Negative sanctions regarding extramarital relations are also very strong. The concept of family honour is closely tied to the chastity of its female members. Family honour can be tarnished, not only by verbal or physical attacks from outsiders, but by the unmarried woman's loss of virginity or the married woman's extramarital sexual transgressions. Similar prohibitions do not apply as strongly to the male members of the family. However, males are expected to be the protectors of family honour. In this role, fathers, brothers and husbands are frequently expected both to restrict and to judge the behaviour of daughters, sisters and wives. The concept of family honour, somewhat alien to the Canadian scene, plays an important role in the Arab world, as in many Mediterranean countries. Violence (sometimes against the women in the family) and protracted feuds with outsiders can arise in defence of the family's honour.

Children (particularly sons) are highly valued. The birth of the first son signals a name change for his parents. If, for example, the first son is named Ram-

sey, the father becomes known as "Abu Ramsey" (the father of Ramsey) and the mother as "Im Ramsey" (the mother of Ramsey). This change in names is important to traditional couples and is generally a cherished transition in adulthood. Similarly, children are often identified by their father's name (for example, as "Ibn Khalid" or the son of Khalid). The high value placed on parenthood, together with the traditional aversion towards contraceptive techniques, means that the average family size in the Arab world is greater than in Canada. However, differences in family size among Arabs are associated with the same factors as in the West. Thus, there is a negative relationship between education and family size and between socio-economic status and family size.

Religion is also related to fertility, with Muslims tending to have more children than Christians.

Thus, the traditional family in the Arab world is male dominant, monogamous, and sexually conservative with particularly heavy restrictions on female conduct. Arabs tend to value children highly and emphasize a broad sense of familism which encompasses obligations, reciprocities and privileges for individual family members. Although precise statistics are lacking, it appears that in the Arab world as elsewhere the functions and obligations of the extended family unit are becoming more circumscribed as the conjugal family unit gains prominence. Further, the self-sufficiency of the larger family system has weakened as it has become more dependent on the larger economy. There have been significant changes in the position of women, in particular in the past three decades as they have had access to formal education. Like other institutions in the Arab world, the family has been experiencing changes, both in its structure and functioning. Familism, however, continues to be a distinctive feature of the region.

Source: Abu-Laban, B. (1980). *An olive branch on the family tree: The Arabs in Canada* (pp. 29-30). Toronto, Canada: McClelland and Stewart.



historian Mircea Eliade's account of religious development as androcentric or male-centered and recast the role of women in the foraging and neolithic eras as vitally important. She used the notion of "woman the gatherer" to challenge the assertion that "man the hunter" was central to the social reproduction of human societies. However, these reinterpretations have largely been dismissed as unfounded and wishful, based more on a desire to create a sacred history than on sound archaeological interpretations. In fact, the use of archaeological evidence to further contemporary feminist views of prehistory has been seriously questioned. From this vantage point, the complexities of hunter/gatherer societies are largely erased in favor of speculations about the role of women in these early societies. However, it is difficult to sufficiently reconstruct foraging era or neolithic social structure from archaeological evidence in order to draw accurate conclusions about the religious systems and symbols, and a reconstructed religious role may not actually represent the status of women or their social roles.

In fact, the assumption of a matriarchy based on the existence of matrilocality and matrilineality has been questioned. (Matrilocality refers to situations in which a husband lives with the wife's family on the wife's family's land. Matrilineal descent traces lineage through the mother's line.) Matrilocality and matrilineality, however, are distinct from matriarchy because their existence is not based on women's having political and social power over men. Finally, the overwhelming focus on the goddess, especially through the female body, life cycle, and reproduction potentiality, may produce a kind of essentialism about women's experiences that could, ironically, reinforce dominant patriarchal notions of femininity. However, while these criticisms have been launched against the search for a history of the goddess in pre-patriarchal societies, they do not negate the importance of historical reinterpretation in creating a sacred history for feminist spirituality. Indeed, the recasting of history from this viewpoint serves a powerful ideological role in contemporary feminist spirituality.

In another instance of contemporary myth making, the concept of matriarchy was invoked to suggest that black

women's emasculating dominance of black men was directly responsible for the social and economic inequities evident among black populations in 1960s America. In a 1965 study, Senator Daniel P. Moynihan suggested that a matriarchal black family structure was directly responsible for the inequities faced by black men and women. Black male patriarchal authority was seen as necessary for rectifying social and economic disparities with the wider society. In other words, rather than citing systemic inequality in all areas of social life, from slavery through the era of segregation known as Jim Crow, Moynihan placed the responsibility for the black community's disparity at the feet of black women. This thesis was critiqued by political philosopher Angela Y. Davis as a continuation of a line of thinking that suggested the deterioration of black family life under slavery and its continuation into the post-slavery era. Instead, Davis noted that black women's experiences under slavery, including acts of resistance and the protection of themselves and their families, created the legacy of a new womanhood for their descendants.

### **The Ongoing Debate**

A review of perspectives on patriarchy shows that patriarchy produced a sex/gender system that led to gendered subjectivities. Matriarchy, on the other hand, is not as widely accepted as a way of understanding the development of relations between men and women and gendered subjectivities. The ongoing debate over the veracity and relevance of pre-patriarchal goddess-based societies shows that while the accuracy of such scholarship may have been questioned, it helped to create a sacred history for the contemporary feminist spirituality movement. Second, the myth of the black matriarch as espoused by Moynihan's 1965 study may be seen as simply another instance in which the concept of matriarchy was used to reinforce long-standing racial stereotypes about black women as emasculators of black men, who inhibited the exercise of patriarchal power within black families. This particular construction of a black matriarchal family structure upheld patriarchy as normative in American society.

Both the Moynihan study and the reinterpretation of foraging era and neolithic human societies to create a sacred story for feminist spirituality and to challenge male-dominant accounts of religious history point to the use of matriarchy and patriarchy as concepts that speak as much about interpretations of historical relations between men and women as they do about contemporary gender relations and the nature of theorizing and knowledge production. These concepts are clearly not neutral, and their use to address the development of gendered subjectivities and gender relations in human societies continues to be contested.

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See also Global Imperialism and Gender; Literature and Women

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## Mehmed II

(1432–1481)

OTTOMAN SULTAN

Mehmed II reigned twice as sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1444–1446 and 1451–1481) and is often viewed as the ruler who transformed the Ottoman state into a true empire. Born the fourth son of Sultan Murad II, he first became sultan at age twelve when his father abdicated in 1444. Mehmed II's youth, however, prevented him from asserting his authority over some court factions; thus the state could not effectively deal with internal rebellion and foreign invasion.

As a result, Murad II returned from private life to assist in leading the Empire's armies and defeated an army of crusaders at Varna (a city on the Black Sea) in 1444. Murad II's presence raised questions as to whether Mehmed II was still sultan. An uprising by the Janissary corps, the elite infantry of the Ottomans, brought Murad II back to power in 1446, although many officials had considered him to be the actual ruler prior to this date.

Although deposed, Mehmed II remained active in the affairs of the state because Murad II viewed Mehmed II as his successor. As such, Mehmed II accompanied his father on campaigns in the Balkans on several occasions and ascended the throne for a second time on 18 February 1451 upon his father's death.

Ottoman relations with Serbia and the Byzantine Empire, with its capital in the city of Constantinople (Istanbul in modern Turkey), had almost always been antagonistic. The transition in leadership from Murad II to a much younger Mehmed II seemed to present an opportunity to the enemies of the Ottomans. Almost immediately Serbia and the Byzantine empire threatened to destabilize the region as Ibrahim, sultan of Karamanid

(an independent emirate outside of Ottoman control), invaded Ottoman territories in Anatolia (in modern Turkey). Both Serbia and the Byzantine empire were dealt with by Mehmed II through force and diplomacy. Afterward Mehmed II began to plan for the destruction of the Byzantine empire. He faced a difficult decision because a lengthy siege of Byzantium could draw Venice and Hungary into war with the Ottomans as well as draw a crusading army from western Europe. On the other hand, the empire of Byzantium (by this time, basically comprising the city and few outlying regions) continued to take every opportunity to meddle in Ottoman politics. After considering the advice of his counselors, Mehmed II proceeded with the siege, confident in the ability of the Ottoman heavy artillery. Indeed, the siege of Byzantium lasted less than two months, ending on 29 May 1453.

Although the city suffered enormous damage during the siege, Mehmed II spent considerable time and wealth rebuilding and repopulating it. The capture of the city and the fall of the Byzantine empire enhanced Mehmed II's prestige as a *ghazi* (holy warrior). Indeed, the concept of *ghazi* became the theme of the Ottoman sultans, who used it even to legitimize themselves above other Muslim rulers such as the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria and the Turkmen rulers who challenged the sultan's authority. Furthermore, Mehmed II also took the title of "Qaysar" (Caesar), thus placing himself as the heir to the Roman empire and successor of the Byzantine empire and legitimizing his claims to former domains of the empire in the Balkans and Mediterranean Sea.

By legitimizing his authority in both Islamic and European territories, Mehmed II sought to centralize power under him in the Balkans and Anatolia. After the fall of Byzantium in 1453, Mehmed II focused his efforts in the West. He established Ottoman control over most of the Balkans, including Serbia and Bosnia, as well as Greece. His activities, however, directly clashed with the interests of Hungary and Venice and resulted in the appropriately named Long War (1463–1479) against the two European powers.

Hostilities with Hungary continued beyond the war until Mehmed II's death, and Venice suffered greatly from the war, not only in loss of territory, but also in trade. Mehmed II simultaneously expanded the empire by conquering Trebizond on the northern coast of Anatolia as well as by turning the Black Sea into a virtual Ottoman lake.

Mehmed II's actions in Europe and the Middle East led states in the Levant (countries bordering on the eastern Mediterranean) and Venice to form a loose alliance against the Ottomans. Although Mehmed defeated Karamanid and annexed its territory, this action led him into conflict with the Aq Qonyunlu (White Sheep) Turkmen confederation as well as the Mamluk sultan in Syria and Egypt.

In the context of world history Mehmed II is most notable for establishing the Ottoman empire with its center in the Balkans and Anatolia. This establishment through the ideological mantle of his role as a *ghazi* would color Ottoman actions afterward. The transition of the sultan as the leader in war against non-Muslims diminished the influence of the frontier *begs* (lords—primarily nobility with a military function) who had previously held an immense amount of prestige as *ghazis*. Furthermore, by centralizing power, Mehmed II reduced the power of the local aristocracy and turned more territory into the direct service of the state.

Mehmed II also accepted into his service men of various nationalities and religions, preferring merit and talent to other qualifiers. He also instituted new law codes based on his power as sultan that served as the core of Ottoman laws well into the seventeenth century.

*Timothy M. May*

*See also* Ottoman Empire

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*To act without clear understanding, to form habits without investigation, to follow a path all one's life without knowing where it really leads — such is the behavior of the multitude.* • MENCIUS (c. 371–c. 289 BCE)

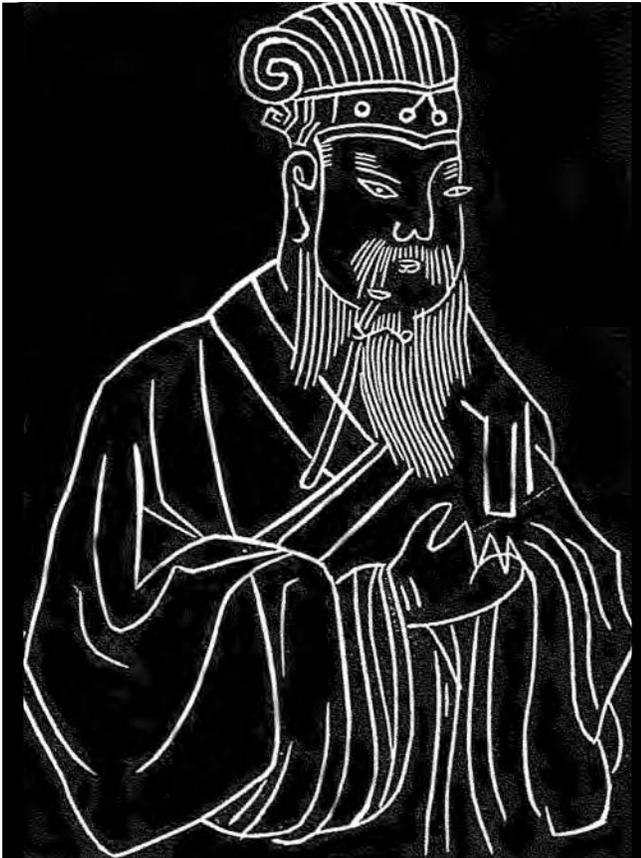
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## Mencius

(c. 371–c. 289 BCE)

CHINESE PHILOSOPHER

Meng Ke, commonly referred to in the West as Mencius, the latinization of his title Mengzi (“Master Meng”) was a philosopher, itinerant official, and teacher during China’s chaotic Warring States period (475–221 BCE). As had been the case with Confucius, Mencius had



very limited success as an administrator and court adviser. However, he was a successful teacher, and his ideas, as recorded in the book that bears his name, later played a central role in the development of Confucianism—a philosophy that remains an important component in the culture of East Asia.

Born in the minor state of Zhou, located at the base of the Shandong Peninsula in eastern China, Mencius is said to have received his earliest education from a disciple of Kong Ji, or Zi Si, the grandson of Confucius. As a young man, Mencius obtained a position at the court of the local ruler, King Xuan of the state of Qi. Here the young philosopher advised the king by citing examples of moral and virtuous behavior from the age of the rulers Yao and Shun, and from the ancient Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties. Given that this was a time characterized by warfare, intrigue, and shifting political alliances, it is not surprising that Mencius’s emphasis on the ideals of humanity, benevolence, and righteousness failed to find a sympathetic ear at the Qi court. While other philosophers and advisers, such as the strategist Sunzi, encouraged warring kings to strengthen their administrations, to seek weaknesses in their opponents, and to utilize every tactic possible in order to protect and enlarge their kingdoms, Mencius urged rulers to seek peace, to lead by moral example, and to strive to recreate the golden age of the past. While Mencius was a respected philosopher and welcomed by the rulers of several states during his life, only one, King Hui of the Liang in the state of Wei, followed his advice. When King Hui died, Mencius, then forty years of age, withdrew from public life and worked along with several of his disciples compiling his writings and drafting commentaries on earlier texts.

In his writings Mencius emphasized two principles as the keys to restoring order and harmony to society. The first was *jen* (humanity, benevolence). The second concept was *xiao*, or filial piety, which was derived from his belief in the larger principle of *yi* (righteousness, duty).

**A highly stylized woodcut of the philosopher Mencius.**

Mencius placed even greater emphasis on the importance of filial piety than had Confucius, perhaps in an effort to counter the beliefs of the followers of Mozi, a rival philosopher who was an exponent of universal love. The concepts of *jen* and *xiao* were meant to shape not only a person's immediate familial relationships, but also the relationship between a ruler and his subjects. A king was to be noble and to treat his subjects as his own children, providing them with security, guidance, and tempered discipline. In return, the common people were to be obedient and loyal to their ruler. Although a socially conservative philosopher, Mencius added a new component to the Confucian ideology that led some to consider him and his ideas dangerous. This more radical idea was the concept that the ruler's family had been given a mandate to rule from Heaven. If a ruler was an able and benevolent administrator who governed his people well, then he would retain the mandate. However, should the ruler prove to be incompetent, or worse, morally corrupt and a despot, the mandate could be revoked and his subjects would then be free to overthrow him and his family.

As a Confucian philosopher, Mencius was opposed to other contending schools during the Warring States period. His beliefs, as detailed in the book that bears his name, played a key role in the development of Confucian philosophy during subsequent Chinese history. Zhu Xi (1130–1200), a scholar of the Song dynasty (960–1279), combined the texts of Confucius's *Lunyu* (*Analects*) with *Mencius*, *Da Xue* (Great Learning), and *Zhong yong* (*Doctrine of the Mean*) to form the Four Books. This collection, together with the Five Classics of ancient Chinese literature, formed the basis for the traditional Confucian education system and was a body of work that was memorized by seven centuries of Chinese scholars. The civil-service examinations that recruited China's imperial bureaucracy during the Song, Ming (1368–1644), and Qing (1644–1912) dynasties were heavily influenced by the ideas of Mencius and his followers.

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See also Confucianism

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## Mercantilism

Mercantilism describes the economic policies of the major European states from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, in a period when rivalries among new national monarchies were increasing along with Europe's role in world trade. A variety of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century thinkers defined the principles of mercantilist economics.

Mercantilists argued that there was a fixed amount of wealth in the world. Each country should obtain as large a share of this wealth as possible, by active government policies that limited imports and sought to promote exports. High tariffs were an essential part of the mercantilist strategy. Pursuit of colonies played a role as well, while also dictating that the colonies be made insofar as possible a source of raw materials (which would therefore no longer have to be imported from outside the national system). Mercantilist ideas also prompted efforts by the British to reduce the import of manufactured goods from territories like India, in favor of their own production. Mercantilist policies prompted governments to try to set up new manufacturing plants that could both satisfy national needs and provide possible exports. In the

absolutism of late-seventeenth-century France, the state undertook some of these ventures directly. Mercantilism also lay behind the creation of some of the great state-affiliated commercial ventures, like the East India companies of Britain, Holland, and France, designed to push colonial acquisitions and expand secure sources of supply.

Many states participated in mercantilism because of its military implications: Successful acquisition of a larger share of the world's wealth would enhance the tax base and at the same time weaken competitors. Other states, less aggressive, pursued mercantilism for its presumed economic benefits, as in eighteenth-century Sweden, which actively encouraged exports and set up colonial commercial companies to trade with Africa and the West Indies. Switzerland in the eighteenth century translated mercantilism into government efforts to encourage sheep growing, to reduce dependence on imports of wool. The approach, in other words, had wide applicability and credence in early modern Europe. Mercantilism also related to government efforts to encourage population growth (a larger labor force would contribute to the national economic effort) and to import skilled foreign workers and businessmen.

The most systematic implementation of mercantilism undoubtedly occurred in the seventeenth century under Jean-Baptist Colbert in France, where it resulted in high tariffs, promotion of internal industry, and an effort to reduce internal barriers to trade. Many historians have argued that mercantilist burdens help explain why French economic dynamism began to lag in comparison with Britain, which was also affected by mercantilist thinking but less committed to state regulation. But mercantilism defined key Prussian policies under Frederick the Great and also affected eighteenth-century Austria, where its principles were expressed in the related movement called cameralism. Efforts to enforce mercantilist policies more fully on colonial North America increased tensions between Britain and the colonists after 1763. Mercantilist thinking showed up again in Napoleon's construction of his Continental System, designed to use tariffs to attack British economic and military power.

Economic theorists began to attack mercantilist assumptions in the mid-eighteenth century, arguing that too much state regulation hurt rather than helped the economy and that the idea of a finite amount of world wealth was false. Debates over mercantilism spurred the rise of laissez-faire or liberal economic thinking. However, mercantilist impulses continued to affect European policies, as in a penchant for high tariffs and continued colonialism. Some historians have dubbed the policies of the nineteenth-century decades of imperialism "neomercantilist" because of their relationship to older assumptions about state regulation and about the relationship between military and economic competition.

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## Meroë

Meroë was the last capital of the kingdom of Cush, the earliest known imperial state in the interior of Africa. Located in the central Sudan on the east bank of the Nile south of the fifth cataract of the Nile and near the junction of the Nile and Atbara Rivers, Meroë sat astride important trade routes leading from the Nile valley to the Red Sea and from the southern Sudan to Egypt. Although the great slag heaps scattered over the site of Meroë suggested to early historians of ancient Africa that Meroë prospered as a center of iron manufacturing, more recent research indicates that Meroë's prosperity was based on its ability to control the supply

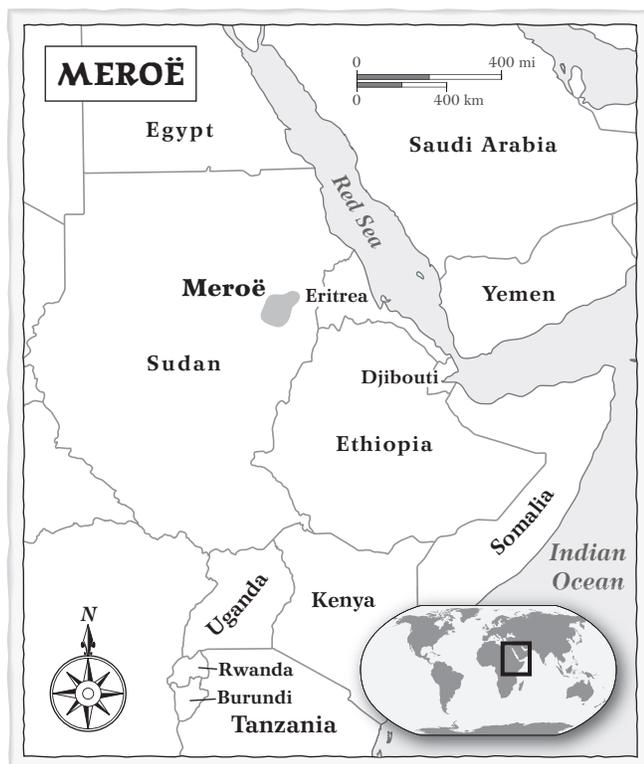
## Key Events in the History of African States

8TH CENTURY BCE	Cush (in southern Egypt and northern Sudan) invades and conquers Egypt; Shabaka of Cush establishes Egypt's twenty-fifth dynasty.
6TH CENTURY BCE	Meroë becomes the capital of Cush.
1ST MILLENNIUM CE	Wagadu (Ghana) empire flourishes.
1ST-3RD CENTURY CE	Kingdom of Cush flourishes, engages in trade with Rome.
MID-3RD CENTURY CE	Aksum replaces Cush as principal supplier of goods to Rome.
EARLY 6TH CENTURY CE	Aksum loses its Nile Valley and southern Arabian provinces.
6TH CENTURY	Nubian kingdoms (Nobadia, Makuria, and Alodia) flourish.
8TH CENTURY	City of Aksum abandoned.
9TH-14TH CENTURY	Centralization of political power in central Africa leads to the formation of the kingdom of Kongo.
10TH-12TH CENTURY	Hausa states emerge.
c. 1150-EARLY 14TH CENTURY	Saifawa dynasty rules in Kanem, in the Lake Chad basin.
EARLY 13TH CENTURY	Wagadu reduced to a tribute-paying vassal of Soso and Mali.
13TH CENTURY	Nubian kingdom of Alodia begins to disintegrate.
13TH-14TH CENTURY	Loose alliance among the seven Hausa states.
MID-13TH- MID-15TH CENTURY	Mali empire flourishes on the Upper Niger River.
1290-1450	Great Zimbabwe flourishes in southern Africa.
15TH CENTURY	Empire of Songhai is expanding.
15TH CENTURY	The East African island of Kilwa is a leading trading center.
1591	Songhai loses its independence to invaders from Morocco.
17TH-18TH CENTURY	Bornu, in the Lake Chad basin, is one of the largest states in Africa.
1808-1903	Sokoto caliphate flourishes in West Africa.
1818-1879	Zulu kingdom flourishes.

of African goods such as gold, ivory, ebony, exotic animals, and slaves to Egypt.

## The History of Meroë

Although Meroë was the southernmost civilized city known to ancient Greek geographers, knowledge of its exact location was lost until it was identified by the Scottish explorer James Bruce in 1772. Seven Greek writers are known to have written works devoted to Aithiopia, the Greek term for Cush. Only meager fragments of these works remain, and the few inscriptions from the site are written in the still undeciphered Meroitic language. As a result, reconstructions of the history of Meroë rely primarily on archaeological evidence. Unfortunately, the only major excavations undertaken at Meroë to this date—those conducted by John Garstang for the University of Liverpool between 1909 and 1914—were poorly managed and recorded.



The early history of Meroë is especially poorly known. Archaeological evidence indicates that a settlement already existed at Meroë in the eighth century BCE, but that Meroë only became a principal royal residence in the sixth century BCE. Cush was invaded by the Egyptian king Psamtek II in 593 BCE and again by the Persians in the 520s BCE. Neither of these attacks, however, reached Meroë, although Cush did recognize Persian suzerainty. Despite these events, the political and religious center of Cush remained near the fourth cataract of the Nile at the city of Napata.

The status of Meroë changed dramatically in the third century BCE. Attacked by Ptolemaic Egypt in the 270s BCE, Cush lost control of an important region called the Dodekaschoinos just south of the first cataract of the Nile together with valuable gold mines located in the eastern desert. The Cushite king Arqamani (reigned c. 218–200 BCE) led a revolt against Napatan domination that resulted in the transfer of the political capital and royal burial site south to Meroë. As a result of these developments, strong Ptolemaic political and cultural influence penetrated Cushite territory during the remainder of the third century BCE.

Relations between Meroë and Egypt remained tense but stable until the Roman conquest of Ptolemaic Egypt in 30 BCE. A Roman invasion in the early 20s BCE temporarily made Cush tributary to Rome. Strong resistance by Cush, however, led to Roman withdrawal and the establishment of a de facto peace between Cush and Rome that lasted until the mid-third century CE.

The early centuries of the common era were the golden age of Meroë. Cushite territory extended from northern Nubia (a Nile Valley region comprising present-day northern Sudan and southern Egypt to approximately the Aswan Dam) to near modern Khartoum in Sudan. Trade with Roman Egypt flourished, and extensive temple building and agricultural development, including the construction of water storage facilities occurred throughout Cush. By the third century, however, Cush and Meroë were both in decline. The shift of the main trade route to Egypt to the Red Sea weakened Cush economically. At

the same time, attacks by the Noba and Blemmyes, nomadic peoples from the western and eastern deserts, and by the neighboring kingdom of Aksum undermined Cushite power, until the Aksumite king Ezana conquered and sacked Meroë in the mid-fourth century. Although there is evidence of later Christian settlement at Meroë, its history as a major political center was at an end.

### Government and Culture at Meroë

The government and culture of Meroë were a mixture of local and Egyptian traditions. The most obvious evidence of the Egyptian elements in Meroitic culture are the statues and pyramids of the kings of Cush, the huge Egyptian-style temple of the god Amon, and the walled compound beside the Nile that formed the core of the city and contained the royal palace and other government buildings. Although the Cushite kings' claim to be sons of Amon and their royal regalia both reflected Egyptian influence, uniquely Cushite were the preference given the son of a king's sister in the succession to the throne and the prominent role assigned to the queen and especially to the king's mother, who bore the title *kandake*. Some *kandakes* even ruled in their own name during the late first century BCE and first century CE. Local tradition also influenced religion in Meroë, most notably in the prominence of the lion-headed war god Apedemak, who functioned as the king's protector and was worshipped in a uniquely styled one-room temple that had no parallel in Egypt.

Meroitic elite culture was literate. Its unique alphabetic script was developed in the late third or early second century BCE. Consisting of twenty-three symbols adapted from Egyptian hieroglyphic signs, it was used for governmental, religious, and funerary texts written on a variety of media, including stone, wood, ostraca (broken pottery), and papyrus. Decipherment of the Meroitic language will provide valuable insights into Meroitic history and culture.

For almost seven hundred years Meroë was the most important city in ancient northeast Africa. During that period, it fostered extensive cultural and economic inter-

action between sub-Saharan Africa and Greco-Roman Egypt. It also established a tradition of urban life and state-level social and political organization that survived the fall of the city and continued to influence the Christian kingdoms that dominated the Nile valley south of Egypt during the Middle Ages.

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## Mesoamerica

Mesoamerica designates a cultural region of Middle America prior to the Spanish conquest. The label was suggested by the anthropologist Paul Kirchoff in 1943 and has come into general use since. Geographically, Mesoamerica included almost all of Mexico as well parts of what are now the nations of Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras. As a cultural region, Mesoamerican states shared a cluster of characteristics (with some regional variation) that distinguished them from societies in regions to the north and south. These included a state-



**The island of Janitzio in Lago de Patzcuaro. Now a major vacation venue, Patzcuaro was once the capital of the Late Postclassic Purepecha state in central Mexico.**

level political organization with power resting in city-states, theocratic rule, monumental architecture and sculpture, and an economy based on the acquisition of food through taxation and warfare. Mesoamerican states typically had a hierarchical social structure with two primary classes, nobles and commoners, the latter being mainly farmers, and a third category of occupational specialists that included priests, scribes, potters, warriors, and sculptors who served the state. The best-known of the Mesoamerican states are those of the Olmecs, Maya, and Aztecs. These ancient states and their monumental art and architecture have become part of modern Mexican national identity, while the remains of their cities and buildings are major tourist attractions.

From the perspective of world history, Mesoamerica is important not so much because it was a distinct cultural region but because it was one of the two regions in the Americas (the other being the Andes) where complex state societies developed, because of the long-term and extensive contact among peoples and states in the region, and because of its influence on other regions to the south and north. Mesoamerican states differed from early state-level societies elsewhere in the world in that the domestication of large animals did not occur, despite the domestication of plants. In addition, most Mesoamerica states had less interest in territorial expansion than in maintaining economic control over subjugated communities.

Over the more than three thousand years during which states emerged, expanded, contracted, and disappeared

in the region, large and complex trade networks developed that crisscrossed Mesoamerica and extended at times south into present-day El Salvador and north to the Great Lakes. These networks played a leading role in creating a cultural unity across the region that

survived the passage of time and the fall of empires. Systems of exchange in Mexico emerged about 2000 BCE, when chiefdoms in several locations began exchanging precious metals, obsidian blades, pottery vessels, and ritual items such as shell ornaments and turtle shells. Most of these trade goods were used in ceremonies and were likely produced by specialists for the rulers. Exchange of objects for ceremonial use accelerated during the Classic period (c. 250 CE–900 CE), when Mayan rulers accumulated feathers, precious stones, foodstuffs, and obsidian objects as signs of their wealth and power.

In central Mexico, in the powerful city-state of Teotihuacán, the focus was on production and trade, with numerous craft workshops creating obsidian objects and pottery for trade throughout Mesoamerica. Also present were professional merchants who coordinated trade among different city-states. The Postclassic period (900 CE–1521 CE) saw a dramatic increase in exchange across much of the region. Not only goods but also ideas—art style, religious beliefs, forms of government—spread across the region, and a few hundred years before the Spanish conquest, professional merchants, marketplaces, and money were in use.

## **Periodization**

Archaeologists conventionally divide Mesoamerican prehistory into four periods: Archaic (c. 15,000–c. 1600 BCE), Preclassic or Formative (c. 1600 BCE–c. 250 CE), Classic, and Postclassic. Cutting across these periods is

## The Aztec Marketplace

*The following description of the main marketplace in Tenochtitlan was provided by Bernal Diaz del Castillo (1492–1584), one of the primary Spanish historians of the Conquest.*

After having examined and considered all that we had seen we turned to look at the great market place and the crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and words that they used could be heard more than a league off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy, and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had never beheld before.

Source: Castillo, B. D. del. (1928). *The discovery and conquest of Mexico* (p. 302). (A. P. Maudsley Trans.). London: George Routledge & Sons.

a geographic classification of Mesoamerican societies as lowland or highland.

Mesoamerica was settled about 13,000 BCE, and by about 7000 BCE the region was widely inhabited. These first settlers were foragers whose diet was rich in animal protein. During the Archaic period, first gourds and then maize and beans came under cultivation. By the end of the Archaic period people were living in small villages with local burials and signs of ancestor veneration.

## States in the Preclassic and Classic Periods

The Preclassic period saw a significant increase in scale, with the development of larger and more permanent settlements and the rise of political leaders, social distinctions based on wealth and power, more intensive farming, and the emergence of exchange networks. The most important Preclassic society was the Olmec culture (1200–400 BCE) on the southern Gulf Coast of Mexico. The key Olmec centers were at San Lorenzo and La Venta, where archaeologists have found remnants of monumental architecture, evidence of a complex religious system and extensive exchange for luxury items used in public rituals, and distinctive large, carved stone heads. By the close

of this period, Mesoamerica was dotted with city-states supported by surrounding farming communities and trading with one another. The Zapotecs in the valley of Oaxaca developed the first writing system and calendar at their regional center of Monte Alban.

Teotihuacán, a large city-state in Central Mexico, spanned the Preclassic and Classic periods. It was the largest city in the Americas and one of the largest cities in the world in the first millennium CE. It began to develop as a population center in about 200 BCE and flourished from about 150 CE to 750 CE, when the center of the city was burned. From that time on Teotihuacán ceased to be a major urban center. It may have been home to as many as 200,000 people at times, with its inhabitants depending on foodstuffs raised using irrigation and terraced agriculture. The city was built on a grid plan, with a major north-south street. Most buildings in the center were large apartment blocks that housed the residents, probably localized on the basis of kinship. There were also numerous craft shops, merchant facilities, and public and ceremonial structures. The rulers





**The remains of a Tarascan ceremonial center in Central Mexico.**

The Maya city-states began to collapse in the eighth century, with those in the south disintegrating as viable political units first and those in the northern lowlands lasting to about 1000 or later. Their collapse marked the end of the Classic period. The question of why the sudden and widespread collapse took place has intrigued archaeologists for decades. Most now agree that no single factor was to blame, but that environmental change, population pressure, political

instability, warfare, and depopulation all played a role, affecting the southern and northern lowlands somewhat differently.

never controlled a large territory, but the cultural influence that Teotihuacán spread through trade networks was enormous. Its distinctive art style, displayed in pottery, sculpture, murals, and carvings spread throughout Mesoamerica, and its urban planning and religion were models for the latter Aztec empire.

While Teotihuacán emerged and flourished in Central Mexico, what has come to be labeled the Classic Maya civilization emerged and flourished in the lowlands of Mexico and Guatemala. The first Mayan communities emerged between 1000 and 400 BCE. These small villages became larger ceremonial sites, supported by a lucrative trade in honey and salt. Maya civilization flourished from about 300 to 900 CE, with major centers at Cobán, Tikal, Palenque, Calakmul, and Copán. These city-states were ruled by a hereditary elite who maintained an uneasy balance of power based on marriage alliances, trade, and warfare. Eighty percent or more of the people were rural farmers, who supported the cities and ceremonial centers through intensive agriculture. The Maya are notable in human history in the Americas for developing a sophisticated and accurate calendar, a system of writing recorded in stone and in bark texts, and large ball courts where a game that seems a mix of soccer and basketball was played, sometimes to the death. Unfortunately, the Spanish, in an effort to destroy the Mayan religion, destroyed almost all Maya written texts.

### **States in the Postclassic Period**

The early Postclassic period was marked by the appearance of several regional city-states, including the Toltecs (centered at Tula in Central Mexico), the Mixtecs (in Oaxaca), the Tarascans (in Michoacán), and the northern Maya center of Chichén Itzá. The final and largest pre-conquest state was the Aztec empire, centered in the Valley of Mexico, which grew to be the largest tribute-based empire in the Americas. The Aztec empire ruled much of central and southern Mexico from 1430 until 1521. Its capital city of Tenochtitlán was modeled on Teotihuacán, and its religion, too, resembled that of the earlier city-state, while its political system was based on the Toltec system at Tula.

### **Mesoamerica after the Spanish Conquest**

At the time of the Spanish conquest, most Mesoamericans were small-scale farmers. The Spanish rulers established the *encomienda* system, whereby districts were put

## Petition from a Maya Chief, the Cah of Tahnab, Complaining about Spanish Colonial Abuses in 1605

For the Viceroy [*halach ahau*], who is in the great *cah* of Mexico. I who am don Alonso Puc, the governor, along with Simón Piste and Francisco Antonio Canul, the *alcaldes*, Juan Ucan, Gonzalo Poot, Gaspar Ku and Pedro Dzul, the *regidores*, we the *cabildo* have assembled ourselves in the name of God Almighty and also in the name of our redeemer, Jesus Christ. We now lower our heads before you, kneeling in great adoration in your presence, in honor of God, beneath your feet and your hands, you our great lord the king [i.e., the Viceroy], supreme ruler [*ah tepale*], in order that you hear our statement of petition, so that you will hear, our lord, what it is that we recount and explain in our said petition. O lord, we reside here in the heart of the road to the *cah* of San Francisco Campeche. O lord, here is the poverty that is upon us, that we are going through. Here at the heart of the road, O lord, day and night, we carry burdens, take horses, carry letters, and also take turns in serving in the guest house and at the well. Here at the road's heart, O lord, it is really many leagues [*lubil*] to the *cah* of Campeche. Our porters, letter carriers, and horse takers go ten leagues as far as our *cah*, day and night. Nor are our people very great in number. The tribute that we give, O lord, is sixty cotton blankets [*mantas*]. The tally of our tribute adds up to sixty, O lord, because they add us, the *alcaldes*, and all the widows too. That is why we are relating our miseries for you to hear, O lord. Here is our misery. When the lord governor marshall came he gave us very many forced labor rotations, seventeen of them, though our labor rotations had been abolished by our lord the *oidor* Doctor Palacio because of the excessive misery we experience here on the road. Our misery is also known by our lords the past governors [*halach uinicob*], and our lords the padres also know it, O lord. Every day there are not enough of us to do so much work, and being few, neither can we manage our fields nor sustain our children. In particular we are unable to manage the tribute burden that is upon us.

Within each year we give a tribute of two *mantas*, two measures of maize, one turkey and one hen [*ix caxtilla*]. This is what we give, O lord, and we really cannot manage it, because of the great workload we have. Thus our people run away into the forest. The number of our people who have fled, O lord, who have left their homes, is fifty, because we are burdened with so much work. O lord, this is why we humbly place ourselves before you, our great lord ruler, the King, in honor of our redeemer Jesus Christ, we kiss your feet and hands, we the worst of your children. We want there to be an end to the labor obligations under which we serve, with which we are burdened. Because our fathers, many of them principal men, along with our porters, letter-carriers and horse-takers, serve day and night. We want to look after you, our lord, and greatly wish that you will be compassionate and turn your attention to us. We have neither fathers nor mothers. We are really poor here in our *cah* in the heart of the road, O lord; nobody helps us. Three times we have carried our petition [*petición*] before you, our lord the *señor* governor, but you did not hear our words, O lord. Nor do we have any money in order that we may petition [*c okotba*] before you; our *cah* is poor. Here, O lord, is the reason why our people flee, because it is known that in the forest, through the use [sale] of beeswax, one is given money on credit by our lord Francisco de Magaña. It really is the governor's money [*u takin halach uinic*] that is given to people. This is our petition [*c okotba than*] in your presense, lord, our great ruler, the king, made here in the *cah* of Tahnab, today the ninth day of the month of July in the year 1605. Thuly we give our names at the end.

Don Alonso Puc, governor; Pedro Ku, notary; Francisco Antonio Canul, *alcalde*; Simón Piste, *alcalde*; Juan Ucan, Gonzalo Poot, *regidoresob*; Gaspar Ku, *regidor*.

Source: Restall, M. (1998). *Maya Conquistadors* (p. 173). Boston: Beacon Press.

under the control of colonists who exploited Indian labor for work on farms and in mines. Catholic missionaries did their part to convert the Indians to Roman Catholicism, although some missionaries also tried to protect the Indians and end harsh labor practices. The indigenous population was severely damaged by disease and the harsh colonial conditions, and some people sought refuge in isolated villages. In the 1880s the *encomienda* system gave way to the hacienda system, which saw the remaining good Indian land transferred to the government and sold for commercial use. The Indians became even more isolated in rural communities, some surviving on poor land as subsistence farmers while many others labored in the hacienda fields.

The Mexican revolutions of the early twentieth century restored some land to Indians, and more was returned in the land reforms of the 1930s. Nonetheless, most rural Indians remain impoverished farmers, with most land used for commercial farming by mestizos (people of mixed European and Indian descent), who looked down upon Indians as inferior. Since the 1970s there have been a series of peasant revolts over land rights involving Indians in rural Mexico. There has also been substantial migration to cities, other regions of Central America, and the United States.

In the twenty-first century, Native Americans make up 9 percent of the population of Mexico and 44 percent of the population of Guatemala. In rural areas, Indian identity is based on speaking an Indian language; subsistence farming based on maize (corn), beans, and squash; weekly outdoor markets; traditional dress style; use of traditional techniques to produce traditional craft items; and adherence to a religion that combines the indigenous religion with elements of Roman Catholicism. Most Indians affiliate more strongly with their village than with a region or larger ethnic or language group.

Many of the indigenous groups present in Mesoamerica at the time of the conquest live on, though more as language groups than as distinct, unified cultural entities. Among the major groups are those associated with the Aztec empire—Nahua (Mexicanos), Otomi, and Maza-

hua near Mexico City—other surviving groups include Tarascans (Purepecha) in Central Mexico, Zapotec, Mixtec, and Mazatec in Oaxaca, and some twenty-one Mayan groups in the Yucantan, Belize, and Guatemala.

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See also Aztec Empire; Trading Patterns, Ancient American; Trading Patterns, Mesoamerican; Warfare—Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica and North America

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# Mesopotamia

Mesopotamia, the ancient name for the land that is now Iraq, flourished as what was recognizably the same civilization for almost three thousand years, from 3200 BCE, when the people of the region invented a system of writing and the first cities arose, to 330 BCE, when the Persian Achaemenid empire was conquered by the Greeks. Throughout those centuries, the people of Mesopotamia used the same writing system, worshiped the same gods, lived in the same cities, and traded the same

types of goods. Mesopotamia was where some of the most important innovations in human history occurred first: cities, the wheel, the plow, written law, irrigation agriculture, mathematics, and imperial government. Although peoples elsewhere in the world developed many of these innovations at other times, Mesopotamia left an impressive legacy for the histories of Europe and Western Asia.

Mesopotamia was also a center for trade and for contact between cultures. Artifacts from prehistoric sites reflect the fact that long-distance trade was taking place long before anyone could record the transactions. Throughout the history of Mesopotamia, its people interacted vigorously with their neighbors, warring, trading, migrating, and sharing ideas.

Mesopotamia had many names during the height of its civilization, but *Mesopotamia* was not one of them. It was the ancient Greeks who named the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers “the land between the rivers” (*meso* = between, *potamia* = rivers), and the name has stuck. In the third and early second millennia BCE, there was no name for the region as a whole. The southernmost part, the area closest to the Persian Gulf, was called Sumer. Slightly to the north of Sumer, where the Tigris and Euphrates flow closest together, was the land of Akkad. Later, when these two lands were united under a single government, they came to be thought of as one state, which we call Babylonia. North of Babylonia on the Tigris was a land that had a deep historic connection with Babylonia. It was called Ashur, or Assyria, in our modern terminology. But rarely during ancient history was the land of Mesopotamia a political whole.

## Prehistory

Northern Mesopotamia, the region that became known as Assyria, is a land of rolling hills that are green and covered with wildflowers in the spring but dry and brown in the summer. Southern Mesopotamia—Babylonia—is flat, hot, and dry. It would be an inhospitable desert if it were not for the two rivers that flow through it. The Tigris, the eastern of the two, is fast moving and often dangerous, whereas the Euphrates is a gentler river surrounded by rich silty soil. The earliest settlers in southern

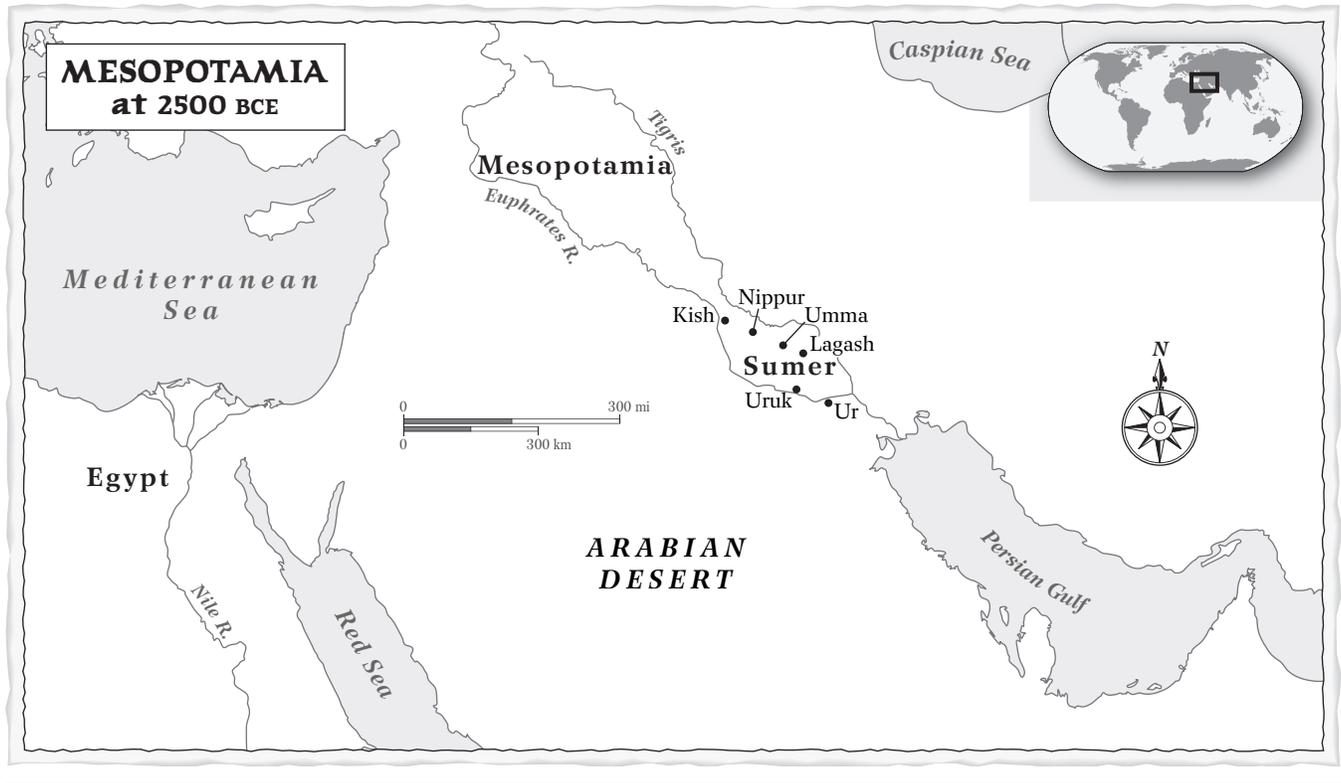
Mesopotamia, arriving around 5000 BCE, chose to live on the banks of the Euphrates, as did most people who lived in the south in ancient times.

Early communities were small, and their inhabitants probably survived by fishing, hunting gazelles and birds, and gathering plants, along with practicing small-scale agriculture. Agriculture had already developed in the foothills to the northwest of Mesopotamia, in Syria, and was brought to the south by settlers, who introduced domesticated grains—wheat and barley—and animals, such as goats, sheep, oxen, and pigs. The village fields might have been located in old marshlands, still wet enough to support agriculture without additional watering, or the villagers might have watered their fields using simple irrigation ditches.

Over time, the communities began to grow, requiring larger irrigation ditches and more cooperation between families in order to feed the population. From earliest times the Mesopotamians who occupied these communities seem to have understood the importance of irrigation technology. They could not allow the Euphrates to overflow its banks, for fear of the river moving to a different location, perhaps miles from their town, when the flood receded. The annual flood also came at an awkward time in the agricultural calendar and might destroy new plants if allowed to cover the fields. So the southern Mesopotamians built up artificial levees along the riverbanks, and they dug canals and reservoirs to cope with the floodwaters. Although archaeologists have found evidence of a few devastating floods in Mesopotamian prehistory, by historic times the annual floods seem to have been brought under control and rarely presented a danger to the people or their communities.

## Urban Revolution

By 3200 BCE the landscape had changed dramatically in southern Mesopotamia. Up and down the banks of the Euphrates were big cities, each one home to 10,000–25,000 people, the first cities on Earth. Each had a big temple complex in the center, surrounded by mud brick houses built in rows along narrow streets. Around the cities were canals and irrigation ditches, bringing river



water to long, rectangular fields of wheat and barley. Gardens of palm trees spread along the levees of the river. Most of the residents of each city would have been farmers who went out to work their fields during the day, but some residents engaged in specialized professions; these included metal workers, potters, textile weavers, priests, and traders. This was the time when some people began to become rich while others fell into debt and poverty.

This period, known as the Uruk period, also witnessed the invention of the wheel, the plow, and the cylinder seal for marking property. With the invention of metallurgy, copper bowls and, later, bronze weapons and tools were forged.

Someone must have been in charge of the individual cities, though archaeologists are unsure who. Some sculptures from the Uruk period feature men who wore long beards and broad belts. These must have been important individuals to have warranted having their portraits sculpted. It is possible, since temples dominated the cities, that these were priest-rulers.

The cities of the south were certainly in contact with one another, but they also had connections with other cities at a great distance, in Syria to the northwest and

Assyria to the north. Indeed, the settlements of the Uruk period seem to have been colonies established by southern cities as centers for an extensive trade network. The styles of architecture and pottery in the colonial outposts are almost identical to those in the south and contrast dramatically with the material culture in surrounding towns and villages.

One of the most important innovations of the Uruk period was the invention of writing. The first signs were pictures, drawn carefully on clay tablets, but the pictures soon became simpler and unrecognizable as objects. The signs were drawn with straight lines, impressed by a stylus with a distinctive end that resulted in small wedges at the end of each line. These wedges give the script its modern name, cuneiform, from the Latin word *cuneus*, meaning "wedge." Some of the cuneiform signs stood for whole words, but most were phonetic symbols that represented the sounds of the language.

Around 2900 BCE the first kings took power in Sumer and in Akkad to the north, marking the beginning of the early dynastic period of Mesopotamian history. Each of the major cities had its own king, and each city-state was also home to a god. The major temple in each city was where the city god and the god's spouse were believed to

live. For example, the city of Nippur was the residence of the king of the gods, Enlil. The city of Ur was home to the moon god, Nanna. The people of Sumer and Akkad believed in all these gods, but had a special connection with the god of their own city, by whom the king of the city claimed to have been chosen by the god to rule.

## **Akkadian Empire**

Throughout the early dynastic period, city-states warred with one another, sometimes forming leagues, sometimes forced to submit to rule by another city. But it was not until the twenty-fourth century BCE that the entire region was brought under the rule of a single government. Sargon of Akkad (reigned c. 2334–2279 BCE) forged the first empire to include people of different nationalities. He dominated the Sumerian-speaking peoples of the south, the Akkadian-speaking peoples of the center, and the Eblaite- and Hurrian-speaking peoples of the northwest. He claimed to have conquered from the Upper Sea (the Mediterranean) to the Lower Sea (the Persian Gulf). Sargon also boasted that he sponsored trade on a large scale, welcoming ships from as far away as Dilmun (Bahrain), Magan (Oman), and Meluhha (the Indus Valley) to his ports. Archaeological evidence supports this claim, as objects from these regions have indeed been found in Mesopotamia, and Mesopotamian artifacts have been found in lands bordering the Persian Gulf and in the Indus Valley.

Sargon's religious innovations included making his daughter, Enheduanna, the high priestess of the moon god at Ur. She was first of many royal women to hold this powerful position, and was also the author of many hymns to the gods.

Sargon's native language of Akkadian was used for the first time in written documents, but it had long been spoken throughout Mesopotamia and was gradually replacing Sumerian as the spoken language of the people, even in the south. Akkadian is a Semitic language, related to modern Hebrew and Arabic.

## **Third Dynasty of Ur**

Sargon's great empire was maintained and even enlarged under the rule of his grandson, Naram-Sin (c. 2254–

c. 2218 BCE), but it collapsed under an invasion around 2150 BCE. The invaders were Gutians from the mountains to the east, whom the Mesopotamians viewed as only partly human—their language sounded to Mesopotamian ears like dogs barking.

It was not until 2112 BCE that the land was once again united, this time under the third dynasty of kings from the southern city of Ur. This era is often known as the Ur III period. Unlike Sargon, the Ur III kings did not emphasize their military conquests. Instead, they focused on peaceful, organizational developments. They standardized weights and measures; introduced a staggeringly complicated bureaucracy, in which, for example, every animal dedicated to a temple was recorded in daily and monthly records; built the first ziggurats (monumental stepped towers associated with temples to the gods); and tried to revive Sumerian as the language of literature and administration. Thanks to their scribes, many of the classics of Sumerian storytelling were recorded and kept for future generations.

Shulgi, an Ur III king whose long reign lasted from 2094 to 2047 BCE, also created the first written set of laws. This achievement has often been credited to his father, King Ur-Nammu (reigned 2112–2095), but Shulgi is now thought to have been the one responsible. Only thirty-seven of the laws survive; but this is enough to show that most crimes were punishable by fines and that a court system was already in effect.

The kings of the Ur III period seem to have had less contact with the lands of Magan and Meluhha than did the Akkadian kings, but they had diplomatic ties with kings in Elam, in what is now eastern Iraq and western Iran. In fact, several princesses of Ur were married to kings and princes of Elam in dynastic marriages that aimed to strengthen ties between the states.

## **Old Babylonian Period**

Mesopotamia was constantly subject to immigration as people from neighboring lands moved to the river valley, settled, and adopted Mesopotamian ways. The valley was not protected from the outside by any natural barrier, or even any clear political border, and its agricultural wealth must have made it a magnet for people from areas with

less fertile soil. One such people were the Amorites, who came from somewhere to the west of Mesopotamia, though historians are not certain where. They began as immigrants, but ended up, around 2000 BCE, as invaders, taking over control of Mesopotamia from the weakened kings of the third dynasty of Ur. Amorite dynasties conquered and then ruled some major cities and some lesser-known ones. One of the latter was Babylon, which only became an important place under its Amorite kings. The kings of Babylon (Hammurabi being perhaps the most notable) had a particularly stable dynasty, with son taking over from father on the throne for at least seven generations, and perhaps as many as eleven.

### **Late Bronze Age**

In 1595 BCE Babylon was attacked and sacked by an army from Hatti (modern Turkey). The Hittites, as the people of Hatti were called, were relatively new to power, and it was two centuries before they became a major international force, but their raid into Mesopotamia had a devastating impact on the Babylonians. The land fell into a dark age, during which few cuneiform documents were written. By 1500 BCE a new immigrant dynasty was on the throne—the Kassites. Like the Amorites before them, they adopted Mesopotamian gods and Mesopotamian dress. They used Mesopotamian languages (Sumerian and Akkadian) in their administration and inscriptions, and only used their native language to write their personal names (though they may well still have spoken in Kassite). The Kassites oversaw four centuries of peace and prosperity during the late Bronze Age, when Babylonia was in close diplomatic and economic contact with the other great powers of the region: Egypt, Hatti, and Mittani (a state that encompassed Syria and the northern part of Mesopotamia that became Assyria).

The kings of these lands married one another's daughters, sent one another luxury gifts, and kept ambassadors and messengers busy traveling for months between one another's courts with letters and news. The lands also periodically went to war, though Babylonia seems for the most part to have stayed out of military conflicts.

Mittani suffered a setback when its eastern half, Assyria, asserted its independence in the fourteenth century BCE. By 1250, Mittani was gone, swallowed up by the imperial ambitions of its neighbors. By around 1100 BCE, all the great powers had fallen into decline, even the upstart Assyria. Many theories have been put forward to account for this disaster at the end of the Bronze Age, including climate change, invasion, internal revolt, even epidemic disease, but whatever the cause, the outcome was a massive change in Near Eastern political and economic structures. Small kingdoms became the rule of the day, and for over a century scribes seem to have been writing nothing at all (though someone was keeping the cuneiform tradition alive somewhere, because some centuries later cuneiform sources reappear, so we have almost no clue as to what was happening).

### **Neo-Assyrian Empire**

In the ninth century BCE Assyria began to reassert its dominance over northern Mesopotamia. Its kings were devoted to their state god, Ashur, and put great value on military prowess. They built up armies and sponsored the development of new military technologies (such as the siege machine and battering ram) that enabled them to expand the borders of their kingdom to the east, north, and south.

Like earlier Mesopotamian emperors, the kings of Assyria were masters of organization. They divided their empire into provinces, each ruled by a governor; they posted garrison troops in these provinces, ready to put down local rebellions, and they kept in close contact with even the most distant reaches of the empire. Hundreds of letters to and from the kings of Assyria have been excavated from their palaces, showing that the kings were kept well informed about even apparently trivial matters across their realm.

The Assyrian kings did not hesitate to use force to extract tribute from rebellious cities or to punish rebel leaders. They also deported whole populations across the empire in order to break up possible revolts and to settle tax-paying subjects in areas with agricultural potential. The huge wealth that flowed into Assyria from taxes and tribute was used to build spectacular palaces decorated

with stone relief sculptures of the kings' victories. Ashurbanipal (reigned 668–627 BCE) created a vast library of cuneiform documents, literary works copied from originals that he had scribes seek out in cities throughout Assyria and Babylonia. The study of astronomy, mathematics, and other sciences blossomed under the patronage of the kings of Assyria.

At its height, Assyria shared with Babylonia a common culture, a common written language (Akkadian, though Aramaic was increasingly the spoken language in both regions), a single writing system, and a shared belief system. Their economies were intertwined, and yet they were ambivalent about one another: Sometimes they were at war, sometimes Assyria dominated Babylonia, sometimes they managed a fragile peace under separate governments.

### **Neo-Babylonian Empire**

In 612 BCE the Assyrian empire fell to the combined forces of its neighbors to the south and the east—the Babylonians and the Medes. Its cities were sacked and burned, and Assyria never again became an important player on the world stage. For seventy-five years the center of Mesopotamian culture returned to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar II (reigned 605–562 BCE) enlarged and beautified the city with a huge palace, an embellished ziggurat to Marduk, magnificent city walls, and gateways several stories high decorated with brilliant blue glazed bricks and sculpted lions and dragons. Later classical historians even credited him with building the hanging gardens of Babylon, though there is no evidence of them from his reign.

The Neo-Babylonian kings, like their Assyrian forebears, extracted tax and tribute from their empire, and even tried (unsuccessfully) to conquer Egypt. It was during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar that Babylon conquered the kingdom of Judah and many Jews, including the king, were taken captive to Babylon. But the Neo-Babylonian kings fell victim to their neighbors the Persians, situated in what is now Iran, during the reign of Cyrus II (reigned 559–c. 529 BCE). The Persian empire, which stretched from the Indus Valley to Egypt, lasted

until 330 BCE, when it fell to Alexander of Macedon (reigned 336–323 BCE).

### **Legacy**

The Akkadian and Sumerian tongues faded from use during Persian and Greek rule, but although the civilization was forgotten for many centuries, its great innovations lived on. The Canaanites and Israelites had taken on many of the legal ideas from Hammurabi's laws, and from other Mesopotamian collections. These are reflected in the Biblical laws, which were never forgotten once they had been compiled. The Greeks learned mathematics and astronomy from the Mesopotamians and elaborated the sciences further. They also adopted Mesopotamian astrological ideas, military tactics, and artistic styles. It is from the Mesopotamians that we get the 24-hour day, the 60-minute hour, and the 60-second minute, and the 360-degree circle (their numerical system had a base of sixty). Our writing system is not directly descended from cuneiform, but the idea of writing down sounds, a concept common to both cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphs, inspired the creation of the alphabet. Even the very idea of urban living first developed on the banks of the Euphrates, as did many early experiments in how to govern. Mesopotamian civilization was one of the longest lasting and most influential in all of human history.

*Amanda H. Podany*

*See also* Babylon; Hammurabi; Persian Empire

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## Metallurgy

Although metallurgy as a science is relatively recent, the knowledge of metals, their uses and properties, and the methods for obtaining and working with them date back to the origins of civilization.

### Metallurgy in Prehistory: Neolithic Societies

Archaeological evidence suggests that the first metals known to man were those presented more frequently in

nature in their native or metallic state, that is to say gold, copper, silver, and meteoric iron. It was probably in Anatolia that metals were used for the first time, around 7000 to 6500 BCE. It is possible, nevertheless, that metals were first employed independently in diverse areas, at dates even earlier than those conventionally accepted.

In its early stages, interest in native metals would likely have been linked more to their aesthetic characteristics (brightness, color, weight) than to their practical possibilities. Their external appearance made them attractive and easily recognizable, and they were used for artistic, ornamental, or magical/religious purposes. During this period, when humanity was still in its prehistoric phase, native metals were worked making use of mechanical methods, in accordance with techniques and abilities similar to those used by primitive humans to work stone, bone, or wood. However, unlike these conventional materials, the malleability that characterizes metals made it possible to fashion much more diverse, precise, and effective objects, including tools and weapons. In a more advanced era (c. 4000 BCE), the use of fire would allow the forging, casting, and moulding of some of the metals already known (copper and gold), representing a new step in the development of metallurgy and the productive use of the metals.

The decisive advance, however, would take place once it was possible to obtain metals, initially copper, by reducing their corresponding mineral content by means of pyrometallurgical methods, around 3500 BCE, in the region of the Near East. Starting from that point, metallurgy combined its original mechanical procedures with the complex chemical processes that take place in a reduction furnace, which are much more difficult to observe and to control. This method laid the technical foundations of modern metallurgy, and its productive possibilities, until then limited by the shortage of native metals deposits, were increased.

It is difficult to determine in what way and at what moment early metallurgy spread through different cultures and geographical areas. Nevertheless, it is known that by 3000–2500 BCE copper metallurgy extended over an extensive area that stretched from the Iberian

Peninsula in western Europe to China on the Asian continent. Later it penetrated to the British Isles and Scandinavia (c. 2000 BCE) and Japan (c. 800 BCE). On the American continent there exists archaeological evidence of the use of native copper by the North American Indians toward 3000 BCE. However, pre-Columbian civilizations didn't come to control metallurgic techniques properly until a very late date, around the eighth century CE.

The new metallurgical procedures, almost always developed in a fortuitous and experimental way and involving the use of fire, not only allowed an increase in the production and consumption of metals, but also opened new possibilities for improvement of their quality, adapted in each case to their application or final use. For example, objects made from pure copper were too soft; however, in combination with other metals their resistance and hardness could increase. By mixing copper and tin one could obtain an alloy, bronze, that was much more appropriate for the production of tools and weapons. The spread of this alloy, which was substituted for stone, ceramics, and other materials, in what is known as the Bronze Age (c. 3000 BCE to c. 1000 BCE), was a decisive element in the development of the first civilizations and empires to arise in Asia Minor and in the eastern Mediterranean. This was followed by the discovery of other types of alloys whose exact composition was known only in an intuitive and approximate way.

Following the discovery of bronze, another metal had even more impact on the development of civilization—iron. Though it is one of the most abundant elements in nature (the fourth most abundant element in the world), it rarely exists in a pure state. Except for very small quantities of iron coming from meteorites—which in fact are natural alloys of iron and nickel—iron metallurgy had to be developed once the techniques for reduction and treatment of minerals were already known. It was probably discovered for the first time within the Hittite empire, south of the Black Sea, around 1500 BCE, although we cannot disregard independent discoveries in different areas and times.

Contrary to the metals known until then, iron could not be melted and cast in furnaces whose maximum

temperature was only about 1,000° C. Due to this factor, its production was not possible by means of the techniques known in the Bronze Age. Instead of liquid metal, the blacksmith obtained a spongy mass whose metal particles appeared dispersed and blended with the impurities of the mineral and the remains of the charcoal employed in combustion. To finally obtain the iron, it was necessary to develop a new process of hammering this spongy mass by means of which the slag was eliminated and the metallic particles compacted. The product obtained this way, which was practically pure iron, remained too soft and didn't offer significant advantages over bronze. It was necessary to heat it again and to forge it until it absorbed a certain percentage of carbon in its surface, a process known as carburization or cementation. The steel obtained in this way could be tempered by being introduced into cold water so that it became even harder. These new techniques constituted complex and laborious processes whose development and diffusion took place very slowly. In Europe their spread occurred throughout the Mediterranean region starting in 1000 BCE and arriving in England toward the year 300 BCE. In the East we know that iron metallurgy was introduced in India around 800 BCE and in China around 600 BCE. In China, however, the technical evolution was more rapid thanks to the discovery of the blast furnace and cast-iron production around 200 BCE; these techniques were not used in Europe until the fifteenth century CE.

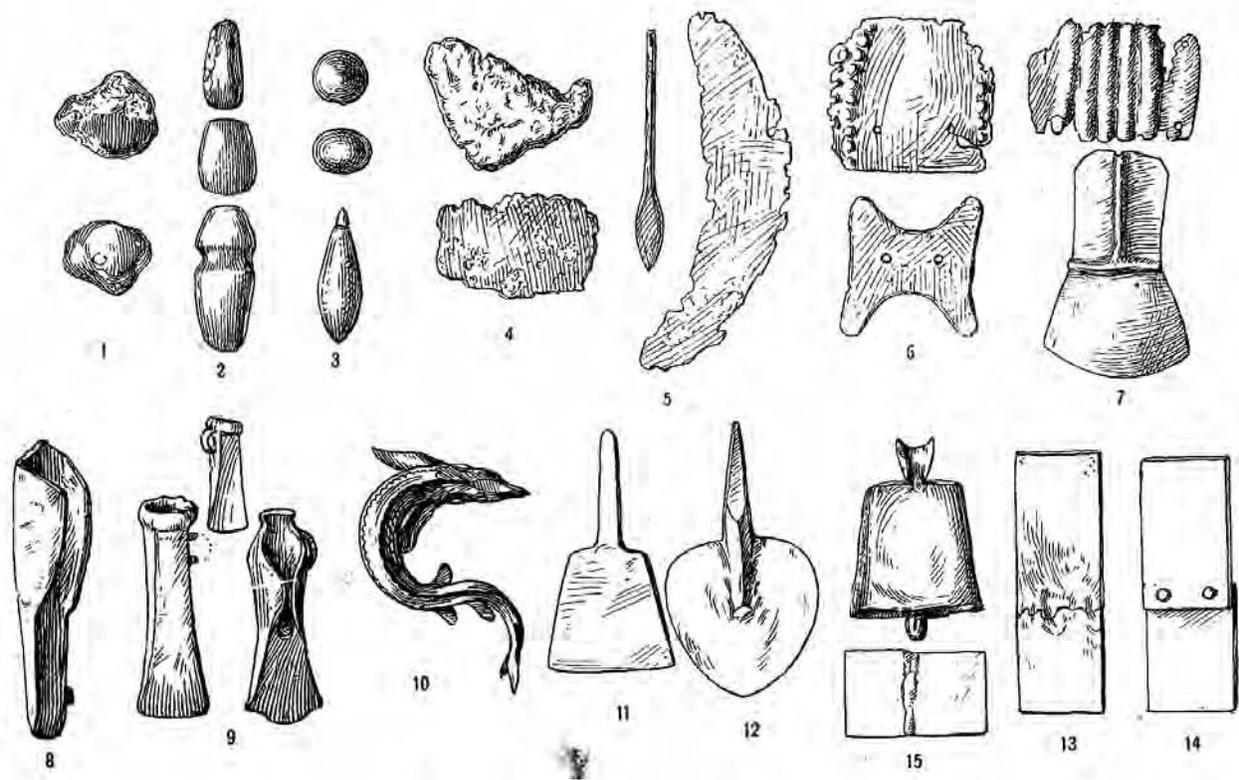
The economic and social repercussions associated with the advance of primitive metallurgy and the use of metals were important. With time, the extraction and initial treatment of the minerals would become an independent activity. Forging was probably one of the first specialized occupations. The mythology and legends of ancient peoples frequently reflect the vision that primitive communities always had of it as a mysterious and magic occupation, capable of transforming stones into metals and useful instruments. On the other hand, the use of metals, particularly iron, contributed in a decisive way to the progress of agriculture, the development of activities associated with sedentary cultures, the growth of the first

urban nucleus (by its use in construction, transport, and so forth), and, of course, war.

## Metallurgy in Antiquity and the Middle Ages

Once they had control of the techniques for producing iron, the forgers of antiquity had a much cheaper and

more abundant metal than bronze, a “democratic metal” that could be used in numerous applications of all types. The classical Greek and Roman civilizations (600 BCE–400 CE) didn’t contribute significant advances in metallurgical techniques. They extended the use of iron, as much for weapons as for tools used by artisans and farmers. The expansion of iron metallurgy and its dominance



**This series of drawings shows the variety of processes used in and products produced by metal working over time and across cultures: (1) Nuggets of polished iron ore from Mississippian culture in Kentucky; (2) Nuggets of flaked and rubbed iron ore from Mississippian culture; (3) Nuggets of polished iron ore from Mississippian culture; (4) Pieces of cold-hammered copper from Great Lakes region; (5) Cooper arrowhead and sheet cold-hammered from Mississippian culture in Ohio and Michigan; (6) Cooper sheets cold-hammered and punched from Mississippian culture in Wisconsin; (7) Copper sheets hammered, crimped and corrugated from northwest coast of North America; (8) Copper cast into form of half-socketed axe or adz from Wisconsin; (9) Bronze hatchet blades from Europe; (10) Cast-iron fish; (11) Forged metal from West Africa; (12) Metal worked on anvil from West Africa; (13) Metal pieces welded together by firing and hammering; (14) Metal pieces riveted together; (15) Metal pieces joined by soldering or brazing.**

as a useful metal did not, however, pose an obstacle to the development of the nonferrous metals. Gold, silver, and bronze, besides being used for ornamental and household equipment purposes, were linked to the production of currency, whose growing use was related to the expansion of trade. Brass, an alloy of copper and zinc known prior to the classic period, began to be widely used for coinage by the Roman empire. Lead, initially a byproduct of silver production, was extracted and removed from silver by cupellation, and was used extensively by the Romans for water pipes and cisterns. Mercury, obtained by means of distillation of cinnabar and used in Greek and Roman times for gilding, was linked to the recovery and refining of a variety of metals, especially gold and silver, through various techniques of amalgamation.

After the fall of the Roman empire, the territories of western Europe entered a long period of economic decline and probable technological stagnation, including stagnation in metallurgical production. Starting from the ninth century CE, however, manufactured metals were again incorporated into daily life in European societies. Nonferrous metallurgy was concentrated around the rich mines of central and Eastern Europe, with a heavy concentration, in particular, of German miners and metallurgists. Complex systems were introduced for the extraction of minerals in deeper and deeper exploitation, especially minerals with silver content. However, the foundry techniques continued to be very similar to those used in antiquity.

It was in iron metallurgy where progress was more significant. The introduction of hydraulic power to move bellows and hammers (in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), together with the gradual increase in the size of furnaces, allowed a notable increase in the scale of production, higher yields, and a reduction in costs. The fifteenth century saw the spread of the indirect process based on the new technology of the blast furnace and the production of cast iron. Thanks to the achievement of higher temperatures, the new furnaces allowed one to obtain liquid metal, which made possible the use of

molds for the production of very diverse items, but especially for the foundry of cannons and other smaller artillery pieces, which would have definitive social and political consequences. Nevertheless, most of the cast iron coming from blast furnaces was still destined for conversion into wrought iron.

### **Advances in Metallurgy During the Renaissance**

In spite of progress in the iron and steel industry in Europe, during the Middle Ages the East remained far ahead in this field technologically. The steel coming from India and Japan allowed the manufacture of sword blades that were highly superior to those used in Europe. In China the production of cast iron, known from c. 200 BCE, grew at an extraordinary rate. By the thirteenth century a large industrial complex linked to the state and to military demand had incorporated the foundry, using coal and the hydraulic wheel to work piston bellows, which were much more efficient than the systems used in Europe. Starting from the fifteenth century, however, Chinese metallurgy (like other important technological areas where China had been ahead of the West) was clearly stagnating, while Europe entered a new stage of technological progress and world hegemony.

In the Europe of the Renaissance, metal articles became more and more common in daily life. Demographic growth, the expansion of productive activity and trade, urban development, oceanic travel, and overseas discoveries and colonial expansion required a growing consumption of metals. Iron continued to be the metal used most frequently and extensively. The dimensions and productive capacity of blast furnaces increased gradually, and it was possible to mechanize the manufacture of iron by means of slitting mills that worked hydraulically.

After iron, the most widely used metal continued to be copper, along with its main alloys (bronze and brass). Currency necessities and the demand for bronze artillery required a growing consumption of this metal. Japan was the main producer of copper in Asia and, from about the middle of the seventeenth century, it exported significant



quantities to Europe. In Europe, the copper industry was developed initially in Hungary and central Europe, in Sweden toward the end of the sixteenth century, and in England toward the end of the seventeenth. The demand for precious metals remained linked mainly to the currency demand of a more and more commercialized world economy. Production expanded due to the discovery and exploitation of the mines of Spain's colonies in the New World (Mexico, Peru), the main source of the world supply of silver from the sixteenth century onwards.

Although production techniques for nonferrous metals evolved more slowly, during the Renaissance new procedures were introduced, improving on some that were already well known. Among these innovations, reverberatory furnaces came into widespread use, coal was introduced as a fuel in certain cases, and welding techniques were improved. Most silver was extracted from lead and copper ores by means of new cupellation and amalgamation procedures. In Saxony a new and complex method was introduced for obtaining silver by means of liqumation of copper ores. In the New World, the Spanish conquest allowed the acquisition of large quantities of gold and silver that had been accumulated by the indigenous populations, primarily from native metals. From about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the potential for sacking and spoliation had been exhausted, active metallurgical production was implemented, based on an amalgamation system known as the "patio process," which allowed extraordinary growth in the production and trade of silver.

At this point, migration and the growing mobility of a specialized labor force were the main vehicles of diffusion for the new techniques, as had happened earlier with miners and metallurgists of German origin, who formed the most active nucleus of European metallurgy. On the other hand, the publication of various treatises that described with great detail and practicality the well-known techniques of the moment introduced a new element into progress in metallurgy. The works, published by V. Biringuccio (1549), G. Bauer (1556), and L. Ercker (1574), synthesized the main metallurgical procedures,

creating an easily transferable, and therefore cumulative, body of knowledge.

The first Industrial Revolution (1760–1830) precipitated a new technological leap in iron production and, to a lesser degree, in the other branches of metallurgy. By the end of the eighteenth century, thanks to the gradual adoption of coal as a fuel, to the steam engine as a mechanism of propulsion, and to the puddling furnace in combination with the rolling mill, the English iron and steel industry had been able to eliminate the main technological obstacles that had slowed the growth of the sector. Iron, produced in large quantities and at lower costs, could be used in a massive way in the key sectors of the new industrial economy (such as railroad, shipbuilding, and mechanical industry) substituting for wood and other traditional materials. Production of nonferrous metals grew more slowly and without significant technical changes, other than some exceptions like the distillation systems applied to the production of zinc after 1738. However the growing importance of scientific investigation and applied chemistry allowed for the discovery and isolation of new metals, such as cobalt, nickel, manganese, and tungsten, among others.

### **Contemporary Metallurgy (1850–2000)**

The technical advances of the second Industrial Revolution would make the hegemony of iron metallurgy even greater. Where the British discoveries of the eighteenth century had allowed for the industrialization of cast and wrought iron production, in the second half of the nineteenth century decisive technical changes would be achieved in steel industry. By means of the Bessemer (1856), Siemens-Martin (1857-1864), and Thomas-Gilchrist (1878) converters, it was possible to produce steel in large quantities at prices far below the previous ones. Thus steel could be used, in place of wrought iron and other materials, in a much more extensive way in all types of applications. Thanks to its hardness and elasticity it could be incorporated into the building, railroad, shipbuilding, and mechanical industries, among other

sectors, contributing in a decisive way to the advancement of industrial societies.

The consumption of nonferrous metals was also affected by advances in the industry. New products and new demand sectors—such as those linked to the modern armaments industry, electrification, the beginnings of the automotive and the aeronautics sectors, and certain goods produced for domestic consumption—increased the general demand for metals and alloys with more and more precise technical requirements. The new colonialism, the internationalization of the economy, and the development of modern means of transport led to the discovery of new ore deposits and the extension of mining throughout the world. In certain cases, the procedures used in the iron and steel industry could be applied with success to other metals. However, limitations imposed by traditional metallurgy were overcome with the development of new methods of electrometallurgy. These consisted of applying the potential of electric power as a thermal agent and incorporating electrolytic methods in the extraction and refined processes. The new procedures made it possible to improve the purity of the metals obtained and to produce new metals and alloys industrially.

Although there had already been advances in industrial chemistry at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was not possible to develop the full potential of electrometallurgy until the availability of abundant and cheap electricity. In fact, copper, whose purity was a decisive characteristic for use as an electrical conductor, was the first industrially refined metal obtained by means of electrolysis (1865), which contributed in a decisive way to the growth of the electric industry. Aluminum, magnesium, special steels, and other very diverse alloys could be developed commercially thanks to the technical and economical possibilities of electrometallurgy. In addition, electric furnaces have provided the industry with greater flexibility of location and have reduced pollution emissions considerably.

The development of contemporary metallurgy has been associated with important advances in the administration and the organization of the industry. The neces-

sity of integrating different production processes in a single factory, the high cost of equipment, and the concentration of production and markets have transformed the structure of the industry and paved the way for the great modern firms and for mass production, especially in the iron and steel industry. Although in some cases experimentation and practice continue to be important, technological development in contemporary metallurgy depends more and more on advances in science and investigation.

During the twentieth century the extraction and treatment of metals has continued to evolve without interruption, and at an increasingly rapid pace. The progress of contemporary metallurgy has been based on new industries and demand sectors, such as atomic engineering, electronics, telecommunications, and the aerospace and military industries. Improvement in the quality of the final products, reductions in cost, the search for new alloys, and industrial production of new metals like titanium, beryllium, zirconium, and silicon have required the introduction of constant technical changes, as much in the production and finishing processes as in methods of analysis and control of the production process. Some of the technological alternatives developed in the new metallurgy of the twentieth century are: continuous casting and the Basic Oxygen Steel process in the steelmaking industry, hydrometallurgy (aqueous processing of metals) for the treatment of precious metals and minerals of high value (uranium, nickel, cobalt), the use of powder metallurgy to obtain certain structural parts for industrial use, and special alloys of mixed constitution (with metallic and not metallic elements).

The complexity and speed of technological change in advanced societies make it impossible to foresee future tendencies in metallurgy. The most recent progress in the science and engineering of materials is allowing the constant development of new materials and processes. Although in some cases new plastics, ceramics, and hybrid materials may compete with and displace metals in certain applications, the development of metallurgical engineering in the current technological environment of

*The greatest adversary of the rights of nationality is the modern theory of nationality.* • LORD ACTON (1834–1902)

cross-disciplinary investigation will continue to constitute a decisive element in the technological progress and industrial systems of the future.

R. Uriarte Ayo

See also Agrarian Era; Industrial Technologies

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# Migrations

Every era of human life on Earth has been characterized by substantial movements—of hunters and gatherers, nomadic pastoralists, peasants in search of land, traders, missionaries, empire builders, warriors, adventurers, laborers, exiles, slaves, bonded servants, and refugees. Some migrants conquered the natives of the territories they entered; others formed minorities that resisted incorporation and assimilation or that formed far-flung diasporas that persisted over centuries. In still other cases, migrants intermarried with their new neighbors, adopted their neighbors' culture, and lost all memory of their distant origins. Fundamental changes in human societies and cultures have typically accompanied sizeable migrations.

While popular language reserves the term *migration* for only a few types of mobility, historians increasingly take a broader view. Migration encompasses most long-distance or long-term human movements—whether purposive or unplanned, permanent or temporary, and whether undertaken individually or collectively or motivated by fear or hope or by political, religious, military, or economic concerns. This article investigates migrations in world history, but diasporas, a type of migration whose definitional boundaries are still a subject of debate, are covered in more depth in a separate article.

## Migration in Prehistory

More than 4 million years ago, the first hominids—the various australopithecines—emerged in East Africa and

then slowly spread southward to the tip of the continent. By 800,000 years ago, groups of *Homo erectus*, a species in our own genus, had not only migrated out of Africa but occupied sites in frost-free central, eastern, and south-eastern Eurasia. Between 130,000 and 30,000 years ago groups of *Homo sapiens*, humans of the same species as present-day people, pushed the extent of human population still further. Generations of omnivorous humans walked around the world in search of food. They adapted to and reproduced in very varied habitats. By 40,000 years ago humans had crossed from Southeast Asia to Australia. Around that time or somewhat later they entered the Americas from Siberia and quickly spread east and south.

For millennia, hunters and gatherers continued to exhaust local food supplies. About 4 million hunter-gatherers, some with small domesticated animals, lived on Earth in 10,000 BCE. They were constantly on the move.

### **Agriculture and Human Mobility, 10,000–2000 BCE**

Agriculture fundamentally changed the significance of human mobility. People who grew cereal crops also reproduced rapidly, and some of their villages grew into large, permanent cities. Between 8000 and 5000 BCE, cities developed in Mesopotamia (between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers), Africa (along the Nile), China (near the Yellow River), and India (on the banks of the Indus River). Between 5000 and 1000 BCE agriculture and cities emerged along the coasts of Mexico and in the mountains of Peru. Urban dwellers everywhere viewed themselves as civilized and thus superior to wandering hunter-gatherers and herders.

Nevertheless, urban societies were scarcely immobile. All were road builders and dependent on trade. By 3000 BCE, merchants using wheeled vehicles or sturdy boats traveled and traded from Harappa in the Indus Valley to Sumer in western Asia. Around 2000 BCE, Minoan society on the island of Crete flourished by organizing trade around the eastern Mediterranean. Urban society in Peru depended on intricate land-based trade and transport. In western Asia, Egypt, and China warfare between empires

and with newly forming societies of pastoral nomads mobilized soldiers and sometimes also drove defeated groups far away and into exile or slavery.

### **The First Great Nomadic Migrations**

Well after the formation of urban societies, nomadic pastoralists herded animals on a vast scale; they both traded with and raided rich urban societies. By 2000 BCE the herders of Asia had learned to ride horses, a decided advantage in traveling and fighting. In China settled people worried over pressure from the nomadic Xiongnu of Central Asia. Equipped with chariots and iron weapons, Indo-European nomads from western Asian steppes also began a long-term expansion into Mesopotamia, the Mediterranean, India, and Europe. Almost simultaneously, Semitic herders in Arabia pushed into Egypt and Mesopotamia while the Bantu peoples of the Niger Valley in West Africa also began a slow and gradual expansion southward. Many nomadic invaders adopted urban culture, but agricultural societies changed, too, becoming more concerned with military prowess.

Conflicts between such migratory nomads and urban settlements provoked considerable anxieties among city-dwellers and those conflicts probably contributed to the flowering of Greek humanist philosophy after 600 BCE; those ideas then spread outward from Greece with traders and travelers. Other significant philosophical and religious ideas that came to the fore in this period included Confucianism and Daoism in China, Buddhism in India, and Zoroastrianism in western Asia, all of which traveled—mainly with merchants and pilgrims—from their places of origin outward. The monotheism of the Hebrew prophets traveled with the Jews exiled from Jerusalem to Babylonia in 586 BCE.

### **Mobility in the Classical Empires, 500 BCE–300 CE**

Trade, travel, and warfare increased again under new empires formed in the aftermath of the first nomadic migrations. China's rulers began to build its Great Wall to prevent further incursions (the Qin emperor Shi Huangdi

had existing fortifications connected in 214 BCE), but the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) was not isolated by the Wall.

On the contrary, Han China was connected to the other classical empires of the world—Greece and then Rome in the Mediterranean, Persia, and Cush—by new overland trade routes, often called the Silk Roads. From South Asia, Buddhist ideas traveled with merchants and missionaries into other parts of Asia. Empire building mobilized thousands, as soldiers pushed outward the boundaries of Roman and Chinese empires, conquering and building roads as they went, and learning of and partially adopting the customs of the peoples they subdued.

The rulers of the classical empires at times saw merchants—with their considerable economic power and foreign habits or religious beliefs—as potential social and cultural threats to the stability of their own rule and cultural influence. Ultimately, however, it was not merchants, but once again movements of nomadic peoples living on the borders of the classical empires that precipitated a new era of crisis.

### **The Second Great Migrations, 300–800 CE**

Pastoralist nomads from the steppes of eastern Central Asia once again precipitated political crises and a long epoch of substantial religious change in the period from 300 to 800 CE. Again under pressure from the nomadic pastoralists on the northern boundaries of China, the Han dynasty collapsed into civil war. At roughly the same time, Hindus from India, following the paths of earlier Buddhist missionaries, spread into Southeast Asia, bringing with them both the religious ideas and the cultures of South Asia.

From the mid-fourth century, Hun warriors and herders from Central Asia began invading southeastern and central Europe, displacing the Germanic Ostrogoths and Visigoths located there. These peoples then moved into the Roman empire, which was already suffering complex internal controversies accompanying the spread of Christianity. Gaul (present-day France) in the western portion of the Roman empire was attacked in fifth century by the

Franks, a Germanic people originally living east of the Rhine, and by the Saxons, a Germanic people originally from the coast of the Baltic Sea.

In 395 the Roman empire divided into eastern and western halves; in 476 it collapsed completely under the onslaught of Germanic invaders. The eastern half, with its capital at Byzantium, claimed to perpetuate the Roman empire in western Asia and Greece; the religion of the Byzantine empire was Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Western Europe came under the aegis of the Roman Catholic Church, and its people became Catholic as missionaries converted the Germanic invaders.

### **Mobile and Sedentary: Clash and Culture**

Hunter-gatherers and pastoralists still populated much of the earth in 500 CE—in sub-Saharan Africa, throughout the Americas and in Australia, as well as in much of North Africa, the Arabian peninsula, and northern Asia. The trend toward more sedentary agricultural and urban ways of life nevertheless continued over the next millennium.

In the Americas, corn and potato cultivation spread with traders toward their climatological limits, and large settlements of Native Americans developed in what is now the southeast, northeast, and southwest of the United States, though these settlements could not rival in size those in South America and Mexico. Trade flourished between the Mayans of the Yucatán peninsula and the central Mexican city-state of Teotihuacán; when warrior nomads (the Aztecs) moved into the region in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they too quickly settled into agricultural life and city and empire building around Lake Texcoco.

Throughout Europe, settled agriculture and the construction of towns around churches accompanied conversions to Christianity. By 1000 even the Vikings (who had traveled from Scandinavia in their boats as far as the Mediterranean, Greenland, and North America) became more sedentary.

Islam, founded in the early seventh century by the Prophet Muhammad (c. 570–632), spread rapidly among Arab herders and traders. A series of empire-building

caliphs and their soldiers brought Islam into eastern North Africa and into the Byzantine and Persian empires. By 750, the Muslim Umayyad caliphs ruled western North Africa and Spain and had pushed past the Indus Valley. Turkic Muslims invaded India and Byzantine territories around 1000, although by then Arab territories had been lost to European warrior crusaders in Spain and, temporarily, in Jerusalem.

Islam's expansion resulted in the urbanization of a religion that had originated among the mobile. Muslim traders from North Africa crossed the Sahara, laying the foundation for the building of new African kingdoms in Ghana and Mali as well as the export of more African slaves into the Muslim world. Arab merchants in East Africa intermarried with natives and traded with India and even China. By 1300—following in the paths of Buddhist missionaries and Hindus into Southeast Asia—Muslim traders were beginning to compete with Chinese merchants in the expanding spice and tea trade. Mass conversions to Islam followed in Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Merchant seamen from Italy's cities established contacts with the Asian trade of the Muslims and then transported silks and spices across the Alps into northern Europe.

Around 1200 the last major nomadic migration began, as the Mongols (also called Tatars) move into China, the Middle East, and present-day Russia. Many Mongol rulers converted to Buddhism or Islam, and Genghis's grandson, Khubilai Khan, ruled in China in the grand tradition of his dynastic predecessors. The Mongol empire again opened the Silk Roads through Eurasia. Chinese technology and silks, the spices and teas of southeast Asia and India, and the sciences and arts of the Muslim world all traveled quickly, even into economically backward regions in Europe. Diseases traveled the same roads, leading to vast pandemics across Eurasia in the fourteenth century.

### **Migration and Empire Building, 1450–1750**

Contacts between the “old world” of Africa and Eurasia and the “new” world of the Americas expanded old and

precipitated new kinds of migration. Both Chinese and European navigators and merchants were traveling ever longer distances by 1400. After 1492, European empire building in North and South America provided the capital (and the foodstuffs) for a period of rapid economic and population growth in Europe and parts of Asia. Scholars call these years the era of the Columbian Exchange. No longer did nomads dominate among the mobile: Large numbers of slaves and common laborers joined traders, soldiers, and missionaries on long sea voyages. Urban and agricultural societies extended their influence over the earth's remaining populations of hunter-gatherers and pastoralists.

The first European soldiers and missionaries brought the germs of the Old World across the Atlantic, initiating



**This romanticized drawing from a book of Polynesian myths shows men setting off in an outrigger canoe. The Pacific Islands were likely settled by peoples traveling in such canoes.**

a biological catastrophe. Natives had no immunity, and as many as 90 percent may have died. Unable to extract labor from the declining numbers of natives they had conquered, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, and English traders began purchasing and transporting hundreds of thousands of West Africans to work in sugar, tobacco, and indigo plantations. Over 10 million Africans were carried in chains to the Americas between 1500 and 1850. In tropical coastal areas they formed a huge diaspora, outnumbering and thus Africanizing to some degree the remaining natives and Europeans too.

While European empire builders all sought economic advantages in their colonies, Spain, Portugal, and France hesitated to encourage emigration. English merchants, by contrast, sought to profit from the transportation of people on the same ships that carried timber, fish, or tobacco to Europe from the Americas. Religious dissidents from England sought to emigrate, but by the 1700s so did large numbers of English, Scotch-Irish, and German laborers. Poor men and women signed away their liberty temporarily (as indentured servants, or redemptioners) in order to pay off passage fees. Once in North and South America, relatively small numbers of Europeans reproduced rapidly, sought farmland, and pushed aside native hunters or farmers.

### **Migration in the Industrial Era of Globalization**

Anti-imperial revolts in the Americas, the formation of independent nations in North and South America, the further expansion of European empires, and the onset of the industrial revolution set off vast new migrations and the process that scholars today call globalization. Argentina's rulers in the 1850s declared that to govern their country they would first have to populate it. They sought settlers from Europe, and state policies pushed native hunters and gatherers into ever smaller areas, preparing the way for agriculture on a large scale. In North America, citizens of the new United States claimed it was their manifest destiny to spread across the continent to the Pacific. Abolitionist movements ended the slave trade between 1800 and 1850, but as the number

of African incomers declined, the number of European migrants to the United States began to increase. Between 1825 and 1939, 55 million European migrants transformed Argentina, Brazil, the United States, and Canada into veritable nations of immigrants, or neo-Europes.

Until about 1920, millions of Europeans settled the prairies and pampas of Argentina, the United States, and Canada. (In a contemporaneous move, Russians, Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans moved into Siberia and then Manchuria.) Smaller numbers of southern Europeans and Asians replaced slaves as American plantation workers. The building of canals, railroads, and water and street systems facilitated the rise of new industries in northern Europe, the United States, and a few Latin American cities; these work sites attracted millions of laborers. Their employment was highly seasonal, however, so large numbers of overwhelmingly male workers from southern and southeastern Europe repeatedly crossed the Atlantic or the Alps, finding work in more than one country over the course of their lives.

European empire building also mobilized Europe's prisoners, soldiers, businessmen, and government bureaucrats to live and work in Australia, India, southeast Asia, and Africa. Some remained for several generations or even permanently and began to think of themselves as natives. The British and other empires distinguished between a few colonies (Canada, Algeria, South Africa, Australia) intended for white settlement and many others (such as Hong Kong or Ghana) where Europeans worked only temporarily. At the same time, the small native elites of Indochina, India, and Africa went to Europe for their education, returning to their homelands with intimate knowledge of European styles of life and of revolutionary political philosophies justifying the end of empire.

Influenced by liberal ideals, most countries of the world in the nineteenth century insisted on the right of humans to move freely. Nevertheless, Canada (in 1884), the United States (in 1882), and Australia (in 1901) all moved quickly to exclude gold seekers and voluntary migrants from Asia. The destination of 3 million Chinese and perhaps as many as 30 million Indian indentured laborers was therefore limited to the Caribbean, South



Africa, and Southeast Asia. After 1900, as nationalist sentiments rose and as imperial competition heightened, a backlash against free migration grew stronger and brought the global mass migrations to a close.

### **Restricting Human Mobility, 1930–1970**

The triumph of nationalism in the twentieth century provoked two devastating world wars and millions of deaths worldwide. Trade restrictions in the face of global depression, coupled with the collapse of Europe's global empires after World War II, weakened the intercontinental connections that had developed over the previous five hundred years. After World War II, revolutions and collapsing European empires raised the number of nations worldwide from roughly fifty to almost two hundred. Almost all restricted migration across their borders.

Restrictions on migration, while draconian, were never completely successful. As the United States closed its door first to immigrants from China (1882) and then to southern and eastern European immigrants (1921–1924), a large-scale internal migration of blacks from the American South to the Northeast and Midwest of the country began; because migration within the Americas remained unrestricted, Mexicans, Afro-Caribbeans, and Canadians replaced European and Asian laborers in the United States. In Europe, meanwhile, two world wars drove millions of refugees and displaced persons in search of refuge.

De-colonization of Europe's empires after World War II produced so much political and religious strife and economic turmoil that millions of ex-colonials were also soon on the move. Seven million moved between Pakistan and India in 1947 following the declaration of Indian independence and the partition of the Indian subcontinent into two states. Several million Jews escaping post-Holocaust Europe sought refuge in Palestine and the new state of Israel (from which Palestinians then fled). Nativized colonials in formerly French-ruled Algeria left as that country became independent in 1962. Communist revolutions in China (1949) and Cuba

(1960) and a failed rebellion against Communism in Hungary resulted in political refugees.

Postwar demands for labor increased, and Canada, Australia, Germany, Switzerland and France recruited foreigners as settlers or guest workers between 1950 and 1970. Germany and Switzerland hoped that the migrants from southern Europe, Yugoslavia, and Turkey would return home again (as did many of the migrants themselves), but by 1975 it was apparent that many guest workers had settled permanently.

### **Contemporary Globalization**

Although few countries abandoned their restrictions on migration, long-distance migrations nevertheless increased again after 1970. About 2.5 percent of the world's population—a total of over 150 million persons—now live outside the country of their birth. Traditional nations of immigrants such as the United States have significant immigrant populations, not including the uncounted millions who enter the country without permission. Countries such as Germany, Australia, France, Canada, and the oil-rich Middle East have even higher proportions of foreigners. Southern European countries that once lost population to emigration now attract immigrants and refugees.

The rise in long-distance migrations in the last decades of the twentieth century reflects in part the shift in manufacturing from Europe and North America to Asia and Latin America, as well as the creation of jobs in the electronics and information technology sectors—from the most menial to the highly professional—that can easily be shifted from one country to another. The tumultuous process of nation building in Africa and Asia, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, and China's increasing participation in free-market economics (though without much increased democratization) after 1989, have all encouraged migration. Millions of African refugees from conflicts in various parts of the continent seek asylum in neighboring countries or travel across the Mediterranean or Red Sea in search of work or refuge. In North Amer-

ica, the population of Mexico has shifted northward to U.S.-financed industrial plants near the border with the United States; people know work can be found in the United States even when visas are not available.

Scholars interested in migration cannot predict whether the outcomes of today's migrations will resemble those of the recent past. Some suggest that new commu-

nication and transportation technologies will allow more migrants to maintain connections with their homelands and to resist pressures to settle or assimilate—thus weakening nation states around the world. Others point instead to the normalcy of human mobility over the course of human history and to the many forms of accommodation that have regularly accompanied the



**This panel of cartoons expresses American anti-immigration sentiments of the late 1900s. It shows Uncle Sam being consumed by Irish and Chinese immigrants.**



**The Vila Canoas favela adjoining a golf course in the São Conrado Beach neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro. Favelas are illegal settlements and originated at the turn of the twentieth century. They have increased due to rural migrants drawn to Brazil's cities by the prospect of employment. There are about 600 favelas in Rio containing about twenty percent of the city's population. The government no longer tries to eliminate them but is now working to provide basic services, water, sewage, electricity, and schools to these areas.**

global migrations of the recent past. One thing seems sure: Humans are likely to remain on the move for the foreseeable future.

*Donna R. Gabaccia*

See also Asian Migrations; Disaporas; Expansion, European; Global Migration in Modern Times; Pacific, Settlement of

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# Military Engineering

**M**military engineering involves both construction and destruction. It is concerned with aiding troops to move about the battlefield, destroying enemy fieldworks, denying areas to the enemy, and providing defense works of substance. The military engineer has grown in importance through the ages, but has always been an important part of any army that was more than a mob of marauders.

## Early Military Engineering

One of the most impressive feats of military engineering in antiquity was Julius Caesar's bridge across the Rhine River. Roman engineers constructed a bridge spanning the Rhine at Koblenz, Germany, where the river is 366 meters wide and varies in depth from about 2 to 8 meters. The report says that the bridge was completed in only ten days from the start. The achievement was remarkable.

Modern readers, however, should not be astonished that such feats were possible, and in such a short time. Military engineering was, even in antiquity, highly sophisticated. The ancient world had a great deal of expe-

rience in building with wood and stone, as is witnessed by the survival of the pyramids and Roman buildings throughout Europe. Ancient sites in the Middle East and the Far East, and in Central and South America, prove quite conclusively that these ancient builders not only knew how to build, but they also knew how to make things last.

The use of timber for defensive walls is reported throughout antiquity, and military engineers soon learned to build them strong enough to deter all but the most professional armies; naturally, anything that can be built can be knocked down, and opposing military engineers soon developed methods of firing wooden walls to create access points for assaulting troops. Artillery of course was an additional source of destructive power, and was used to create holes in defenses.

The Assyrians were masters of the art of fortification, which was known in the Middle East even before 1000 BCE, but they were also good at knocking things down. They developed siege towers and battering rams. The siege towers dominated enemy walls, allowing troops to climb the defenses and get in; battering rams simply knocked holes in gates or walls, for the same purpose.

Ancient and medieval armies sometimes fought in the field, but they often confronted each other when one side was firmly ensconced within the defensive walls of a city or a castle. Caesar at Alesia (now known as Alise-Ste-Reine, near the source of the Seine River in France) used military engineering to great effect: He built an inner defensive wall around the defended town to keep the Alesians in, and then built another defensive wall around his troops, to keep any relieving force out. All construction was of wood, and the resulting walls were models of effectiveness that even today stand as examples of how to construct defensive walls.

Sieges created work opportunities for two groups of specialist troops. Artillerymen pounded the walls and defenses with their artillery (both early tension- and gravity-powered artillery and later guns) and engineers were employed within to construct and maintain the defenses, and outside to destroy them. Tunneling and mining became part of military engineering, and tunnels



### **Roman fortifications at Segontium, Wales from the second century CE.**

vehicles were known to have crossed a river where there was no known bridge. Careful observation finally provided the answer: The Russians were building, under cover of darkness, bridges that were six inches under the water. This allowed them to move their tanks across the rivers to the complete surprise of the Germans. Engineers can come up with surprising solutions on occasions.

would be dug beneath towers with the tunnel supported by massive timbers to prevent cave-ins. Once complete the tunnel was then filled with timber and fired. The resulting failure of the previously installed supporting timbers would often bring the defensive work down, and examples of the results can be seen today in many European castles.

### **Trenches and Bridges**

Another aspect of military engineering was the construction of trenches, or saps. To approach a well-defended town or castle assaulting troops needed cover, often already cleared away by the defenders. So trenches were dug, which got nearer and nearer to the target until the walls and defenses were within arrow or artillery range. Naturally the walls still needed breaching before troops could get in, but the engineers had that problem solved once they could get up to the foot of the walls.

River crossing has already been mentioned; it is important to move troops freely across the battlefield, and when maneuvering they must be able to get across rivers. Bridging works to supplement existing bridges, or to replace them if they have been destroyed, is an important task for the military engineer today as well as yesterday. Speed is of the essence, for a quickly built crossing can often gain time and provide the element of surprise always needed by attacking forces, and even by a retreating force. The importance of the Rhine bridges during the Second World War are a case in point: With the bridges intact the Allies could advance quickly; without them they had the task of building new bridges under fire.

The Russians developed a bridging technique that confounded the Germans. Often Russian armor and

### **Vauban's Fortifications**

Military defensive engineering was of particular importance once firearms and guns appeared on the battlefield. The French were masters of the defensive art, and Sébastien Le Prestre, Marshal Vauban (1633–1707), was the master of the art of siegecraft and fortification. Sieges had been part of military activity from the first moment that humans built walls and watchtowers, but Vauban made a science of what previously had been an art. In the attack the Vauban system prescribed an approach to the defenses by means of a series of trenches, first to bring the siege artillery within range, and then to get the infantry, archers, and engineers close to the base of the walls. The engineers then prepared fascines (bundles of wood) to fill in ditches and moats, and assault towers or mines to overcome the defenses of the outer walls. Often a further siege was necessary when the defenders had secondary defenses within the main walls.

Vauban also found time to create a system of defense: This was based on walls that were angled so that artillery shot and shells would have the least effect, as well as wide wall bases and countermining to defeat the enemy miners. As defense against attacking infantry Vauban's walls were pierced with firing loopholes (slots cut through the walls that were narrow on the outside, but wide enough on the inside to allow the firer room to move and use his weapon), and traps were built into which attacking infantry would be forced, after which they would be fired on by cannon emplaced within the secondary walls of the defenses.

### **World War I**

The First World War should never have happened. It should not have happened because there was no need for

it, and it should not have happened the way it did: Men disappeared into trenches after the first few months and then spent over three years fruitlessly trying to prove that the machine gun, artillery, and barbed wire could not stop a determined attack.

The infantry of the time were well trained in digging, as infantry have been since time began, but they were transformed into military engineers when the movement stopped. The Germans had outrun their supply lines, and both sides were exhausted by the early fighting and the punishing marches they were forced to undertake. The defenders, essentially the French and the British, had their backs to the wall when they decided to dig in to make a last stand before Paris. The Germans dug in as well, to try to get some rest before the final push. And that is how things stood for nearly four years.

Trench systems were of unbelievable complexity. There were three parallel lines of trenches (very similar to Vauban's system) with communication trenches running between them. However in the front line, where shelling was most frequent, the trenches were often knee deep in water and mud, and in perpetual need of work to shore up cave-ins. British and French trenches were built in a less permanent way than those of the Germans, because the French and British were always planning to advance from their positions. The Germans were more methodical, and built much deeper, better underground living quarters, which were meant to be shell proof.

The First World War was an example of siegecraft fought with more modern weapons. Rifle fire was far less effective than machine-gun and artillery fire, and the defender always had the advantage until tactics changed in the spring of 1918. Even the much vaunted tanks were incapable of making the necessary breakthrough because the engineers could not fill every shell hole in the battlefield, nor make every remaining bridge capable of supporting a tank.

## **World War II**

The Second World War saw military engineering develop its repertoire still further, and the techniques of that war

still work today, albeit with even more sophisticated equipment. There were concrete bunkers to be built (the French Maginot Line and the German West Wall being two enormously expensive and extensive static defense systems), and the means to defeat them to be considered. There were portable bridges to be designed, which could be quickly erected across waterways where bridges had been destroyed (the British Bailey bridge is the prime example of this). Engineers also started to become specialist assault troops: The Germans included *Pioniere* (or field engineers) in their frontline troops, and the record of their achievements includes many assaults on Vauban-style forts, which were reduced by means of demolition charges and flamethrowers. In the First World War the Vauban forts withstood months of shelling, as shown by the battle of Verdun.

An early example of specialist engineer operations in the Second World War was the German glider-borne attack on the Belgian fort at Eben Emael, which obstructed the planned German advance across Belgium when the invasion of the West began on 10 May 1940. Landing on the roof of the fort, the German engineers disabled all the gun emplacements with shaped charges that had good concrete-defeating power.

Engineers were employed on every front in the Second World War, including in the Pacific War against the Japanese, where specialist engineering equipment, such as bulldozers, was often needed to supplement flamethrowers and demolition charges to defeat the defending bunker positions. Throughout the war engineers both destroyed obstacles and built them, and they also built many airfields right behind the front lines.

More specialist engineering equipment was designed and used on D-Day, 6 June 1944, when Allied forces under General Dwight D. Eisenhower landed on the Normandy beaches to start the western push on Germany. Swimming tanks, anti-bunker tanks, and flamethrower tanks all arrived on the beachhead at the same time as the infantry, and they were fundamental in enabling the British and Canadian forces to get through the first line of defenses and start inland. Surprisingly, the majority of this equipment was, although offered, not taken up

by the American forces, who suffered their absence to some extent.

## The Present Day

Military engineering is a special form of soldiering, but a fundamentally important one. Infantry cannot carry the engineering equipment needed to perform the tasks of the engineer, nor are they trained to do so. Modern engineer units are fully mobile, often carried in armored personnel carriers together with their specialist equipment. The field engineer today has enormous horsepower at his command, from tree-cutting power saws to fully tracked bulldozer and mine-clearing tanks. He can still both build things and blow them up, but far fewer men now can do the same job that took thousands to do only sixty years ago.

One task for which engineers receive little notice but that demands the admiration and respect of all is clearing booby-traps and mines. In conflicts in Africa, Bosnia, Afghanistan, and Iraq and in many other areas of the world undetectable plastic, wood, or cardboard antipersonnel mines were strewn about the countryside with no regard for the future. These mines now are killing hundreds of innocents, and it is the field engineers who are doing the slow and extremely dangerous job of clearing these areas.

*David Westwood*

See also Military Strategy and Tactics

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# Military Strategy and Tactics

Strategy and tactics are broadly defined terms that distinguish two levels or aspects of the techniques for applying power, in all of its forms, to resolve conflict. The application of power to secure a desired outcome in direct or imminent contact with an opposing force is the realm of tactics. Strategy is the application of power to obtain a desired outcome from beyond direct contact with an opposing force, and may well involve the decision to resort to direct contact with a foe at the tactical level. While the two concepts are opposite poles on a continuum rather than truly distinct approaches, they have proven useful in understanding many forms of conflict. But strategy and tactics emerged most directly from, and are understood primarily as, concepts for managing political and military struggle.

## Ancient Origins

One of the earliest known students of strategy is still widely studied today. Scholars continue to debate when Sun-tzu wrote *Military Strategy*, more widely known in the West as *The Art of War*, and the exact identity of that Chinese strategist. Whether written by the historical Sun Wu around 512 BCE or by an otherwise unknown author three centuries later, the first great theoretical work on strategy benefited from centuries of Chinese experience

*We are not interested in the possibilities of defeat. They do not exist.* • QUEEN VICTORIA (1837–1901)

and drew upon historical examples to support its conclusions. According to Sun-tzu, military force was but one component of a government's power. Once a ruler decided to resort to using that force he was wise to identify a desired outcome and leave pursuit of it to professional military leaders. These dual recognitions, that warfare is but one aspect of political power and that the application of military power calls for special expertise in addition to the actual skills of combat, have been shared by most complex human societies.

Sun-tzu contended that the decision to go to war was one of the most serious that a leader could face, and that the conduct of warfare required careful planning. The goal of warfare was forcing the enemy into submission, preferably without resorting to actual combat. Diplomacy, negation of the enemy's own efforts, limiting destruction and risk, and achieving maximum results at minimal cost were all aspects of strategy that both political and military leaders had to keep in mind. Deception, espionage, military preparedness, and combat effectiveness were among the components of strategy that could ultimately be used to maneuver an army into a position of such tactical advantage that any actual combat would be swift and one-sided. The mere threat of such an inevitable defeat could force an enemy into obedience, the height of strategic skill.

When strategy places opposing forces into proximity and both sides remain committed to conflict, tactics come into play. Despite their consistent focus on securing victory over an unwilling foe through the direct application of force, the specifics of tactics varied, and continue to vary, widely with the cultures, technologies, and strategic situations involved. Tribal cultures might rely upon individual combat and improvisation, while more complex societies gradually developed a collective approach to formalized combat procedures. That contrast is vividly depicted in Greek literature, where the battles of Homer's *Iliad*, set in the Trojan War (c. 1000 BCE), are fought as a series of loosely coordinated individual combats quite different from the disciplined group methods and maneuvering armies of the Persian Wars (490–479 BCE) that Herodotus describes in *The Histories*. The

armies of the Roman empire, with their mixtures of infantry, cavalry, primitive artillery, and other specialized troops, carried this trend to an extreme in the ancient world. Flavius Vegetius Renatus (c. 375 CE) describes the complex tactics of the Roman legions through a series of military maxims in book 3 of *De re militari*, a work that continues to interest students of the military arts.

### **Eurocentrism**

Cursory examinations of the development of strategy and tactics after the end of the first millennium CE often focus on the West or employ Western concepts, leaving military scholars of all cultures potentially vulnerable to charges of Eurocentrism. The rest of the world certainly continued to advance the development of strategy and tactics after 1000 CE. Miyamoto Mushashi (1584–1645), for example, described the sword-fighting techniques of Japan's samurai in the *Book of Five Rings*. The lessons he provides through the tactics of sword fighting extend into both strategy and Zen philosophy, and are often discussed in the context of modern business techniques. But the developments in Europe during the second millennium CE that expanded its political, diplomatic, and military activities to the global scale also established the dominant conceptions of strategy and tactics.

One explanation for that fact lies in the origins of the Western nation-state, the social and political entity that came to dominate European, and eventually global, affairs by the end of the second millennium. The successful emergence and growth of nation-states largely depended upon their ability to muster military, diplomatic, and economic power under a central authority in the face of both internal and external opposition. As a result of that struggle European approaches to strategy and tactics became increasingly sophisticated. The same pressures, together with complex social changes, promoted the growth of military and civilian technology in a synergistic process that drove the continuous development of new approaches to managing conflict.

As Europe's dynastic struggles transformed into state contests its armies gradually abandoned their feudal structures to become professional organizations equipped

## "The Charge of the Light Brigade", by Alfred, Lord Tennyson

*This classic poem written in 1864 memorializes a suicide charge by British forces during the Crimean War in 1854.*

Half a league, half a league,  
 Half a league onward,  
 All in the valley of Death  
 Rode the six hundred.  
 'Forward, the Light Brigade!  
 Charge for the guns!' he said:  
 Into the valley of Death  
 Rode the six hundred.  
 'Forward, the Light Brigade!  
 Was there a man dismay'd ?  
 Not tho' the soldier knew  
 Some one had blunder'd:  
 Their's not to make reply,  
 Their's not to reason why,  
 Their's but to do and die:  
 Into the valley of Death  
 Rode the six hundred.  
 Cannon to right of them,  
 Cannon to left of them,  
 Cannon in front of them  
 Volley'd and thunder'd;  
 Storm'd at with shot and shell,  
 Boldly they rode and well,  
 Into the jaws of Death,  
 Into the mouth of Hell  
 Rode the six hundred.

Flash'd all their sabres bare,  
 Flash'd as they turn'd in air  
 Sabring the gunners there,  
 Charging an army, while  
 All the world wonder'd:  
 Plunged in the battery-smoke  
 Right thro' the line they broke;  
 Cossack and Russian  
 Reel'd from the sabre-stroke  
 Shatter'd and sunder'd.  
 Then they rode back, but not  
 Not the six hundred.  
 Cannon to right of them,  
 Cannon to left of them,  
 Cannon behind them  
 Volley'd and thunder'd;  
 Storm'd at with shot and shell,  
 While horse and hero fell,  
 They that had fought so well  
 Came thro' the jaws of Death,  
 Back from the mouth of Hell,  
 All that was left of them,  
 Left of six hundred.  
 When can their glory fade?  
 O the wild charge they made!  
 All the world wonder'd.  
 Honour the charge they made!  
 Honour the Light Brigade,  
 Noble six hundred!

with cannon and firearms. This development led to an age of relatively limited warfare in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as enormously expensive professional armies adopted rigid tactical systems and a strategy based upon position and maneuver rather than direct engagement. The resulting wars in Europe unwittingly

resembled the strategies promoted by Sun-tzu in China two thousand years earlier, as military and political leaders struggled to win armed contests with minimal loss of life and treasure. The works of the great French military engineer Sébastien Le Prestre, Marshal Vauban (1633–1707) exemplify the era.



**The invention of gunpowder by the Chinese and its use in munitions changed military strategy and tactics. This is a photo of a fourteenth century Chinese cannon.**

Vauban designed an elaborate system of elegantly engineered fortifications to defend France, providing the setting for ponderous wars of maneuver in which tactics became mechanical exercises. Highly disciplined soldiers moved in prescribed patterns even under hostile fire. Military campaigns focused upon the conquest of key locations rather than the subjugation or destruction of the enemy and so became works of logistics and engineering little different from their fortified targets. Recently developed sailing warships equipped with heavy cannon began engaging in elaborately scripted maneuvers, codified in England by the Fighting Instructions of 1691, which limited both the risks and effectiveness of naval engagements as they restricted tactical options.

Many of the limitations of Europe's tactics and strategies were imposed by the technology of the period, but those limitations did not prevent European nations from successfully applying the power and discipline of their armed forces against less technologically advanced oppo-

nents as the West expanded its influence in other regions. The very effectiveness of European arms and techniques, including the political organization of the state, promoted their eventual adoption or assimilation by colonial subjects and opponents alike in forms adapted to local requirements. Europeans also learned from the successes and failures that resulted from applying their codified manuals of arms and tactical systems against the warriors of other cultures, increasing the breadth of their formal study of strategy and tactics.

The advent of truly national wars in the wake of the French Revolution expanded the scope of European strategy and restored fluidity to tactical systems on both land and sea, largely due to the influence of France's Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) and Britain's Horatio Nelson (1758–1805). Industrialization expanded the lethality of the armies and navies employing the new techniques it promoted, and armed forces around the globe struggled to adapt to the rapid changes in warfare. When the American Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840–1914) began constructing a theory of maritime power based upon the British experience Japan became one of the first nations to construct a navy accordingly, indicative of the growing dominance of Western approaches to strategy and tactics. But the twentieth century caught all nations unprepared.

## **Twentieth Century**

Indicators of the horrific potential of industrialized total warfare in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries went largely unheeded, and the devastation of World War I (1914–1918) shocked the world when increases in weapons effectiveness and logistical capabilities left the nations of Western Europe without effective offensive tactics. Efforts to break the resulting stalemate on the Western Front accelerated the development of weapons such as the airplane, tank, submarine, and poison gas. The war's aftermath produced a series of arms control agreements and the League of Nations, as world leaders sought to expand diplomatic options and place limits upon military capabilities. But the same period expanded the new concepts of strategic bombing and unrestricted submarine warfare, designed to destroy an enemy's will

and ability to resist by targeting its civilian population, and the mobile, combined-arms warfare that would be implemented by the Germans. Wars had become so complex that a level between the strategic and tactical, the operational, gradually began to enter the military lexicon. The operational level of conflict pursues goals and approaches defined by strategy by orchestrating the elements of power to obtain tactical success, linking the extremes of the strategic–tactical continuum.

World War II (1939–1945) demonstrated this continuum as nations pursued both individual and collective strategies, materialized in operations throughout the world that produced innumerable engagements at the tactical level. As a total war for all involved, every aspect of national power became a tool of strategy that could be harnessed. That concept of national power continued to define many countries' approach to the Cold War (1945–1991) that followed.

The introduction of nuclear weapons brought a new potential to warfare, and the strategies that nuclear powers developed grew out of the doctrines of strategic bombing. Deterrence through assured destruction became a stated goal of some national policies. Some nations developed nuclear weapons for tactical use, but the immense destructive power of fission, and later fusion, bombs and the difficulty in distinguishing between their tactical and strategic roles has prevented their tactical employment thus far. The threat of escalating from conventional non-nuclear to tactical, and then strategic, nuclear warfare played a large part in restricting the Cold War between the coalitions led by the Soviet Union and the United States to indirect military action and other forms of conflict.

### **Twenty-First Century Outlook**

The twenty-first century is presenting notable challenges to the predominant strategic and tactical systems that emerged out of the Western tradition, with their emphasis on state actors, professional militaries, and distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate targets. The end of the Cold War is producing a multi-polar world domi-

nated by the split between the beneficiaries and opponents of economic globalization, and tactics and strategies long relegated to the periphery of military and diplomatic conflict are becoming more prominent. It should not be surprising that many of the techniques weak groups are choosing to use in conflicts against the powerful are regarded by their targets as criminal or uncivilized behavior. They are the strategies and tactics that criminals, rebels, and other weak groups have traditionally used to force behavior upon or secure an outcome from a stronger foe.

The resulting struggles between the strong and the weak are defined as asymmetrical warfare. While the use of terror and intimidation, indiscriminate destruction, kidnapping, and suicide attacks are all ancient tactical and strategic options, they pose a serious challenge to security forces and diplomatic systems developed to pursue different strategies. The world's leading powers will adapt their strategies and tactics to the increased prominence of this formerly marginal threat as they continue to face more conventional means of resolving conflicts.

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## **Military Training and Discipline**

A mass of men, however well armed, will never be a match for a well-trained and highly disciplined force that has the task of defeating the mob. Since the birth of nation-states, an army has been part of the organization



**The Guard Corps at the Forbidden City in Beijing, China, in 2004. These men are tasked with guarding the largest imperial palace in China.**

of the state, but armies have not always been a permanent feature within states. In early history armies were often brought into being at times of crisis and were disbanded once the moment had passed. At the same time certain states and tribes with superior training and experience in military arts and strong discipline began to hire themselves out as mercenaries.

### **Training and Punishment**

From ancient times, all military leaders have attempted to instill discipline into their troops, and the best method of doing this is by training, backed by military discipline. Initial training puts men into groups in which they will perform foot drill and basic tasks; this teaches the men to work together and to work for the good of the group. As the training progresses the group is expanded and often the discipline becomes harsher. Instructors of trainee soldiers always have to balance rewards and punishments to ensure that morale is maintained, even though punishments may have some short-term negative effects on the men's sense of well-being. The aim of training and the discipline that goes with it is to produce a soldier who is capable of operating and fighting effectively in concert with the other members of the armed forces. He should be able at the same time to exercise self-discipline, once more for the betterment of all, by being well organized in himself.

Discipline in the military has always been a matter of concern for nonmilitary people; it is best expressed as

another method of training. Soldiers who have no self-discipline make mistakes and may be prone to carelessness, which can lead to mistakes and death. By contrast, cohesive discipline within a group of soldiers brings with it higher morale and thence higher fighting effectiveness. In train-

ing and later, because mistakes can cost lives, punishments are graded according to the seriousness of a transgression, just as in civilian life. The German army for a long time used the phrase *Schweiss spart Blut* (sweat saves blood), which encapsulates the whole ethos of military training and discipline. The ultimate punishment for soldiers is the death penalty, until recently meted out for acts such as cowardice in the face of the enemy.

### **Early Armies**

The Assyrians were among the first peoples to create an army, which was a natural expression of their way of life; they were bold men full of energy who were adept at big-game hunting, from which military activity was a natural progression. The Assyrian army at the time (c. 700 BCE) was built within the state, and the main business of the state was war. The Assyrian army was the first true military society in history, but it contained mercenaries: The Assyrian cavalry was composed not only of nobles of Assyria but also of mercenaries from Scythia.

The Assyrian army was trained in infantry and cavalry maneuvers, field engineering, and sieges, and was supported by a logistical system capable of supporting 100,000 men in the field. Their tactics included the use of terror, and whole populations were either killed on the spot or transported to slavery. The discipline within this army was draconian.

In the seventh century BCE the Greek city-states refined the tactical formation known as the phalanx, which had

first been developed by the Sumerians. The phalanx was a block of men—in the case of the Greeks, eight men deep—that marched forward in solid ranks, which was a frightening sight for the enemy.

The ancient Greek city-state Sparta, known in history for its military prowess, was founded around 1000 BCE and initially was little different militarily from the rest of Greece. However, under Lycurgus (ninth century BCE) Sparta became the preeminent military state in Greece, and the training and discipline of its troops became legendary.

### **The Hellenistic World and Rome**

As civilization progressed, armies became standard parts of all states, with the parallel mercenary system alongside. Mercenaries were of particular value because they were paid professional soldiers; soldiers who were not mercenaries were often farmers and peasants, called up for service when needed by their superiors within their own state. Mercenaries were well trained and always available. As long as they were paid, they fought well and were often decisive in battles and campaigns because of their professionalism.

As warfare developed training had to become more complex; troops trained in a limited number of drill maneuvers would soon be outmaneuvered. Philip II of Macedonia (382–336 BCE) established a national army that was transformed into a magnificent fighting machine by means of training and discipline allied with careful organization. The heavy infantry were so well trained that they were more maneuverable than the Greek phalanx, a real mark of professionalism. Heavy infantry, by virtue of their origin in the more monied middle classes, were better educated and equipped (having bought their arms and equipment themselves), and their training used their loyalty and intelligence to produce cohesive, effective and maneuverable fighting units.

In the Roman army training and discipline combined to produce a force that was rarely defeated simply because it was so well trained that it could react to adversity and be effective in very difficult situations, times at

which opponents would often cut and run. The Roman army was officered by men who had fought initially in the ranks, and who had proved themselves in battle as both courageous and capable of command. Their men were drilled by their seniors who had battle experience, training which emphasized the importance of maintaining formation, fighting cohesively and always being loyal to their unit and their country. The great incentive for rank and file Roman soldiers was that when discharged after service they would receive citizenship and land.

### **Early Chinese Military Training and Discipline**

The Han dynasty built up a field army of infantry, cavalry, chariots and crossbowmen. The effective use of such an army required detailed training, but there is little in extant literature to guide the student of the period. It seems that the army promoted at least partly on a merit system (as well as seniority), and that the mass of men were assembled by means of conscription into a semi-regular militia, liable to serve at any time they were needed. Men between the ages of seventeen and sixty had to serve for a long period. The training of this army must have been somewhat lengthy, because the crossbowmen fired a complex weapon, which was 1,000 years in advance of western development. One piece of literature of great importance has survived to the present day: Sun-Tzu's treatise on *The Art of War* which is still studied today. It is probably the earliest work on the subject and was read by many of the leading soldiers of the period, as well as by later practitioners.

### **The Mongols and Cavalry**

In agrarian states, cavalry were recruited initially from men who could afford to keep a horse. For foot soldiers cavalry presented a greater threat than opposing foot soldiers because cavalry can move more quickly (and turn a flank), and men are naturally alarmed by the sight of horse riders approaching en masse. Among pastoral peoples such as the Xiongnu (flourished third–eighth centuries CE) or the Mongols, cavalry fighting arose naturally, as pastoralists rode horses in the care of their flocks.

**During the Cultural Revolution in China, a military unit drills together in the field.**

The Mongols, who dominated eastern Eurasia in the thirteenth century, are often depicted as a horde, winning their battles by weight of numbers, speed, and surprise. In fact, the Mongols' numbers were often less than those of their opponents, but their technique of sending units of men in from many directions gave the impression of many more numbers than they actually had. The Mongols were exceptional horsemen and skilled at arms. Accustomed to life on the move, they were untroubled by weather and hardship and were rarely sick.

Every unit was trained in precise maneuver and was capable of extremely rapid reaction. Practice before battle meant that every component of the Mongol army could cooperate effectively with all other parts of the army, and this was the result of interminable training sessions where mistakes were recognized and ironed out to produce a smooth tactical effort. The method of training was above all based on repetition, so that initial mistakes were trained out, and men reacted cohesively in battle, a primary requirement of all good armies.

**Europe in the Middle Ages:  
Evolving Weapons Systems**

Weapons in use in Europe during the Middle Ages had changed little from those used in ancient times: Infantry were equipped with spears, axes, clubs, or swords, cavalry with sabers. One new weapon, however, was the longbow, which was decisive in the battles of Crécy (1346), Poitiers (1356), and Agincourt (1415), three English victories over the French in the Hundred Years' War, with Agincourt deciding the war in favor of the English. Armored knights on horseback and heavy infantry armed with shorter-range crossbows were mown down



by the concentrated fire of the English (or rather Welsh) archers. At Agincourt, although weight of numbers brought the French knights to the English front line, English archers picked up swords, axes, and daggers and attacked the almost exhausted French nobles through gaps in their depleted line of battle, causing terrible casualties. Until the machine gun, there was no more effective medium-range battlefield weapon than the massed archers of this period, with arrows that punched through plate armor and mail with ease.

Firearms also began to be seen, with Europeans beginning to use gunpowder weapons in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Cannons appeared sometime in the fourteenth century. There were two types: Cannons made of copper or bronze alloys, which fired lead shot, and wrought iron cannons, which fired iron balls, stones, or shrapnel. Cannons were employed in sieges, common in the battles of the Middle Ages. The matchlock, a device for igniting gunpowder, was developed in the fifteenth century and made possible the later development (in the sixteenth century) of the musket. Because muskets took a long time to reload, musketeers were protected by pikemen for a long time after they appeared on the battlefield. Training involved loading the musket in a rigid

number of steps that had to be performed in sequence, otherwise the weapon would not fire or would be incorrectly loaded and injure or kill the user. Musket training was by its nature devoted to getting men who were being attacked to remain steady and to load and reload their muskets, delivering perhaps two or three shots at the enemy per minute. Musketeers also had to be trained to advance to within fifty paces (the range at which muskets were usually fired) in good order; they were to maintain their position in the line no matter what happened.

Throughout this period of warfare the infantry fought as a large mass. In the early days this was to present a block of swords or pikes to the enemy and deny him the chance to get to the rear, where great slaughter could be perpetrated; later it was to ensure a maximum concentration of arrows onto the target, or to bring the mass of the cavalry to a specific point.

### **The Ottoman Janissaries**

The Turkish Janissaries were first raised at the end of the fourteenth Century, and consisted of former Christians captured in childhood and raised as fanatical Muslims. They were to be a force of great renown for some 500 years thereafter. Their discipline came from the strictures of the Muslim religion, and their ferocity and courage were much respected. The Corps of Janissaries was never large, but they were skilled infantry who would build fortifications as bases around which the less effective Turkish cavalry could maneuver.

### **Military Training in Japan, 1192–1868**

For the better part of a millennium, the islands of Japan were ruled by various military governments, and the warrior elite were training in martial arts and military skills from childhood. House codes prescribed appropriate behavior, and a Buddhist ethic of detachment from the world and a Confucian ethic of obedience to one's lord supported warrior ideals. Although there were notable cases of betrayals during the long centuries of military rule, the ethic of absolute loyalty was quite real, as exemplified by the practice of following one's lord in death by committing suicide. During the Tokugawa period (1600–

1868), there were specialized schools of military training that the military class (which for most of the period, ironically, did not engage in warfare, as there were no wars) attended.

### **Training the Individual for Modern Warfare**

Rifled firearms, which increase the range and accuracy of a fired bullet, were first developed in the fifteenth century, but they were difficult to manufacture and remained the weapon of sharpshooters until the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century saw a further innovation: the machine gun, which was capable of firing off hundreds of rounds per minute. In response to this new weapon, it became necessary to train men to disperse on the battlefield so that they did not present a massed target. In less than fifty years (from the U.S. Civil War to the Boer War) the soldier appeared as an individual. This individual still had to work as part of his team, his unit, and his formation, but his movements on the battlefield were intended to enable him to fight and stay alive. Training to improve individual skills on the battlefield therefore became more important.

In the days of the line, when men fired on command, training focused on getting the men to stay in line and to fire in concert. Modern warfare, however, requires men often to fire at will and to move on an individual path toward the enemy. This type of training acknowledges that today's soldier is a far cry from the "cannon fodder" of two centuries ago, and that soldiers are important assets to be trained in avoiding personal injury while closing in on the enemy. However when defeat was facing both the Germans and the Japanese they put fewer well-trained personnel into the field, and all involved recognised that this was a desperate attempt at postponing defeat by means of suicidal operations. The Japanese went one step further with the "kamikaze" system, which involved flying aircraft into enemy warships with the certain prospect of death.

Modern training methods still begin with the need to act concertedly and in step with others. However, battlefield training takes the form of individual education in fieldcraft, map reading, communications, camouflage,

survival, weapons training, and many other aspects of modern soldiering.

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See also Dance and Drill

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## Millennialism

Millennialism is the belief in an imminent transition to a collective salvation, either earthly or heavenly, accomplished according to a superhuman or supernatural plan. The term (based on *millennium*, meaning “one

### The Second Coming

*This short piece of Millerite writing describes the Second Coming in vivid terms.*

When suddenly the clouds roll up in darkness and fire. The earth trembles, the sunlight of heaven is shrouded in the lurid shades of gathering blackness. The shrieks of the muttering fiends are heard upon the blast. The thunder of the last trumpet sounds louder and louder. Creation to its center reels. Dizziness and terror seize the children of men. They run to and fro in despair. Their faces darken with horror, and their cries of anguish are lost in the howlings of the elements. Another moment and all is hushed in the stillness of death. Earth and her myriads are aghast, and nature in all her works stand still. In the East the darkness is broken, and a cloud of glory as the brightness of ten thousand suns, bursts forth. On the cloud one sitteth like the Son of Man. His head and his hairs are white like wool, and his eyes are as a flame of fire. He is clothed with a garment down to the feet, and is girded with a golden girdle. His countenance is like the sun shining in his strength, and his voice as the sound of many waters. His flaming retinue extends across the vaulted sky. He comes in the glory of his Father, and all the holy angels with him. He speaks, earth shudders, and the graves are rent.

Source: The last day. (1844, November 21). *Advent Harbinger*.

thousand years”) is drawn from the New Testament book of Revelation (Apocalypse), which predicts a thousand-year reign of Christ on Earth. Religious and political movements inspired by millennialism have had a major impact on world history; these include the theological revolutions associated with Christianity, Islam, and Chinese combinations of Daoism and Buddhism, and secular movements such as Communism and Nazism. The human hope for a perfect world has been perennial, at least since the founding of the Zoroastrian religion, which possibly dates from as early as about 1000 BCE. Millennial groups oriented toward a heavenly salvation have occasionally startled the world by opting to leave

earthly life via a group suicide, as was seen in the 1990s with the Solar Temple in Switzerland, Quebec, and France, and Heaven's Gate in the United States. If earthly salvation for an elect group of people in a millennial kingdom is demonstrated to be impossible, then believers can shift easily to expecting a heavenly salvation, which may have been the case as early Christianity was institutionalized and became more accommodated to mainstream culture in the Roman empire. This may also apply to the Branch Davidians who died in the inferno at their residence outside Waco, Texas, in 1993.

The millennial belief in an imminent transition to a new realm of existence has had a great impact on world history in many times and places, and has been associated with a range of behaviors. Millennial beliefs can motivate people to convert to entirely new religions, as with early Christianity and Islam, or strengthen their existing faith as they await divine intervention to destroy the old order and create the new. Millennialism can motivate people to engage in social action to improve the world and in spiritual disciplines to transform themselves, but it can also motivate them to commit revolutionary violence in attempts to eradicate an evil society and create the millennial kingdom. Millennialism does not necessarily have to result in violence, and when millennialists are caught up in violent episodes, they are not necessarily the ones who initiate the violence. Numerous millennial prophets and messiahs and their followers have been assaulted or executed because of the threat they pose to the established order.

## Millennial Leaders

Millennial movements are often stimulated by someone claiming to have received a new revelation. In the study of religions, the term *charisma* refers to the belief that an individual has access to an unseen, superhuman source of authority. It is impossible objectively to validate the person's claim: People either accept it on faith or reject it. If the individual's claim to revelation or empowerment is not believed by others, then the person does not have this kind of socially constructed charisma.

Both prophets and messiahs have charisma in this sense. A prophet is someone who is believed to receive revelations, perhaps about the imminent transition to the millennial kingdom. Although also a prophet, a messiah is, in addition, believed to have the superhuman power to create the millennial kingdom. There can be religious apocalyptic prophets, such as Muhammad, and religious messiahs, such as Jesus Christ, who according to the gospels was also an apocalyptic prophet. There can also be secular messiahs, such as Adolf Hitler, who claimed to be empowered by "nature" to create the Third Reich as the millennial kingdom for the German *völk* (folk).

Millennial movements do not necessarily have to have prophets and messiahs. They may arise from the widespread anticipation and/or fears of a number of people, such as the diffuse Euro-American (white supremacist) movement in the United States at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, which includes Identity Christians, racist Neopagans, neo-Nazis, and secular survivalists and warriors expecting an apocalyptic conflict with the federal government.

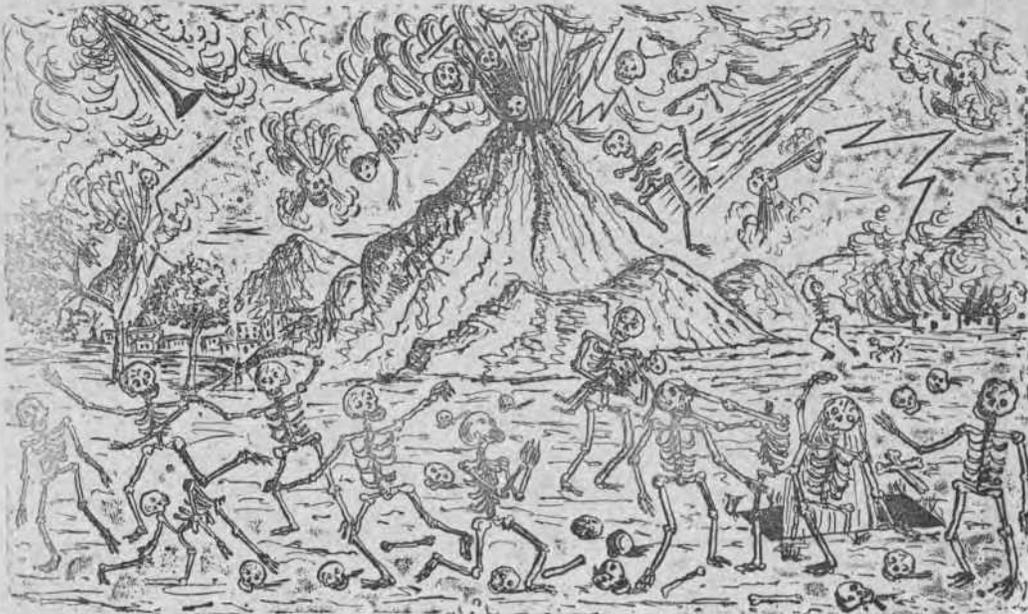
## Main Patterns of Millennialism

Scholars now use the term *millennialism* (or *millenarianism*) to refer to two common patterns, which are not mutually exclusive; millennialists may shift from one pattern to another in reaction to different circumstances. Both types of movements may or may not have prophets and/or messiahs.

### CATASTROPHIC MILLENNIALISM

Catastrophic millennialism, often termed apocalypticism, anticipates a catastrophic transition to the millennial kingdom, either earthly or heavenly. Human nature and society are so evil that society has to be destroyed and created anew. Christians who have these expectations are often categorized by scholars as "pre-millennialists," because they expect Jesus Christ to return *first*, defeat evil powers, destroy the current world, resurrect

**EL FIN DEL MUNDO ES YA CIERTO**  
**TODOS SERAN CALAVERAS;**  
**ADIOS TODOS LOS VIVIENTES,**  
**AHORA SI FUE DE DEVERAS.**



Ya se acerca el fin del mundo  
 Vamos hacer calaveras,  
 Por nuestros grandes pecados  
 El juicio ya se nos llega.



Casi en vísperas estamos  
 De este horrible cataclismo,  
 Esto será el año que entra  
 Y todo estará concluido.



Truenos, rayos, huracanes,  
 Relámpagos, torbellinos,  
 Calaveras y esqueletos  
 Verán morir á los vivos.

Todo se debe mover  
 Principalmente la tierra,  
 De sus sepulcros saldrán  
 Corriendo las calaveras.

Que confusión tan tremenda,  
 La cosa será muy breve,  
 El mundo toca á su fin.  
 Adiós pues noventa y nueve.

Debemos de confesarnos  
 Con propósito de veras,  
 De irnos á la gloria prestos  
 Aunque seamos calaveras.

Batallas, combates, guerras,  
 Sangre que corre á torrentes  
 De calaveras y muertas  
 Que mueren por ser valientes.

Todos tratan de esconderse  
 Para ver si así se escapan  
 Y otros quieren hacer globos  
 Subiéndose á los espacios.

Otros quieren hacer alas  
 Para ver si acaso vuelan  
 Remontándose en el aire  
 Para no ser calaveras.

Unos ricos avarientos  
 Dicen que se han de salvar,  
 Para no ser calaveras  
 Un proyecto tienen ya.

Una máquina infernal  
 Han llegado á descubrir,  
 Y es que por electricidad  
 Al cielo van á subir.

Otros quieren ver al diablo  
 Y tener con él arreglo,  
 Que antes que se acabe el mundo  
 Los coloque en el infierno.

Es mucho el miedo que tienen  
 Los que ahora se encuentran vivos,  
 Tener que asistir al juicio  
 Negocio es comprometido.

Amolados nos hallamos  
 Nuestro costal está lleno,  
 Y de seguro que vamos  
 Derecho para el infierno.

San Gerónimo está listo  
 Para dar el trompetazo,  
 Y de risa se va á caer  
 Cuando llegue el batacazo.

Adiós vanidad del mundo  
 Se llegó ha de deveras,  
 Adiós Reyes potentados  
 Hasta aquí los oropeles.

Adiós Duques y Marqueses,  
 Adiós Condes y varones,  
 Calaveras deben ser  
 Se acabaron los honores.

Adiós Presidentes todos,  
 Lo mismo los generales,  
 El mundo toca á su fin  
 Es preciso el arreglarse.

Todo tiene su hasta aquí  
 Y ninguno lo pensaba,  
 Que se habían de ver cumplidas  
 Las Profecías de Matiana.

Debe de estar muy contenta  
 Y ha sido la mensajera,  
 Que anunció desde hace tiempo  
 El vernos de calaveras.

Adiós los tenderos todos;  
 El mundo se va á acabar,  
 Antes que sean calaveras  
 Pueden irse á confesar.

Adiós también los pulqueros  
 Que venden pulque con agua,  
 El juicio se les acerca  
 Ya no venderán Mazapa.

Adiós las placeras todas  
 Con las puercas chimoleras,  
 Ya no venderán pancita  
 Con carne de calaveras.

Adiós también los maneros  
 Que venden varas por metros,  
 El mundo se va á acabar;  
 Se volverán de esqueletos.

Adiós amigos gendarmes,  
 Los Señores del garrote,  
 Ya no apalearán borrachos  
 Ni armarán tantos mitotes.

En fin, el mundo se acaba,  
 Todos serán calaveras,  
 Pero mientras esto sea  
 ¡Que viva la borrachera!

This broadside produced in Mexico in 1899 shows skeletons in pandemonium and is titled: Because of the end of the world everyone will certainly now become calaveras; farewell to all the living, this is for real.

the dead, judge all people, and then create the millennial kingdom (either earthly or heavenly).

Most catastrophic millennialists wait for divine intervention to carry out the catastrophic events. Some, such as the Branch Davidians and some Identity Christian communities, may arm themselves for self-protection during the tribulation period believed to lead to the end-time events; if they are attacked they will fight back. Some, such as a succession of violent movements in Christian medieval Europe, become actively revolutionary. If the revolutionaries do not have a critical mass they become terrorists.

#### PROGRESSIVE MILLENNIALISM

Progressive millennialists believe very strongly in progress, and are typically concerned with creating a millennial kingdom on Earth. They believe that humans acting according to a divine or superhuman plan can progressively create the millennial kingdom. Christian progressive millennialists are often termed “post-millennialists” by scholars to indicate that they believe they must do God’s will by creating the conditions for God’s kingdom on Earth, and *then* Christ will return.

Progressive millennialists include Protestants working peacefully to improve society by carrying out the Social Gospel, as well as post–Vatican II Catholics with a “special option for the poor” working for social justice. Logically, however, progressive millennialists could arm themselves if they felt their community was threatened and fight back if attacked, but this possibility has not received much study. And some progressive millennialists, wishing to speed progress up “to an apocalyptic rate” (Ellwood 2000, 253), become revolutionaries. They are willing to kill others and to carry out massive violence to accomplish their vision of the millennial kingdom. Scholars have identified Nazism, the Marxist Khmer Rouge regime, and Mao Zedong’s Communist Revolution and Great Leap Forward as examples of revolutionary progressive millennialism.

On the revolutionary end of the spectrum, there appears to be little difference between catastrophic and pro-

gressive millennialists, other than the latter having a strong belief in progress. Both types possess a rigid dualistic outlook, seeing situations and people in terms of good versus evil, us versus them, and they kill to accomplish their millennial dreams.

#### Nativist Millennial Movements

Nativist millennial movements, sometimes called “revitalization movements,” result when a people feels colonized and oppressed by a dominant power and its accompanying bureaucracy. Their traditional way of life is being destroyed and they often are losing their land and means of livelihood. They wish for a return to an idealized earlier time for their people, which they imagine to have been perfect. They are millennialists in that they expect an imminent transition to a collective salvation, which will eliminate their oppressors. These movements have been found in every part of the world in response to colonialism.

In the United States nativist millennialism can be seen in the nineteenth-century Ghost Dance movement, a response by Native Americans to removal from their lands and destruction of their traditional way of life. Beginning in the late twentieth century nativist millennialism could be discerned also among certain white people in the United States, who imagined themselves to be the “natives” of America. Living in the countryside and towns, and also in cities, they felt oppressed by federal agencies, and believed that their traditional way of life was being destroyed by increasing ethnic diversity, changing gender roles, and greater acceptance of diversity in sexual lifestyles. This unnamed but influential movement could be called the Euro-American nativist movement.

Some nativist millennialists, like the Native American Ghost Dancers, may expect divine intervention to remove the hated oppressors in response to a magic or sacrificial ritual such as the Ghost Dance, which was intended to bring the return of the ancestors. Some, like the Pai Marire movements among the Maori in nineteenth-

century New Zealand, may alternate between expecting divine intervention, committing active revolutionary violence, and progressively building their own separate communities. Nativists' actions depend on a variety of factors, including whether they are left alone to build their perfect societies or they are attacked.

### Millennialism Today

Millennialism will remain an important factor in world history. It might be stimulated by significant dates, such as 2000, but the hope for the collective salvation has existed for thousands of years and will not disappear. In the new temporal millennium, Christian Dispensationists, for instance, interpret events in the Middle East as fulfilling prophecies leading to Christ's Second Coming; they expect that the faithful will be "raptured" into heaven and thus escape the catastrophic end-time events. With 11 September 2001, al-Qaeda became the most visible segment of a diffuse and widespread revolutionary Islamist movement that aims to destroy what

is seen as a confederation of "unbeliever" nations, including the United States and "hypocrite" Muslim nations aligned with the West, to create the perfect Islamic state enforcing sharia (Islamic law)—a Muslim vision of the collective earthly salvation. Those revolutionary Islamists who die for the cause are assured that they will receive immediate rewards in heaven—a very dangerous combination of expectations concerning earthly and heavenly salvations.

While people in all parts of the world continue to interpret catastrophic tragedies and oppression through an apocalyptic lens, many progressive millennialists, from Jews, Christians, and Muslims to Hindus, Buddhists, and New Agers, still hope and work for a peaceful world.

Catherine Wessinger

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**The Millennium Wheel in London, England, built to commemorate the beginning of the third millennium CE.**

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## Miranda, Francisco de

(1750–1816)

SOUTH AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY

Born in Caracas, Venezuela to an entrepreneurial émigré merchant from the Canary Islands, Francisco de Miranda grew up in a large family and attended college in Caracas. Miranda's father purchased a captaincy in the Spanish army for him, and the ambitious young man set off for Madrid in 1771. He did not return to Venezuela for nearly forty years. Once in Spain, Miranda set about enjoying all that life in Europe offered. Beginning a pattern that lasted throughout his lifetime, he exploited his considerable charisma to secure the patronage of wealthy men and women who paid his expenses and invited him to their salons. Miranda entered into active duty and saw service in the Spanish garrisons in northern Africa. He proved to be an unusually difficult soldier, however, openly admiring his Moorish opponents and sympathizing with their desire to rid their soil of a foreign military presence. Starting to dream of liberating his own countrymen, Miranda was reprimanded, even jailed, several times for his insolence and outright disobedience. He requested a transfer to the Spanish fort at Cuba several times before permission was finally granted and he set sail for the Caribbean in 1780.

Once there he again enjoyed the protection of important people; Cuban governor Juan Manuel Cagigal liked the brash young man and invited him to participate in the expedition that retook Pensacola from the British. He

later coordinated the efforts of certain Cubans to supply the North American patriots, sending critical financial aid to Admiral de Grasse in Chesapeake Bay. In 1783, he was entrusted with an important mission to Jamaica to negotiate a prisoner exchange but, while there, may have had some secret business of his own. When he returned to Cuba, rumors started to circulate that Miranda had been enlisted as an English spy. Although the charges were never proven, he had already become so transfixed by the idea of liberation and alienated from the Spanish empire that he decided to defect. Under cover of darkness, Miranda stole away to the United States to witness the birth of a new American republic.

Francisco de Miranda spent nearly two years, 1783–1784, traveling throughout the United States, stopping in Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and many smaller towns in between. During his extended tour, he visited many important battle sites and talked with many important military and political leaders of the new nation. Miranda became particularly close with Alexander Hamilton, Henry Knox, and the extended family of John Adams, whose son-in-law William Smith became a frequent travel companion. He met George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette, both of whom left him unimpressed. Throughout his tour, Miranda sought out experiences that would help him understand the vast political experiment taking place around him.

In 1784, Miranda sailed to England to continue his useful politically motivated tourism. He ventured northward to Scotland in a failed effort to meet Adam Smith, but nonetheless managed to meet important academics and inventors in Edinburgh and at Oxford University. The Spanish embassy kept close watch on this deserter, sending back frequent reports on his activities and meetings. In 1785, Miranda and William Smith decided to take a tour of Europe. They sailed for the Netherlands, and from there continued onward to Prussia, where they arrived in time to witness maneuvers being held by Frederick the Great's much-vaunted military. Parting ways with Smith, Miranda continued southward to Italy, where he held secret meetings with exiled Spanish-American Jesuits. Miranda's educational tour continued



to Greece and Turkey, where he reverentially visited all the sites of classical antiquity and studied current military practices and weaponry.

Miranda headed northward to the Crimea just in time to meet Prince Potemkin and Catherine the Great on their tour of the Ukraine in 1786. Enjoying royal favor, he spent a year in Russia with Catherine, who later granted him the aristocratic title of count and promised him perpetual protection in her embassies. Miranda traveled through Scandinavia and back to Central Europe, ending his tour in France. With his impeccable timing he arrived in Paris in the momentous month of May 1789, when the first steps toward revolution occurred.

Feeling sympathy with the cause of liberation throughout the Atlantic world, Miranda joined the forces of the French Revolution in 1793. He commanded their northern troops in Belgium but failed to secure his territorial gains when material support from France was slow to arrive. Miranda was a competent military leader, but quickly fell victim to the Jacobins' political intrigues. Maximilien Robespierre, in particular, despised Miranda for his adherence to positions advocated by the Gironde (a group of moderate republican deputies). In 1794, Miranda was arrested, put on trial for treason, and jailed for nearly two years; when he was released he returned to England to try to interest Prime Minister William Pitt in a scheme to liberate South America. He remained devoted to the ideals of the early French Revolution, though, and eventually founded a Jacobin club in Venezuela.

Tired of waiting for William Pitt and the English Parliament to approve his expeditionary force, Miranda decided to ask his old friends in the United States for assistance. He sailed to America in 1805 and quickly secured an audience with President Thomas Jefferson and Vice President James Madison, who expressed their interest, even their tacit approval, but refused to grant him any official support. Nevertheless, Miranda's friends in New York were more enthusiastic and managed to outfit a ship, which he named the *Leander*, after his young son. Dozens of idealistic young men volunteered to join his expedition, which landed at Coro, in northwestern Venezuela, in 1806. Despite his grandiose pronounce-

ments of liberty and equality, Miranda's forces met with little interest from the local inhabitants. He held the town for about a week before abandoning it (along with several of his disillusioned mercenaries) to the advancing Spanish royalists. Miranda returned home to his young family and a hero's welcome in London; many of his followers died in Spanish prisons. The episode later launched a bitter political controversy in the United States when opponents of Jefferson and Madison tried to tie the illegal and abortive invasion to their administration.

Miranda spent three more years in London, lobbying politicians on behalf of his cause and learning how to manipulate public opinion by prosecuting his arguments in the press. He formed close working partnerships with the philosophers James Mill and Jeremy Bentham, both of whom took a great interest in the emancipation of Spanish America. Miranda relished his position as host to the various representatives of Spanish American juntas who came to London in the summer of 1810 and returned to Venezuela himself later that year. Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808 had created a constitutional crisis in the empire; power legally devolved upon local town councils until the central monarchy could be restored. At first, patriotic Americans claimed loyalty to the crown, but by 1811, certain radical elements in both Buenos Aires and Caracas had come out in favor of independence and republican government. Miranda was elected as representative of the remote province of Pao when the constitutional congress was held and the First Republic declared in July 1811. He was a controversial figure, though, seen by many as old and out of touch with local realities. When the Spanish royalists staged their counterattack, Miranda reassumed his familiar role as general and commander in chief. In early 1812, he assumed emergency dictatorial powers during the siege at Valencia, which fueled his unpopularity among the younger patriots.

Francisco de Miranda was taken in chains to the port city of Cádiz in Spain, where he lived out the rest of his days miserably in the prison of La Carraca. He continued to correspond with his friends and family, constantly beseeching them to secure his release. His health failed

dramatically and he died in July 1816. Miranda was not an exceptional military talent, nor was he a gifted diplomat. Neither was he an innovative thinker. He was a master propagandist and tireless promoter of the one idea that animated his entire life: the emancipation of Spanish America. For his constant efforts on four continents, his countrymen have given him the title of Precursor.

*Karen Racine*

See also Spanish Empire

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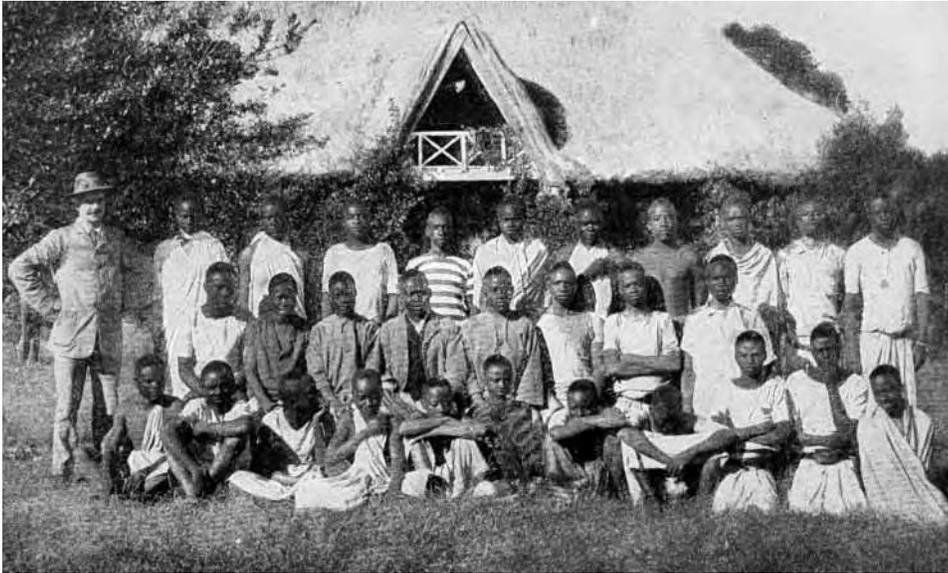
## Missionaries

Missionaries are men and women who propagate a particular religious belief, attempt to convert those holding a different belief, and found new communities of people to practice their belief. For at least 2,500 years, missionaries have been arguably the most important agents of change in world history. In innumerable ways, missionaries have significantly shaped, and continue to shape, the world we live in today.

The definition of missionaries given above presupposes several conditions. First, the missionary's religion is not associated with a particular village or region. That is, the religion must be transportable and not bounded geographically. It cannot be associated solely with, for

example, an oracle residing in a sacred grove near an African village. Second, there is some higher authority that sends the missionary out "on mission." Christian missionaries, for example, might receive their authority from a particular missionary society, but ultimately they believe their authority comes from God. Third, missionaries intentionally set out to try to convert others to their faith. Fourth, the missionary must believe that his or her religious belief is universally "true" and that all other beliefs are in error. This revelation needs to be shared with all nonbelievers so that they may be "liberated" from evil and falsehood. Finally, the missionary feels uniquely "called" to mission, believing that he or she has received a special commission or mandate to bring the religious vision and its benefits to the nonbeliever.

It is also important to distinguish between "home" and "foreign" missions, although the distinctions are becoming increasingly blurred. Examples of home missionary work would include youth programs, shelters and food kitchens, door-to-door evangelizing, distribution of religious literature, public witness, and protests or pressure directed toward religious and political leaders to come more in line with specific doctrinal beliefs, such as antiabortion. Obviously, many such activities are also carried out by missionaries in "foreign" missions, which carry the religion beyond its land of origin. But foreign lands that were considered "pagan" a century ago, such as parts of Africa, are now sending Christian missionaries to the United States and Europe to convert Europeans or bring apostates back to their faith. Major world missionizing religions for at least the last two or three centuries have focused their activities not only on nonbelievers who practice local religions, such as among the Native Americans in the United States, but also on each other, such as Christians and Muslims trying to convert each other's members. The Christian evangelical movement has targeted Central and South America for much of its missionary efforts, not toward non-Christians, but to convert the majority Roman Catholic Christian populations to Protestant versions of Christianity. While recognizing these increasingly fuzzy distinctions between



**A Protestant missionary in Africa in the late-1800s stands with indigenous Africans who are being trained to assist in converting other Africans to Christianity.**

home and abroad and “us” and “them,” this essay will focus primarily on missionaries working in “foreign” missions for the major world missionizing religions.

Through the notion of universality, missionaries consider their religious beliefs to be transcultural and transcendent. The supreme power or truth that these beliefs possess overrides the nonbeliever’s personal bonds with his or her immediate family, clan, ethnic identity, political organization, and local religious belief. Missionaries themselves, however, are seldom able to fully separate themselves from their own social and cultural heritage and traditions. There are some core beliefs that are essential to the faith, and therefore required of all believers in all cultures. There are other religious practices that are unique to a missionary’s own national or regional (as Scotland, the Middle East) culture and heritage, and these should be modified and adapted as the religion spreads to new areas. Missionaries often link their own social, cultural, economic, and political customs, however, with the universal, core religious beliefs. Frequently these then become one and the same. Islam around the world has a distinctly Arabic nature, due in no small part to the requirement that the *Quran* be read in Arabic. Buddhism reveals its roots in Indian philosophy and culture wherever it is practiced. Chinese Confucian and Daoist concepts are closely woven into the fabric of Son and Zen Buddhism in Korea and Japan. Western Enlightenment ideas about human rights, rational thought, and the scientific method accompany many Christian mis-

sionaries. While the central religious message is universal, cultural expressions such as wearing a certain style of clothing, having only one spouse, doing “manly” work, or eating in a certain manner are often required for one to be considered a good convert to the new faith. Because of this, missionaries, such as those Christian missionaries that accompanied European imperial expansion over the last five hundred years, are sometimes viewed as cultural imperialists.

One reason for this charge of cultural imperialism is that Christian missionaries, unlike the missionaries of any other religion, have more often been involved in activities that have gone far beyond simply teaching the gospel under a tree or building a church. Jesuits served as advisers to the Chinese emperor and Japanese shogun in the 1500s and 1600s. Franciscan, Dominican, and other Catholic missionaries owned slaves in the Americas, and both Protestant and Catholic missionary societies owned vast plantations and lands abroad. Besides their ministry, and sometimes instead of their ministry, Christian missionaries were involved in myriad secular activities, including establishing schools and colleges, setting up hospitals and clinics, serving as doctors, nurses, translators, interpreters, government agents, merchants, and military advisers. This involvement in local economies, governments, and cultures had an immense impact on societies and peoples around the world. To cite just one example, many newly independent countries in the second half of the twentieth century, particularly in Africa, were led by men who had obtained their primary and often higher education in Christian missionary schools, which led them to be very “westernized” in their thinking and attitudes.

## Missionaries in Hawaii

*The following is an excerpt from a report of Protestant missionaries who conducted a two-month survey of the Hawaiian Islands in 1823, four years after idols were abolished.*

But though the chiefs have renounced their ancient idolatry, and the priests no longer perform the mystic and bloody rites of the heiau, (Temple), and though on the ruins of their temples, altars are now erecting for the worship of the living God, yet the deep impressions made in childhood, by the songs, legends, and horrid rites connected with their long established superstitions, and the feelings and habits cherished by them in subsequent life, are not, by the simple proclamation of a king, or the resignation of a priest, to be removed at once from the mind of the unenlightened Hawaiian, who, in the sighing of the breeze, the gloom of night, the boding eclipse, the meteor's glance, the lightning's flash, the thunder's roar, the earthquake's shock, is accustomed to recognize the dreaded presence of some unpropitious

deity. Nor must we be surprised, if the former views which the Hawaiian has been accustomed to entertain respecting Pele, the goddess he supposes to preside over volcanoes, should not at once be eradicated; as he is continually reminded of her power, by almost every object that meets his eye, from the rude cliffs of lava, against which the billows of the ocean dash, even to the lofty craters, her ancient seat amid perpetual snows. Nor is it to be expected, that those who feel themselves to have been released from the oppressive demands of their former religion, will, until they are more enlightened, be in haste to adopt a substitute, which presents imperious claims in direct opposition to all their unhallowed affections; especially since, while thus ignorant of the nature of Christianity, their recollections of the past must awaken fears of evil, perhaps not less dreadful than those from which they have just escaped.

Source: Ellis, W. (1917). *Narrative of a tour through Hawaii, or Owhyhee: With observations on the natural history of the Sandwich Islands, and remarks on the manners, customs, traditions, history, and language of their inhabitants* (p. 11). Honolulu, Hawaii: Hawaiian Gazette Co. Ltd.

Implicit in the charge of cultural imperialism is the idea that the missionary has employed some type of force, coercion, or deception on the convert to convince him to abandon traditional ways and accept new ones. It is true that at some time in its past, every missionizing religion has been advanced through force—Islam by conquest, Buddhism by zealous feudal warlords, Christianity through the Inquisition. Still, it is also true that each of these religions recognizes that forced conversion is a counterfeit conversion, and that converts must come to their new faith with a free and open heart. The Quran, for example, declares, “There is no compulsion (force) in religion” (2:256).

Conversion is a major topic of study in its own right and is too complex to discuss in any detail here. But, depending on the culture in which one lives, conversion to a new religion may require the abandonment of all or large parts of one's birth culture. In many societies religion and culture and daily life are all so closely linked together that it is impossible to change one without changing all. The missionary, who believes absolutely in the

correctness of his or her vision and the benefits, such as eternal salvation, to be gained from it, will argue that each individual should be free to hear the compelling and, it is hoped, convincing message. The problem arises when the missionary has the might of imperial military and economic forces behind him or her and can call on those forces whenever necessary. When European nations and the United States, for example, forced Japan to sign “Open Door” treaties in the mid-1800s, there was generally a clause in each treaty that allowed Christian missionaries to travel anywhere in this Buddhist country and proselytize freely with no restrictions. Because of the perceived threat that missionaries pose to their traditional cultures and religion, many countries with a single state-supported religion have forbidden missionaries representing other beliefs to proselytize within their borders. Many of the predominantly Roman Catholic countries in South and Central America, for example, place restrictions on Protestant evangelical missionary activities, and Russia has placed similar restrictions on Protestants, whom they view as threatening the Russian Orthodox

Church. In many Islamic countries all non-Islamic missionary activity is strictly forbidden, and conversion from Islam to another religion is punishable by death.

On the other hand, converts have often taken advantage of the missionary's connections to a wider world. For example, as more scholarly studies appear detailing Christian missionary activity during the age of European imperialism, it is clear that many nonbelievers converted less for spiritual reasons than for economic, political, or social ones. Missionaries provided chiefs with firearms, children with education, women with health care and freedom from patriarchal domination, poorer citizens with a perceived enhanced status through the opportu-

nity to wear Western clothing, speak a Western language, and become a clerk or some other functionary in a colonial government. These self-serving motives for conversion meant that missionary successes were often quite tenuous, and there are numerous accounts of backsliders and even whole villages or chiefdoms reverting to traditional beliefs as the material or political advantages of becoming Christian changed. Missionary critics argue that even in those examples where local elites invited foreign missionaries to come and freely spread their message, there were always underlying economic or political motives that dictated this action rather than a deep spiritual commitment to the missionary's religion. It must also be said, however, that many missionaries of all faiths have been remarkable, altruistic people who truly cared for the people among whom they worked. Some fought against the harsh treatment or injustice inflicted upon local people by outside forces, such as colonial settlers, or even local governments. The priests and nuns who have been killed by dictatorships in Central America during the past thirty years represent but a few examples of this compassion and sacrifice.

No matter how or where they arrive, missionaries always meet some resistance and their chances for success often depend on whom they are able to reach most effectively. In many cases they begin with the people at the margins—women, children, people with physical or mental handicaps, outcasts, the poor and illiterate, widows. In these instances missionaries are tolerated at best, and sometimes martyred by the elites who feel their positions threatened. When missionaries directly challenge the power elites they may be viewed as political troublemakers and their converts as traitors. Rulers in these situations may take exceptionally harsh measures against both the missionaries and converts, such as the massacre of Christians at the beginning of the Tokugawa period (1600/1603–1868) in Japan. Only in those cases where a majority of the elites and common people accept the new religion are missionaries able to initiate revolutionary change in a society. Generally, it has also been the case that missionaries are more effective among peoples who do not practice other world religions. Christian



**Two Protestant missionaries in China wear traditional Chinese clothing to better fit in Chinese culture and win converts.**

missionaries, for example, have had relatively little success in converting Muslims or Hindus.

### Missionizing Religions

Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam are the three principal missionary religions in world history. In the twentieth century it was also possible to speak of missionaries for the secular belief of communism. Although communism and the missionaries who spread it meet many of the criteria listed above, this essay will discuss only reli-

gious missionaries. Before discussing each of the three principal missionary religions in more detail, we should first describe the missionary activities of other religions that have had less impact or less sustained missionary activity than these three.

Although Judaism is one of the oldest continuous world religions, it has discouraged missionary work and even conversion for many centuries. Prior to the Jewish revolts against the Romans in 66–70 and 132–135 CE, there was extensive Jewish missionary activity among cer-

Statistics of Protestant Missions in China—December, 1888.

FROM THE CHINESE RECORDER.

	NAME OF SOCIETY	DATE OF MISSION	FOREIGN MISSIONARIES.			TOTAL	NATIVE ORDAINED MINISTERS	UNORDAINED NATIVE HELPERS.	COMMUNICANTS.	PUPILS IN SCHOOLS.	CONTRIBUTIONS BY NATIVE CHURCHES.
			MEN.	WIVES.	SINGLE WOMEN						
1	London Missionary Society...	1807	31	21	13	65	8	72	3,695	1,927	(?) 14,420.00
2	A. B. C. F. M. ...	1830	16	13	6	35	4	105	816	443	425.07
3	American Baptist, North ...	1834	11	9	10	30	6	37	1,340	244	1,077.00
4	American Protestant Episcopal ...	1835	10	8	3	21	17	3	496	1,614	568.18
5	American Presbyterian, North ...	1838	48	36	18	102	23	84	3,788	2,352	7,090.00
6	American Reformed (Dutch) ...	1842	7	6	2	15	6	16	844	163	2,870.03
7	British and Foreign Bible Society ...	1843	14	7	...	21	...	(?) 114	...	...	...
8	Church Missionary Society ...	1844	28	17	5	50	11	81	2,832	2,041	3,469.20
9	English Baptist ...	1845	21	16	...	37	1	8	1,130	210	425.00
10	Methodist Episcopal, North ...	1847	32	31	17	80	43	91	3,903	1,288	4,490.91
11	Seventh Day Baptist... ..	1847	2	2	1	5	...	1	30	9	...
12	American Baptist, South ...	1847	7	6	7	20	7	18	776	292	687.70
13	Basel Mission... ..	1847	24	19	...	43	2	49	1,885	692	949.86
14	English Presbyterian ...	1847	24	16	10	50	8	89	3,428	575	5,435.10
15	Rhenish Mission ...	1847	4	2	...	6	1	4	154	37	50.00
16	Methodist Episcopal, South ...	1848	10	9	15	34	4	7	286	855	246.91
17	Berlin Founding Hospital ...	1850	1	1	4	6	...	1	27	80	...
18	Wesleyan Missionary Society ...	1852	25	12	6	43	2	33	975	552	403.00
19	Woman's Union Mission ...	1859	...	...	4	4	...	2	30	109	8.18
20	Methodist New Connexion ...	1860	7	4	1	12	...	36	1,232	180	101.00
21	Society Promotion Female Educ. ...	1864	...	...	7	7	...	...	...	...	...
22	United Presbyterian, Scotch ...	1865	7	5	1	13	...	14	773	67	(?) 150.00
23	China Inland Mission ...	1865	139	62	115	316	12	118	2,415	153	459.45
24	American Presbyterian, South ...	1867	10	6	3	19	...	5	82	300	92.00
25	United Methodist Free Church ...	1868	3	3	...	6	2	8	329	72	263.00
26	National Bible Society of Scotland ...	1868	4	2	...	6	...	(?) 60	...	...	...
27	Irish Presbyterian ...	1869	3	3	...	6	...	12	68	...	...
28	Canadian Presbyterian ...	1871	5	4	1	10	2	50	2,650	318	491.80
29	Society Propagation of the Gospel ...	1874	(?) 5	2	4	(?) 11	...	...	...	...	...
30	American Bible Society ...	1876	7	4	...	11	...	33	...	...	...
31	Established Church of Scotland ...	1878	1	1	...	2	...	3	30	80	...
32	Berlin Mission ...	1882	4	4	1	9	3	21	500	70	...
33	Allem. Ev. Prot. Miss. Gesell. ...	1884	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
34	Bible Christians ...	1885	4	2	...	6	...	...	3	...	...
35	Foreign Christian Mission Society ...	1886	5	2	...	7	...	...	2	32	...
36	Soc. Prop. Christ. & Gen. Knowledge ...	1886	1	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
37	Society of Friends ...	1886	1	1	2	4	...	...	...	...	...
38	Am. S'dinavian Congregational ...	1887	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
39	Ch. of Eng. Zenana Miss. Society ...	1888	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...
40	Independent Workers ...	...	2	...	1	3	...	3	(?) 30	(?) 62	...
Total—December, 1888 ...			526	337	260	1123	162	1,278	34,555	14,817	\$41,473.39
Increase over Dec., 1887 ...			37	17	39	93	...	...	2,295	1,140	\$5,936.69

This table shows the extent of Protestant missionary activity with 39 missionary societies and 1123 missionaries active in China in 1888.

tain sects of Judaism to fulfill the prophecy in Habakkuk 2:14, “For the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea.” Following the second revolt, however, as many Jews entered the Diaspora, the focus shifted to maintaining a holy community awaiting the messiah. Jewish missionary activity ceased and potential converts were even discouraged through an emphasis on strict observance of Torah (Jewish law), and by requiring male circumcision.

Some ancient religions, such as Zoroastrianism or the Egyptian cult of Isis and Osiris, claimed universal messages but were closely tied to specific sociopolitical contexts. They spread most commonly through migration, trade, war, and the conversion of neighboring peoples without the direction of any central mission authority. Many syncretic religions, such as Sun Myung Moon’s Unification Church (the Moonies), the Sikhs, and the Baha’i faith have universal messages, do actively promote missionary activity, and seek converts, as do many of the myriad independent, indigenous churches in Africa, such as the Kimbanguist Church in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

One of the oldest and most populous religions in the world, Hinduism, with over 800 million practitioners, almost defies description because of its complexity. Because Hinduism had no founder, possesses no single creed, and looks to no single source of authority, it does not possess some of the key characteristics of a missionary religion. In the past, Hinduism essentially spread by the gradual adoption of Vedic sacred texts and practices across India and had no missionary tradition. Beginning in the nineteenth century, however, and continuing today, some “evangelical” Hindu sects, often organized around a particular guru, have actively sought converts through missionary activities. The most well-known of these are the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi’s Transcendental Meditation movement and the Ramakrishna Mission, or Hare Krishnas.

### **Buddhist Missionaries**

“Go forth O Monks, for the good of many, for the happiness of many, out of compassion for the world, for the welfare, the good and happiness of both gods and men. Let no two of you go in the same direction. Teach the

Dhamma. . . Explain both in letter and in spirit the holy life, completely fulfilled and perfectly pure” (Vinaya, Mahavagga: I.II.I).

Buddhism was the first world missionary religion, crossing boundaries of race, ethnicity, language, culture, and politics. Having given his Great Commission, the historical Buddha (Siddhartha Gautama; c. 566–c. 486 BCE), living in northern India, sent his disciples in all directions to share his teachings, the dharma. There was to be no centrally organized missionary movement, but simply individual monks and teachers going their separate ways to propagate the Buddha’s teachings. The Buddha showed the way by refusing to enter into Nirvana after becoming enlightened, but living on into his eighties to teach what he had discovered through meditation and contemplation.

While Buddhist missionaries may belong to different sects, they all share a central core of beliefs, particularly the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path. They do not teach that the Buddha is a deity, nor recognize any supreme god or creator. They consider the Buddha’s message universal, one truth having relevance for one mankind. As there is no concept of sin in the dharma, Buddhist missionaries do not offer salvation, but rather the overcoming of, and freedom from, ignorance. They also believe that no outside spiritual force or deity, including the Buddha, can give one enlightenment. After hearing the dharma teachings, each individual must experience and realize the truth for oneself. Buddhist missionaries are unique in not competing against missionaries from other religions. They are never to use coercion or violence to gain converts, never to try to convert someone who is content in his or her own faith, never to speak disparagingly of other faiths. Intolerance, dogmatism, and religious fanaticism are decidedly non-Buddhist-like behaviors.

Following the Buddha’s death, individual monks from the monastic community, the Sangha, traveled with their alms bowls and taught the dharma along caravan routes, such as the Silk Road, thereby linking Buddhism’s spread to the development of long-distance trade. Around 262 BCE the Mauryan ruler, Asoka, adopted Buddhist principles for his vast empire. Besides commissioning the first

written dharma texts, he also sent out Buddhist missionaries (monks) across India and beyond. Indian Buddhist monks brought the dharma to China in 67 CE at the emperor's invitation. By the 500s Buddhism had spread to Nepal, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Burma, Thailand, southern China, Indonesia, and Cambodia. Ch'an Buddhism began in China around 520, and spread from there to Korea. By the 1200s, Japanese Buddhists had developed their own version of Ch'an Buddhism known as Zen. Tibet received its first Indian Buddhist missionary, the Guru Rimpoche (Padmasambhava), in 817. Ironically, when northern India came under the political control of Turkish Muslims between the ninth and twelfth centuries, many Buddhist monks were killed and their universities/monasteries destroyed. By the 1500s, Buddhism had nearly died out in the Buddha's homeland.

After several centuries of relative stagnation, Buddhism began in the 1800s to spread to Europe and the Americas. Since World War II Buddhism has gained a wide following in the West. In the 1950s and 1960s dozens of Europeans and Americans traveled to Asia where they spent years studying throughout the Asian Buddhist world. Many of them have now returned and together with thousands of recently arrived Asian immigrants have established monasteries and Buddhist societies throughout Europe and the Americas. Asian Buddhist monks now regularly visit the West to teach the dharma. Some scholars now speak of American Buddhism, which is characterized by a unique blending of many different Buddhist practices.

### **Christian Missionaries**

"Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you" (Matthew 28:19–20).

Matthew writes that after his resurrection, Jesus appeared among his disciples and gave them his Great Commission. Like the Buddha, Jesus had already set a missionary example as he gathered followers, promising to make them "fishers of men" (Matthew 4:19). Follow-

ing Jesus' death, his Jewish Christian followers, based in Jerusalem, spread his message to others in the surrounding Jewish community. Whether they were one of Jesus' original followers or new converts to his teachings, however, they remained Jews and were expected to keep the Hebrew law. It was Paul of Tarsus, recognized as the prototype and greatest of all Christian missionaries, who began to tell Jesus' story to the Gentiles (non-Jews), and he and others carried the gospel, or good news, across Asia Minor and Greece to Rome. It was Paul who separated Christianity from the Hebrew law and its Jewish context, thereby giving it a universal appeal to people of all nations.

Although there have been nearly an infinite number of schisms among Christian believers since Jesus preached his gospel, there are still some core beliefs that a majority of Christian missionaries share. Some of these beliefs Christians adopted from Judaism, such as a belief in one God, in a messiah, or Christ, and in an afterlife. The central Christian belief is that through faith in Jesus' sacrificial death and resurrection, individuals are spiritually and physically saved from death, their sins are redeemed, and they will return to God in heaven. All Christian missionaries will also teach that God is a Trinity, a single supreme being in three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and that Jesus is both fully human and fully God, two natures in one.

The missionaries who followed Paul carried the gospel across the Roman empire. A critical turning point in Christian history came when Constantine made Christianity the religion of the Roman empire in 312 CE. Over the next seven hundred years, missionaries evangelized large parts of Europe, Ireland, Asia Minor (including the important city of Constantinople), and North Africa. Much of this missionary work was undertaken by monastic monks, such as the Nestorians and Cistercians.

The second millennium began with the Great Schism of 1054, which divided Christianity between the Roman Catholic Church in Western Europe and the Orthodox Church in Eastern Europe and Russia. Both branches now sent out missionaries. The European Reformation that began in the 1520s gave rise to numerous Protestant



**A Spanish mission in Central Mexico.**

sects but conflicts with the Roman Catholic Church and constant fissures and schisms prevented them from sending out missionaries in any significant number. Meanwhile the Catholic Church dominated the missionary field, sending Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, and others to the Americas, India, and Asia. Since Protestants entered the mission field in the late 1700s, Christian missionaries have encircled the globe, often accompanying Europe's imperial expansion.

While this discussion has focused on organized forms of Christian foreign missionary activity, it is also true that every Christian is expected to make public witness of his or her faith; in effect, to be a missionary. There are several statements attributed to Jesus in the New Testament that Christians believe call on them to personally spread the gospel. One such statement is found in Mark: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every crea-

ture" (16:15). Thus, while Christian churches send missionaries abroad, members of their congregations serve the "home" mission.

### **Islamic Missionaries**

"Invite (all) to the way of Your Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious. For Your Lord knows the best, who have strayed away from His path" (Quran 16:125).

Islam is always described as a missionary religion, it has a universal message, and it has been one of the fastest-growing religions in world history. It now numbers well over a billion members worldwide. There has never been, however, a sustained and organized missionary effort in Islam to spread the message said to have been given by God to Muhammad (c. 570–632) and recorded in the Quran.

In the Quran there are many suras, or chapters, that can be interpreted as referring to missionary work. Like the earlier examples of the Buddha and Jesus, Muhammad was the first missionary for Islam. His missionary role is described clearly in the Quran: "O you prophet, we have sent you as a witness and a herald of good tidings, and a warner, and someone who invites people unto God by His permission, and as an illuminating lamp" (33:45). But the Quran also relates that Muhammad is only the messenger, whose duty is simply to convey the message, not to convert his audience to Islam: "It is not required of you (O Muhammad), to set them on the right path but it is God who guides whom He wills" (2:272). Muhammad is to convey God's message "with wisdom and beautiful preaching," and by arguing "in ways that are best and most gracious." Through these and other verses Muslims believe that they too are obligated to share Allah's message with unbelievers. In Islam, this missionary work is known as *dawah*, and every believer is considered a missionary, whether through example or by proselytizing.

Although, as with Christianity and Buddhism, there are different branches of Islam, every Muslim would agree on certain fundamental beliefs. First among these would be the simple statement of faith: "There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his messenger." To convert to Islam, one need only recite this statement in front of witnesses. Actually, it is believed that every person is born pure and a Muslim, but some become corrupted and therefore each new Muslim is considered a revert, having reverted to their original faith, rather than a convert. Muhammad is believed to be the last and greatest prophet of God, but not divine in any way. There will be a final day of judgment and life after death in heaven or hell. A devout Muslim must also perform the "Five Pillars," or duties, which include expressing the statement of faith, giving alms, praying five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and making a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in one's lifetime.

Muhammad is said to have received his first revelations from God in 610 CE, and they continued until his death twenty-two years later. Muhammad's wife, Khadija, was his first convert. By the time of his death

Muhammad had acquired several hundred thousand followers and spread Islam across much of the Arabian Peninsula. Within a hundred years Islam was practiced across North Africa as far west as Morocco, north into southern Europe, and east to India.

While it is often argued that Islam spread by the sword (i.e., force), scholars have generally discounted this view. Rather, as Muslim armies conquered they also destroyed opposition. Islam has no clergy per se, only local prayer leaders, scholars, and holy men. Therefore Islam spread behind military conquest and through trade, following the caravan routes across North Africa and Asia, with merchants, travelers, holy men, and bureaucrats as well as soldiers carrying God's message. As they settled in new areas they established Islamic institutions, married locally, and over the decades converts appeared. Only in the past century, as Muslims have come under increasing pressure from Christian missionaries to convert, have Islamic associations, organizations, and missionary societies been formed to counter Christian efforts.

## **Outlook in the Twenty-First Century**

Missionaries are not easily defined, as the discussion above and the examples from the three major religions illustrate. In reality, every member of every religion is a witness and example for his or her faith. Religions frequently acquire new members in ways that meet few of the conditions set out at the beginning of this essay. Islam has become the second largest religion in the world without, until very recently, any formal missionary effort. Buddhism is spread by simple monks who depend on the charity of lay believers to survive. Many religions carry out very active and passionate missionary work but their converts are few because their message does not seem to have universal appeal.

From the beginning, Christianity has combined both personal witness and intentional mission organization to spread the gospel. Over the past five hundred years Christian missionary efforts have been aided by Western colonialism and domination of technology. In 2004 there were more missionaries than ever before in world

history. Christians alone have over 400,000 missionaries spreading the gospel and spend an estimated \$11 billion on foreign missions. The Mormon Church alone has over 55,000 missionaries serving in 160 countries. Evangelical Christians have made it their goal to convert the entire world population to Christianity and provide “a church for every people.”

And yet it appears that Islam is the fastest-growing religion today, having increased from around 400 million in 1960 to over 1.3 billion in 2004. A significant reason for this growth is the high birthrate in Asia and Southwest Asia. But Islam is also growing in the former Soviet Union, Europe, and the United States through both conversion and immigration. Buddhism is also gaining many adherents in Europe and the United States. India is experiencing a Hindu revival and many Native Americans, Africans, and other groups are recovering their traditional religions.

As the global village becomes more of a reality, the difference between home and foreign mission will lose all meaning. As transportation and communication become more accessible to the world’s peoples, individuals will be able to choose their religious faith more easily than at any time in human history. A simple search on the World Wide Web reveals that in many ways, the Internet is becoming the missionary of the future. In the end, however, it will still be the single believer who brings others to his or her faith, as did the Buddha, Jesus, and Muhammad.

Roger B. Beck

See also Ricci, Mateo

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## Mississippian Culture

At the end of the first millennium CE, the Mississippi River valley of North America was the scene of tremendous social and political transformations, resulting in the creation of what archaeologists identify as Mississippian culture. The Mississippian period (c. 1000–1600) is

distinguished by characteristics found worldwide in complex societies: large population aggregations (in the case of the Mississippian culture, some verging on urban centers), monumental architecture, an intensive agricultural base, hierarchical political and social organization, ethnic diversity, and a rich array of accompanying political and religious iconography.

### **Commonalities**

Mississippian material culture and technology, while it differed in detail, shared many similarities with other Neolithic-stage societies. Mississippians lived in large, permanent, often fortified villages that contained from a few hundred to many thousand residents. Some villages enclosed large earthen ceremonial mounds arranged around plazas and are considered specialized civic-ceremonial centers. Such centers served as the ritual and political focus for widely dispersed populations as well as being the residences of ruling chiefs and nobles. War and fertility were both important symbolically. A rich iconography involving depictions of mythic creatures of the sky and underworld played an important role in Mississippian religion.

Maize and native domesticated plants provided the primary subsistence base, but wild animals, especially fish and deer, were important supplements. Villagers hunted, fished, and fought with the bow and arrow. Chipped chert hoes and digging sticks were the main agricultural implements used to farm the large floodplain fields. Pottery manufacture and design peaked with the production of thin, shell-tempered ceramics (made from clay containing brushed clam shells) that were often painted or crafted as elaborate animal or human effigies. The vast majority of raw material needs were obtained from nearby sources. However, a limited number of materials, such as seashells, copper, and mica, were brought from distant sources for consumption by the elites.

### **Origins**

The core geographical region of Mississippian development was the Mississippi River valley and the area around its tributaries, stretching from Illinois south to

Arkansas. Mississippian societies subsequently reached north to Wisconsin, west to Oklahoma, south to Louisiana, and east to Florida. In the late nineteenth century when archaeologists first began uncovering Mississippian sites, they assumed a central origin from which subsequent migrations spread Mississippian culture across the eastern United States. During the 1960s–1980s Mississippian culture was reinterpreted as an ecological adaptation confined to large floodplains. In this interpretation similar societies coevolved in locations across the east; the theory abandoned the notion of a central origin and migrations outward. To some degree, archaeologists have come full circle to a new theory of a central Mississippian origin. This shift has been the result of new excavations and analyses at one of the earliest, most impressive and influential centers of Mississippian culture—Cahokia. Located in the American Bottom near St. Louis, this center and adjacent mound centers appear to have served as the catalyst for change across much of the midcontinent over the three centuries of Cahokia's existence (1050–1350).

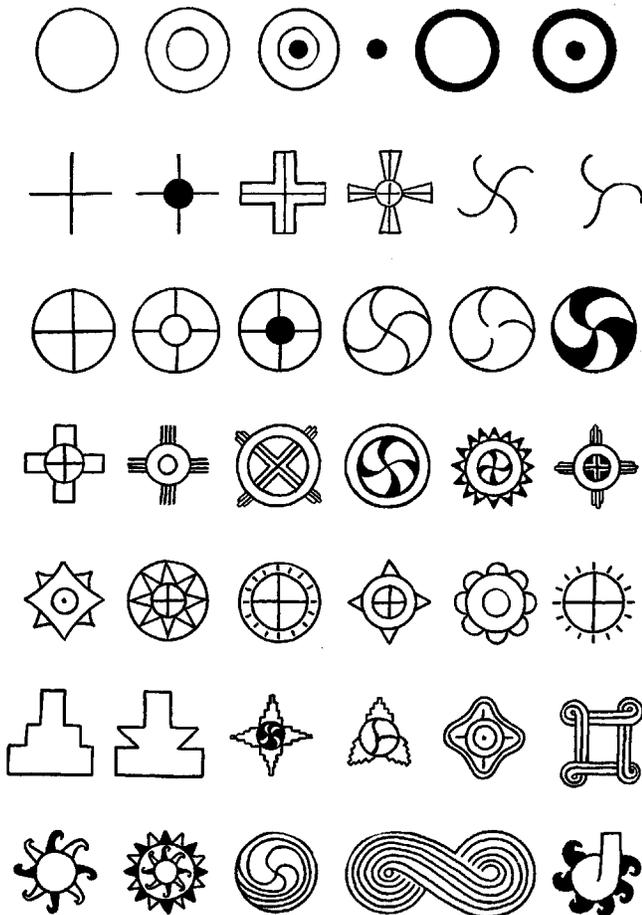
The emergence of Cahokia predates all other Mississippian centers by almost a century; it is a primate center without peers. Consequently we assume its influence through population movements, religious and political ideology, and military force, all of which were pivotal for the subsequent changes we can document in subsequent Eastern Woodlands societies. These changes are related to the emergence of significant social divisions within society. Archaeological excavations have shown that the large flat-topped mounds were platforms for the homes of the leaders and the temples of the gods. There was now a segment of society—a nobility—that was intimately associated with spiritual, political, and social power, and that was spatially segregated from those who composed the majority of the population. Nowhere was this separation more clearly indicated than in the Cahokia Mound 72 mortuaries, an elite burial ground where several burials show evidence of a ceremony that involved the sacrifice of hundreds of followers and war prisoners. Mound 72 contains a central tomb with an elite individual covered in an elaborate shell cape. He is

surrounded by multiple mass graves including several that contain only the bodies of dozens of young women stacked like cordwood. One mass grave contains the bodies of men and women who have been shot with arrows, axed, and sometimes decapitated and then thrown into a pit in disarray. It is reasonable to suggest that several hundred young women and several dozen others (those violently and brutally killed) were sacrificed as part of the mortuary ceremonies that were associated with the burial of a high-ranking individual. Physical analysis has shown that the young women were less healthy and ate more

corn than typical of the elite population suggesting they may have been members of the commoner populations.

Elite populations and their close kin and followers, based on the archaeology and the ethnographic record, are the primary residents of the massive ceremonial mound centers. The highest ranking individuals live in homes on the top of the flat-topped mounds. Commoner populations may live near or around the edges of such centers as well as spread across the land in small farming communities. This physical separation in living (for example commoners would not normally be allowed into the mound top temples and structures or in the inner elite precincts) is mirrored in death when the role of commoners seemed to be confined to providing the labor to build the elite mortuary mounds and the honor of being sacrificed, especially if you happened to be a wife and daughter. Commoner cemeteries are more dispersed across the landscape and there is some evidence to suggest that a portion of that population's bodies were exposed to decay rather than buried (a common North American practice). Such burials also included elaborate shell capes, hundreds of arrows, chunky stones (stone disks that were used in ritual games played in the central plazas of mound centers ), mica, and copper.

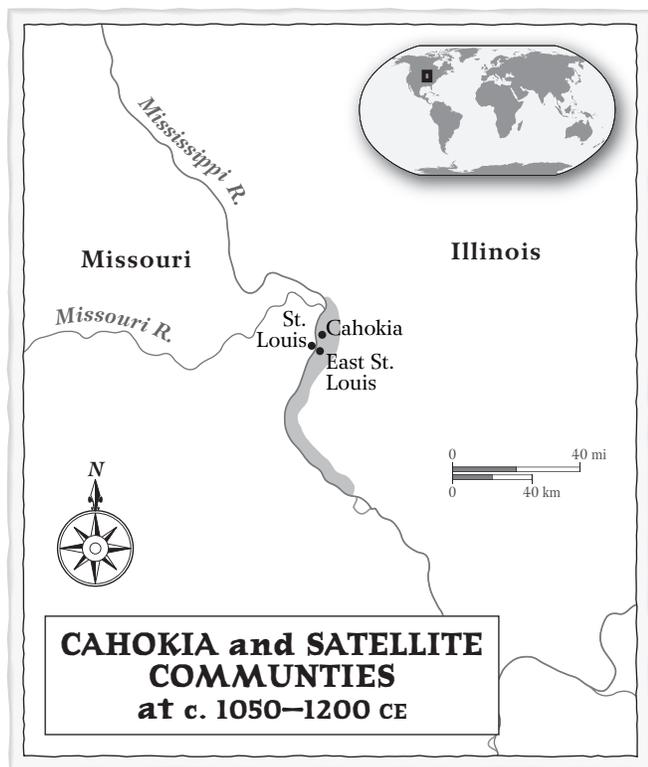
The leaders of Mississippian chiefdoms such as Cahokia were responsible for organizing large communal feasts and celebrations of religious and political events, a major factor in maintaining group solidarity. They also enhanced and formalized intricate religious rites that included priests, temples, and a rich art that focused on aspects of life renewal, fertility, and, later, warfare. These depictions included some of the most spectacular images produced in native North American arts, such as the red stone goddess figurines of Cahokia. Very likely the same class of nobles were also the war leaders in the numerous conflicts that characterized the Mississippian period.



**A collection of design elements used by the Mississippian culture. The designs were often colored red or white.**

**Cahokia**

The highpoint of Mississippian culture, Cahokia, is best viewed as a regional system rather than a settlement. It contained over 120 mounds (including Monks Mound, the largest in North America) and 1.8 square kilometers



of inhabited land. It was contiguous with the East St. Louis Mound group of approximately forty-five mounds and habitation areas and immediately across the Mississippi River from the St. Louis Mound group of twenty-six mounds. To put this in a broader perspective, this 13-kilometer linear strip contained three of the four largest mound centers in the Eastern Woodlands region. The archaeologist Timothy R. Pauketat has referred to this continuum of mound, plaza, and habitation zones as a Cahokian “central political-administrative complex.” It formed a corridor that encompassed 14.5 square kilometers and contained nearly two hundred Mississippian platform and burial mounds. Additionally, within 25 kilometers of Monks Mound, there were fourteen other mounded Mississippian centers in the floodplain and the uplands, half of which had multiple mounds. The majority of this monumental construction of platform and mortuary mounds, woodhenges (large circles of posts that are thought to have ritual and calendrical uses), plazas, borrow pits, and habitation zones occurred during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. At its height Cahokia controlled an immediate hinterland of over 9,300 square kilometers. In spatial extent and monumental construction Cahokia was equal to other early centers around the world.

## Mississippian Influences

Cahokia’s influence through political, social, and economic interactions with both its near and distant neighbors had a profound, but uneven, influence on the configuration of the late prehistoric cultural landscape in the Eastern Woodlands. In the thirteenth century Cahokia began to decline and warfare became more prevalent due to the concurrent rise of chiefly political organization throughout the region—a political form that typically incorporated war achievements as a primary role for male advancement in that society combined with the collapse of political and military power at Cahokia. Also at this time, new independent Mississippian centers emerged at such well-known sites as Moundville in Alabama and Etowah in Georgia. These new centers are symbolized by iconography focused on war and on elite achievement, known regionally as the Southern Ceremonial Complex. The rise of these polities and hundreds of other smaller ones throughout the Southeast created a diverse and contentious political landscape that lasted sufficiently long to be encountered by the early sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish and French explorers.

*Thomas E. Emerson*

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## Moché Society

See Andean States

## Modernity

The concept of modernity has stimulated much debate in world history, concerning not only its geographical, cultural, historical, and sociological origins, but also what exactly it is—and is not. It is historically a nebulous term, extremely difficult to define, both because there is no hard and fast understanding of when the term “modernity” came into widespread use and because there is no clear-cut agreement as to what exactly it is meant to describe. Most would agree that it is primarily used to identify a condition of “newness”—whether that be in terms of an overall *Zeitgeist* (social condition within a given cultural framework) or innovative advances in technology. Yet despite the difficulty of this endeavor, in order to gain the most complete understanding of the meaning of modernity, it is necessary to attempt to consider it from the perspective of its historical development. Because it is so difficult to identify how exactly modernity came into being, most treatises of the concept begin with an analysis of its etymology, followed by an examination of its cultural significance in a larger context. Many neglect, however, to reveal how tracing the origins of modernity is also to sketch the earliest foundations of

the world we live in today, and to provide a more accurate understanding of the global cultural interrelationships of which that world is comprised.

### The Origins of Modernity

Historical debate has begun to question whether or not modernity can actually be said to have had its origins in



**São Paulo’s curvilinear Copan Building designed by Oscar Niemeyer, Brazil’s most famous architect and the designer of many of Brasilia’s most important buildings. Constructed in 1951, it is a monument to Brazilian modernism. Niemeyer’s structures are famous for their use of concrete and an austere design.**

## The Beginnings of Modernity

Anglo-American poet T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, published in 1922, is often considered the quintessential modern poem, speaking to the fragmentation, alienation, and uncertainty of the twentieth century. An extract from the poem is provided below. Eliot's search for meaning and stability, as well as personal unhappiness, led to his taking British citizenship and joining the Church of England in 1927. He then referred to himself "as an Anglo-Catholic in religion, a classicist in literature, and a royalist in politics."

What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow  
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of man,  
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only  
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,  
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no relief,  
And the dry stone no sound of water. Only  
There is shadow under this red rock,  
(Come in under the shadow of this red rock),  
And I will show you something different from either  
Your shadow at morning striding behind you  
Or your shadow at evening rising to meet you;  
I will show you fear in a handful of dust.

*Frisch weht der Wind*

*Der Heimat zu.*

*Mein Irisch Kind,*

*Wo weilest du?*

'You gave me hyacinths first a year ago;

'They called me the hyacinth girl.'

—Yet when we came back, late, from the Hyacinth garden,

Your arms full, and your hair wet, I could not

Speak, and my eyes failed, I was neither

Living nor dead, and I knew nothing,

Looking into the heart of light, the silence.

*Od' und leer das Meer.*

Madame Sosostris, famous clairvoyante,

Had a bad cold, nevertheless

Is known to be the wisest woman in Europe,

With a wicked pack of cards. Here, said she,

Is your card, the drowned Phoenician Sailor,

(Those are pearls that were his eyes. Look!)

Here is Belladonna, the Lady of the Rocks,

The lady of situations.

Here is the man with three staves, and here the Wheel,

And here is the one-eyed merchant, and this card,

the Western European Middle Ages, whose dates range from about 500 CE to approximately 1492 CE. (These dates, as representative of both beginning and end of this period, are also in debate, as there is a large degree of cultural variance. The British Middle Ages, for example, begin in 1066, with the Norman Conquest, and continue until 1492, with the discovery of the Americas, while the French Moyen Age spans the period from the fall of Rome in 476 CE to either 1492 or 1453, the date of the fall of Constantinople.) Notwithstanding chrono-

logical variation due to cultural difference in historical understanding, and despite the extremely variegated and complex history of the term, as well as its influences, causes, and effects, conventional examinations of the concept of modernity locate its inception in medieval Western Europe. This is as a result of the concept's relation to two overarching developments, as Matei Calinescu describes in his seminal study *Five Faces of Modernity*: (1) the rise of an "awareness . . . of historical time, linear and irreversible," which is also an "unrepeat-

Which is blank, is something he carries on his back,  
 Which I am forbidden to see. I do not find  
 The Hanged Man. Fear death by water.  
 I see crowds of people, walking round in a ring.  
 Thank you. If you see dear Mrs. Equitone,  
 Tell her I bring the horoscope myself:  
 One must be so careful these days.  
 Unreal City,  
 Under the brown fog of a winter dawn,  
 A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,  
 I had not thought death had undone so many.  
 Sighs, short and infrequent, were exhaled,  
 And each man fixed his eyes before his feet.  
 Flowed up the hill and down King William Street,  
 To where Saint Mary Woolnoth kept the hours  
 With a dead sound on the final stroke of nine.  
 There I saw one I knew, and stopped him, crying  
 'Stetson!  
 'You who were with me in the ships at Mylae!  
 'That corpse you planted last year in your garden,  
 'Has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year?  
 'Or has the sudden frost disturbed its bed?

*able time,*” profoundly related to the “Judeo-Christian eschatological view of history”; and (2) the movement, as a result of this new awareness of time, toward the inevitable comparison between the thought and achievements of the culture of Rome, or pagan antiquity, and those of the Christian Middle Ages, culminating in the late-seventeenth-century “Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns” (or the French “Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes”). Calinescu grounds his assertion regarding the origins of modernity in an etymological analy-

sis, locating its inception in the increasing use of the word *modernus* beginning with the fifth century, and identifying the foundation of the Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns in what he recognizes as the polemical distinction between *antiquus* and *modernus*, in widespread use by the twelfth century (1987, 13–15). In keeping with the consciousness of a historical, unrepeatable time to which the Western European Middle Ages had given rise, the Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns was essentially a questioning of authority. In this case, the all-encompassing cultural authority of Christianity, which had saved the European populations from the degradation and destruction following the fall of Rome, was made to give way to the authority of the cultural splendor of pagan antiquity. It is in this way, in its direct challenge to the authority of tradition, and to the authority of the ages, that the concept of modernity acquired its present connotation, as something that invariably represents the new.

### **Modernity and Modernization**

The concept of modernity has often been confused with a companion term to which it is a very closely related—that of modernization. As the Western European Middle Ages came to a close at the end of the fifteenth century and the world progressed into the sixteenth century, radical changes in cultural perspective, caused by such events as the discovery of America, the advance of world trade and world travel, the rise of imperialism and colonization, new developments in scientific knowledge, the increased importance of the city, and new understandings of self and place, heralded the advent of modernization. Although it is often mentioned in tandem with discussions of modernity, modernization is much more an umbrella term for a number of sociohistorical, political, and economic changes than it is a description of an ephemeral cultural condition, as is modernity. Modernization, because it is so inextricably connected with change, is also unavoidably representative of the new. By nature of what it is, modernization thus provides the impetus and the foundation for the development and/or

recognition of modernity. As the necessary side effect of modernization, then, modernity encompasses the entire range of experience produced by the socio-political-historical and economic realities of modernization. Modernity must therefore be understood, in large part, as the cultural condition arising from the dislocations and disruptions brought about by the radical changes of modernization, which is also necessarily at odds with the stasis of tradition.

### **Modernity: Late 1800s and Early 1900s**

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this modern movement against tradition finds an important locus in the artistic representation of the condition of modernity, as evidenced by another closely related term—modernism. Conventional articulations of the modern and modernism during this time refer to an artistic movement with quite specific characteristics, such as a rejection of artistic tradition, an embrace of experimental form, a fascination with the meaning and representation of time, and the artistic rendering of the fragmented and

alienating reality of modern experience. Such articulations also describe modernism as something that spans a number of Western European countries, as well as the United States, manifesting itself in several artistic media, from music, dance, and literature to studio art, sculpture, theater, and architecture. What is often overlooked, however, is the manner in which what was identified as “modern” above, in the section on the origins of modernity, splits in this period into two separate yet intricately related spheres—the first, that of objective or economic modernity, arising directly from the radical cultural change evidenced by the rise of modernization (as manifested in the nineteenth century’s Industrial Revolution and its effects on Western European cultural reality), and the second, that of what is called aesthetic modernity, or the exploration of the relation between objective modernity and its artistic representation. Aesthetic modernity is usually linked with the rise of French symbolism in the late nineteenth century, and its development through the period of World War I (1914–1918) and the cataclysmic alteration of Western European and American cultural reality brought about by this event, to the heyday of the 1920s, and the beginnings of concentrated

American involvement in the modern trend that had already swept across Europe. Despite their extreme variety and detail, however, conventional articulations of aesthetic modernity tend, if not largely to obscure, then to almost completely ignore the contributions to modern understanding of nonwhite and/or colonized peoples, women, and those outside the Western European–American axis. Scholarly discourse has only just begun



**Modernity represented the rejection of superstition and an appeal to reason. This drawing depicts Tituba and children at the start of the witch craze in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1691.**

to address these glaring lacunae, with studies that examine the cultural contributions of these others, as well as the significance of their exclusion to our understanding of the modern. Such studies have opened up many new ways of thinking about the modern, not the least of which is to consider its meaning from new perspectives that, in producing their own versions of modernism, also reconceive more conventional notions of modernity and modernization.

### **Modernity: A Global Perspective**

In order to consider this notion further, it is helpful to recognize that the relation between modernity and modernization also introduces another way of understanding the concept of modernity than that suggested by a more conventional view, which would locate its origins in the Western European Middle Ages. Although there are many reasons supporting the assertion that this geographical location is indeed the proper locus from which to derive a cultural understanding of modernity, historical debate has also begun to insist that this is in fact too narrow a view. This becomes all the more important when considering the meaning of the concept from the perspective of world history. If modernity is examined in this context, it becomes clear that understanding its significance from a global perspective requires a consideration of what the modern might mean from a number of cultural vantage points, not just that of Western Europe. What, for example, is the meaning of modernity from the perspective of the indigenous peoples who were displaced by imperialism's never-ending quest for new markets, or the cultural emphasis on the growth of empire? When seeking to understand the concept of modernity from a global perspective, it is important to recognize that the Western European understanding of time (and therefore its relation to modernity) is not the only one, and that those developments identified as pertaining to modernization and modernity do not come to all peoples at the same time, or in the same way.

A more complex, nuanced, and accurate understanding of modernity must propose the possibility of numer-

ous and interrelated modernities, as a means both to gain a more accurate understanding of Western European modernity and to open a path to knowledge regarding the meaning of modernity in other cultural contexts. For example, the rise of imperialism and the growth of empire that began in the fifteenth century, with the discovery of America, led to the development of the Atlantic slave trade and the cultural involvement at different points in time of various European countries (to name just a few, first the Spanish and the Portuguese through the sixteenth century, the French in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and finally the British in the eighteenth century). The millions of Africans who were dispersed across the New World and beyond as a result of this development, and who thus came to compose the black diaspora, did not experience modernization and modernity in the same way as did those Europeans who were the authors of imperial expansion. For them, modernization and modernity represented an end to autonomous cultural development, and an almost insurmountable barrier to that development, rather than the necessary and inescapable march toward an inevitable, and primarily European, progress. In this instance modernity must represent, first, a deep and painful cultural loss, and second, the long climb back to autonomous cultural life, a climb that must also take place at different points in time and in very different ways in each of the various cultural contexts by which the black diaspora is comprised.

### **Modernity beyond the "New"**

In the early twentieth century, the disintegration of culture long held in place by tradition created a sense of almost dangerous novelty—a "newness" like nothing ever before seen or even imagined. Although other periods (such as the Italian Renaissance of the sixteenth century) also understood themselves as new and, therefore, modern, the early twentieth century seemed to many to mark an even more cataclysmic change than any that had ever come before. In the present day, however, the fantastic cultural changes of a century ago have now become commonplace, and what was once considered radically

“new” is no longer a reason to marvel. In fact, the early twentieth century’s cult of the “new” has itself now become a part of our cultural tradition. How then, can modernity be understood at the dawn of the twenty-first century? What does it mean to be “modern,” once the “new” is no longer new? While such questions must necessarily remain as complicated as is the subject with which they are concerned, they are yet appropriate questions to ponder—for the consideration and impact of modernity does not, and cannot, simply end with the end of an era. Perhaps, rather than wondering whether or not our current understanding of modernity has come to an end (as much current discourse has proposed), we must instead contemplate what it means for one era to be absorbed into another—as each understanding of the new must grow old, and each notion of modernity must be swallowed by another, more urgent articulation of the modern. What was radically new in the early twentieth century cannot enthrall the early twenty-first century. In this age beyond the “new,” modernity is more likely than not to be described in the plural, as manifest in various cultural valences, and the locus of its urgency may now be simply the fight to resolve the problem of cultural understanding and coherence in a global community.

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See also Postmodernism; Progress

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## Money

Money may be defined as a set of objects whose prime use is to facilitate economic exchange. The identity of these objects and the range of functions they may perform is determined by the community in which the exchanges occur. In modern Western capitalist societies, coins and banknotes serve as money; they are issued under the authority of governments and accepted for commercial transactions by the population. Prior to modern times, traditional societies in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific and Indian Oceans employed various and differing money forms; the most famous were cowry shells, whose scientific name (*cuprea moneta*) stems from the popularity of their use as money. We usually refer to earlier money forms that are not coins or banknotes as “primitive money.”

The anthropologist Karl Polanyi argued that money is “a system of symbols, similar to language, writing or weights and measures” (1968, 175). The members of a community, as buyers and sellers, must give the role of money to particular objects (and continue to accept them as money). But there are no objects that are of themselves “money.” A disc of metal or a piece of paper becomes

*Wealth is often defined as a large amount of money, since it is with money that the gaining of wealth, and trade, are concerned. But at other times money seems to be nonsense and a mere convention with no real existence in nature...* • ARISTOTLE (384–322 BCE)

money because a community accepts its value as money. This is easy to see in a modern currency system—in which coins and pieces of paper only represent the sums of money they are worth (and are termed fiduciary, or relying on trust). In the nineteenth century and earlier, coins were issued in gold and silver, and the metal was worth only a little less than the face value of the coin. But the use of gold and silver as money ultimately depends on the agreement that these metals have a value.

### The Uses of Money

It is possible to recognize four main uses for money. First, and perhaps most important, money acts as a medium of exchange. It is possible to exchange (sell) an object for an agreed value in money (such as a weight in silver or a number of silver coins) and then to exchange (buy) in a different place and at a different time very different objects or services with that money. Money thus separates the transactions of buying and selling (which are combined in exchange by barter).

Second, money acts as a standard of value. It enables the value of different objects and services to be expressed according to a set scale or measure. The value of a cow or the services of a cobbler, for example, can be compared according to their value expressed in money (such as dollars and cents). The existence of money then allows value to be expressed in terms of a unit of account. Linked to this is the third use: Money can facilitate the storage of wealth. Wealth can be stored in banks, for example, through the deposit of a quantifiable number of money objects, such as coins. Finally, money provides a means of payment. It allows precise amounts to be paid to a wide range of people for a wide range of goods and services.

### Money and Coinage

The European tradition of money is firmly tied to the history of coinage. The English word *money* is ultimately derived from the Latin *moneta*, which could mean coinage as well as the mint in which coins were produced. But money does not equal coinage. While the main functions of money have remained the same, the forms

of money and their roles have evolved and changed. We should resist the assumption that money has always been understood and used as we understand and use it today. The use of precious metals, as well as the use of animals and produce, as money can be traced back to the third millennium BCE. Hoards of pieces of silver, some in earthenware vessels, have been found in Sumerian and



**A large, heavily designed copper plate of the Tsimshian Native Americans of the northwest coast. Copper plates like this were an important exchange item and were traded for blankets, skins, and oil.**

## Money vs. Merchandise in the Colonies

*Sir Edwyn Sandys (1561–1629) was treasurer of the Virginia Company and an influential member of parliament. In a speech delivered to the British House of Commons in the early 1620s, he argued that cash crops like tobacco should be exchanged for money rather than merchandise.*

There are three principal causes of want of money in the kingdom. 1. Defect of importation of money. 2. Excess of exportation of money. 3. Consumption of money in the kingdom. Merchandize and money is all one in matter of importation and exportation, but in the matter of consumption money is the chief. The fountain of money is Spain. By traffic we have had heretofore out of Spain, every year, 100,000 l. per ann. besides the wines and other commodities we have had from thence in exchange of our merchandizes. It is lawful to bring money out of Spain for victuals although it be prohibited otherwise. The cause we bring not money out of Spain, is, for that we have our return in tobacco; which, if we would bring out of other places which are under the protection of our king, we should have more money from Spain. The Summer Islands and Virginia have plenty of tobacco, and it grows every year better than other; for that country tobacco was worth 2 years since but 4/-s. the pound, and it is now so much bettered, as it was sold this last year for 8/-s. That it will be a double profit to us to divert the bringing in of tobacco out of Spain, and to cause it to be brought out of Virginia and the Summer Islands; for thereby we shall enrich those countries under our dominions, and also England shall be better stored with money, when we will not take our return for our merchandize in tobacco, but in coin or bullion, as we were wont to do.

Source: Stock, L.F. (1924). *Proceedings and debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America 1542–1754* (1, p. 17). Washington, DC: The Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Akkadian settlements from Mesopotamia. Cuneiform writing on clay tablets from Nippur in Sumer at this time provide the earliest known records of transactions using

weighed silver. Other tablets from Nippur record loans and payments valued in terms of grain or cattle. In the second millennium BCE, the Mycenaean Greeks employed cattle as a form of money; in Homer's poem *The Iliad* we find armor, for example, and even skilled craftsmen captured in war, valued in terms of oxen.

The creation of coinage was an important step in the development of money. Coins may be defined as pieces of metal that are marked with a design to show the authority under which they were issued, and which indicate that they have legal force as money. They typically conform to standards of weight and fineness, but the key aspect is that they be marked out by the issuer (who is very often the government) as money whose value is guaranteed. The first coins were created by the kings of Lydia in Anatolia (modern-day peninsular Turkey), probably at the end of the seventh century BCE. These issues were of electrum, a naturally occurring alloy of gold and silver, which the Lydians cast into discs and impressed with stamps on both sides. In around 550 BCE, the Lydians under King Croesus were also responsible for creating the first gold and silver coinages.

In China, a monetary system employing metals, animals, produce, and shells had been in use from the



**Currency used by the Allies in World War II in Europe.**

twelfth century BCE. In the late sixth century BCE the Zhou emperors began placing their names on small scale cast-bronze farming hoes that were to serve as money. The use of disc-shaped coins did not commence till the third century BCE. The use of paper currency, however, began in China during the twelfth century BCE, but was not adopted in the West till the seventeenth century, where it arose as a solution to the shortage of coinage.

The introduction of bronze coinage in Greece at the very end of the fifth century BCE also marked an important development in the Western world. This enabled coins to be used for everyday transactions of a much lower value than silver or gold permitted. Under the Romans huge issues of small bronze coins enabled the economy of many cities and regions to be extensively monetized for the first time in world history. The invention of coinage was not lost with the fall of the Roman empire.

### Modern Money

Today electronic banking is a key feature of money use. Credit cards are as familiar as coins and banknotes. The study of money in the modern world is primarily focused on the nature and operation of monetary systems and the factors which govern the buying power of money. Monetary systems include the public holdings of money (by individuals and businesses), commercial banks, and central banks operated by governments to facilitate official transactions and economic policy. Modern monetary theories seeking to explain changes in the value of money have been dominated by the quantity theory of money, which posits that there is a firm link between the level of prices and the quantity of money in circulation. Although ancient and medieval societies paid little attention to the nature and role of money, today it has become a consuming passion.

*Kenneth Sheedy*

See also Barter

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## Mongol Empire

In the early thirteenth century, an empire arose in the steppes of Mongolia that forever changed the map of Asia, enhanced intercontinental trade, and changed the course of leadership in two religions. At its height, the Mongol empire was the largest contiguous empire in history, stretching from the Sea of Japan to the Carpathian Mountains. Its immediate impact on the thirteenth century cannot be overlooked, nor should its influence in later eras be ignored.

### Rise of Genghis Khan

The rise of the Mongol empire began with the unification of the Mongol and Turkic tribes that inhabited the Mongolian steppes in the thirteenth century. Temujin (c. 1162–1227) emerged on the steppes as a charismatic leader, slowly gaining a following and a reputation before becoming a *nokhor* (companion or vassal) of Toghrlil (d. 1203/1204), the khan of the Kereits, another tribe. While in the service of Toghrlil, Temujin rose in power and became a major leader among the Mongol tribes. Eventually, however, Temujin and Toghrlil quarreled; when the quarrel came to a head in 1203, Temujin emerged victorious.

Afterwards Temujin continued to fight other tribes for dominance in the Mongolian steppe. By 1206 he had unified the tribes of Mongolia into a single supratribal known as the Yeke Mongol Ulus, or Great Mongol Nation. He reorganized Mongol social structure and dissolved old tribal lines. Furthermore, he organized his

army on a decimal system (units were organized into tens, hundreds, thousands, with the largest grouping at ten thousand) and instilled a strong sense of discipline into it. (For example, troops learned not to stop and plunder the enemy camp before victory was assured; under Temujin's rule any booty gathered before victory was declared would be confiscated.) Finally, in 1206 Temujin's followers recognized him as the sole authority in Mongolia by granting him the title of Chinggis Khan (or, traditionally in English, Genghis Khan), which is thought to mean Oceanic, or Firm, Resolute Ruler.

### **Expansion of the Mongol Empire**

The Mongols expanded out of Mongolia, conquering Xi Xia (modern Ningxia and Gansu provinces of China) by 1209. In 1211 Genghis Khan invaded the Jin empire of northern China. Initially, these were not campaigns of conquest; they were raiding activities. However, as their successes grew, the Mongols began to retain the territory they plundered. Although the Mongols won stunning victories and conquered most of the Jin empire by 1216,



the Jin continued to resist the Mongols until 1234, seven years after the death of Genghis Khan.

Mongol expansion into Central Asia began in 1209 as the Mongols pursued tribal leaders who opposed Genghis Khan's rise to power. With each victory the Mongols gained new territory; additionally, several smaller states sought to become vassals. Ultimately, the Mongols found themselves with a large empire, now bordering not only the Chinese states but also the Islamic world. In Central Asia, they now bordered the empire of Khwarizm, whose territory included Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, and part of modern Iraq.

Initially, Genghis Khan sought peaceful relations focused on trade with Khwarizm. However the massacre of a Mongol-sponsored caravan by the governor of Otrar, a city in Khwarizm, changed this relationship. After diplomatic means failed to resolve the issue, Genghis Khan left a token force to maintain military operations in northern China and marched against Khwarizm in 1218.

After capturing Otrar, Genghis Khan divided his army and struck Khwarizm at several points. With his army spread across the empire in an attempt to defend its cities, Muhammad Khwarizm Shah II could not compete with the more mobile Mongol army in the field. Thus he watched his cities fall one by one until he had to flee with a Mongol force in pursuit. Ultimately Muhammad died from dysentery on an island in the Caspian Sea. Although his son, Jalal ad-Din, attempted to defend what is now Afghanistan, Genghis Khan defeated him near the Indus River in 1221, forcing Jalal ad-Din to flee to India.

Although he destroyed Khwarizm, Genghis Khan kept only the territory north of the Amu Dar'ya River so as not to overextend his army. Meanwhile, he returned to Mongolia in order to deal with a rebellion in Xi Xia. After resting his army, he invaded Xi Xia in 1227 and besieged the capital of Zhongxing. He died during the course of the siege but ordered his sons and army to continue the war, which they did.

**The Great Wall of China at Simatai. Built to keep the Mongols out of China, it was not especially effective.**

## The Power of Genghis Khan

The History of the World Conqueror, *completed by the Persian historian Ata-Malik in 1260, chronicled the reign of Genghis Khan (Chingiz-Khan). The excerpt below is from the chapter, "Of The Laws Which Chingiz-Khan Framed And The Yasas Which He Promulgated After His Rise To Power."*

God Almighty in wisdom and intelligence distinguished Chingiz-Khan from all his coevals and in alertness of mind and absoluteness of power exalted him above all the kings of the world; so that all that has been recorded touching the practice of the mighty Chosroes of old and all that has been written concerning the customs and usages of the Pharaohs and Caesars was by Chingiz-Khan invented from the page of his own mind without the toil of perusing records or the trouble of conforming with tradition; while all that pertains to the method of subjugating countries and relates to the crushing of the power of enemies and the raising of the station of followers was the product of his own understanding and the compilation of his own intellect. And indeed, Alexander, who was so addicted to the devising of talismans and the solving of enigmas, had he lived in the age of Chingiz-Khan, would have been his pupil in craft and cunning, and of all the talismans for the taking of strongholds he would have found none better than blindly to follow in his footsteps: whereof there can be no clearer proof nor more certain evidence than that having such numerous and powerful foes and such mighty and well-acquainted enemies, whereof each was the *faghfur* of the time and the Chosroes of the age, he sallied forth, a single man, with few troops and no accoutrement, and reduced and subjugated the lords of the horizons from the

East unto the West; and whoever presumed to oppose and resist him, that man, in enforcement of the *yasas* and ordinances which he imposed, he utterly destroyed, together with all his followers, children, partisans, armies, lands and territories. There has been transmitted to us a tradition of the traditions of God which says: "*Those are my horsemen; through them shall I avenge me on those that rebelled against me,*" nor is there a shadow of doubt but that these words are a reference to the horsemen of Chingiz-Khan and to his people. And so it was that when the world by reason of the variety of its creatures was become a raging sea, and the kings and nobles of every country by reason of the arrogance of pride and the insolence of vainglory had reached the very zenith of "*Vainglory is my tunic, and pride my cloak,*" then did God, in accordance with the above-mentioned promise, endow Chingiz-Khan with the strength of might and the victory of dominion—"*Verily, the might of the Lord is great indeed*"; and when through pride of wealth, and power, and station the greater part of the cities and countries of the world encountered him with rebellion and hatred and refused to yield allegiance (and especially the countries of Islam, from the frontiers of Turkestan to uttermost Syria), then wherever there was a king, or a ruler, or the governor of a city that offered him resistance, him he annihilated together with his family and followers, kinsmen and strangers; so that where there had been a hundred thousand people there remained, without exaggeration, not a hundred souls alive; as a proof of which statement may be cited the fate of the various cities, whereof mention has been made in the proper place.

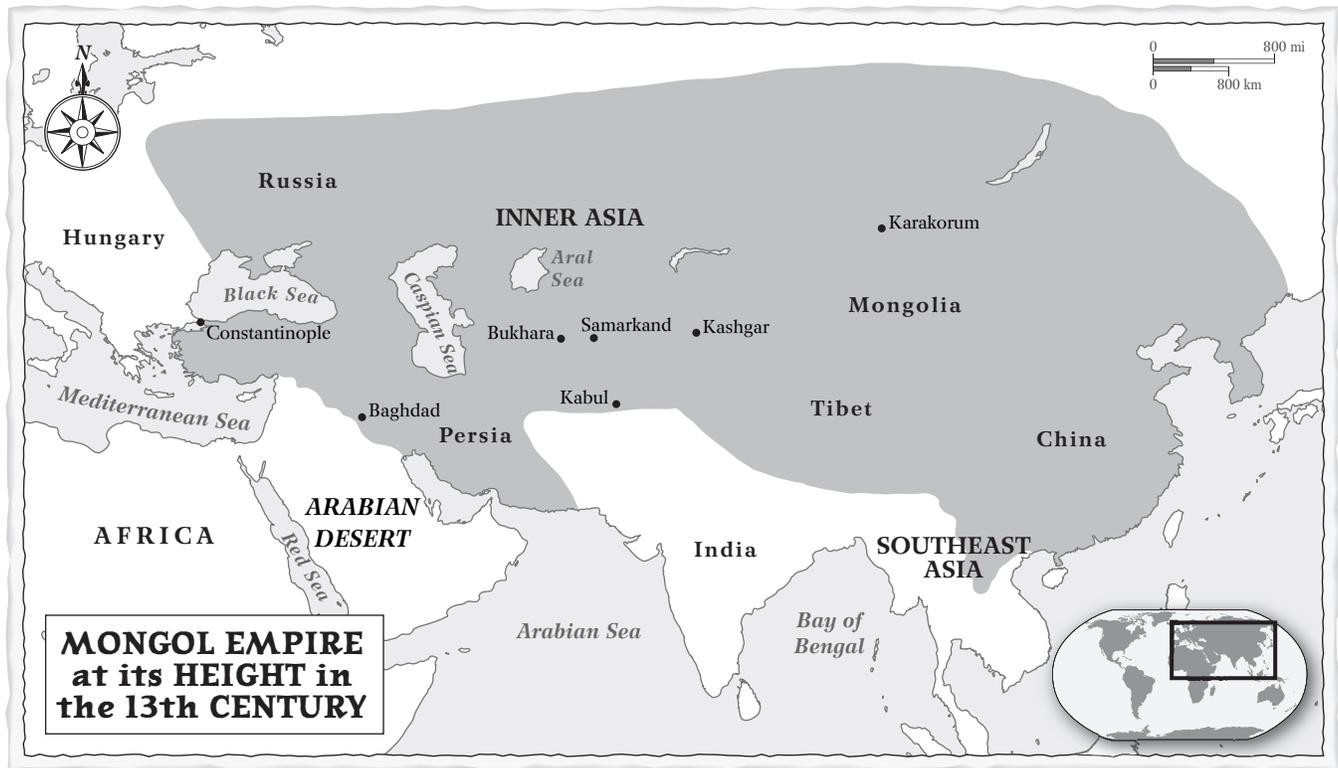
Source: Boyle, J. A. (Trans.). (1958). *The history of the world conqueror* (pp. 23–34). Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

## The Mongol Empire after Genghis Khan

Ogodei (1185–1241), Genghis Khan's second son, ascended the throne in 1230. He continued operations against the Jin and successfully conquered it in 1234. Mongol forces also invaded Iran, Armenia, and Georgia during Ogodei reign, bringing those regions under control. Meanwhile, a massive force marched west, con-

quering the Russian principalities before invading Hungary and Poland. While they did not seek to control Hungary and Poland, the Mongols left both areas devastated before departing, possibly due to Ogodei's death in 1241.

Ogodei's son Guyuk (d. 1248) came to the throne in 1246 only after a lengthy succession debate. In the interim, Guyuk's mother served as regent. Guyuk died two



years after taking the throne; his wife then served as regent, but did little to assist in choosing a new khan, which led to a coup in 1250 by Mongke (1208–1259), the son of Genghis Khan's fourth son. During his reign Mongol armies were once again on the march. He and his brother Khubilai (1215–1294) led armies into the Song empire of southern China while Hulugu (c. 1217–1265), another brother, led an army into the Middle East.

In 1256 Hulugu's forces successfully destroyed the Ismailis, a Shiite group in northern Iran. He then moved against the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad. The caliph, nominally the leading religious figure in Sunni Islam, refused to capitulate but did little to defend the city. The Mongols sacked Baghdad and executed the caliph in 1258, ending the position of caliph for several centuries. Hulugu's armies also invaded Syria, successfully capturing Aleppo and Damascus. Hulugu withdrew the bulk of his army in 1259–1260, however, after receiving news that Mongke had died during the war against the Song. Meanwhile, the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt struck the Mongol garrisons in Syria and defeated them at Ayn Jalut in 1260. The Mongol empire spiraled into civil war after the death of Mongke, and Hulugu was never able to recover the Syrian conquests for the long term as he was preoccupied with his rivals in the rest of the empire.

Khubilai eventually prevailed (in 1265) in the civil

war, but the damage to the integrity of the empire was great. While the other princes nominally accepted Khubilai as the leader of the empire, he had very little influence outside Mongolia and China. Khubilai and his successors, known as the Yuan dynasty, found their closest allies in Hulugu and his successors. Hulugu's kingdom, known as the Il-Khanate of Persia, dominated the territory of what is now Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. Central Asia was ruled by the descendants of Chagatai (d. 1241), Genghis Khan's third son. Meanwhile in Russia and the Russian steppes, descendants of Jochi (d. 1225?), Genghis Khan's first son, held power. Their state became known as the Golden Horde.

## The Mongol Empire in World History

The impact of the Mongol empire on world history is incalculable. In this section, three areas of impact will be examined: geography, trade, and religion.

### GEOGRAPHY

In terms of geography, both physical and human, the Mongol expansion forever changed the face of Asia. The change began in Mongolia. Prior to the Mongol empire, the inhabitants of that region were members of many disparate tribes. Under Genghis Khan, all of the tribes were

united into one new collective unit. Furthermore, tribal identities were stripped away as old tribal elites were dispensed with and a new social organization was forged that focused on the family of Genghis Khan. The Mongolian nation of the modern era exists today because of the rise of the Mongol empire. Genghis Khan also unified the Mongol tribes through the imposition of a written language. Having seen the value of writing among the Naiman, one of the tribes he defeated in 1204, Genghis Khan ordered that a Mongolian script be instituted. This script was adapted from the Uighur script, itself based on Syriac, brought east by Nestorian Christian missionaries. It remained in use in modern Mongolia until the twentieth century, when it was replaced with a Cyrillic script; it is still in use in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region of China.

The Mongol expansion also caused the movement of other tribes, primarily Turkic. While some moved into Hungary and the Balkans, as well as Syria, many moved into Anatolia (modern-day Turkey). A strong Turkic presence existed in Anatolia since the eleventh century, but the new influx of Turks eventually led to the Turkification of the region. One of the groups that moved into the region was the Osmanli, who established the Ottoman empire in the fifteenth century.

Other groups also emerged from the Mongols. Later Turkic peoples, such as the Tatars of Crimea and Kazan, the Kazakhs, and the Uzbeks, trace their origins to the Mongols who settled the territories of the Golden Horde. The Tatars were direct offshoots from the collapse of the Golden Horde in the later fifteenth century. The Uzbeks, named after a ruler of the Golden Horde during its golden age, also came from the Golden Horde. The Kazakhs split from the Uzbeks and remained a primarily nomadic people until the twentieth century, whereas the Uzbeks settled in the more urban areas of Central Asia in the sixteenth century. For a brief period they established an empire that was a contemporary of the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires. The Mughal empire itself gained its name from the Persian word for Mongol. Its founder, Babur (1483–1530), was a descendent of the Central Asian conqueror Timur (1336–1405), who traced his lineage back to Genghis Khan.

While new groups were formed from the Mongol armies and the Mongol invasions set off a number of migrations of nomads across Eurasia, the Mongols also caused a tremendous amount of destruction. Although much of the data in the sources concerning the number of people killed during the Mongol conquests is exaggerated, those exaggerations do reflect the reality that thousands died, and the Mongols were not above depopulating an area if it suited their purpose.

#### TRADE

From the beginnings of the Mongol empire, the Mongol Khans fostered trade and sponsored numerous caravans. The very size of the Mongol empire encouraged the wider dissemination of goods and ideas throughout Eurasia, as merchants and others could now travel from one end of the empire to another with greater security.

The fact that virtually a whole continent was under one rule helped make it possible for inventions such as mechanical printing, gunpowder, and the blast furnace to make their way west from China. In addition, commodities such as silk could be purchased at lower prices because cost of travel and security decreased thanks to the Pax Mongolica afforded by the Mongol empire. Artistic ideas, sciences such as astronomy, and medicinal ideas also traveled back and forth. China, for its part, was enriched by outside influences in art, theater, and by advances in science and medicine as well.

#### RELIGION

The central importance of Genghis Khan in the Mongol empire cannot be ignored. As descent from Genghis Khan became a key component in establishing one's right to rule throughout much of Central Eurasia, it had a considerable impact on rulers. Russian princes in Muscovy and Central Asian rulers alike often forged their genealogies to connect themselves to Genghis Khan, much as some Muslims forged genealogies to connect themselves to the Prophet Muhammad. In Mongolia, the principle of descent from Genghis Khan had a dramatic impact on religion.

Virtually all of the elite in Mongolia could trace their lineage back to Genghis Khan, which made it difficult for

one prince to assert primacy over others and become the leader of the majority of the Mongols. Thus, princes had to find other ways of legitimizing power. Altan Khan (1543–1583) did this by establishing ties with the leader of the Yellow Sect in Tibetan Buddhism, who was bestowed with the title of Dalai Lama, and, with the aid of Altan Khan, became the preeminent figure in Tibet. This courtship of Buddhist figures also led to the conversion of Mongolia to Buddhism in the sixteenth century.

The Mongols' destruction of the Abbasid caliphate had significant consequences for religion as well. The caliph was meant to be the spiritual, and, if possible, political leader of the entire Islamic world, although even prior to the rise of the Mongols, this was an ideal more than a reality. After the Mongol conquest, although several rulers maintained the presence of a puppet caliph, the institution was not revived with any credible authority until the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman sultan also served as the caliph. The result was a decentralization of Islamic authority in the centuries following the defeat of the Abbasids.

### Further Implications

The establishment of the Mongol empire in many ways marked a crossroad in world history. As the largest contiguous empire in history it united Eurasia in a fashion that has not been repeated. Actions within the empire inevitably rippled across the rest of Asia and Europe, whether through trade, warfare, or religious affairs. Furthermore, by ending several previous dynasties and instigating the creation of new power centers, the Mongol empire may be viewed as a catalyst for significant geopolitical change.

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See also Genghis Khan; Steppe Confederations; Warfare—Steppe Nomads

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## Montezuma II

See Motecuhzoma II

## Moses

(c. 13th century BCE)

HEBREW PROPHET AND LEADER

Moses is one of the Bible's most prominent figures. This leader of the Hebrews began his life in Egypt during a difficult time for his people. The reigning pharaoh, who some scholars suggest may have been

**A drawing of Moses from the catacombs of S. Agnese outside Rome.**

Ramses II or Seti I, felt that the Hebrew populace had become too large and decreed that every Hebrew male child be killed at birth. Moses was born in the midst of this compulsory genocide, but with the aide of his sister, the pharaoh's daughter, and two defiant midwives, he survived. Three months after his birth, Moses' mother crafted a papyrus basket and plastered it with bitumen and pitch. She then carefully placed Moses and the basket in the Nile River; his sister stood at a distance to watch what would happen. The daughter of the pharaoh saw the floating container and had her maid bring it to her. After discovering the child, she took pity on him, and requested that a Hebrew woman come and serve as his nurse. Ironically, the woman chosen for this task was Moses' mother. Moreover, she was able to rear him in the household of the pharaoh who desired to kill him.

This special birth motif is a common theme in stories found throughout the Near East and in cultures around the world. The theme often introduces people, primarily men, who amazingly avoid death during their infancy or are born miraculously to mothers who are barren. Subsequently, the children become great leaders. One example of note from the neighboring Mesopotamian culture is the legend of Sargon. According to Akkadian writings, the mother of Sargon of Agade also made a basket sealed with pitch after the birth of her son. She placed the infant in the basket and let it sail down the Euphrates River. Akki, the drawer of water, discovered baby Sargon and reared him; the goddess Ishtar protected him, and Sargon became a successful king.

Although Moses did not become a king, he lived his youthful years in the home of the ruling pharaoh. Here Egyptian teachers educated him, and he learned the intricacies of Egyptian culture. However, the biblical writers explain that Moses was very much aware of his Hebrew ethnicity. For example, he murdered an Egyptian whom he saw beating a fellow Hebrew. But because someone witnessed his crime, Moses had to leave Egypt immediately in order to save his life.

Shortly after his departure, he encountered Yahweh, the Hebrew God, for the first time. He was now married



to Zipporah, the daughter of Jethro, a Midianite priest. While walking his father-in-law's flock on Mt. Sinai, he witnessed a bush that burned without being consumed. Yahweh spoke to Moses from the bush and charged him to return to Egypt, liberate the Hebrews, and lead them to a land that had been promised to their ancestors.

With the assistance of his brother Aaron, Moses confronted the pharaoh regarding the release of the Hebrews. The process was taxing, as the pharaoh refused his numerous requests. Thus, the writers describe how Moses, with the hand of Yahweh, instituted ten plagues, some of which brought darkness upon the land, a cacophony of frogs, locusts, excruciating boils, and damaging hail. However, the tenth and final plague, the death of all of the Egyptians' firstborns, was the zenith of this battle of wills. This act, without question, reflects the Hebrew genocide that Moses narrowly escaped during his birth. There are continuing scholarly debates regarding the exodus from Egypt, the route(s) taken, and the famous parting of the sea, but most agree that the event would have happened at the Red Sea

Once the Hebrews safely left Egypt, Moses and Aaron began their trek to the promised land. The journey led them through the wilderness for forty years. During this time, there were problems with apostasy, grumblings



regarding the conditions during the journey, and disagreements among the leadership. Yet, Moses consulted Yahweh and instituted the Decalogue and Covenant Code, both of which would prove to be major elements in establishing the Israelites' culture and religious practices. Sadly, the brothers were not permitted to enter the promised land. Nevertheless, Moses the prophet, liberator, and spiritual leader is responsible for the Hebrew exodus and the victorious trek to Canaan. There are no contemporary extra-biblical writings that reference Moses or the exodus. However, most scholars argue that the biblical sources are well constructed and that later authors would have been unable to create an individual like this.

*Theodore Burgh*

See also Judaism

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## Motecuhzoma II

(1467–1520)

EMPEROR OF PRE-SPANISH MEXICO

Motecuhzoma II was emperor of the Triple Alliance (Aztec) empire at the time of the Spanish conquest of Mexico. Although a strong king with numerous accomplishments, Motecuhzoma II has been burdened with an undeserved reputation as a weak and ineffectual opponent to the conquering Spaniards. Motecuhzoma II was born into the royal family of Tenochtitlán, the dominant city in the alliance that ruled the empire. Motecuhzoma II was called Motecuhzoma (Angry Lord) Xocoyotzin (the Younger) to distinguish him from his great-grandfather, the king Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (An Arrow Pierces the Sky), also known as Motecuhzoma I.

Succession in the Tenochtitlán dynasty passed among male members of the royal family as determined through election by a royal council upon death of a king. By 1502, when the emperor Ahuizotl died, his nephew Motecuhzoma II (grandson of the emperor Axayacatl) had distinguished himself in battle and was an obvious choice for the throne. Native historical accounts are unanimous in their praise of Motecuhzoma II's qualities. For example, the *Codex Mendoza* (a postconquest history written in the ancient style) describes his "bravery and leadership in war" and goes on to describe him as follows: "Motecuhzoma was by nature wise, an astrologer, a philosopher, and skilled in all the arts, civil as well as military. His subjects greatly respected him because of his gravity, demeanor, and power; none of his predecessors, in comparison, could approach his great state and majesty" (*Codex Mendoza*, folio 14 verso; Berdan and Anawalt 1992, vol. 4:34).

During his reign (1502–1520) Motecuhzoma II led wars of conquest to consolidate the distant provinces of the empire. He worked to concentrate power in the hands of the top nobility at the expense of commoners. Whereas Ahuizotl had permitted talented commoners to occupy important offices, Motecuhzoma stripped these commoners of their titles and decreed that only members of the top nobility could hold high office. Nigel Davies calls this "a definite step in the direction of an absolute monarchy" (Davies 1973, 216). He also carried out a series of religious and calendrical reforms to help claim supernatural support for his political agenda.

In 1519, Hernando Cortés and a band of several hundred Spaniards landed in Mexico. Motecuhzoma appears to have done little to fight the Spaniards, who were able to enter Tenochtitlán without opposition. Cortés took the king hostage, and he was soon killed. Native sources state that the Spaniards killed Motecuhzoma, whereas Spanish sources state that he was killed by an Aztec mob who were assaulting the palace where he was held.

One of the central "mysteries" of the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs is Motecuhzoma's failure to oppose Cortés more vigorously. Why did the king not send his armies—with tens of thousands of experienced troops—to

fight Cortés? One interpretation blames the Aztec king for indecisiveness and vacillation. According to this view, the king was frozen in uncertainty and therefore permitted Cortés to enter Tenochtitlán unopposed. This popular view of Motecuhzoma as an indecisive and weak leader, however, is contradicted by his history as emperor between 1502 and 1519.

According to recent scholarship, indigenous nobles and Spanish Franciscan friars in the decades after the conquest conspired to invent reasons for Motecuhzoma's hesitation. One such reason was the dubious notion that Motecuhzoma believed Cortés to be the god Quetzalcoatl returning to reclaim his kingdom. A related reason was a series of omens throughout his reign that supposedly alerted Motecuhzoma to his impending doom. These stories "explained" Motecuhzoma's behavior and allowed the surviving colonial-period Aztec nobility to make sense of the conquest. These stories also helped the Spanish friars promote the notion that the conquest was preordained by God in order to bring Christianity to the New World. Many authors of works about the conquest of the Aztecs—particularly the influential books by Prescott (2000; first published in 1843) and Thomas (1993)—have accepted these stories at face value. Revisionist scholarship, however, indicates that these stories were myths invented in the sixteenth century, and identifies other factors that explain Motecuhzoma's actions in a more satisfactory fashion.

The actions of Motecuhzoma in fact indicate that he followed the advance of the Spaniards closely and attempted to have his subjects defeat them along the way (most notably at Cholula, where a planned ambush turned into a massacre of Aztec troops). He ultimately let the Spaniards into Tenochtitlán only as a last resort after recognizing their huge military and technological superiority. In Aztec diplomacy, a ruler who submitted peacefully to a conquering army secured a lower tribute quota and milder treatment for his people than a ruler who openly opposed the imperial troops. Motecuhzoma's failure to oppose Cortés more vigorously may have arisen from an attempt to secure better treatment for his subjects under the Spanish crown. Regardless of the actions of Mote-

cuhzoma, however, the final Aztec defeat was assured by the introduction of smallpox (from a Spanish soldier) and its devastating effects on the native population.

*Michael E. Smith*

*See also* Aztec Empire

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# Mughal Empire

The Mughal empire ruled the area of present-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, and much of northern India from 1526 until the official defeat of its last ruler, Bahadur Shah II (1775–1862), by the British in 1857, though its true decline dated from the death in 1707 of Aurangzeb (1618–1707), the last of the great Mughal emperors. The years of Mughal preeminence saw extraordinary developments in art, architecture, civil administration, and efforts at religious tolerance.

## Establishment and Golden Era

Babur (1483–1530), the ruler of Fergana in present-day Uzbekistan, founded the Mughal empire when he defeated Ibrahim Lodi, the ruler of the Delhi sultanate

(1192–1526), in the first battle of Panipat in 1526. With Delhi under his control, Babur proceeded to vanquish the Rajputs of central and northern India, and the Afghans. Babur's successor Humayun (1508–1556) was not able to check Sher Shah (1486–1545), the powerful Afghan ruler of Bengal (present-day Bangladesh and northeastern India), and after defeat in the battle of Chausa in 1539, Humayun took asylum at the court of Persia. Humayun eventually returned to power but ruled for just a year before dying. He was succeeded by his son Akbar (1542–1605), one of the greatest kings of India, who ascended the throne in 1556. Akbar cemented relations with the Rajputs through matrimonial alliances while defeating recalcitrant rulers, and he overhauled the

administration of the empire. His major contribution was his policy of religious eclecticism—an enlightened vision of religious tolerance.

Akbar bequeathed his son Jahangir (1569–1627) an empire stretching from Kabul in the northwest, Kashmir in the north, Bengal in the east, and beyond the Narmada River in the south. Jahangir's reign was marked by political conspiracies; his queen, Nur Jahan (d. 1645), was the true power behind the throne from 1620, acting through her clique of male supporters. The Mughal empire's golden age was the reign of Jahangir's son, Shah Jahan (1592–1666), under whom such monuments of world architecture as the Taj Mahal and the Great Mosque at Delhi were constructed.

### Decline

Shah Jahan's successor, his son Aurangzeb (1618–1707), was an Islamic puritan and orthodox by temperament; his reign marked the beginning of the end of the Mughal empire. His relentless campaign in the Deccan (in central India) and wars against Rajputs, Sikhs, Marathas, and Jats drained the royal treasury. Crises in the bureaucracy, weak successors, provincial governors' assertion of independence, and the invasion of the Persian king Nader Shah (1688–1747) in 1739 all contributed to the erosion of the empire. The absence of central authority resulted in the rise of provincial kingdoms, in whose political affairs European traders began to take an active interest. The British East India Company began to strengthen its military position, and ultimately the whole of India came under the British rule.

### Accomplishments

A centralized administration beneath an all-powerful emperor provided stability to the Mughal empire. Land revenue was the main source of income, and elaborate arrangements were made for collection and assessment.

**A painting from the period of the Mughal empire showing an elephant fight.**



## Akbar in His Time

*In the extract below, Abu'l Fazl, a historian during the reign of Akbar (1556–1605), notes some of the rulers reforms and accomplishments.*

One of the glorious boons of His Majesty the Shahinshah which shone forth in this auspicious year was the abolition of enslavement. The victorious troops which came into the wide territories of India used in their tyranny to make prisoners of the wives and children and other relatives of the people of India, and used to enjoy them or sell them. His majesty the Shahinshah, out of his thorough recognition of and worship of God, and from his abundant foresight and right thinking gave orders that no soldier of the victorious armies should in any part of his dominions act in this manner. Although a number of savage natures who were ignorant of the world should make their fastnesses a subject of pride and come forth to do battle, and then be defeated by virtue of the emperor's daily increasing empire, still their families must be protected from the onset of the world-conquering armies. No soldier, high or low, was to enslave them, but was to permit them to go freely to their homes and relations.

Source: Beveridge, H. (Trans.). (1905-1939). *The Akbar Nama of Abu'l Fazl* (Vol. 2, p. 92). Calcutta, India: The Asiatic Society.

Many of the administrative features of Akbar's administration, such as division of the empire into provinces, districts, and villages, were retained by the British when they took power.

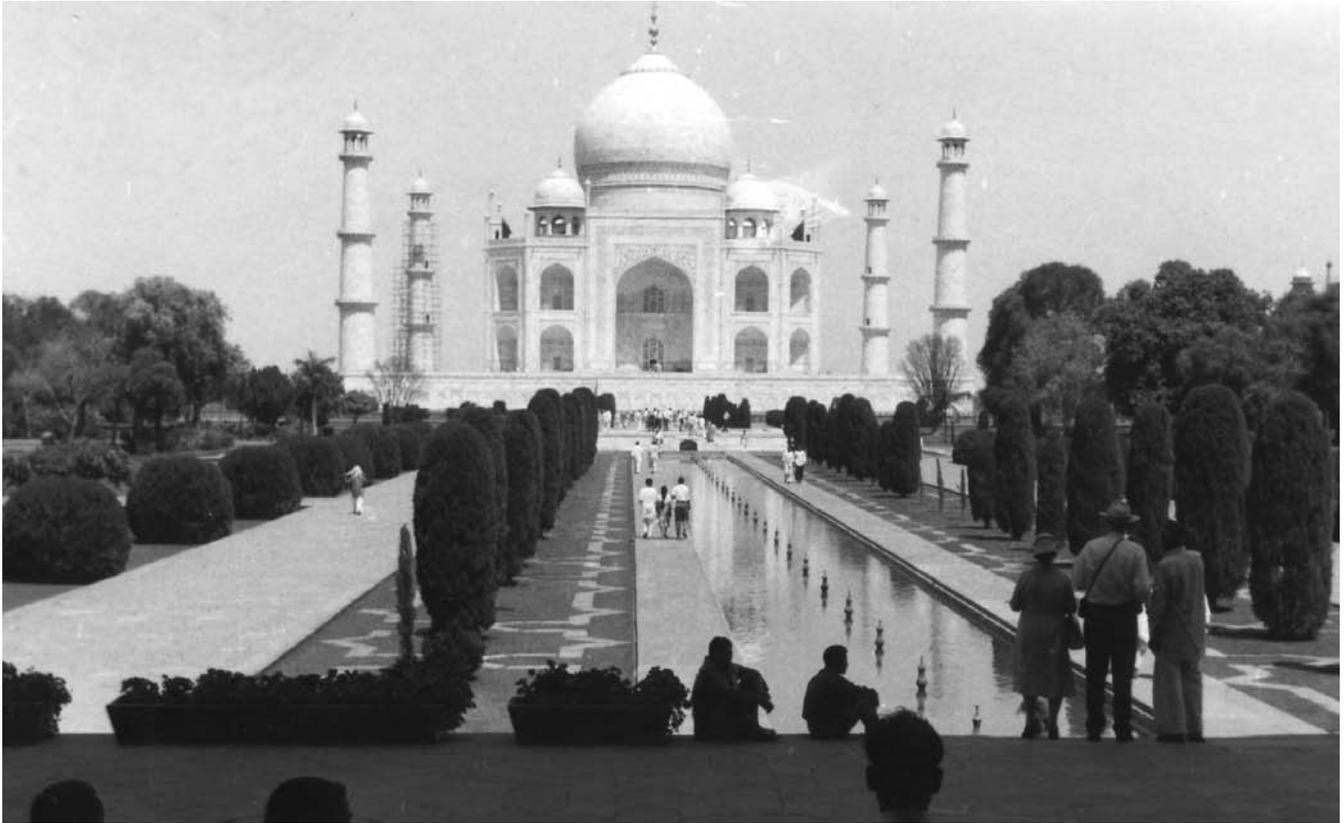
Urban centers such as Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Dhaka, Surat, and Masulipatnam flourished under the Mughals as a result of trade and the rise of new markets. The Mughal aristocracy took active part in trade and ship-building activities, and the mercantile community accumulated wealth and prospered. India's trade relationships with the outside world expanded; Indian textiles, indigo, and saltpeter were in great demand, while for its part the empire imported bullion and spices. Indian Muslims settled in Southeast Asia, which helped encourage trade with that region. Although Asian merchants ini-

tially controlled a major share of oceanic trade, gradually from the eighteenth century onwards European shipping dominated the scene.

Indo-Islamic architecture reached its apogee under the Mughals. The palaces, tombs, forts, mosques and gardens reflected the aesthetic sense, opulence, and settled condition of the great Mughals. The monuments constructed by Akbar were magnificent structures of red sandstone, with pillars along many sides and both carved and painted designs. Under Shah Jahan Mughal architecture made use of marble inlay, foliated arches, mosaic work of precious stones, and copious ornamentation. The Taj Mahal stands apart in architectural splendor and is one of the most beautiful tombs in the world. Landscape architecture, especially gardens, also flourished under the Mughals. Keeping in tune with the liberal religious outlook of Akbar, manuscripts of Hindu classical texts such as the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* were illustrated. Portrait paintings and scenes of hunting, battle, and court life reached their pinnacle under Jahangir. In the arena of music, the musician Tansen (1520–1589) is remembered; his ragas are still popular.

Although Persian was the court language, regional languages developed. Urdu was very popular. The lyrical stanzas of the famous Hindi poets Tulsidas (1543–1623) and Surdas (1483–1563) are recited in northern India even today. The historian Abul Fazal (1551–1602) created the magnum opus *Akbar nama*, an important source material for the reign of Akbar. The vibrant intellectual life of the great Mughals was reflected in the huge imperial library, where records of religious debates that took place at the time of Akbar were preserved. Conflict between liberalism and orthodoxy permeated the Sufi movements also. The concept of the unity of beings, as advocated by Akbar and some Sufi saints, was challenged by strict adherents to traditional Muslim law. Sufi saints such as Ahmad Sirhindi (1564–1624) and Abdul Kadir (1459–1533) endeavored to purge Sufism of liberal practices.

The Mughals had left an indelible mark on the history of the Indian subcontinent. The composite culture that



**The Taj Mahal in Agra, India.**

had started under the Delhi sultanate took a firm shape, and a national culture for the whole of India continued with the Mughal fusion of old with new.

*Patit Paban Mishra*

*See also* Akbar; Aurangzeb

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## Muhammad

(c. 570–632 CE)

PROPHET AND FOUNDER OF ISLAM

Muhammad (570–632) was the Prophet of Islam, the second largest religion in the world with a following of 1.5 billion people across different regions and races. He belonged to the Arab-celebrated tribe of Quraysh in the oasis town of Mecca, Saudi Arabia. In his early youth, Muhammad adopted his family profession of business in which he prospered more by his personal morals than by the maneuvers of a merchant. His community bestowed upon him the honorific titles of *al-Ameen* (the trustworthy) and *al-Sadiq* (the truthful).

After marrying a rich widow, Khadijah, Muhammad took upon himself the mission of reforming the Meccan

society that had deprived its poor, its slaves, and, its women of their rights. At the age of forty, Muhammad claimed that God (*Allah* in Arabic) had selected him as a prophet to call his people and the rest of humanity to the worship of this one true God who had also sent the prophets Abraham, Moses, and Christ with the same duty. Messages that God revealed to Muhammad are contained in the *Quran*, the holy book of Islam.

Muhammad gained a few converts to his new religion, Islam (“submission [to God]”). But the powerful, rich Meccan elites, whose socio-economic interests and political power he challenged, persecuted his followers. These elites were just about to kill him, too, when he emigrated to another oasis town, Medina (*al-Medina* in Arabic, “the City [of the Prophet]”). This important event, which came to be known as *hijra* (emigration) in the history of Islam, took place in 622 CE and marks the year 1 in the Islamic lunar calendar.

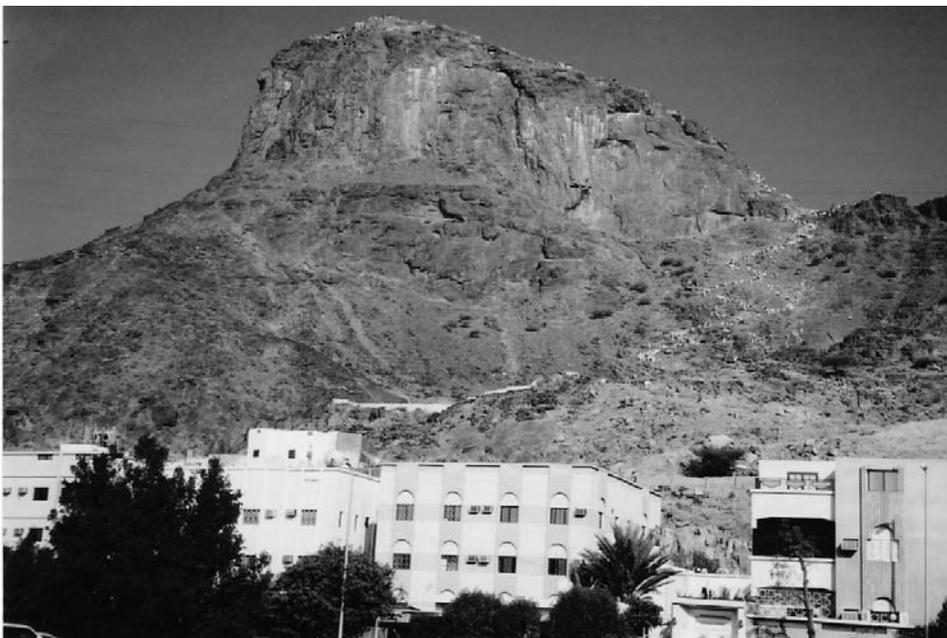
Muhammad worked to reconcile the warring tribes of Medina into peace and brotherhood. After gaining many more new converts (Muslims), he established the *Umma*, a small community of people based solely on faith rather

than tribal or racial or any socio-economic relations. Along with preaching God’s revelations in the *Quran*, Muhammad instructed his people through his own precepts and practices, called the *Hadith*. The *Quran* and the *Hadith* are two primary sources of Islamic sacred law (*sharia* in Arabic). The law calls upon people to establish peace, socio-economic justice, political enfranchisement, and respect for the human rights of women and minorities. The main thrust of the *Quran* and the *Hadith* is to build an Islamic society on the basis of good conduct, brotherhood, kindness, sharing and caring, respect for others, helping the poor, protecting the helpless, justice and equity for all, promoting virtue, and preventing evil. Muslims take Muhammad as a model of moral perfection.

Under Muhammad’s guidance, the small Muslim community (*Umma*) that he founded in 622 turned Medina into a city-state. Muhammad framed a signed contract between the Muslims and the Jews of Medina, the Charter of Medina, which is the first of its kind in world history. The Charter guaranteed protection of life and property and freedom of religion to the people of Medina and their allies in the region. The signatories of the

Charter promised to defend the city-state, to maintain peace and law and order, to submit to equity and justice in judicial and debt matters, to fulfill their obligations in protecting the defenseless, to stop mischief, murder and tyranny, to treat each other as equal partners in peace, and to guarantee religious freedom to all.

The peace and safety of the city-state of Medina under its Charter and guidance



**Jabal al-Noor, or Mountain of Light, where Muhammad used to pray and meditate.**

of Muhammad attracted non-Muslims inside and outside its borders, and the number of Muslim converts increased. But Muhammad's old enemies in Mecca soon started intrigues with internal and external enemies of the new city-state that threatened Mecca's economic and political domination in Arabia. Skirmishes between the Muslims of Medina and the pagans of Mecca turned into the Battle of Badr in 624. Muhammad with a small band of 313 Muslim followers was outnumbered and outmatched by the 1,000-strong, well-equipped army of Mecca. But the superb war strategy of Muhammad and the courage of his followers defeated the Meccan army.

Muhammad said that he initiated his first war of defense (*jihad* in Arabic, "making efforts [in the cause of Allah]") with the divine permission that God revealed to him (Quran XXII: 39–40). The permission God gave him was to fight against wrongfulness and oppression—not to grab the natural or national resources of an enemy. In his first jihad, Muhammad established rules of engagement. He prohibited the killing of women and children and of weak, peaceful, and innocent men. He prohibited the mutilation of dead enemy soldiers and the scorched-earth destruction of an enemy's water and food supplies. He forbade the mistreatment of prisoners of war. Poor prisoners could pay for their ransom by teaching Muslim children reading and writing, and by promising not to fight again. The Meccan pagans imposed two more ferocious battles upon the Muslims, but they failed to obliterate the city-state of Medina.

In 628, Muhammad offered the Treaty of al-Hudaybiya, which guaranteed mutual peace, security, and freedom, to his allies and to his bitter but defeated Meccan enemies. But Meccans soon started violating the treaty, and in 630 Muhammad marched on Mecca with a force of ten thousand Muslims to protect his allies. Before his march, he guaranteed peace and respect to all noncombatants. Mecca fell to his troops without a fight, but rather than slaughtering his enemies, he forgave and embraced them and let them keep their properties. The phenomenal peace of Muhammad turned enemies into friends and Muslims.

In his last Sermon of the Mount, shortly before his death in 632, Muhammad reemphasized the importance

of kindness, of protecting the rights of women and slaves, of the strict prohibition of bloodshed, injustice, and usury, and of the significance of peace and brotherhood. Muhammad reminded his audience, "There is no superiority of Arabs over non-Arabs, and vice versa, nor is there any superiority of whites over blacks, and vice versa."

*Abdul-Karim Khan*

*See also* Islam

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## Multinational Corporations

**M**ultinational corporations (MNCs) are corporations that own an asset in more than one country. We can classify multinational corporations according to their function. For example, market-oriented overseas multinational corporations are those that invest abroad to sell their products directly in foreign markets; supply-oriented multinationals are those that operate abroad to have access to or control over strategic input for their production process.

Many multinational corporations are both market oriented and supply oriented. The best examples are those companies that are involved in oil discovery, refining, and distribution through an international network in a world market. According to another taxonomy (system of classification), a multinational corporation can be vertically integrated, horizontally integrated, or diversified, according to the nature of its foreign assets. Moreover, the production facility located in the host country must be not only owned but also controlled: Calpers, today the most important pension fund in the world, is *not* a



**The signs for two shops owned by British and United States companies adorn a building in downtown Shanghai, China, in 2003.**

multinational corporation. It is, in fact, a major shareholder in many countries' largest corporations but does not exert control over their management. The conjunction of foreign ownership and a certain degree of control over the overseas subsidiary creates the concept of foreign direct investment (FDI). FDI can take the form of the acquisition of an existing facility or of the realization of a completely new production unit (greenfield investment). When FDI is less than 100 percent of the subsidiary's capital, different taxonomies of MNC can be used. The most common such MNC is the joint venture, which often involves two or more partners, not necessarily all foreign firms. For instance, in many cases the only way for a nondomestic firm to establish a production facility in a country is to associate itself with a local firm, creating a new venture.

### **Patterns of Evolution**

According to the preceding definitions the MNC is a quite old phenomenon, dating back at least to the "commercial revolution" of the Middle Ages and the following emergence of large colonial empires at the beginning of the

modern period. Single merchants and bankers started quite early to conduct overseas activities, and soon national trading companies were investing abroad. Examples are the British East India Company, the Compagnie Generale de Belgique (General Company of Belgium), and the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company), which, although based in Europe, owned, managed, and controlled production assets in east Asia, India, and Africa. With the first industrial revolution the rate of diffusion of multinational activity began to increase. High transportation costs; uncertainty; high custom tariffs or, alternatively, incentives and a favorable attitude shown by a host country; or simply a competitive advantage led to a spin-off of production investments from the most advanced European nations. This is, for instance, the case of Swiss entrepreneurs in the cotton industry who invested during the mid-nineteenth century in northern Italy, a promising market that also provided a cheap and docile workforce.

The first wave of globalization during the second half of the nineteenth century brought an extreme form of the MNC: the free-standing company (FSC). In its simplest form the FSC was a company that raised resources in home capital markets and invested them exclusively abroad in production facilities. The FSC was, according to many scholars, the most relevant form of British foreign investment at the eve of the twentieth century. The combination of two phenomena—the technological progress in transportation and communications and the diffusion of scale-intensive, large corporations—has further diffused FDI. The second industrial revolution created a growth in the absolute amount of FDI (which on the eve of World War I was \$40–50 billion). At the same time leadership in multinational activity began to be transferred from the United Kingdom to the new world economic leader, the United States. The leading position of the United States was further confirmed after World War II and during the 1960s when U.S. conglomerates began an extensive policy of acquiring foreign companies. During the same period and after the 1980s other countries, mainly in Europe (France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands) and Asia (Japan), began

to increasingly challenge U.S. leadership in FDIs. At the beginning of the new millennium, when the recently industrialized countries of east Asia began consistent multinational activity, the world stock of outward FDI exceeded \$2 trillion.

## Theories

Scholars have offered various theories to explain the existence of multinational corporations. Economic imperialism theorists (going back to the Russian Communist leader Vladimir Lenin) saw the MNC simply as an instrument for the diffusion of the new capitalist order on a world scale. According to other theorists, such as the economist Raymond Vernon, we must see the MNC as the natural evolution of the life cycle of a product; in this model FDI is directly connected to the maturity and standardization of a product. When producing a product at the lowest marginal cost is vital, a corporation will tend to transfer the production abroad, especially in developing economies.

However, since the 1960s, starting with the writings of the U.S. scholar Stephen Hymer, the analysis of multinational corporations has progressed. Scholars have identified a number of factors that justify the advantage that a MNC gains by investing directly in foreign markets (instead of simply exporting). Among such factors scholars have given special importance to proprietary technology and research and development; privileged access to capital and finance in the home country; and the ability to manage organizational, marketing, and branding techniques, given the competence acquired in the home market. A long experience in multinational activity has been considered a competitive advantage in itself. In other cases FDI flows are influenced by the institutional context in the host country in terms of trade and industrialization policies.

The relationship between multinational activity and uncertainty is the core of other theories that try to explain the existence of multinational corporations from a neoinstitutional perspective. This is, for instance, the case of transaction costs (TC) theory, which tends to consider the imperfections in world markets, especially for raw materials and other intermediate products, as a major force

driving the internalization of overseas activity of a corporation. The British scholar John Dunning formulated a more general approach at the beginning of the 1990s. In his approach the MNC is an organization that is able to understand and manage a complex array of variables in noneconomic fields, such as politics or culture, gaining a strong competitive advantage over national competitors.

*Andrea Colli*

*See also* Globalization

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## Museums

Starting in the second half of the nineteenth century, anthropological museums began to flourish in virtually all major European and American cities. Through the 1920s these institutions became major centers for the construction of global narratives, whose rise and fall can be charted over the course of this period. Such an investigation also reveals that museums and global narratives are by no means exclusively Western phenomena.

### From "Curiosities" to "Ethnographica"

In the Western world, museums developed out of an impetus to understand and categorize the world. It was during the Renaissance that a combination of mercantile

wealth and human inquisitiveness created the first “curiosity cabinets” in Italy. Initial curators of such cabinets had few organizing principles, and they listed the relics of saints along with “curios” of animal and plant remains. Frequently such cabinets presented little more than mementos retrieved from long-distance voyages undertaken in the 1500s and 1600s. Yet already within these cabinets a clear separation between *artificialia* (or human-made artifacts) and *naturalia* (or natural objects) soon appeared. This distinction became more pronounced with the development of the natural sciences in the 1700s. The most significant development was the publication of the *Systema Naturae* (1735) by the Swedish naturalist Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778). Linnaeus’s system classified plants by reproductive apparatus and created a taxonomy that accommodated new plant types encountered during exploratory voyages. While Linnaean categories functioned well in the realm of *naturalia*, one



**Indigenous people were often brought back to European nations by explorers and colonists and treated as museum pieces—that is, as objects of curiosity who were less than fully human. This drawing shows Native Americans in London in the early 1600s.**

could not extend them to indigenous artifacts. Over the next century, however, scholars invested considerable time and effort in replicating Linnaeus’s system for the realm of human artifacts. Their endeavors became even more pronounced as Westerners increasingly encountered non-European peoples following 1750. Expeditions into the African continent or the watery expanse of the Pacific Ocean returned thousands of objects that stimulated not only curiosity about indigenous peoples but also attempts to classify the world’s diversity into well-ordered epistemological systems.

By the 1800s, this search for organizing principles received additional currency from the field of archaeology. Conceived to support the available Greco-Roman literature, archaeology provided additional findings that extended and reinterpreted the humanist traditions. While classical archaeologists operated within the framework of an existing body of Greek and Roman literature, anthropologists were free to conceive histories from the material cultures of so-called nonliterate societies of Africa and Oceania. At the same time, however, there emerged a growing concern about the availability of indigenous artifacts. Early anthropologists argued that Western expansion brought about the transformation of indigenous cultures around the world. They believed that Western commerce, diseases, and theology reshaped indigenous societies to such an extent that material culture became tainted with Western influence or, in the worst case, ceased to exist. Either way, there emerged a need for an anthropology of salvage, which ultimately called for storage houses for indigenous artifacts and established their value as historical sources. This salvage anthropology became instrumental in the creation and sustenance of anthropological museums, which were thus conceived as a thesaurus of human cultures.

### **The Rise of World History in Anthropological Museums**

Armed with new perspectives on the importance of indigenous artifacts, anthropological museums flourished throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Skilled anthropologists employed the salvage agenda to mobilize civic pride in their respective cities in an attempt



**The entrance to a temple museum in Tirupati, India.**

to create leading anthropological institutions. Concern over disappearing non-Western heritages enlisted patrons and established networks of collectors. Over the next decades, there also emerged increasing pressure to impose a coherent, orderly framework on the artifacts amassed that could be displayed in the museums' hallways. The concern about vanishing indigenous peoples was nowhere more pronounced than in the United States of America, whose westward expansion to the Pacific Ocean often conflicted with the interests of Native Americans. The emerging Smithsonian Institution, created by the American Congress in the 1840s, provided a museological example for other institutions to follow in dealing with indigenous artifacts. Within the United States, a number of other anthropological museums emerged, and the competitive atmosphere with regard to indigenous artifacts soon spread to such countries as Germany, Great Britain, and, later, France.

It was in these museums that curators scrambled to represent global histories embodied in the available indigenous artifacts. Two important world historical frameworks emerged: evolutionism and diffusionism.

The earlier of these was evolutionism, which basically amounted to an attempt to conflate time and space. On the positive side, evolutionists postulated that humans around the world shared the same mental makeup, something they called “psychic unity.” Cultural differences were essentially explained by arguing that the various societies encountered represented different stages of human development. Evolutionists, for instance, believed that Australian Aborigines were ancestors of Western civilization. For Anglo-American evolutionists, who were partially influenced by the emergence of Darwinian natural selection, the West became the apex of the evolutionary process. In Germany, on the other hand, Darwinian theories were frequently rejected, and anthropologists allowed for greater ramifications of the evolutionary process. Eschewing the view that Western society was the greatest outcome of evolutionary development, they even conceived an implicit hope that the study of nonliterate society might reveal something about the general future of humanity. The conflation of time and space that characterized evolutionist thinking was best exemplified in museum displays. Evolutionary displays were more common in the Anglo-American world, but similar displays could also be found in Germany and France. The two most famous institutions utilizing these types of display were the Smithsonian in Washington, D.C., and the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford. Displays in these museums drew from different geographical regions to illustrate the evolutionary path in human development. Weapons, for instance, were preferred instruments of display. To illustrate the global evolutionary trajectory, curators employed weapons from Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands, also including European examples ranging from neolithic to medieval times to illustrate their display case narratives.

Dissatisfaction with such narratives soon gave way to an alternative approach: diffusionism. Already inherent in the collection of materials was an interest in the distribution of artifact styles. Strict evolutionists were not interested in tracing movements of peoples and ideas across the earth's surface, yet this became a major preoccupation of the diffusionists. Inspired by

groundbreaking research in historical linguistics, diffusionists argued that artifacts, much like languages, could be used to trace historical migration. While not necessarily inimical to the idea of “psychic unity,” diffusionists were a great deal more negative about the inventiveness of human beings. Arguing instead that human history was characterized by a “poverty of ideas,” diffusionists maintained that artifact styles could be traced to a particular region, from where they diffused to other areas. Diffusionism became popular after 1900 and ultimately developed into the culture-circle concept in Austria-Hungary and Germany. Culture-circle practitioners argued that a particular cultural pattern developed once and then expanded outward through a set of concentric rings affecting neighboring societies. The advantage of the diffusionist approach for museum display was that it could be aligned with the geographical distribution of artifacts. Instead of displaying, in an evolutionary fashion, societies from all continents in a single display case, diffusionism allowed for regional differences and the maintenance of geographical divisions within the museum. The best example of diffusionist arrangement was the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, which opened in 1906 in Cologne. But even the global narratives of diffusionism underwent criticism as the anthropological discipline experienced change following 1914.

### **The Fall of World History in Anthropological Museums**

A number of important factors contributed to the decline of world historical narratives within anthropological museums. Most telling were novel methodological approaches in anthropology. By the first decade of the twentieth century, museum practitioners began to venture into the wider world. While formerly relying on collectors such as colonial officials, missionaries, and traders, museum anthropologists decried the paucity of indigenous information accompanying the artifacts they obtained. To remedy such omissions, museum anthropologists organized expeditions to particular regions of

the world. While the primary objective of such expeditions was still the collection and study of indigenous artifacts, many expedition participants, dissatisfied with the superficiality of previous data collection, argued for a more localized understanding of cultures, something that could be accomplished only by long-term residence among the members of a particular society. Such considerations, however, could not be easily accommodated in museum displays.

Anthropology’s turn from global to local or regional methodology was under way before the outbreak of World War I. This conflict, however, greatly facilitated matters. It disrupted supply lines of collectors around the world, realigned colonial territories, and decimated the scholarly community. Similarly, certain practitioners were stranded as foreign nationals and by default restructured their studies around specific locations. The most prominent example was Bronislaw Malinowski, who as a national of the Austro-Hungarian empire, ran into complications in the Australian colony of Papua. His ensuing research among the Trobriand Islanders resulted in a number of influential monographs. Although Malinowski did not invent the anthropological method of participant observation, his work enshrined anthropology’s turn away from material culture. Museums continued to exist, but theoretical innovation shifted to the university setting. Anthropology’s attempts at universal histories gave way to more localized studies that have dominated the discipline ever since.

### **Non-Western Museums and Their Global Narratives**

By 1930, global historical narratives had departed from the hallways of anthropological museums. These institutions still served as important training and employment stations for generations of anthropologists, but novel theoretical constructs emerged elsewhere. Hence emerged the stereotype of anthropological museums as relics of a bygone era so popular in postmodern and postcolonial literature. There exists, however, an interesting byproduct

of historical investigations into anthropological museums. Legitimate questions emerged about whether or not anthropological museums were indeed Western institutions. While it is difficult to generalize in this context, there seems to be ample evidence that similar processes existed in other societies. Just as Western societies appropriated indigenous material culture to construct historical narratives, so an indigenous appropriation of Western artifacts was a frequent occurrence. Material culture is once again indicative in this case. During the height of the collecting frenzy (three decades before World War I) a number of suspect artifacts started to arrive in anthropological museums. These were things that incorporated Western materials and colors, and whose production involved iron tools. Museum curators generally instructed collectors to abstain from such “tainted” artifacts, yet their numbers started to increase by the 1900s. Deemed inauthentic at the turn of the century, these artifacts are currently restudied to reveal indigenous counternarratives (or, as some historians put it, counterethnographies) to museum world histories. There are even some accounts of indigenous museums, one of the most famous, perhaps, located on the island of Tahiti in the Pacific Ocean. There, inside a *marae* (religious structure) located at Tarahoi, Captain William Bligh (of *Bounty* fame) discovered an odd collection of artifacts that included mementos hailing from the *Bounty* mutineers—British symbols of power—and a portrait of James Cook. The last was usually carried to arriving ships, whereupon the captains were asked to add their signatures on the back. Bligh did not make much of Tarahoi, but historians now recognize here the emergence of a museum narrating the encounters between Tahitian and foreign societies.

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See also Art—Overview; Imperialism; Libraries

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## Music—Genres

Music in one form or another has been present in human society as long as there has been human society. There have been as many theories regarding the origin of music as there have been about the reason for its existence. Such global questions are essentially speculation about the origin of music, which have ranged from those of Plato, through Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin, with stops at Richard Wagner and others.

Plato taught that music originated in the channeling of the excess energy of youth to the service of the gods in festivals. Music was a gift of the gods to humans who, unlike animals, could appreciate the pleasure of harmony and rhythm. Plato was, in fact, far more interested in the effects that music had on individuals and the societies they made up. Spencer followed Plato—though much later—in being concerned with the impact of the excess energy of youth in the origin of music. However, he also noted the significance of language on the development of music. Music resulted, according to Spencer, from the deliberate attempt of humans to imitate and reproduce the variations in language.

Darwin, in common with many mythological tales of traditional peoples, held that music evolved from human

**Chinese men in Beijing  
play traditional  
instruments in the  
Garden of a Buddhist  
temple in 2002.**



attempts to imitate animal sounds, particularly birdcalls. It was a mating call. It is a charming theory and one that has had great influence. However, there are many societies that have few if any “love songs” and in which music is tied to more mundane and less romantic functions, such as work. Indeed, in most cultural

systems music tends to have a more functional role than it does in romantic myth. It accompanies war, work, festivals, rituals, and other daily activities.

It should be noted that “modern” Western thinkers are not the only ones who have speculated on the origin of music. Traditional peoples have their various theories concerning the origin of the art. For the Luiseño in southern California, Lion, Eagle, Raven, Frog, and Deer were among the first musicians. In ancient high civilizations various gods were said to be the inventors of music. Thus, Thot in Egypt, Narada in India, and Apollo in Greece get credit for its invention. Among ancient civilizations only the Chinese taught that music had a slow evolution in human history.

In sum there is no empirical method of testing any theory regarding the origin or origins of music, for there is no documentation or any observational means for examining such an origin. Moreover, it is important to note that a musical sound consists of any sound of a definite pitch. Such sounds came before human language. It is safe to say, in general, that the art of music in human society came about when humans noted that various arrangements of sounds produced pleasure and allowed them to express various feelings.

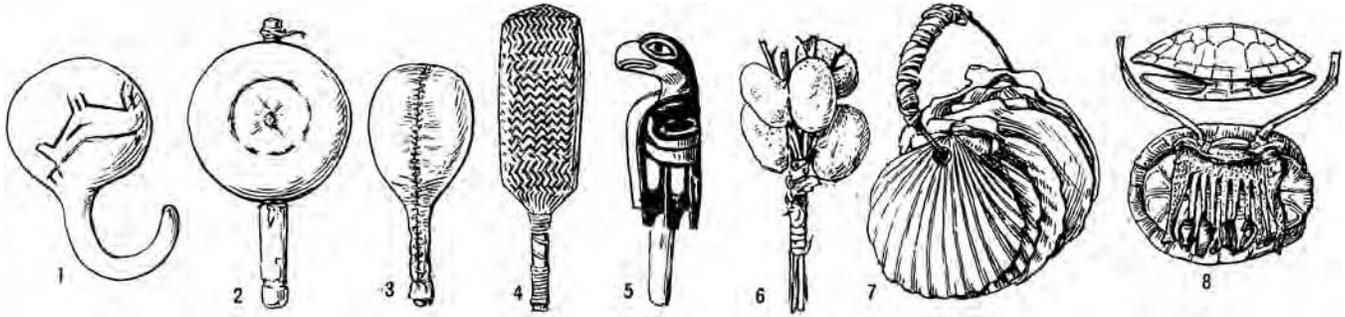
### **Traditional Cultures and Music**

Traditional music is frequency quite complex and developed. Traditional or “primitive music” may sound “dif-

ferent” to people accustomed to music of urban-based cultures, perhaps in part because it has different functions from music of complex societies. It tends to be closely related to religious activities, having ceremonial purposes. Even the war songs of traditional peoples are ways of getting in touch with supernatural powers to gain their support in war. Similarly, there are relatively few personal love songs in traditional music. There are songs rather that ask for supernatural help in finding or keeping love. And we could go on listing other songs that seek supernatural help in gambling, economic activities, and so on.

Thus, among traditional peoples music expresses sense (meaning) and value. Singing is essential when special events take place, including weddings, childbirth, puberty rites and death, hunting, harvest, and sickness. People use music and dancing to seek aid from supernatural power. And on a daily basis people use music to aid them in their work. The rhythms of music help their work; often there are special songs to identify each worker. Among the Dukawa of northeast Nigeria each man has a special song, received during the period in which he did bride service. This song is sung at every important occasion in his life and is put to rest only after his funeral ceremony.

Among traditional peoples music is a fundamental aspect of life. It encapsulates and stimulates basic emotions that make up the fabric of life. It helps people get through their days. Along with appropriate rituals, music eases the passing of the stages of life.



**This series of drawings shows a variety of percussive musical instruments used over time and across cultures: (1) Gourd rattle of the Hopi of Arizona; (2) Gourd rattle with handle of the Hopi of Arizona; (3) Rawhide bag with pebbles of the Sioux; (4) Rattle of plaited fiber with pebbles from South America; (5) Carved rattle in shape of a fish hawk of the Tlingit of Alaska; (6) Rattle of cocoons of moths with handle from California; (7) Shell rattle strung on wooden hoop from California; (8) Tortoise shell rattle with leather thong clappers from Arizona; (9) Rattle with route-iron disk and bells from Africa; (10) Cloth belt rattle with deer hoofs and beads from California; (11) Ankle rattle with bells from India; (12) Musical bones from the United States; (13) Clappers from China; (14) Sheep bone rattle from Spain; (15) Hollowed hardwood clapper from China; (16) War drum from Fiji; (17) Skin tambourine from Native America; (18) Kettle drum from India; (19) Two-headed drum from Japan; (20) Gong from China; (21) Cymbal from China.**

## **Music of the World's Ancient High Civilizations**

In many people's minds the culture of Greece has been the benchmark against which other cultural achievements are judged. However, that culture came from somewhere and led to something else. The music of ancient Greece, for example, was an integral part of poetry and dancing as in traditional societies. By the time of the Homeric period, Greek music had become codified. It had no harmonic base in modern terms. It was essentially melodic. The *phorminx*, a lyre, was an instrument that composers who were also performers used as they created melodies from repeated traditional phrases.

By the sixth century BCE, drama used a chorus that sang, representing the audience or traditional morality. The poet Pindar developed the ode form for this use. At this time the *aulos*, an oboelike instrument used by followers of Dionysus, and the *kithra*, a lyre that the followers of Apollo used for religious purposes, were the primary instruments.

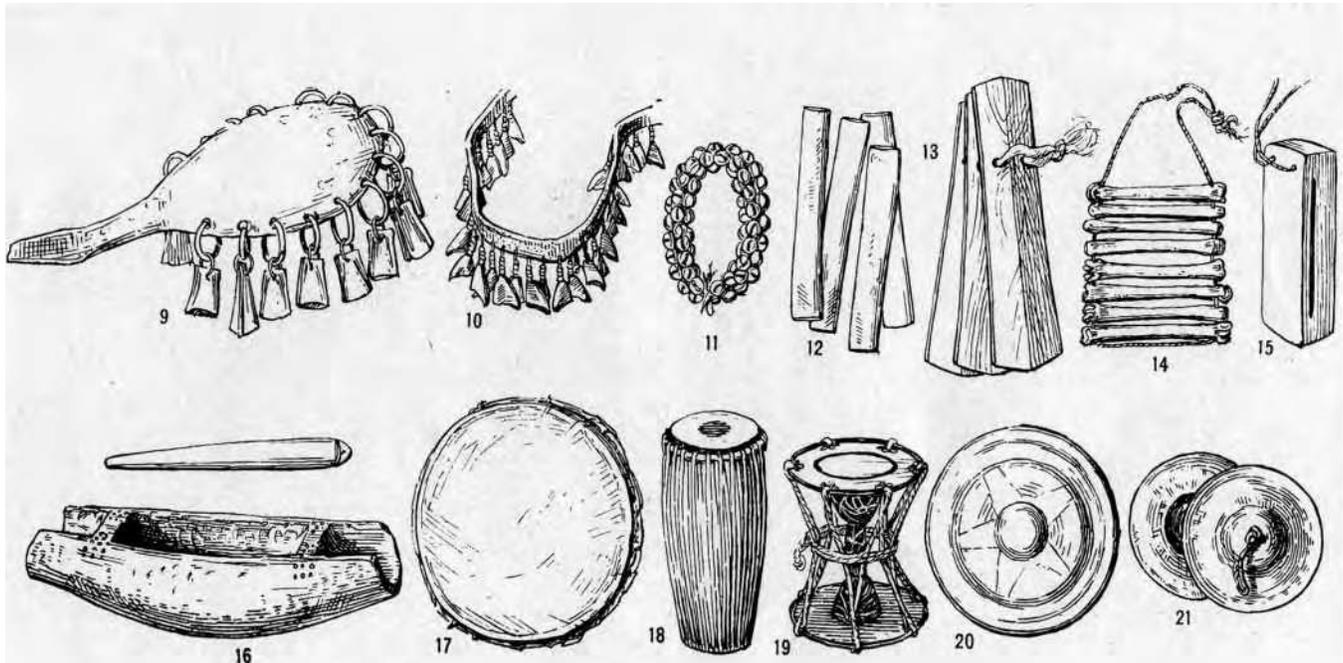
The fall of Athens in 404 BCE led to a reaction against classical art, including music, and a new style of music emerged. This new style was the property of professional

musicians who favored subjectivity, free form, sophisticated melodic expression, and complicated rhythms. They developed the techniques of chromaticism in their art. The great dramatist Euripides was among the leading figures in this movement.

Very little is left of the music of Greece. There are only fifteen fragments, all dating from the postclassical period. However, the influence of Greek music is hard to overestimate. The Greeks uncovered the fact that musical tones are related in a numerical fashion to divisions of a drawn-out string. This relationship is called Pythagorean tuning after the mathematician Pythagoras who is its reputed discoverer. This relationship has figured prominently in subsequent music history.

There certainly is a relationship between Greek and earlier forms of music, especially that of Egypt. Egyptian music played a prominent role in religious life, and music expressed the religious belief of the unity of nature. The Egyptians believed that music had power to enchant them mentally while moving them physically.

Both in Egypt and in Mesopotamia, present-day Iraq, the human voice was the greatest instrument. The voice had a power and each of its tones had a power unique



to it. The temple priests had a responsibility for overseeing the singing at rituals and other sacred events. There were instruments used to accompany singers, such as harps and flutes. This temple musical tradition continued quite clearly in Greek and Roman worship. Egyptian musicians were prominent in both Greece and Rome. Similarly, Mesopotamian musicians had a great influence on Egyptian music.

## Medieval Music

Medieval musicians worked as members of a community, as did musicians in other traditional societies. They worked within a tradition in which much of what they played served definite functions and was, therefore, subject to definite rules of composition and performance. There were rules for religious music and rules for more secular music.

Religious music had to meet the needs of the liturgy and follow the church calendar. The Catholic Church dominated the Middle Ages and “church music” was music that followed its rituals and teachings. On the other hand, secular music performed by minstrels also fulfilled functions. These functions were to entertain at various events, such as weddings, and perform at court, festivals, and other events of daily life. The minstrel often

was a poet, actor, or even a circus performer. Additionally, spying and diplomacy were not beyond the minstrel’s scope, nor was law enforcement, bell ringing, or almost any other occupation. Certainly, professional trumpet players accompanied armies and political delegations. The medieval musician could earn a place among the respected middle class in medieval cities.

## “Modern” European Music

From the end of the medieval period to the present, Western or European music has been marked by rapid change and the rise of individual expression. The role of the individual composer—Bach, Mozart, Beethoven—or performer—Louis Armstrong, Dizzy Gillespie—has increased over the centuries. Although music still is part of the culture from which it springs, great stock is set by novelty and change. The brooding romantic figure of the genius, as personified by Beethoven, still fills the Western imagination.

There are a number of characteristics, however, that have marked and continue to mark European music. Among these distinguishing characteristics is an emphasis on balanced phrases in the melody. There is an even tempo with a moderately strong beat. There is a complex harmonic structure. There is an open and relaxed singing



nature to tone colors. The thematic structure is one of statement, contrast, and return to statement. These characteristics continue amid many changes and across a number of styles, often fused with characteristics from other styles. World music, for example, has become a strong influence in Europe and America and is often mixed with Western European music.

## World Music

The changes marking the rest of society have had an impact on music as well. Thus, the speed of idea exchange is found in the musical world as in other areas of life. World music, simply defined as any popular music that originates outside Western popular music, has spread as quickly as other forms of culture.

Some of its characteristics come from the African or Asian traditions from which it springs. Thus, there is an emphasis on communal and functional aspects of music. There is a good deal of group performance. The beat is strong and steady. If the African influence predominates, then there are polyrhythms and syncopation. There are varieties in tonal colors. Pentatonic (five-toned) scales are common rather than the European octave. India and West Africa tend to be the sources of most of what we call “world music.”

## Communal Music

Throughout history music has had communal functions. It has accompanied religious rituals, war parties, diplomatic endeavors, and the activities of daily life. It has marked weddings and funerals. Even in our individualistic times, music still accompanies not only personal events but also religious and civic ones. It continues to be

## Chinese bronze musical instrument from the first century CE.

related to cultural and social activities, reflecting and shaping culture.

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# Music and Political Protest

Music has been an integral part of expressive culture worldwide and a source of personal and public enjoyment and edification for millennia. Most cultures have used, and still use, music to accompany and

enhance every conceivable collective activity and ceremony, from the mundane to the sublime: eating, working, storytelling, worshipping, marrying, performing, mourning, healing, criticizing, satirizing, and just plain celebrating. Because it is an integral part of everyday life and is a medium that evocatively and holistically engages minds and bodies, thoughts, emotions, and desires, it is no surprise that the power of music has been employed to create feelings of solidarity and to spark loyalty to political causes and movements in the modern world. The kinds of songs that have accompanied political protests have voiced the values of the protesters not only in their words but in their tone as well.

### **Songs of Revolution**

Although it does not seem so now, an early piece of protest music was a bright ditty called “Yankee Doodle.” Originally written by a British surgeon to poke fun at rustic American colonial soldiers, the song was appropriated by rebellious colonists, who rewrote the words so that its upbeat melody would inspire their troops and serve as a protest against British arrogance. The colonists sang this song at Lexington and Concord to insult the retreating British soldiers, and the song became wildly popular among American troops.

Another song that sustained revolutionary initiative was “La Marseillaise.” Composed in April 1792 by Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle as a simple marching song, it was sung by French revolutionary forces as a morale booster on the way to Paris to battle the Prussian and Austrian armies that had invaded France to restore the old monarchical regime. Originally entitled “Chant de guerre de l’armée du Rhin” (War Song of the Army of the Rhine), it became so popular with volunteer army units from Marseilles that it was renamed in their honor. Supporters of the revolution all over France learned the tune and lyrics and it became the French national anthem in 1795. Although the song has seven verses, today only the first verse and chorus are usually sung. The fourth verse is typical of the song’s defiant, martial, and rousing tone. To this day, “La Marseillaise”

### “Yankee Doodle Dandy” (early 1770s)

Yankee Doodle went to Town  
A-riding on a pony  
Stuck a feather in his hat  
And called it macaroni  
[Chorus] Yankee Doodle, keep it up  
Yankee Doodle dandy  
Mind the music and the step  
And with the girls be handy  
Father and I went down to camp  
Along with Captain Gooding  
And there we saw the men and boys  
As thick as hasty pudding  
There was Captain Washington  
Upon a slapping stallion  
A-giving orders to his men  
There must have been a million.

embodies the passion, sense of purpose, and commitment that aroused millions of French people to overthrow their monarchy and fight for liberty, equality, and fraternity.

The French revolutionary tradition provided fertile ground for a song that became the anthem of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century revolutionary proletariat, “L’Internationale” (The International). Inspired by the establishment and subsequent destruction of the radically democratic and egalitarian Paris Commune of 1871, Eugène Pottier wrote the lyrics shortly after the demise of the Commune. After the French factory worker Pierre Degeyter added a melody in 1888, the song became an international hit. Embraced by Socialists, Communists, anarchists, and trade unionists and sung at every one of their meetings and demonstrations, it captured well the grassroots, militant, democratic, and

anticapitalist spirit of the early Socialist and Communist movements, and it became one of the best-known songs in the world between 1890 and 1945, rivaling “Amazing Grace” and “Silent Night” in international popularity. Since the song was sung on every continent and in scores of languages, there are various versions of its lyrics, which were adapted to meet the needs of working people in different lands. The English version, recorded in the United States in 1935, was updated to include references to the Russian Revolution.

### **Music of Solidarity and Organizing**

In keeping with their oppositional postures, the Socialist and Communist parties before World War II provided alternative social environments for their members with football clubs, marching bands, plays, musicals, gymnastics, picnics, summer camps, schools, and consumer cooperatives that inculcated values and worldviews that consciously and deliberately opposed the individualistic, competitive, and nationalistic values inculcated by mainstream social and cultural institutions. This socialist “counterculture” focused on socializing individuals into working-class solidarity, cooperation, and

mutual support. Marching bands accompanied all large leftist demonstrations. German Communists in the 1920s and 1930s used music to energize their recurrent street protests with songs like “Up, Up Let’s Fight,” whose lyrics were written by Bertolt Brecht. Appropriating a thirty-year-old tune popular with supporters of the deposed German emperor, Brecht gleefully changed the lyrics. Such militant marching songs primed Communists for frequent street battles with police and Nazis, where the stakes were high and little mercy was shown. While mischievously grounded in German popular culture, they served to boost morale and advertise the Communists’ determination to press the class struggle wherever they went.

Another radical group that employed music effectively to stimulate protest and resistance by workers was the Industrial Workers of the World—the IWW, or Wobblies, of the United States. The Wobblies strove to organize all workers, skilled and unskilled, into one big worldwide union regardless of trade or specialization, and their labor organizers, including Joe Hill, wrote songs that carried the union’s message to workers who had little formal schooling. The IWW, founded in 1905, relied on songs to spread its ideas because organizers learned that when people sang a song and had a little fun, they remembered the message. Wobblies borrowed the melodies of commonly known tunes of the day and altered the lyrical content. The Wobblies’ lyrics spoke to working people’s concerns, recruited them for the union, and created a common bond among them. One of their most recognized songs is “Solidarity Forever,” which set new words to the inspirational and well-known American Civil War song “Battle Hymn of the Republic.” Ralph Chaplin wrote the lyrics, creating a chorus that was strong and defiant. The message of the song is not complicated: It calls for unity and rejects individual effort, a central message of the IWW in its struggle to organize unskilled workers against the bosses. Wobbly songs sustained workers during long strikes (Goldfield, Nevada, in 1906; Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912; Paterson, New Jersey, in 1913; and the Mesabi Range, Minnesota, in 1916) and in protest marches before and during World War I.



**The cover of a songbook put together by the Industrial Workers of the World, an organization founded to fight for worker's rights.**

## **Protest Music in the United States**

The Wobbly tradition of using popular folk music as a recruitment and organizing tool and as a means of protesting conditions for workers continued in the U.S. in the 1930s with songwriters including Woody Guthrie and the folk musicians he inspired, some of whom helped recruit for the Congress of Industrial Organizations labor federation. As unions gained collective bargaining rights in the late 1940s in the United States, however, labor songs lost their revolutionary edge and leftists were purged from unions. Still, people facing injustice turned to song to express their hopes, frustrations, and alienation and to protest their conditions. For civil rights protesters in the United States after 1960, music sustained their struggle. Songs that had been used by union organizers to foster unity in a common struggle became staples of the civil rights movement's sit-ins and freedom marches; these included "We Shall Not Be Moved" and "We Shall Overcome." The former was a black spiritual whose lyrics striking African-American textile workers in North Carolina changed in the 1920s, and the latter was a Baptist hymn, "I'll Overcome Some Day," whose words tobacco-worker organizers altered in the 1940s. Both songs had their roots in African-American religious sensibilities and expressed a faith that the future would be better than the past, that their cause was just, and that patient nonviolence would succeed in the end. Of the many musical styles prevalent in the early 1960s, only the folk music developed by the Wobblies and Woody Guthrie and shaped by black spirituals and rhythm and blues protested racial discrimination, and the "freedom songs" performed by Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, Odetta, and Harry Belafonte became central to building support for the civil rights movement across the United States. In fact, the term "protest music" was coined at this time to identify the socially critical folk music of this era.

This socially conscious stance of folk performers informed the views of a new generation of young Americans, and young blues and rock musicians began incorporating socially aware lyrics into their songs. Stylistically, rock and roll had been considered dangerous

music in the United States since the 1950s: It was a raucous music of youthful outsiders that combined African-American and Anglo-American musical styles and was performed by black and white musicians for racially mixed audiences. As the civil rights movement peaked and the anti-Vietnam War movement began to pick up steam in the mid-1960s, folk and rock music were at hand with new anti-establishment content and style. An entire oppositional counterculture grew among young people in the late 1960s, and antiwar songs like "War" by Edwin Starr, "Fortunate Son" by Creedence Clearwater Revival, "The Unknown Soldier" by the Doors, and "Ohio" by Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young made the Top Ten in the pop music charts. Jimi Hendrix's irreverent, psychedelic rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner" at Woodstock in the summer of 1969 brought 400,000 fans to their feet. "War" was an energetic protest song in the African-American call-and-response tradition. These songs and others entertained and helped politicize millions of people at antiwar protests and brought them out into the streets to engage in civil disobedience and to protest the Vietnam War and the Democratic (and later Republican) administration that conducted it.

## **Music of Protest and Mobilization in Europe**

In Great Britain rock emerged as a highly politicized genre in the 1970s under the influence of mellow, yet "ragged" Jamaican reggae and defiant, anarchist, staccato, hard-edged punk music. The musicians and leftist politicians who formed Rock Against Racism (RAR) focused on mobilizing working-class youth against racist ideology and organizations, in particular the neo-fascist National Front Party (NF), which had been gaining electoral support among white working-class youth. RAR drew on rock's defiant style to make political statements and to take public spaces away from the NF. Drawing on musical styles with multicultural roots, its main slogan was "Black and White/Unite We Fight!" The biggest RAR events took place between 1976 and 1978. Giant marches and concerts in London and elsewhere saw bands like the Clash, Steel Pulse, and Stiff Little Fingers play, and well into 1979 RAR also issued a series of

instant public responses to local racially motivated hate crimes and violence. By 1980, however, the NF was a spent force in British politics. The music of protest had served its purpose.

American and British blues and rock, influenced by African musical forms, became worldwide phenomena and influenced musical styles in other countries from the 1960s onward. In Argentina, *rock nacional* (national rock) developed as part of a youth counter-culture that opposed the military dictatorship of the late 1970s and early 1980s and used rock concerts to politicize youth, explicitly criticize the government, and create an oppositional movement that contributed to the restoration of democracy. In the early 1990s, a Haitian group, Boukman Eksperyans, wrote and performed Creole songs that merged voodoo beliefs with imported funk rock and dance music to rebuke the corruption and brutality of the military regime that had overthrown the elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Their music served to inspire an insurgent movement among the Haitian people that ended the dictatorship. The name *Boukman* had political resonance in Haiti: It was the name of the ex-slave and voodoo priest who instigated the slave revolt in 1791 that led to Haiti's independence from France over a decade later. The rhythms and lyrics in the group's songs underscored a strong African presence in Haiti.

In the mid-1970s, political protest led to a new musical genre in the African country of Zimbabwe, partly influenced by Jamaican reggae (called "African roots music" by its fans and performers) and Anglo-American rock. This new African music, created by Thomas Mapfumo, articulated black peoples' experiences under the white Rhodesian colonial and settler system and their resistance to it. This genre became known as Chimurenga (struggle, or liberation) music. In it Mapfumo blended traditional Shona music with Western rock and jazz instruments and a political message full of symbolic meanings, traditional proverbs, and rock's rebelliousness. His innovations transformed Zimbabwean popular music of the 1970s. Black Zimbabweans immediately identified with Mapfumo's music and Shona lyrics and he became a household

## "La Marseillaise" (1792)

Arise children of the fatherland  
 The day of glory has arrived  
 Against us tyranny's  
 Bloody standard is raised  
 Bloody standard is raised  
 Can you hear in the fields  
 The howling of these fearsome soldiers?  
 They are coming into our midst  
 To cut the throats of your sons and consorts!  
 [Chorus]To arms, citizens,  
 Form in battalions,  
 March, march!  
 Let impure blood  
 Water our furrows! . . .  
 [4th verse] Tremble, tyrants and traitors  
 The shame of all good men/  
 Tremble! Your parricidal schemes  
 Will finally receive their just reward  
 Will finally receive their just reward  
 Against you, everyone is a soldier,  
 If they fall, our young heroes,  
 France will bear new ones  
 Ready to join the fight against you!

name. His upbeat, energizing music with its socially critical lyrics but easy, swaying rhythms galvanized the African population and encouraged young people to cross the border into Mozambique for training in guerrilla warfare. In the eyes of many Zimbabweans it was Chimurenga music that won the liberation war by invoking the wisdom and guardianship of their ancestors. Mapfumo remains a living cultural icon in Zimbabwe today.

## Implications and Directions

Because music is such an integral part of people's lives it will continue to shape and influence their perception of what is important politically, as well as their personal and social aspirations and the ways in which these are expressed. It is one cultural arena in which ideological struggle and political mobilization will continue to take place as music circulates along with other cultural goods and commodities. Music has promoted a variety of political ideas and protests over the last two centuries, with different cultures and groups appropriating and creating music suitable to their goals. In the 1960s and earlier, music was an integral part of what were more or less organized political movements. Where populist political movements declined, as in the United States and much of Europe in the 1980s and 1990s, politicized musicians took the lead in staged commercialized "mega-events" like Live Aid, Farm Aid, and Band Aid. In these concerts, music itself provided the organizing vehicle. It was mass music that mobilized masses of people. The point was not to protest political or social inequality or to foment revolution but to raise money for famine victims in Africa or dispossessed farmers in the American Midwest. Where populist political protest movements were active, as in Zimbabwe, South Africa, or Haiti, music still called people to action, and it will continue to do so in the future.

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# Mysticism

Mysticism is a type of religious experience claimed to involve a direct and personal experience of God, or of some eternal, spiritual element in the universe. Most of the major world religions have a significant mystical dimension to their faith. It is sometimes the case, however, that such mystical trends are not regarded as an orthodox feature of the religion. Although mystical experience differs somewhat from religion to religion, there appear to be features in common. Mystics typically subscribe to forms of spiritual discipline involving meditation or the repetition of the name of the divine. Such disciplines may often involve asceticism or withdrawal from the world. Mystics usually aspire to achieve a form of merging with God, or of spiritual salvation. The process of spiritual training undergone by mystics is often supervised by a spiritual adept or teacher. Within a particular religious tradition, the experiences associated with mysticism may be written in spiritual texts or transmitted orally. However, since the mystical experience is essentially individualistic and subjective, there may be difficulties in comparing the experience of one person with that of another.

## History

It seems reasonable to suppose that people have, from very ancient times, attempted to gain a direct relationship with spiritual elements in the world around them. However, documented traditions within the major faiths are much more recent. Hinduism has many traditions that may legitimately be described as mystical, most notably the practice of yoga. This mystical philosophy may be dated to the Upanishads of approximately 500–400 BCE



**Standing stones found throughout northern Europe, such as these in Avebury, England, have for several hundred years drawn the attention of believers in various forms of mysticism.**

and has been practiced in various forms until the present day. Yoga emphasizes the control of breathing as an aid to concentration and meditation. It is often accompanied by a renunciation of the world and by a tendency toward asceticism. The goal of yoga is that one should obtain union with Brahman, the spiritual force of the universe, and hence release from the cycle of rebirth. The use of yoga postures, or asanas, is but one element of yogic mysticism. In more recent times, celebrated practitioners of yoga include Ramakrishna (1836–1886 CE) and Vivekananda (1863–1902 CE).

Sikhism also espouses a form of mysticism whose goal is a direct experience of the divine. The principal approach is that of *nam japan*, or repetition of the name of God. This method, along with a meditation upon the nature of God, was the mystical approach advocated by

Guru Nanak (1469–1539? CE), the founder of Sikhism. In another Indian religion, Jainism, there is an emphasis upon asceticism, and also meditation. Jainism was founded by Vardhamana (Mahavira), who lived from approximately 599–527 BCE. The ultimate goal of Jain mysticism is *moksha*, or release from the cycle of birth and death.

Buddhism, founded by Siddhartha Gautama (c. 566–c. 486 BCE), subsequently known as the Buddha, is arguably a mystical religion, although it does not incorporate any form of divine figure. The practice of Buddhism is derived from the enlightenment experience of the Buddha, achieved after a prolonged period of meditation. The express purpose of Buddhism is to enable human beings to eliminate their feelings of suffering, and the practice of meditation is one of the principal methods used to achieve this. The initial aim of meditation is to calm the fluctuations of the mind, and then to gain insight into the nature of existence. In this way the Buddhist comes to understand that the world is impermanent, and that through nonattachment to the world, one can begin to eliminate feelings of suffering. Eventually the Buddhist aspires to a state of supreme calmness and equanimity known as enlightenment. Buddhism spread from India to Southeast Asian countries such as Thailand and Cambodia, and north to Tibet, China, and Japan. The Buddhist tradition that developed in Japan became known as Zen, and one of its main exponents was Dogen (1200–1253 CE). Zen has had an important influence on Japanese art and poetry, an example being the work of the poet Matsuo Munefusa (Basho; 1644–1694 CE). Buddhism continues to influence Japanese cultural life to this day.

The Daoist tradition in China advocates a tranquil life, and one in which the aspirant seeks to live in tune with the natural world. The Daoist attempts to live in harmony with the Dao, or the creative energy that is present throughout the natural world. The *Te Ching* is usually regarded as the principal text of Daoism, and was historically attributed to Lao-tzu in approximately the sixth century BCE.

The mystical tradition in Islam is known as Sufism, a term that may be derived from *suf*, the Arabic for wool. This may refer to the tradition of Sufis wearing a cloak

of rough wool. This very much reflects the ascetic tendency, which is an element in Sufism much as it is in other mystical traditions. The aim of Sufis is a direct experience of God. Sufis often traditionally associate themselves with a religious community, led by a sheikh or spiritual leader. Sufism continues to be an active tradition in the present day.

The approach to mysticism within Judaism is known as kabbalah, and it emphasizes a direct understanding of God as being the force behind the entire universe. Judaic mysticism utilizes meditation and contemplation, and encourages the aspirant to develop a sense of love toward humanity.

Within Christianity the history of mysticism is connected to some extent with that of monasticism, which

evolved in Egypt during the third and fourth centuries CE. The early monastics led extremely simple lives, withdrawing from the world and devoting themselves to God. The monastic tradition was placed on an established basis by Saint Benedict (c. 480–547 CE). Noted Christian mystics include Saint John of the Cross (1542–1591 CE), Saint Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582 CE), and Jakob Böhme (1575–1624).

## Influence

Mystics have generally attempted to seek the most direct spiritual experience of their particular religious tradition. In so doing, they have often been perceived as a threat by the religious orthodoxy. From time to time, mystics have given expression to subjective experience, and while this may have been contrary to established tradition, it has been a reminder of the attempt to seek direct understanding of the divine. To that extent, mysticism is still an important contemporary tradition, particularly for those who seek that form of religious experience.

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