



AP® Comparison

What does this image reveal about the characteristics of the Ottoman Janissaries as a military force?

AP® DIGGING DEEPER

In the practice of devshirme, the Ottomans took Christian boys from their families as a form of tax. These children were then educated as civil servants and professional soldiers (called Janissaries). This system gave the young men access to power. They could even achieve the rank of grand vizier, second in power only to the sultan.

Ottoman Janissaries Originating in the fourteenth century, the Janissaries became the elite infantry force of the Ottoman Empire. Complete with uniforms, cash salaries, and marching music, they were the first standing army in the region since the days of the Roman Empire. When gunpowder technology became available, Janissary forces soon were armed with muskets, grenades, and handheld cannons. This Turkish miniature painting dates from the sixteenth century. (Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul, Turkey/Album/Art Resource, NY)

In the sixteenth century (see Chapter 4), the Ottomans brought to the Islamic Middle East a greater measure of political coherence, military power, economic prosperity, and cultural brilliance than it had known since the early centuries of Islam.

Cultural Encounters in India and Spain

Even as Turkish political and cultural influence increased in the Islamic heartland, Turkic-speaking warrior groups were also spreading the Muslim faith through conquest into India, initiating an enduring encounter with an ancient Hindu civilization. Beginning around 1000, those conquests gave rise to a series of Islamic regimes that governed much of India into the nineteenth century. The early centuries of this encounter were violent indeed, as the invaders smashed Hindu and Buddhist temples and carried off vast quantities of Indian treasure. With the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi in 1206 (see Map 2.3), Turkic rule became more systematic, although the Turks' small numbers and internal conflicts allowed only a very modest penetration of Indian society.

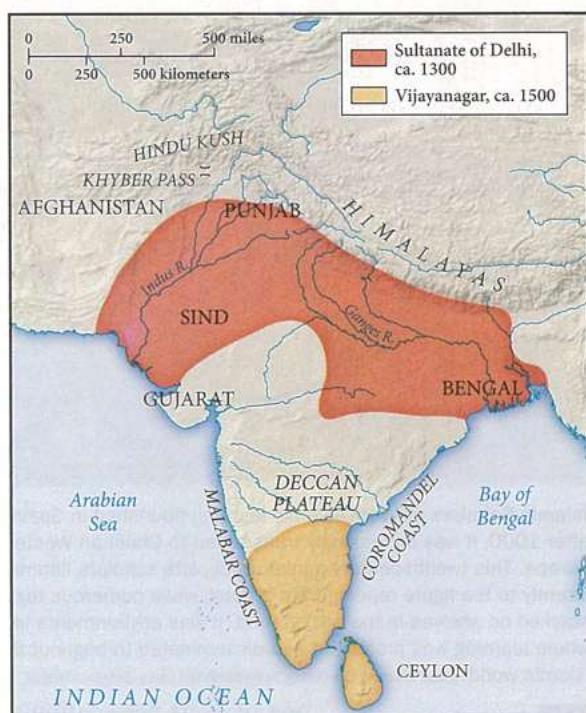
In the centuries that followed, substantial Muslim communities emerged in northern India, particularly in regions less tightly integrated into the dominant Hindu culture. Aside from the spiritual attractions of the faith, the egalitarian aspects of Islam attracted some disillusioned Buddhists, low-caste Hindus, and untouchables (people considered beneath even the lowest caste), along with those just beginning to make the transition to settled agriculture. Others benefited from converting to Islam by avoiding the tax imposed on non-Muslims. Muslim holy men, known as Sufis, were particularly important in facilitating conversion, for India had always valued “god-filled men” who were detached from worldly affairs.

Unlike the earlier experience of Islam in the Middle East and North Africa, where it rapidly became the dominant faith, in India it was never able to claim more than 20 to 25 percent of the total population. Furthermore, Muslim communities were especially concentrated in the Punjab and Sind regions of northwestern India and in Bengal to the east. The core regions of Hindu culture in the northern Indian plain were not seriously challenged by the new faith, despite centuries of Muslim rule. Muslims usually lived quite separately, remaining a distinctive minority within an ancient Indian civilization, which they now largely governed but which they proved unable to completely transform. These religious and cultural boundaries proved permeable in at least some contexts. Many prominent Hindus, for instance, willingly served in the political and military structures of a Muslim-ruled India.

Further to the south, well beyond the boundaries of the Delhi sultanate and its successors, several Hindu states flourished. Perhaps the most impressive was the powerful Vijayanagar empire (1336–1646), which at its height controlled nearly all of southern India from a thriving capital city of perhaps half a million people, described by one sixteenth-century European visitor as “the best provided city in the world . . . as large as Rome and very beautiful to the sight.”¹² Formed in part to resist Muslim incursions from the north, the Vijayanagar empire was also a site of sustained and more peaceful Hindu-Muslim encounters. Muslim merchants were a prominent presence in many trading ports, and a scholar has recently described a Muslim district of the capital as being “as vibrant as the Hindu precincts of the city.”¹³ As in northern India, the Hindu faith predominated, but a permanent Muslim presence in the south fostered an ongoing encounter between the two faiths and cultures.

AP EXAM TIP

Understand the political and cultural features of states such as the Delhi sultanate.



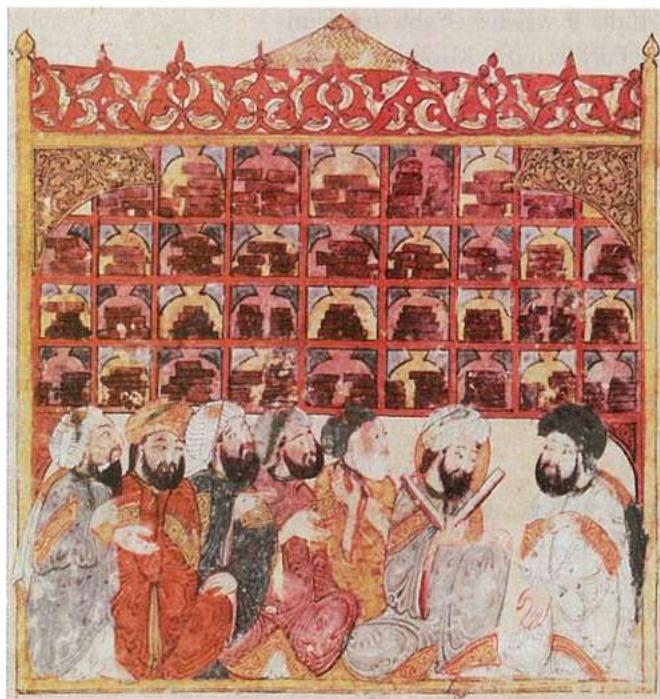
Map 2.3 The Sultanate of Delhi and Vijayanagar Empire

Between 1206 and 1526 a number of Muslim dynasties ruled northern India as the Delhi sultanate, while an explicitly Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar arose in the south after 1340. It drew on north Indian Muslim architectural features and made use of Muslim mercenaries for its military forces.

AP® Comparison

How was Islam similar and different in Spain and India?

In the far west of the Islamic world, Spain, called **al-Andalus** by Muslims, was also the site of a sustained cross-cultural encounter, this time with Christian Western Europe. But here Muslims, Christians, and Jews mixed more freely than in India, even as periods of toleration fluctuated with persecution of other faiths. Conquered by Arab and Berber forces in the early eighth century during the first wave of Islamic expansion, Muslim Spain became a vibrant civilization by the 900s. Its agricultural economy was the most prosperous in Europe during this time, and its capital of Córdoba was among the largest and most splendid cities in the world. Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike contributed to a brilliant high culture in which astronomy, medicine, the arts, architecture, and literature flourished. Furthermore, social relationships among upper-class members of different faiths were easy and frequent. By 1000, perhaps 75 percent of the population had converted to Islam. Many of the remaining Christians learned Arabic, veiled their women, stopped eating pork, appreciated Arabic music and poetry, and sometimes married Muslims. During the reign of Abd al-Rahman III (r. 912–961), freedom of worship was declared, as well as the opportunity for all to rise in the bureaucracy of the state.



Islamic Scholars at Work Islamic learning flourished in Spain, where, after 1000, it was increasingly transmitted to Christian Western Europe. This twelfth-century miniature depicts scholars listening intently to the figure reading from a book, while numerous texts lie stacked on shelves in the background. It was environments like this where learning was preserved and disseminated throughout the Islamic world. (Arabic miniature, 12th Century/De Agostini Picture Library/Bridgeman Images)

AP® Analyzing Evidence

What can one learn about the transmission of knowledge in the Muslim world from this image?

one of overt persecution against Christians, which now included the plundering of churches and the seizure of their wealth, although al-Mansur employed many Christian mercenaries in his armies. Social life also changed. Devout Muslims now avoided contact with Christians; Christian homes had to be built lower than those of Muslims; priests were forbidden to carry a cross or a Bible, lest they offend Muslim sensibilities; and Arabized Christians were permitted to live only in particular places. Thus, writes one scholar, “the era of harmonious interaction between

But this so-called golden age of Muslim Spain was both limited and brief. Even assimilated or Arabized Christians remained religious infidels and second-class citizens in the eyes of their Muslim counterparts, and by the late tenth century toleration began to erode. The Córdoba-based regime fragmented into numerous rival states. Warfare with the remaining Christian kingdoms in northern Spain picked up in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and more puritanical and rigid forms of Islam entered Spain from North Africa. Under the rule of al-Mansur (r. 981–1002), an official policy of tolerance turned to

Muslim and Christian in Spain came to an end, replaced by intolerance, prejudice, and mutual suspicion.”¹⁴

That intolerance intensified as the Christian reconquest of Spain gained ground after 1200. The end came in 1492, when Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic monarchs of a unified Spain, took Granada, the last Muslim stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula. Despite initial promises to maintain the freedom of Muslims to worship, in the opening decades of the sixteenth century the Spanish monarchy issued a series of edicts outlawing Islam in its various territories, forcing Muslims to choose between conversion or exile. Many Muslims were thus required to emigrate, often to North Africa or the Ottoman Empire, along with some 200,000 Jews expelled from Spain because they too refused to convert. In the early seventeenth century, even Muslim converts to Christianity were likewise banished from Spain. And yet cultural interchange persisted for a time. The translation of Arab texts into Latin continued under Christian rule, while Christian churches and palaces were constructed on the sites of older mosques and incorporated Islamic artistic and architectural features.

Thus Spain, unlike most other regions incorporated into the Islamic world, experienced a religious reversal between 1200 and 1450 as Christian rule was reestablished and Islam was painfully eradicated from the Iberian Peninsula. In world historical terms, perhaps the chief significance of Muslim Spain was its role in making the rich heritage of Islamic learning available to Christian Europe. As a cross-cultural encounter, it was largely a one-way street. European scholars wanted the secular knowledge—Greek as well as Arab—that had accumulated in the Islamic world, and they flocked to Spain to acquire it. That knowledge of philosophy, mathematics, medicine, optics, astronomy, botany, and more played a major role in the making of a new European civilization in the thirteenth century and beyond. Muslim Spain remained only as a memory (see “Reason and Renaissance in the West”).

AP EXAM TIP

The ways that dominant cultures treat outsiders or “others,” as seen here, are frequent topics on the AP® exam.

AP Argument Development

“Islam had a revolutionary impact on every society that it touched.” What evidence might support this statement, and what might challenge it?

The Worlds of Christendom

Much like the worlds of Islam, between 1200 and 1450 the worlds of Christendom were both spreading and contracting. Since 600 C.E. the Christian faith had expanded dramatically in Europe even as it contracted sharply in Asia and Africa, where many had converted to Islam. The **Byzantine Empire**, or Byzantium (bihz-ANT-tee-hum), which for centuries had been the most sophisticated and powerful Christian empire and civilization, had by 1200 entered a state of terminal decline. But even as this ancient Christian state disappeared, its religious, political, and cultural traditions profoundly influenced the Rus, an emerging civilization in Eastern Europe. Meanwhile, the trajectory of civilization in Western Europe traced an opposite path to that of Byzantium. While civilization contracted in Western Europe as the Roman Empire collapsed, by 1200 that region was emerging as an especially dynamic, expansive, and innovative civilization, combining elements of its Greco-Roman-Christian past with the culture of Germanic and Celtic peoples to produce a distinctive hybrid or blended civilization.

AP EXAM TIP

It is important to understand the spread and contraction of Christianity over time.

The Eastern Orthodox World: A Declining Byzantium and an Emerging Rus'

Unlike most empires, Byzantium had no clear starting point. Its own leaders, as well as its neighbors and enemies, viewed it as simply a continuation of the Roman Empire. It initially encompassed large parts of the eastern Roman Empire, including Egypt, Greece, Syria, and Anatolia. Much that was late Roman—its roads, taxation system, military structures, centralized administration, imperial court, laws, Christian Church—persisted in Byzantium for many centuries. Like Song dynasty China seeking to restore the glory of the earlier Han era, Byzantium consciously sought to preserve the legacy of classical Greco-Roman civilization. Its well-fortified capital city of **Constantinople**, established in 330 c.e., was a “New Rome,” and people referred to themselves as “Romans.” The rapid Islamic expansion in the seventh century resulted in the loss of Syria and Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa. Nonetheless, until roughly 1200, a more compact Byzantine Empire remained a major force in the eastern Mediterranean, controlling Greece, much of the Balkans (Southeastern Europe), and Anatolia (see Map 2.4). From that territorial base, the empire’s naval and merchant vessels were active in both the Mediterranean and Black seas.

AP® EXAM TIP

Understand the political, social, cultural, and economic legacies of the Byzantine Empire.

AP® Analyzing Evidence

What does this map suggest about the motivation for Justinian’s conquest?



Map 2.4 The Byzantine Empire

The Byzantine Empire reached its greatest extent under Emperor Justinian in the mid-sixth century c.e. It later lost considerable territory to various Christian European powers as well as to Muslim Arab and Turkic invaders.

In its heyday, the Byzantine state was an impressive creation. Political authority remained tightly centralized in Constantinople, where the emperor claimed to govern all creation as God's worldly representative, styling himself the "sole ruler of the world." The imperial court tried to imitate the awesome grandeur of what it thought was God's heavenly court. Intimately tied to the Byzantine state was the Eastern Orthodox Church, a relationship that became known as **caesaropapism**. Unlike in Western Europe, where the Roman Catholic Church maintained some degree of independence from political authorities, in Byzantium the emperor assumed something of the role of both "caesar," as head of state, and the pope, as head of the church. Thus he appointed the patriarch, or leader, of the Orthodox Church; sometimes made decisions about doctrine; called church councils into session; and generally treated the church as a government department. "The [Empire] and the church have a great unity and community," declared a twelfth-century patriarch. "Indeed they cannot be separated."¹⁵

Eastern Orthodoxy legitimated the supreme and absolute authority of the emperor, for he was a God-anointed ruler, a reflection of the glory of God on earth. It also provided a cultural identity for the empire's subjects. Even more than being "Roman," they were orthodox, or "right-thinking" Christians. Tensions between the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church headed by the pope in Rome grew through time until in 1054 representatives of both churches mutually excommunicated each other, declaring in effect that those in the opposing tradition were not genuine Christians. The **Crusades**, launched in 1095 by the Catholic pope against the forces of Islam, made relations worse, especially when during the Fourth Crusade in 1204, Western forces seized Constantinople and ruled Byzantium for the next half century. After this, the rupture in the world of Christendom proved irreparable.

The most significant region of expansion for Orthodox Christianity around 1200 was among the Rus, Slavic peoples of what is now Ukraine and western Russia. In this culturally diverse region, which also included Finnic and Baltic peoples as well as Viking traders, a modest state known as **Kievan Rus** (KEE-yeh-vih ROOS)—named after the most prominent city, Kiev—emerged in the ninth century. Loosely led by various princes, Rus was a society of slaves and freemen, privileged people and commoners, dominant men and subordinate women. This stratification marked it as a civilization in the making. In 988, a decisive turning point occurred. The growing interaction of Rus with the larger world prompted Prince Vladimir of Kiev to affiliate with the Eastern Orthodox faith of the Byzantine Empire. The prince was searching for a religion that would unify the diverse peoples of his region while linking Rus into wider networks of communication and exchange.

As elsewhere in Europe, the coming of Christianity to Rus was a top-down development in which ordinary people followed their rulers into the church. It was a slow process with elements of traditional religious sensibility lingering among those who defined themselves as Christian. Nonetheless, it was a fateful choice

AP EXAM TIP

Know examples of connections between governments and religions throughout history, such as those described here.

AP Causation

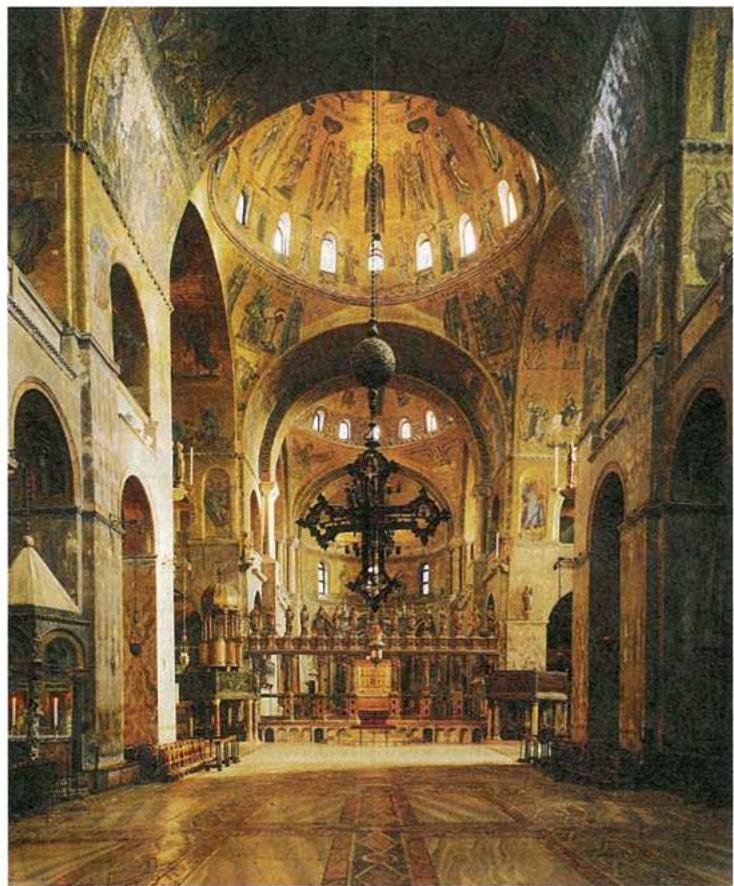
Why did the Byzantine Empire collapse?

AP Comparison

In what ways did Eastern Orthodox Christianity differ from Roman Catholicism?

AP Causation

How did links to Byzantium lead to the development of the new civilization in Kievan Rus?



St. Mark's Basilica Consecrated in 1094, this ornate cathedral, although located in Venice, Italy, is a classic example of Byzantine architecture. Such churches represented perhaps the greatest achievement of Byzantine art and were certainly the most monumental expressions of Byzantine culture. (Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY)

AP® Analyzing Evidence

What can we learn about Byzantine church architecture from this image?

Byzantine territory shrank, owing to incursions by aggressive Western European powers, by Catholic Crusaders, and by Turkic Muslim invaders. The end came in 1453 when the Turkic Ottoman Empire finally took Constantinople, bringing to an end an empire that had survived over 1,000 years. (See Zooming In: 1453 in Constantinople, page 74.)

AP® EXAM TIP

Connections between the Byzantine Empire and its neighbors are important facts for the AP® exam.

with long-term implications for Russian history, for it brought this fledgling civilization firmly into the world of Orthodox Christianity, separating it from both the realm of Islam and the Roman Catholic West. Like many new civilizations, Rus borrowed extensively from its older and more sophisticated Byzantine neighbor. Among these borrowings were Byzantine architectural styles, the Cyrillic alphabet based on its Greek counterpart, the extensive use of religious images known as icons, a monastic tradition stressing prayer and service, and political ideals of imperial control of the church, all of which became part of a transformed Rus. Orthodoxy also provided a more unified identity for this emerging civilization and religious legitimacy for its rulers.

But even as the new Rus civilization emerged, Byzantium disappeared. For centuries the Byzantine Empire showed remarkable resilience and capacity for revival even after destabilizing civil wars and devastating invasions by foreign neighbors. But after 1085 the empire entered a period of slow and ultimately terminal decline.

A Fragmented Political Landscape in Western Europe

The western half of the European Christian world followed a rather different path from that of the Byzantine Empire. In the first place, it was different religiously, for by 1200, most of Western Europe had embraced Christianity in its distinctive Roman Catholic variant. The church replaced some of the political, administrative, educational, and welfare functions of the now vanished Roman Empire. For

aspiring kings and warlords, it offered the status and legitimacy of a “civilized” and literate religion that still bore something of the grandeur that was Rome. Nonetheless, for centuries, priests and bishops had to warn their congregations against the worship of rivers, trees, and mountains, and for many people ancient gods, monsters, trolls, and spirits still inhabited the land.

Until around 1000 C.E., **Western Christendom** was distinctly on the margins of world history, partly because of its geographic location at the far western end of the Eurasian landmass. Thus it was at a distance from the growing routes of world trade—by sea in the Indian Ocean and by land across the Silk Roads to China and the Sand Roads to West Africa (see Chapter 3). Internally, Western Europe’s geography made political unity difficult, for population centers were divided by mountain ranges and dense forests as well as by five major peninsulas and two large islands (Britain and Ireland). However, its extensive coastlines and interior river systems facilitated exchange, while a moderate climate, plentiful rainfall, and fertile soils enabled a productive agriculture that could support a growing population.

Unlike the large centralized states of Byzantium, the Islamic world, and China, this new European civilization never achieved political unity. In the political chaos of the ninth and tenth centuries, a highly fragmented and decentralized society, widely known as feudalism, emerged in a variety of local expressions and persisted in some regions into the fifteenth century. In thousands of independent, self-sufficient, and largely isolated landed estates or manors, power—political, economic, and social—was exercised by a warrior elite of landowning lords, in a system known as manorialism. In the constant competition, lesser lords and knights swore allegiance to greater lords or kings and thus became their vassals, frequently receiving lands and plunder in return for military service. Some institutions like monasteries also became lords of manors, usually through donations.

Such reciprocal ties between superior and subordinate were also apparent at the bottom of the social hierarchy, as Roman-style slavery gradually gave way to serfdom. Unlike slaves, serfs were not the personal property of their masters, could not be arbitrarily thrown off their land, and were allowed to live in families. However, they were bound to their masters’ estates as peasant laborers and owed various payments and services to the lord of the manor. In return, the serf family received a small farm and such protection as the lord could provide. In a violent and insecure world, the only security available to many individuals or families lay in these communities, where the ties to kin, manor, lord, and church constituted the primary human loyalties.

But after 1000, European political life began to crystallize into a system of competing states that has persisted into the twenty-first century. In many regions of Western Europe during the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries, monarchs gradually and painfully began to consolidate their authority, and the outlines of French, English, Spanish, Scandinavian, and other states began to appear, each with its own distinct language and culture. Royal courts and fledgling bureaucracies were established, and groups of professional administrators appeared. More effective

AP EXAM TIP

Be able to identify periods of political unity and those of division in the history of the European/Mediterranean world.

1453 in Constantinople

On May 29, 1453, forces of the Muslim Ottoman sultan Mehmed II seized control of the great Christian city of Constantinople, an event that marked the final end of the Roman/Byzantine Empire and the ascendancy of the Ottoman Empire. In retrospect, this event acquired a certain air of inevitability about it, for the Byzantine Empire had been retreating for almost two centuries before the steady advance of the Ottomans. By 1453, that once-great empire, heir to all things Roman, had shrunk to little more than the city itself, with only some 50,000 inhabitants and 8,000 active defenders compared to a vast Ottoman army of 60,000 soldiers. And little was left of the fabled wealth of the city. But what later observers see as inevitable generally occurs only with great human effort and amid vast uncertainty about the outcome. So it was in Constantinople in 1453.

Constantine XI, the last Byzantine emperor, was well aware of the odds he faced. Yet his great city, protected by water on two sides and a great wall on a third, had repeatedly withstood many attacks and sieges. Furthermore,



Ottoman Turks storm the walls of Constantinople in 1453.

until the very end, he had hoped for assistance from Western Christians, even promising union with the Roman Church to obtain it. But no such help arrived, at least not in sufficient quantities to make a difference, though rumors of a fleet from Venice persisted. The internal problems of the Western powers as well as the long-standing hostility between Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism ensured that Constantinople would meet its end alone.

On the Ottoman side, enormous effort was expended with no assurance of success. In 1451, a new sultan came to the throne of the Ottoman Empire, Mehmed II, only nineteen years old and widely regarded as not very promising. Furthermore, some among the court officials had reservations about an attack on Constantinople. But the young sultan seemed determined to gain the honor promised in Islamic prophesies, going back to Muhammad himself, to the one who conquered the city. Doing so

photo: © ullstein bild/The Image Works

institutions of government increasingly commanded the loyalty, or at least the obedience, of their subjects. In other regions, smaller states predominated. In Italy, for instance, city-states flourished as urban areas grew wealthy and powerful, while the Germans also remained divided among numerous small principalities within the Holy Roman Empire (see Map 2.5).

Europe's multicentered political system shaped the emerging civilization of the West in many ways. It gave rise to frequent wars that brought death, destruction, and disruption to many communities. These same conflicts enhanced the role and status of military men, and thus European elite society and values were militarized far more than in China, which gave greater prominence to scholars and bureaucrats. Intense interstate rivalry, combined with a willingness to borrow, also stimulated European

could also rid him of a potential rival to the Ottoman throne, who had taken refuge in Constantinople.

And so preparations began for an assault on the once-great city. The Ottomans assembled a huge fleet, gathered men and materials, and constructed a fortress to control access to Constantinople by water. In late 1452, Mehmed secured the services of a Hungarian master cannon builder named Orban, who constructed a number of huge cannons, one of which could hurl a 600-pound stone ball over a mile. These weapons later had a devastating effect on the walls surrounding Constantinople. Interestingly enough, Orban had first offered his services to the Byzantine emperor, who simply could not afford to pay for this very expensive project.

In early April of 1453, the siege began, and it lasted for fifty-seven days. As required by Islamic law, Mehmed offered three times to spare the emperor and his people if they surrendered. Constantine apparently considered the offer seriously, but he finally refused, declaring, "We have all decided to die with our own free will." After weeks of furious bombardment, an ominous silence descended on May 28. Mehmed had declared a day of rest and prayer before the final assault the next day. That evening, the Byzantine emperor ordered a procession of icons and reliques about the city and then entered the ancient Christian church of Hagia Sophia, seeking forgiveness for his sins and receiving Holy Communion.

And then, early the next day, the final assault began as Ottoman forces breached the walls of Constantinople and

took the city. The Christians bravely defended their city, and Constantine discarded his royal regalia and died fighting like a common soldier. A later legend suggested that angels turned Constantine into marble and buried him in a nearby cave from which he would eventually reappear to retake the city for Christendom.

Islamic law required that soldiers be permitted three days of plundering the spoils, but Mehmed was reluctant, eager to spare the city he longed for as his capital. So he limited plundering to one day. Even so, the aftermath was terrible. According to a Christian eyewitness, "The enraged Turkish soldiers . . . gave no quarter. When they had massacred and there was no longer any resistance, they were intent on pillage and roamed through the town stealing, disrobing, pillaging, killing, raping, taking captive men, women, children, monks, priests."¹⁶ When Mehmed himself entered the city, praying at the Christian altar of Hagia Sophia, he reportedly wept at seeing the destruction that had occurred.

Constantinople was now a Muslim city, capital of the Ottoman Empire, and Hagia Sophia became a mosque. A momentous change had occurred in the relationship between the world of Islam and that of Christendom.

QUESTIONS

What factors contributed to Mehmed's victory? Under what circumstances might a different outcome have been possible?

technological development. By 1450, Europeans had gone a long way toward catching up with their more advanced Asian counterparts. Gunpowder, for instance, was invented in China; but Europeans were probably the first to use it in cannons, in the early fourteenth century, and by 1500 they had the most advanced arsenals in the world. Advances in shipbuilding and navigational techniques provided the foundation for European mastery of the seas. These included the magnetic compass and sternpost rudder from China and adaptations of the Mediterranean or Arab lateen sail, which enabled vessels to sail against the wind.

The states within this emerging European civilization also differed from those to the east. Their rulers generally were weaker and had to contend with competing sources of power such as the nobility and the church. Between 1200 and 1450,

AP® Comparison

Why was Europe unable to achieve the same level of political unity that China experienced in this era?



AP® Causation

Based on this map, what factors account for the relative political and social fragmentation of Europe?

Map 2.5 Europe in 1453

By the mid-fifteenth century Christian Europe had emerged as a system of competing states threatened by an expanding Muslim Ottoman Empire.

the **Roman Catholic Church** was the one organization in Western Europe whose influence stretched across the whole region. Its hierarchical organization of popes, bishops, priests, and monasteries meant that the church had a representative in nearly every community in Europe, and Latin provided a shared language among churchmen, even as it gave way to various vernacular languages in common speech. By 1200, the church had grown quite wealthy, possessing large amounts of land, the proceeds of which gave it great power and influence within states and funded its many religious, charitable, and educational initiatives. The wealth also funded the lavish lifestyles and political aspirations of many leading churchmen, causing reformers to accuse it of forgetting its spiritual mission.

Church authorities, rulers, and nobles often competed against each other, for they were rival centers of power, but they also regularly reinforced each other. Rulers provided protection for the papacy and strong encouragement for the faith. In return, the church offered religious legitimacy for the powerful and the prosperous. “It is the will of the Creator,” declared the teaching of the church, “that the higher shall always rule over the lower. Each individual and class should stay in its place [and] perform its tasks.”¹⁷

The inability of kings, warrior aristocrats, or church leaders to prevail over the others provided room for urban-based merchants in Europe to achieve an unusual independence from political authority. Many cities, where wealthy merchants exercised local power, won the right to make and enforce their own laws and appoint their own officials. Some of them—Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Milan, for example—became almost completely independent city-states. Elsewhere, kings, often in search of allies and resources for their struggles with aristocrats and the church, granted charters that allowed cities to have their own courts, laws, and governments, while paying their own kind of taxes to the king. Powerful, independent cities were a distinctive feature of European life after 1100 or so. By contrast, Chinese cities, which were far larger than those of Europe, were simply part of the empire and enjoyed few special privileges. Although commerce was far more extensive in China than in the emerging European civilization, the powerful Chinese state favored the landowners over merchants and actively controlled and limited merchant activity far more than the new and weaker royal authorities of Europe were able to do.

The relative weakness of Europe’s rulers allowed urban merchants more leeway and, according to some historians, opened the way to a more thorough development of capitalism in later centuries. It also led to the development of representative institutions or parliaments through which the views and interests of these contending forces could be expressed and accommodated. Intended to strengthen royal authority by consulting with major social groups, these embryonic parliaments did not represent the “people” or the “nation” but instead embodied the three great “estates of the realm”—the clergy (the first estate), the landowning nobility (the second estate), and urban merchants (the third estate).

An Evolving European Society and Economy

In the several centuries after 1000, a favorable climate, along with greater security and stability, brought about a new phase of European civilization, commonly called the High Middle Ages (1000–1300), arguably opening the way for an accelerating tempo of economic and social change. The population of Europe grew from perhaps 35 million in 1000 to about 80 million in 1340. Great lords, bishops, and religious orders organized new villages on what had recently been forest, marshes, or wasteland. Warmer weather during the summer months allowed farmers and pastoralists to herd their flocks into previously wild highland regions. As expansion brought new opportunities for settlement, many peasants were able to loosen the shackles of serfdom, a trend facilitated by greater stability and the power of states

AP EXAM TIP

Note the similarities and differences in the functions of cities in various civilizations of Eurasia.

AP Continuity and Change

To what extent did European civilization change after 1000?



European Technology Europeans' fascination with technology and their religious motivation for investigating the world are apparent in this thirteenth-century portrayal of God as a divine engineer, laying out the world with a huge compass. (Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY)

AP® Contextualization

How does this image of God using a compass to lay out the world reflect Western European understandings of science and religion in the thirteenth century?

availability of fish, the French king Philip IV declared in 1289: "Today each and every river and waterside of our realm, large and small, yields nothing."¹⁸

After 1000, Europeans also began to tap mechanical sources of energy in a major way, revolutionizing production in many industries and breaking with the ancient tradition of depending almost wholly on animal or human muscle as sources of energy. Devices such as cranks, flywheels, camshafts, and complex gearing mechanisms, when combined with windmills and especially water mills, provided power for grinding grain, sieving flour, tanning hides, making beer, sawing wood, manufacturing iron, and making paper. The increased production associated with agricultural expansion and new sources of energy stimulated a considerable growth in long-distance trade, both within Europe and with the more established civilizations of Byzantium and Islam. Thus, the self-sufficient communities of earlier centuries increasingly forged commercial bonds among themselves and with more distant peoples.

The population of towns and cities likewise grew. In the early 1300s, London had about 40,000 people, Paris had approximately 80,000, and Venice by the

over local lords. This trend accelerated after 1350, as the terrible loss of life caused by the Black Death (the plague) created shortages of labor across much of Europe and those who were still alive could demand lower rents and better wages and conditions.

Technological breakthroughs in agriculture underpinned this expansion as Europeans brought new lands under cultivation. They developed a heavy wheeled plow that could handle the dense soils of Northern Europe. They also began to rely increasingly on horses rather than oxen to pull the plow and to use iron horseshoes and a more efficient collar, which probably originated in China or Central Asia (see Snapshot: European Borrowing). In addition, Europeans developed a new three-field system of crop rotation, which allowed considerably more land to be planted at any one time. These were the technological foundations for a more productive agriculture that could support the growing population of European civilization, especially in its urban centers, far more securely than before. But these developments also took a heavy toll on the environment. For instance, deforestation and the tilling of fields, overfishing, human waste, and the proliferation of new water mills and their associated ponds damaged freshwater ecosystems in many places. Lamenting the declining

AP® Causation

Which of these technological and cultural borrowings would have the most significant influence on the development of Europe?

SNAPSHOT European Borrowing

Like people in other emerging civilizations, Europeans borrowed extensively from their near and more distant counterparts. They adapted these imports, both technological and cultural, to their own circumstances and generated distinctive innovations as well.

Borrowing	Source	Significance
Horse collar	China / Central Asia via Tunisia	Enabled heavy plowing and contributed to European agricultural development
Stirrup	India/Afghanistan	Revolutionized warfare by enhancing cavalry forces
Gunpowder	China	Enhanced the destructiveness of warfare
Paper	China	Enabled bureaucracy; fostered literacy; prerequisite for printing
Spinning wheel	India	Sped up production of yarn, usually by women at home
Wheelbarrow	China	Labor-saving device for farm and construction work
Aristotle	Byzantium / Islamic Spain	Recovery of classical Greek thought
Medical knowledge/ treatments	Islamic world	Sedatives, antiseptics, surgical techniques, optics, and knowledge of contagious diseases enriched European medicine
Christian mysticism	Muslim Spain	Mutual influence of Sufi, Jewish, and Christian mysticism
Music/poetry	Muslim Spain	Contributed to tradition of troubadour poetry about chivalry and courtly love
Mathematics	India / Islamic world	Foundation for European algebra
Chess	India/Persia	A game of prestige associated with European nobility

AP® EXAM TIP

Be prepared for questions about cultural borrowing in world history.

end of the fourteenth century could boast perhaps 150,000. To keep these figures in perspective, Constantinople housed some 400,000 people in 1000, Córdoba in Muslim Spain about 500,000 at about the same time, and the Song dynasty capital of Hangzhou more than 1 million in the thirteenth century. These towns gave rise to and attracted new groups of people, particularly merchants, bankers, artisans, and university-trained professionals such as lawyers, doctors, and scholars. Many of these groups, including university professors and students, organized themselves into guilds (associations of people pursuing the same line of work) to regulate their professions. Thus, from the rural social order of lord and peasant, a new more productive and complex division of labor took shape in European society.

These changes, which together represented the making of a new civilization, had implications for the lives of countless women and men. Economic growth

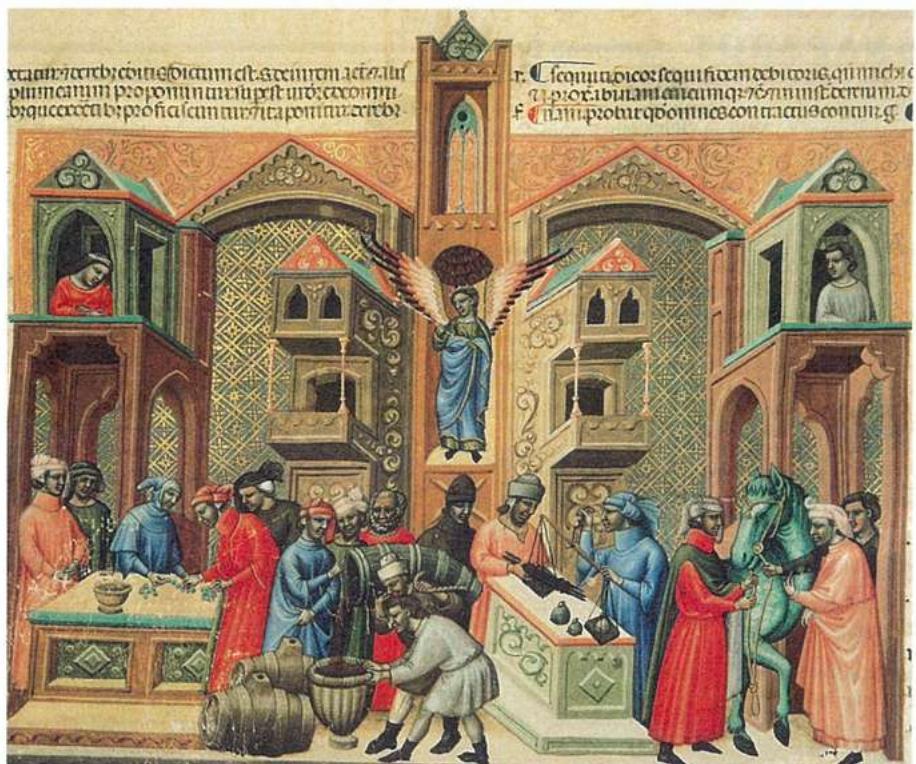
A European Urban Market

This image from a fourteenth-century Italian illuminated manuscript depicts a market scene in an urban setting. It illustrates two major elements of an emerging Western European civilization—urbanization and commercialization.

(Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin, Italy/Mondadori Portfolio/Electa/Paolo Manusardi/Bridgeman Images)

AP Analyzing Evidence

How does this image illustrate the growth of commercial life?



and urbanization initially offered European women substantial new opportunities. Women were active in a number of urban professions, such as weaving, brewing, milling grain, midwifery, small-scale retailing, laundering, spinning, and prostitution. In twelfth-century Paris, for example, a list of 100 occupations identified 86 as involving women workers, of which 6 were exclusively female. However, much as economic and technological change in China had eroded female silk production during the Song dynasty, by the fifteenth century artisan opportunities were declining for European women as well. Most women's guilds were gone, and women were restricted or banned from many others.

The church had long offered some women an alternative to home, marriage, family, and rural life. Substantial numbers of women, particularly from aristocratic families, were attracted to the secluded monastic life of poverty, chastity, and obedience within a convent, in part for the relative freedom from male control that it offered. Here was one of the few places where women might exercise authority as leaders in their orders and obtain a measure of education. But by 1300, much of the independence that such abbesses and their nuns had enjoyed was curtailed, and male control tightened even as older ideas of women's intellectual inferiority, the impurity of menstruation, and their role as sexual temptresses were mobilized to explain why women must operate under male control.

Thus, tightening male control of women took place in Europe as it did in Song dynasty China at about the same time. Accompanying this change was a new understanding of masculinity, at least in the growing towns and cities. No longer able to function as warriors protecting their women, men increasingly defined themselves as “providers”; a man’s role was to brave the new marketplaces “to win wealth for himself and his children.”

Western Europe Outward Bound

Accompanying the growth of a new European civilization after 1000 were efforts to engage more actively with both near and more distant neighbors. As Western Europe’s population mounted, settlers cleared new land, much of it on the eastern fringes of Europe. As Western economies grew, merchants, travelers, diplomats, and missionaries brought European society into more intensive contact with more distant peoples and with Eurasian commercial networks. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Europe clearly was outward bound.

Nothing more dramatically revealed European expansiveness and the religious passions that informed it than the Crusades, a series of “holy wars” that captured the imagination of Western Christendom for several centuries, beginning in 1095 and stretching into the thirteenth century. In European thinking and practice, the Crusades were wars undertaken at God’s command and authorized by the pope as Christ’s representative on earth. Crusaders were required to swear a vow and in return received an indulgence, which removed the penalties for any confessed sins, and were also granted various material benefits, such as immunity from lawsuits and a moratorium on the repayment of debts. Any number of political, economic, and social motives underlay the Crusades, but at their core they were religious wars. Within Europe, the amazing support for the Crusades reflected an understanding of them “as providing security against mortal enemies threatening the spiritual health of all Christendom and all Christians.”¹⁹ Crusading drew on

AP® Causation

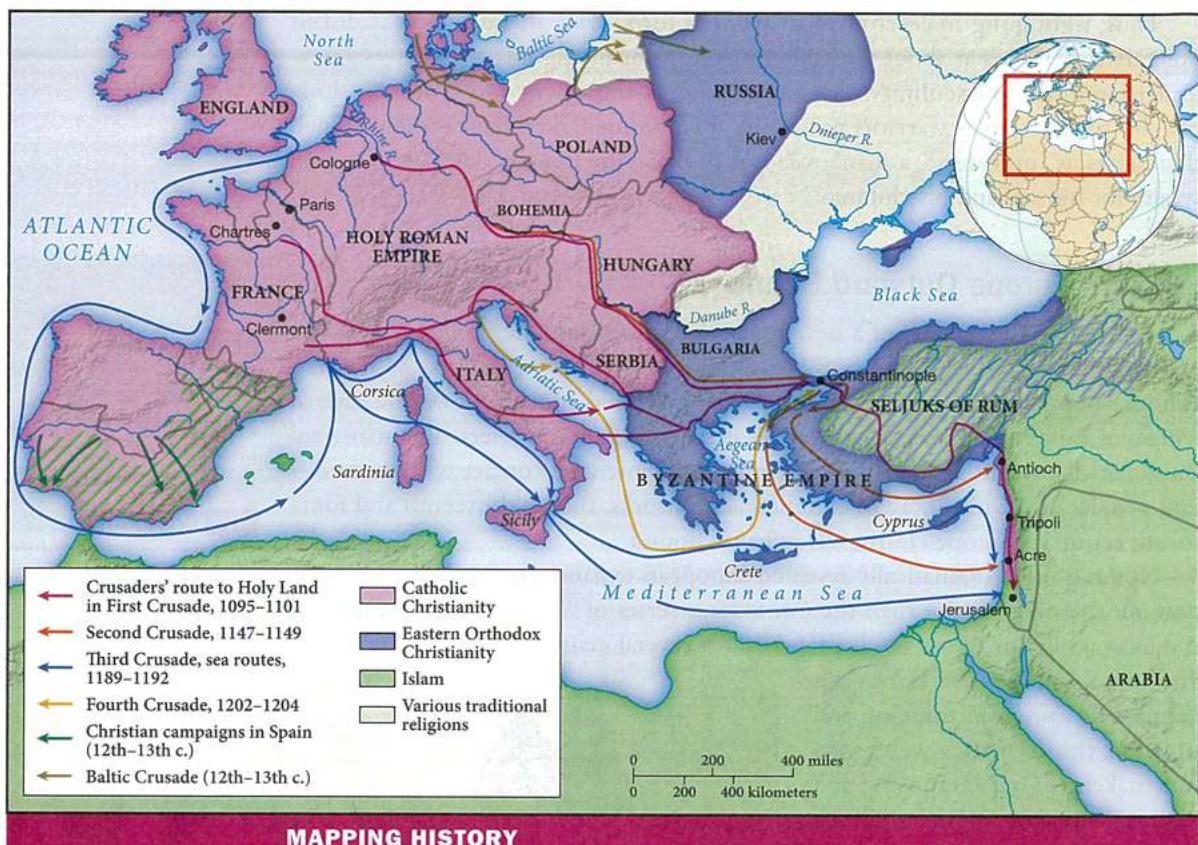
What were the major political and cultural effects of the Crusades?

AP® Comparison

How does this image distinguish between European and Islamic warriors?



The Crusades This fourteenth-century painting illustrates the Christian seizure of Jerusalem during the First Crusade in 1099. The crowned figure in the center is Godefroi de Bouillon, a French knight and nobleman who played a prominent role in the attack and was briefly known as the king of Jerusalem. (From “Le Roman de Godefroi de Bouillon” [vellum], 14th century/Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images)



MAPPING HISTORY

AP® Analyzing Evidence

What does this map suggest about the success or failure of the Crusades?

Map 2.6 The Crusades Western Europe's crusading tradition reflected the expansive energy and religious impulses of an emerging civilization. It was directed against Muslims in the Middle East, Sicily, and Spain as well as the Eastern Orthodox Christians of the Byzantine Empire. The Crusades also involved attacks on Jewish communities, probably the first organized mass pogroms against Jews in Europe's history.

READING THE MAP: Which of the Crusades were directed against other Christian peoples and which against Muslim lands?

INTERPRETING THE MAP: From the information provided by this map, how would you describe the role of Constantinople in the four Crusades to the eastern Mediterranean?

both Christian piety and the warrior values of the elite, with little sense of contradiction between these impulses.

The most famous Crusades were those aimed at wresting Jerusalem and the holy places associated with the life of Jesus from Islamic control and returning them to Christendom (see Map 2.6). Beginning in 1095, wave after wave of Crusaders from all walks of life and many countries flocked to the eastern Mediterranean, where they temporarily carved out four small Christian states, the last of which was recaptured by Muslim forces in 1291. Led or supported by an assortment of kings,

popes, bishops, monks, lords, nobles, and merchants, the Crusades demonstrated a growing European capacity for organization, finance, transportation, and recruitment, made all the more impressive by the absence of any centralized direction for the project. They also demonstrated considerable cruelty. The seizure of Jerusalem in 1099, for instance, was accompanied by the slaughter of many Muslims and Jews.

Crusading was not limited to targets in the Islamic Middle East, however. Those Christians who waged war for centuries to reclaim the Iberian Peninsula from Muslim hands were likewise declared "crusaders," with a similar set of spiritual and material benefits. So too were Scandinavian and German warriors who took part in wars to conquer, settle, and convert lands along the Baltic Sea. The Byzantine Empire and Russia, both of which followed Eastern Orthodox Christianity, were also on the receiving end of Western crusading, as were Christian heretics, Jews, and various enemies of the pope in Europe itself. Crusading, in short, was a pervasive feature of European expansion, which persisted as Europeans began their oceanic voyages in the fifteenth century and beyond.

Surprisingly perhaps, the Crusades had little lasting impact, either politically or religiously, in the Middle East. European power was not sufficiently strong or long-lasting to induce much conversion, and the small European footholds there had come under Muslim control by 1300. In Europe, however, crusading in general and interaction with the Islamic world in particular had very significant long-term consequences. Spain, Sicily, and the Baltic region were brought permanently into the world of Western Christendom, while a declining Byzantium was further weakened by the Crusader sacking of Constantinople in 1204. Tens of thousands of Europeans came into personal contact with the Islamic world, from which they picked up a taste for the many luxury goods available there, stimulating a demand for Asian goods. They also learned techniques for producing sugar on large plantations using slave labor, a process that had incalculable consequences in later centuries as Europeans transferred the plantation system to the Americas. Muslim scholarship, together with the ancient Greek learning that it incorporated, also flowed into Europe, largely through Spain and Sicily (see "Reason and Renaissance in the West").

If cross-cultural contacts born of crusading opened channels of trade, technology transfer, and intellectual exchange, they also hardened cultural barriers between peoples. The rift between Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism deepened further and remains to this day a fundamental divide in the Christian world. Christian anti-Semitism was both expressed and exacerbated as Crusaders on their way to Jerusalem found time on a number of occasions to massacre Jews, regarded as "Christ-killers," despite the opposition of leading churchmen. The Crusades also had other long-term influences. European empire building, especially in the Americas, continued the crusading notion that "God wills it." And more recently, over the past two centuries, as the world of the Christian West and that of Islam have collided, both sides have found many occasions for which images of the Crusades, however distorted, have proved politically popular or ideologically useful.

Reason and Renaissance in the West

Intellectual life in Europe changed dramatically in the several centuries after 1000, amid a rising population, a quickening commercial life, emerging towns and cities, and contact with Islamic learning. Moreover, the West was developing a legal system that provided a measure of independence for a variety of institutions—towns and cities, guilds, professional associations, and especially universities. An outgrowth of earlier cathedral schools, these European universities—in Paris, Bologna, Oxford, Cambridge, Salamanca—became “zones of intellectual autonomy” in which scholars could pursue their studies with some freedom from the dictates of religious or political authorities, although that freedom was never complete and was frequently contested.²⁰

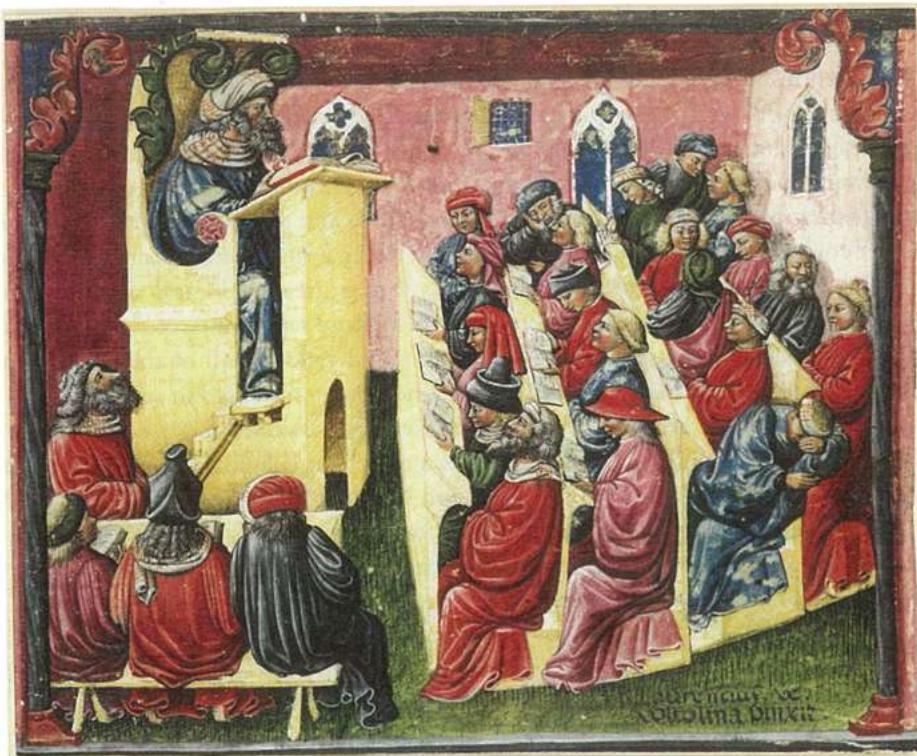
This was the setting in which a small group of literate churchmen began to emphasize the ability of human reason to penetrate divine mysteries and to grasp the operation of the natural order. The new interest in rational thought was applied first to theology, the “queen of the sciences” to European thinkers. Logic, philosophy, and rationality would operate in service to Christ. Through time, European intellectuals also applied their newly discovered confidence in human reason to law, medicine, and the world of nature, exploring optics, magnetism, astronomy, and alchemy. Slowly and never completely, the scientific study of nature, known as “natural philosophy,” began to separate itself from theology. This mounting enthusiasm for rational inquiry stimulated European scholars to seek out original Greek texts, particularly those of Aristotle. They found them in the Greek-speaking world of Byzantium and in the Islamic world, where they had long ago been translated into Arabic. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, an explosion of translations from Greek and Arabic into Latin, many of them undertaken in Spain, gave European scholars direct access to the works of ancient Greeks and to the remarkable results of Arab scholarship in astronomy, optics, medicine, pharmacology, and more. One of these translators, Adelard of Bath (1080–1142), remarked that he had learned, “under the guidance of reason from Arabic teachers,” not to trust established authority.²¹

The works of the prolific Aristotle, with his logical approach and “scientific temperament,” made the deepest impression. His writings became the basis for university education and largely dominated the thought of Western Europe in the five centuries after 1200. In the work of the thirteenth-century theologian Thomas Aquinas, Aristotle’s ideas were thoroughly integrated into a logical and systematic presentation of Christian doctrine. In this growing emphasis on human rationality, which some considered to be at least partially separate from divine revelation, lay one of the foundations of the later Scientific Revolution and the secularization of European intellectual life.

Beginning in the vibrant commercial cities of Italy between roughly 1350 and 1500, the **European Renaissance** also turned to the ancient past for inspiration. But its agenda reflected the belief of the wealthy male elite that they were

AP® Causation

In what ways did the rediscovery of Greek philosophy and science affect European Christianity?



European University Life in the Middle Ages This fourteenth-century manuscript painting shows a classroom scene from the University of Bologna in Italy. Notice the sleeping and disruptive students. Some things apparently never change. (bpk Bildagentur/Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/Photo: Joerg P. Anders/Art Resource, NY)

AP® Comparison

What comparisons can you make between this image and the image of Muslim scholars on page 68?

living in a wholly new era, far removed from the confined religious world of feudal Europe. Educated citizens of these cities sought inspiration in the art and literature of ancient Greece and Rome; they were “returning to the sources,” as they put it. Their purpose was not so much to reconcile these works with the ideas of Christianity but to use them as a cultural standard to imitate and then to surpass. The elite patronized great Renaissance artists such as Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Raphael, whose paintings and sculptures were far more naturalistic, particularly in portraying the human body, than those of their medieval counterparts. Although religious themes remained prominent, Renaissance artists now included portraits and busts of well-known contemporary figures and scenes from ancient mythology. Some of these artists looked to the Islamic world for standards of excellence, sophistication, and abundance. (See Working with Evidence: Islam and Renaissance Europe, page 95.)

In its focus on the affairs of this world, Renaissance culture reflected the urban bustle and commercial preoccupations of Italian cities. Its secular elements challenged the otherworldliness of Christian culture, and its individualism signaled the dawning of a more capitalist economy of private entrepreneurs. By 1450, a new Europe was in the making, one very different from its own recent past.

AP® EXAM TIP

Pay close attention to these explanations of differences between the rise of civilizations in Afro-Eurasia and the Americas.

Civilizations of the Americas

Separated from Afro-Eurasia by the Pacific and Atlantic oceans lay the altogether separate world, later known as the Americas, that housed two major and long-established centers of civilization in this era—Mesoamerica and the Andes. Together, they were home to a majority of the population of the Americas by 1200. But unlike the civilizations of Africa and Eurasia, Mesoamerica and the Andes had little if any direct contact with each other. They shared, however, a rugged mountainous terrain with an enormous range of microclimates as well as great ecological and biological diversity. Arid coastal environments, steamy lowland rain forests, cold and windy highland plateaus cut by numerous mountains and valleys—all of this was often encompassed in a relatively small area. Such conditions contributed to substantial linguistic and ethnic diversity. By 1200, both regions had witnessed the rise and decline of a series of increasingly sophisticated states, a trend that culminated in the fifteenth century with the emergence of the Aztec and Inca empires. Both were the work of previously marginal peoples who had forcibly taken over and absorbed older cultures, thus gaining new energy. Both were also decimated in the sixteenth century at the hands of Spanish conquistadores and their diseases (see Map 2.7).

The Emergence of the Aztecs in Mesoamerica

The Aztec Empire inherited an ancient set of cultural, religious, and political traditions associated with civilizations centered on a region stretching from central Mexico to northern Central America. Despite its environmental and ethnic diversity, Mesoamerica was also a distinct region, bound together by a common culture. Its many peoples shared an intensive agricultural technology devoted to raising maize, beans, chili peppers, and squash and based their economies on market exchange. They practiced religions featuring a similar pantheon of male and female deities, understood time as a cosmic cycle of creation and destruction, practiced human sacrifice, and constructed monumental ceremonial centers. Furthermore, they employed a common ritual calendar and hieroglyphic writing.

Starting with the Olmec around 1200 B.C.E. civilizations regularly emerged, flourished, and declined in the region. None has attracted more attention than the **Maya civilization**, which dominated a region centered on modern-day Guatemala and the Yucatán region of Mexico between 250 and 900 C.E. Maya artistic and intellectual accomplishments were impressive. Builders and artists created substantial urban centers dominated by temples, pyramids, palaces, and public plazas, all graced with painted murals and endless stone carvings. Intellectuals developed the most elaborate writing system in the Americas, which used both pictographs and phonetic or syllabic elements, and a mathematical system that included the concept of zero and place notation that made complex calculations possible. Organized into a highly fragmented political system of city-states, local lords, and regional kingdoms with no central authority and frequent warfare, this dynamic culture thrived



Map 2.7 The Americas in the Fifteenth Century

The Aztec and Inca empires dominated two civilizational zones in the Americas during the century before Columbus's voyage in 1492 brought these two "old worlds" into contact with one another. But the Aztec and Inca states had little, if any, direct contact with each other.

AP® Causation

What different kinds of societies inhabited the Americas in the fifteenth century? How might you explain their distribution?

The Maya Temple of the Great Jaguar in Tikal

Tikal Located in the Maya city of Tikal in present-day Guatemala, this temple was constructed in the eighth century c.e. and excavated by archeologists in the late nineteenth century. It served as the tomb of the Tikal ruler Jasaw Chan K'awil I (682–734). Some 144 feet tall, it includes a monumental staircase leading to a three-room temple complex topped by a huge decorative roof comb showing the ruler on his throne. (© Peter M. Wilson/Alamy)

AP® Comparison

Compare the features of this Temple of the Jaguar to those of a Mesopotamian ziggurat (page 16). What features are similar? To what extent are they different?



before collapsing by around 900 with a completeness and finality rare in world history. (See “Civilizations and the Environment” in Chapter 1.)

The state known to history as the **Aztec Empire** (1345–1528) was the last and largest of the Mesoamerican states to emerge before the Spanish conquered the region in the early sixteenth century. It was largely the work of the Mexica (meh-SHEEH-kah) people, a semi-nomadic group from northern Mexico who had migrated southward and by 1325 had established themselves on a small island in Lake Texcoco. Over the next century, the Mexica developed their military capacity, served as mercenaries for more powerful people, negotiated elite marriage alliances with those people, and built up their own capital city of Tenochtitlán (te-nawch-tee-tlahn). In 1428, a Triple Alliance between the Mexica and two nearby city-states launched a highly aggressive program of military conquest that in less than 100 years brought more of Mesoamerica within a single political framework than ever before. Aztec authorities, eager to shed their rather undistinguished past, now claimed descent from earlier Mesoamerican peoples, emphasizing the continuity of Mesoamerican civilization.

With a core population recently estimated at 5 to 6 million people, the Aztec Empire was a loosely structured and unstable conquest state that witnessed frequent rebellions by its subject peoples. Conquered peoples and cities were required to provide labor for Aztec projects and regularly deliver to their Aztec rulers impressive quantities of textiles and clothing, military supplies, jewelry and other luxuries, various foodstuffs, animal products, building materials, rubber balls, paper, and more. The process was overseen by local imperial tribute collectors, who sent the required goods on to Tenochtitlán, a metropolis of 150,000 to 200,000 people, where they were meticulously recorded.

That city featured numerous canals, dikes, causeways, and bridges. A central walled area of palaces and temples included a pyramid almost 200 feet high. Surrounding the city were “floating gardens,” artificial islands created from swamplands, called *chinampas*, that supported a highly productive agriculture. Vast marketplaces reflected the commercialization of the economy. A young Spanish soldier who beheld the city in 1519 declared, “Gazing on such wonderful sights, we did not know what to say, or whether what appeared before us was real.”²²

Slaves, especially those captured in war, played a prominent role in Aztec society, for they were often destined for sacrifice in the bloody rituals so central to Aztec religious life. Long a part of Mesoamerican and many other world cultures, human sacrifice assumed an unusually prominent role in Aztec public life and thought during the fifteenth century. Tlacaēl (1398–1480), who was for more than half a century a prominent official of the Aztec Empire, is often credited with crystallizing the ideology of state that gave human sacrifice such great importance.

In the Aztecs’ understanding of the world, the sun, central to all life and identified with the Aztec patron deity Huitzilopochtli (wee-tsee-loh-pockt-lee), tended to lose its energy in a constant battle against encroaching darkness. Thus the Aztec world hovered always on the edge of catastrophe. To replenish its energy and thus postpone the descent into endless darkness, the sun required the life-giving force found in human blood. Because the gods had shed their blood ages ago in creating humankind, it was wholly proper for people to offer their own blood to nourish the gods in the present. The high calling of the Aztec state was to supply this blood, largely through its wars of expansion. Enslaved prisoners of war were “those who have died for the god.” The growth of the Aztec Empire therefore became the means for maintaining cosmic order and avoiding utter catastrophe. This ideology also shaped the techniques of Aztec warfare, which put a premium on capturing prisoners rather than on killing the enemy. As the empire grew, priests and rulers became mutually dependent, and “human sacrifices were carried out in the service of politics.”²³ Massive sacrificial rituals, together with a display of great wealth, impressed enemies, allies, and subjects with the immense power of the Aztecs and their gods.

The Emergence of the Incas in the Andes

Yet another and quite separate center of civilization in the Americas lay in the dramatic landscape of the Andes. Bleak deserts along the coast supported human habitation only because they were cut by dozens of rivers flowing down from the mountains, offering the possibility of irrigation and cultivation. The offshore waters of the Pacific Ocean also provided an enormously rich marine environment with an endless supply of seabirds and fish. The Andes themselves, a towering mountain chain with many highland valleys, afforded numerous distinct ecological niches, depending on altitude. Andean societies generally sought access to the resources of these various environments through colonization, conquest, or trade—seafood from the coastal regions; maize and cotton from lower-altitude valleys; potatoes,

quinoa, and pastureland for their llamas in the high plains; tropical fruits and coca leaves from the moist eastern slope of the Andes.

Over thousands of years, many small civilizations had flourished in the Andes region. But in the early 1400s, a relatively small community of Quechua-speaking people, known to us as the Incas, built a huge empire along almost the entire spine of the Andes Mountains. Much as the Aztecs drew on the traditions of the earlier Meso-American societies, the Incas incorporated the lands and cultures of earlier Andean civilizations. The **Inca Empire** (1438–1533), however, was much larger than the Aztec state; it stretched some 2,500 miles along the Andes and contained perhaps 10 million subjects during its short life in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

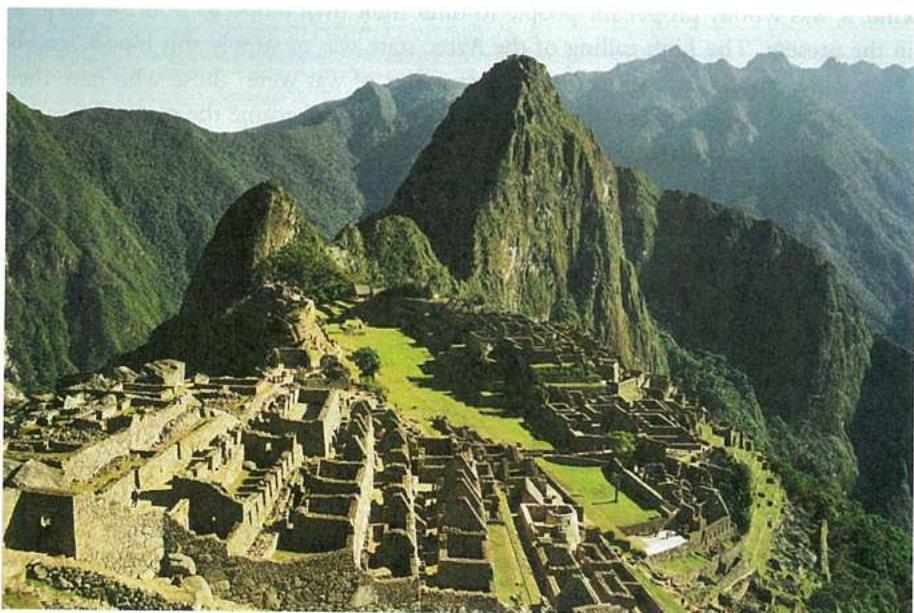
Both the Aztec and Inca empires represent rags-to-riches stories in which quite modest and remotely located people very quickly created by military conquest the largest states ever witnessed in their respective regions, but the empires themselves were quite different. In the Aztec realm, the Mexica rulers largely left their conquered people alone if the required tribute was forthcoming. The Incas, on the other hand, erected a more bureaucratic and intrusive empire. At the top reigned the emperor, an absolute ruler regarded as divine, a descendant of the creator god Viracocha and the son of the sun god Inti. Each of the some eighty provinces in the empire had an Inca governor. In theory, the state owned all land and resources,

AP® Comparison

How does the Inca employment of bureaucrats compare to that of other societies, such as China?

AP® Causation

What can you infer from this image about how the massive building projects of the Inca Empire reflected the power of the state?



Machu Picchu Machu Picchu, high in the Andes Mountains, was constructed by the Incas in the fifteenth century on a spot long held sacred by local people. Its 200 buildings stand at some 8,000 feet above sea level, making it a “city in the sky.” It was probably a royal retreat or religious center, rather than a location serving administrative, commercial, or military purposes. The outside world became aware of Machu Picchu only in 1911, when it was popularized by a Yale University archeologist. (iStock/Superstock)

though in practice state lands, known as “lands of the sun,” existed alongside properties owned by temples, elites, and traditional communities. At least in the central regions of the empire, local officials were incorporated into the Inca administration, supervised by an Inca governor or the emperor. A separate set of “inspectors” provided the imperial center with an independent check on these provincial officials.

Births, deaths, marriages, and other population data were carefully recorded on *quipus*, the knotted cords that served as an accounting device. A resettlement program moved one-quarter or more of the population to new locations, in part to disperse conquered and no doubt resentful people and sometimes to reward loyal followers with promising opportunities. Efforts at cultural integration required the leaders of conquered peoples to learn Quechua (keh-choo-wah). Their sons were removed to the capital of Cuzco for instruction in Inca culture and language. While the Incas required their subject peoples to acknowledge major Inca deities, these peoples were then largely free to carry on their own religious traditions. Thus, the Inca Empire was a fluid system that varied greatly from place to place and over time.

Inca demands on their conquered people were expressed, not so much in terms of tribute, as in the Aztec realms, but as labor service, known as *mita*, which was required periodically of every household. What people produced at home usually stayed at home, but almost everyone also had to work for the state. Some labored on large state farms or on “sun farms,” which supported temples and religious institutions; others herded, mined, served in the military, or toiled on state-directed construction projects.

Those with particular skills were put to work manufacturing textiles, metal goods, ceramics, and stonework. The most well known of these specialists were the “chosen women,” who were removed from their homes as young girls, trained in Inca ideology, and set to producing corn beer and cloth at state centers. Later they were given as wives to men of distinction or sent to serve as priestesses in various temples, where they were known as “wives of the Sun.” In return for such labor services, Inca ideology, expressed in terms of family relationships, required the state to arrange elaborate feasts at which large quantities of food and drink were consumed and to provide food and other necessities when disaster struck. Thus the authority of the state penetrated and directed Inca society and economy far more than did

AP® Comparison

What distinguished the Aztec and Inca empires from each other?

AP® Analyzing Evidence

How does this image portray the respective roles of men and women in Inca agricultural life?



Inca Agricultural Practice This sixteenth-century drawing by Felipe Guaman Poma, an Inca nobleman, illustrates the cooperation of Inca men and women in agriculture. The men are loosening the soil with a “foot-plow,” while the women plant the seeds. (Werner Forman/Getty Images)

AP® EXAM TIP

Know the meaning and significance of the *mita* (or *mit'a*) system.

AP® EXAM TIP

The AP® exam frequently includes questions about the Inca economic system.

that of the Aztecs. (See Working with Evidence, Source 5.4, page 241, for an early Spanish account of Inca governing practices.)

If the Inca and Aztec civilizations differed sharply in their political and economic arrangements, they resembled each other more closely in their gender systems. Both societies practiced what scholars call “gender parallelism,” in which “women and men operate in two separate but equivalent spheres, each gender enjoying autonomy in its own sphere.”²⁴ In both Mesoamerican and Andean societies, such systems had emerged long before their incorporation into the Aztec and Inca empires. In the Andes, men reckoned their descent from their fathers and women from their mothers, while Meso-americans had long viewed children as belonging equally to their mothers and fathers. Parallel religious cults for women and men likewise flourished in both societies. Inca men venerated the sun, while women worshipped the moon, with matching religious officials. In Aztec temples, both male and female priests presided over rituals dedicated to deities of both sexes. Particularly among the Incas, parallel hierarchies of male and female political officials governed the empire, while in Aztec society, women officials exercised local authority under a title that meant “female person in charge of people.” Social roles were clearly defined and different for men and women, but the domestic concerns of women—childbirth, cooking, weaving, cleaning—were not regarded as inferior to the activities of men. Among the Aztecs, for example, sweeping was a powerful and sacred act with symbolic significance as “an act of purification and a preventative against evil elements penetrating the center of the Aztec universe, the home.”²⁵ In the Andes, men broke the ground, women sowed, and both took part in the harvest.

REFLECTIONS

“Civilization”: What’s in a Word?

AP® Analyzing Evidence

What is the problem associated with using the word “civilization” to describe the agricultural city-states and early empires discussed in this chapter?

In examining civilizations, we are worlds away from life in agricultural villages or Paleolithic camps. Historians have been somewhat uncertain as to how to refer to these more complex forms of society, despite their central and ever-growing place in the human story. Following common practice, we have called them “civilizations,” but scholars have reservations about the term for two reasons. The first is its implication of superiority. In popular usage, “civilization” suggests refined behavior, a “higher” form of society, something unreservedly positive. The opposite of “civilized”—“barbarian,” “savage,” or “uncivilized”—is normally understood as an insult implying inferiority. That, of course, is precisely how the inhabitants of many civilizations have viewed outsiders, particularly those neighboring peoples living without the alleged benefit of cities and states.

Modern assessments of the premodern civilizations reveal a profound ambiguity about these new, larger, and more complex societies. On the one hand, these civilizations have given us inspiring art, profound reflections on the meaning of

life, more productive technologies, increased control over nature, and the art of writing—all of which have been cause for celebration. On the other hand, as anthropologist Marvin Harris noted, “human beings learned for the first time how to bow, grovel, kneel, and kowtow.”²⁶ Massive inequalities, state oppression, slavery, large-scale warfare, the subordination of women, and epidemic disease also accompanied the rise of civilization, generating discontent, rebellion, and sometimes the urge to escape. This ambiguity about the character of civilizations has led some historians to avoid the word, instead referring to civilizations as complex societies, urban-based societies, or state-organized societies.

A second reservation about using the term “civilization” derives from its implication of solidity—the idea that civilizations represent distinct and widely shared identities with clear boundaries that mark them off from other such units. It is unlikely, however, that many people living in China, the Islamic world, or Latin Christendom felt themselves primarily part of these larger bodies. Local identities defined by occupation, clan affiliation, village, city, or region were surely more important for most people than those of some larger civilization. At best, members of an educated upper class who shared a common literary tradition may have felt themselves part of some more inclusive civilization, but that left out most of the population. Moreover, unlike modern nations, none of the earlier civilizations had definite borders. Any identification with a civilization surely faded as distance from its core region increased. Finally, the line between civilizations and other kinds of societies is not always clear. Just when does a village or town become a city? At what point does a chiefdom become a state?

Despite these reservations, this book continues to use the term “civilization,” both because it is so deeply embedded in our way of thinking about the world and because no alternative concept has achieved widespread acceptance. For historians, however, “civilization” is a purely descriptive term, referring to a distinctive type of human society—one with cities and states—without implying any judgment or assessment, any sense of superiority or inferiority. Furthermore, “civilization” serves to define broad cultural patterns in particular geographic regions—Eastern Europe, the Andes or China, for example—even though many people living in those regions may have been more aware of differences and conflicts than of those commonalities.

AP® Comparison

What is the main disagreement in point of view among historians regarding the word “civilization”?

Chapter Review

AP® Key Terms

Song dynasty, 52	<i>bushido</i> , 62
China’s economic revolution, 55	Abbasid caliphate, 63
Hangzhou, 55	Seljuk Turkic Empire, 64
foot binding, 57	Ottoman Empire, 65
<i>hangul</i> , 60	al-Andalus, 68
<i>chu nom</i> , 61	Byzantine Empire, 69