

THE CAMBRIDGE WORLD HISTORY

*

VOLUME VI

The era from 1400 to 1800 saw intense biological, commercial, and cultural exchanges, and the creation of global connections on an unprecedented scale. Divided into two books, Volume vi of *The Cambridge World History* series considers these critical transformations. The first book examines the material and political foundations of the era, including global considerations of the environment, disease, technology, and cities, along with regional studies of empires in the eastern and western hemispheres, crossroads areas such as the Indian Ocean, Central Asia, and the Caribbean, and sites of competition and conflict, including Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Mediterranean. The second book focuses on patterns of change, examining the expansion of Christianity and Islam, migrations, warfare, and other topics on a global scale, and offering insightful detailed analyses of the Columbian Exchange, slavery, silver, trade, entrepreneurs, Asian religions, legal encounters, plantation economies, early industrialism, and the writing of history.

JERRY H. BENTLEY was Professor of History at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. He was the author of *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contact and Exchange in Pre-Modern Times* and *Traditions and Encounters*.

SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM is Distinguished Professor of History, and the Irving and Jean Stone Endowed Chair in Social Sciences at the University of California, Los Angeles, and the Chair in Histoire Globale de la Première Modernité at the Collège de France. He is the author or editor of nearly thirty books, including *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History*, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge, 1997), and *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries* (Cambridge, 2007).

MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS is Distinguished Professor and Chair of the History Department at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. She is the author or editor of twenty books, including *A Concise History of the World* (Cambridge, 2015), *Early Modern Europe 1450–1789* (Cambridge, 2nd edn., 2013), *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 3rd edn., 2008), *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice* and *Gender in History: Global Perspectives*.

THE CAMBRIDGE WORLD HISTORY

The Cambridge World History is an authoritative new overview of the dynamic field of world history. It covers the whole of human history, not simply history since the development of written records, in an expanded time frame that represents the latest thinking in world and global history. With over 200 essays, it is the most comprehensive account yet of the human past, and it draws on a broad international pool of leading academics from a wide range of scholarly disciplines. Reflecting the increasing awareness that world history can be examined through many different approaches and at varying geographic and chronological scales, each volume offers regional, topical, and comparative essays alongside case studies that provide depth of coverage to go with the breadth of vision that is the distinguishing characteristic of world history.

Editor-in-chief

MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS, *Department of History,
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

Editorial Board

GRAEME BARKER, *Department of Archaeology,
Cambridge University*

CRAIG BENJAMIN, *Department of History,
Grand Valley State University*

JERRY BENTLEY, *Department of History, University of Hawaii*

DAVID CHRISTIAN, *Department of Modern History,
Macquarie University*

ROSS DUNN, *Department of History,
San Diego State University*

CANDICE GOUCHER, *Department of History,
Washington State University*

MARNIE HUGHES-WARRINGTON, *Department of Modern History,
Monash University*

ALAN KARRAS, *International and Area Studies Program,
University of California, Berkeley*

BENJAMIN Z. KEDAR, *Department of History,
Hebrew University*

JOHN R. MCNEILL, *School of Foreign Service and
Department of History, Georgetown University*
KENNETH POMERANZ, *Department of History, University of Chicago*
VERENE SHEPHERD, *Department of History,
University of the West Indies*
SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM, *Department of History,
UCLA and Collège de France*
KAORU SUGIHARA, *Department of Economics, Kyoto University*
MARCEL VAN DER LINDEN, *International Institute of Social History,
Amsterdam*
Q. EDWARD WANG, *Department of History, Rowan University*
NORMAN YOFFEE, *Department of Near Eastern Studies and
Anthropology at the University of Michigan;
Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University*

THE CAMBRIDGE WORLD HISTORY

*

VOLUME VI

The Construction of a Global World,
1400–1800 CE

Part 2: Patterns of Change

*

Edited by

JERRY H. BENTLEY

University of Hawaii

SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM

University of California, Los Angeles and Collège de France

MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521192460

© Cambridge University Press 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-0-521-19246-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

In honor and memory of Jerry Bentley (1949–2012)

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	xii
<i>List of maps</i>	xiv
<i>List of tables</i>	xv
<i>List of contributors</i>	xvi
<i>Preface</i>	xvii

PART ONE MIGRATIONS AND ENCOUNTERS

1 · Global migrations	3
DIRK HOERDER	
2 · Patterns of warfare, 1400–1800	29
JEREMY BLACK	
3 · The first global dialogues: inter-cultural relations, 1400–1800	50
JOHN E. WILLS, JR.	
4 · Legal encounters and the origins of global law	80
LAUREN BENTON AND ADAM CLULOW	

PART TWO TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND PRODUCTION

5 · The Columbian Exchange	103
NOBLE DAVID COOK	

Contents

- 6 · The slave trade and the African diaspora 135
 JOHN THORNTON
- 7 · The organization of trade in Europe and Asia, 1400–1800 160
 FRANCESCA TRIVELLATO
- 8 · Entrepreneurs, families, and companies 190
 CHARLES H. PARKER
- 9 · Silver in a global context, 1400–1800 213
 DENNIS O. FLYNN
- 10 · Dutch and English trade to the East: the Indian Ocean and
 the Levant, to about 1700 240
 JAMES D. TRACY
- 11 · Plantation societies 263
 TREVOR BURNARD
- 12 · Industrious revolutions in early modern world history 283
 KAORU SUGIHARA AND R. BIN WONG
- PART THREE
 RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS CHANGE
- 13 · The scholarly discovery of religion in early modern times 313
 GUY STROUMSA
- 14 · Christianity in Europe and overseas 334
 R. PO-CHIA HSIA
- 15 · Islam in the early modern world 358
 NILE GREEN
- 16 · Religious change in East Asia 387
 EUGENIO MENEGON AND GINA COGAN

Contents

PART FOUR
QUESTIONS OF METHOD

17 · On early modern historiography 425
SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM

18 · Microhistory and world history 446
CARLO GINZBURG

Index 474

Figures

- 2.1 An illustration of the tactical use of artillery from the military manual “L’Art de l’Artillerie” by Wolff de Senftenberg, late sixteenth century (Min. Defense – Service Historique de l’Armée de Terre, France/Giraudon/Bridgeman Images) 34
- 2.2 Ottoman janissaries armed with guns attack the fortress at Rhodes in 1522, in a miniature from the *Süleymanâme*, a court chronicle prepared at the court of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (Universal History Archive/UIG/Bridgeman Images) 37
- 2.3 Ottoman armies besiege the fortified city of Neuhausel (now Nové Zámky) in Slovakia in 1663, in an engraving from a book on the Ottoman campaigns in Europe (Private Collection/The Stapleton Collection/Bridgeman Images) 39
- 2.4 Plan of the Citadel of Turin in 1664, showing *trace italienne*, the star-shaped fortifications designed to withstand cannon (Historical Archive, Turin, Italy/Index/Bridgeman Images) 40
- 2.5 Oil painting by the Franco-British artist Dominic Serres (1722–93), the official naval painter for King George III, shows a French man of war surrendering to a British ship (Private Collection/Arthur Ackermann Ltd., London/Bridgeman Images) 43
- 2.6 The bombardment of Prague by the Prussian army in 1757, during the Seven Years’ War, in an engraving by the English engraver Peter Benazech (Private Collection/Bridgeman Images) 45
- 3.1 Gentile Bellini (c.1429–1507) Seated Scribe, 1479–81 (pen and brown ink with watercolour and gold on paper) (© Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, MA, USA/Bridgeman Images) 68
- 3.2 Ottoman portrait of a painter, late fifteenth century (Freer Gallery of Art/Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution) 69
- 3.3 Frontispiece from Bernard and Picart’s *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (1723–43) (© The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.) 77
- 5.1 Tobacco plant, in an English translation of Nicolas Monardes’ work, “News of the New-Found Worlde,” 1596 (Private Collection/J. T. Vintage/Bridgeman Images) 122

List of figures

- 7.1 A busy Dutch harbor scene at Dordrecht, 1651, showing a variety of types of ships, in an oil painting by Simon Jacobsz Vlieger (c.1600–53) (Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, UK/Bridgeman Images) 164
- 7.2 Page from a Dutch newspaper “Hollandsche Mercurius” of 1653, showing Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector of England and a convoy of ships below (Universal History Archive/UIG/Bridgeman Images) 167
- 7.3 Armenian merchant, from a French travel journal, *The navigations, peregrinations, and voyages made into Turkie*, by the French geographer Nicolas de Nicolay, 1568 (De Agostini Picture Library/Bridgeman Images) 171
- 7.4 The Dutch siege of the Indian city of Pondicherry in August 1693, in an illustration from the travel diary of a Jesuit missionary (pen and ink and watercolour on paper) (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images) 177
- 7.5 The crowded harbor of Canton, c.1800 (Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, USA/Bridgeman Images) 180
- 8.1 Nicolas Maes (1634–93) *The Account Keeper*, 1656 (oil on canvas) (Saint Louis Art Museum, Missouri, USA/Bridgeman Images) 198
- 9.1 Steady state for a reproducible and consumable good 223
- 9.2 100 percent silver-price premium in China vis-à-vis world, 1590s 227
- 9.3 End of the Potosi-Japan cycle of silver, end of arbitrage by 1640 228
- 9.4 50 percent silver-price premium in China vis-à-vis world, 1700 230
- 9.5 Global silver-price equilibration, 1750 231
- 9.6 Carolus dollar market, early nineteenth century 231
- 9.7 Silver bullion market, early nineteenth century 232
- 14.1 Pasquale Cati, *The Council of Trent*, 1588–9. In this fresco, painted for a chapel in Rome, the artist shows the assembled churchmen in the back, with allegorical figures, including the Catholic Church wearing a papal tiara, surrounding a globe in the front, symbolizing the global reach of the Church. (Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, Italy / Bridgeman Images) 354
- 15.1 Mosque of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, Istanbul, 1572 359
- 15.2 Tomb Tower Shrine of Safi al-Din, the leader of a Safavid Sufi order, Ardabil, Iran, c.1500 366
- 16.1 Leaf from an eighteenth-century book illustrating and describing the eighteen luohans, the original followers of the Buddha, venerated by the Qianlong emperor and a popular subject in Chinese Buddhist art (The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin/Bridgeman Images) 393
- 16.2 A Daoist temple at the Mount Wudang temple complex, Hubei Province (© Ryan Pyle/Corbis) 394
- 16.3 The Sheng Xin Lou or “Tower of Introspection” inside the Great Mosque at Xian, founded in the eighth century and largely built in the Ming dynasty (Werner Forman Archive/Bridgeman Images) 400
- 16.4 Seventeenth-century Japanese devotional image of Amitabha, the principal Buddha in Pure Land Buddhism (San Diego Museum of Art, USA/Bequest of Mrs Cora Timken Burnett/Bridgeman Images) 413

Maps

- 7.1 Long-distance maritime trade routes, c.1700 184
- 10.1 Indian Ocean in the 1600s 248

Tables

- 5.1 Viral, bacterial, and protozoal agents introduced to the Americas 112
- 5.2 Major New World epidemics, 1493–1600 114
- 5.3 Major regional New World epidemics, 1600–1650 116
- 5.4 Origins of the most important domesticated plants 123
- 5.5 Origins of the most important domesticated animals 126
- 5.6 Regional estimates for the Aboriginal American population in 1492 130

Contributors

LAUREN BENTON, New York University
JEREMY BLACK, Exeter University
TREVOR BURNARD, University of Melbourne
ADAM CLULOW, Monash University
GINA COGAN, Boston University
NOBLE DAVID COOK, Florida International University
DENNIS O. FLYNN, University of the Pacific
CARLO GINZBURG, University of Pisa, and University of California, Los Angeles
NILE GREEN, University of California, Los Angeles
DIRK HOERDER, Arizona State University
R. PO-CHIA HSIA, Penn State University
EUGENIO MENEGON, Boston University
CHARLES H. PARKER, Saint Louis University
GUY STROUMSA, Hebrew University
SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM, University of California, Los Angeles, and Collège de France
KAORU SUGIHARA, Kyoto University
JOHN THORNTON, Boston University
JAMES D. TRACY, University of Minnesota
FRANCESCA TRIVELLATO, Yale University
JOHN E. WILLS, JR., University of Southern California
R. BIN WONG, University of California, Los Angeles

Preface

The Cambridge Histories have long presented authoritative multi-volume overviews of historical topics, with chapters written by specialists. The first of these, the *Cambridge Modern History*, planned by Lord Acton and appearing after his death from 1902 to 1912, had fourteen volumes and served as the model for those that followed, which included the seven-volume *Cambridge Medieval History* (1911–1936), the twelve-volume *Cambridge Ancient History* (1924–1939), the thirteen-volume *Cambridge History of China* (1978–2009), and more specialized multi-volume works on countries, religions, regions, events, themes, and genres. These works are designed, as the *Cambridge History of China* puts it, to be the “largest and most comprehensive” history in the English language of their topic, and, as the *Cambridge History of Political Thought* asserts, to cover “every major theme.”

The *Cambridge World History* both follows and breaks with the model set by its august predecessors. Presenting the “largest and most comprehensive” history of the world would take at least 300 volumes – and a hundred years – as would covering “every major theme.” Instead the series provides an overview of the dynamic field of world history in seven volumes over nine books. It covers all of human history, not simply that since the development of written records, in an expanded time frame that represents the newest thinking in world history. This broad time frame blurs the line between archaeology and history, and presents both as complementary approaches to the human past. The volume editors include archaeologists as well as historians, and have positions at universities in the United States, Britain, France, Australia, and Israel. The essays similarly draw on a broad author pool of historians, art historians, anthropologists, classicists, archaeologists, economists, sociologists, and area studies specialists, who come from universities in Australia, Britain, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland, Singapore, and the United States. They include very senior scholars whose works have helped to form the field, and also mid-career and younger scholars whose research will continue to shape it in the future. Some of the authors are closely associated with the rise of world history as a distinct research and teaching field, while others describe what they do primarily as global history, transnational history, international history, or comparative history. (Several of the essays in Volume 1 trace the development of these overlapping, entangled, and at times competing fields.) Many authors are simply specialists on their topic who the editors thought could best explain this to a broader audience or reach beyond their comfort zones into territory that was new.

Reflecting the increasing awareness that world history can be examined through many different approaches and at varying geographic and chronological scales, each volume

Preface

offers several types of essay, including regional, topical, and comparative ones, along with case studies that provide depth to go with the breadth of vision that is the distinguishing characteristic of world history. Volume I (*Introducing World History* [to 10,000 BCE]) introduces key frames of analysis that shape the making of world history across time periods, with essays on overarching approaches, methods, and themes. It then includes a group of essays on the Paleolithic, covering the 95 percent of human history up to 10,000 BCE. From that point on, each volume covers a shorter time period than its predecessor, with slightly overlapping chronologies volume to volume to reflect the complex periodization of a truly global history. The editors chose the overlapping chronologies, and stayed away from traditional period titles (e.g. “classical” or “early modern”) intentionally to challenge standard periodization to some degree. The overlapping chronologies also allow each volume to highlight geographic disjunctures and imbalances, and the ways in which various areas influenced one another. Each of the volumes centers on a key theme or cluster of themes that the editors view as central to the period covered in the volume and also as essential to an understanding of world history as a whole.

Volume II (*A World with Agriculture, 12,000 BCE–500 CE*) begins with the Neolithic, but continues into later periods to explore the origins of agriculture and agricultural communities in various regions of the world, as well as to discuss issues associated with pastoralism and hunter-fisher-gatherer economies. It traces common developments in the more complex social structures and cultural forms that agriculture enabled, and then presents a series of regional overviews accompanied by detailed case studies from many different parts of the world.

Volume III (*Early Cities in Comparative Perspective, 4000 BCE–1200 CE*) focuses on early cities as motors of change in human society. Through case studies of cities and comparative chapters that address common issues, it traces the creation and transmission of administrative and information technologies, the performance of rituals, the distribution of power, and the relationship of cities with their hinterlands. It has a broad and flexible chronology to capture the development of cities in various regions of the world and the transformation of some cities into imperial capitals.

Volume IV (*A World with States, Empires, and Networks, 1200 BCE–900 CE*) continues the analysis of processes associated with the creation of larger-scale political entities and networks of exchange, including those generally featured in accounts of the rise of “classical civilizations,” but with an expanded time frame that allows the inclusion of more areas of the world. It analyzes common social, economic, cultural, political, and technological developments, and includes chapters on slavery, religion, science, art, and gender. It then presents a series of regional overviews, each accompanied by a case study or two examining one smaller geographic area or topic within that region in greater depth.

Volume V (*Expanding Webs of Exchange and Conquest, 500 CE–1500 CE*) highlights the growing networks of trade and cross-cultural interaction that were a hallmark of the millennium covered in the volume, including the expansion of text-based religions and the transmission of science, philosophy, and technology. It explores social structures, cultural institutions, and significant themes such as the environment, warfare, education, the family, and courtly cultures on both a global and Eurasian scale, and continues the examination of state formation begun in Volume IV with chapters on polities and empires in Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas.

Preface

The first five volumes each appear in a single book, but the last two are double volumes covering the periods conventionally known as the early modern and modern, an organization signaling the increasing complexity of an ever more globalized world in the last half millennium, as well as the expanding base of source materials and existing historical analyses for these more recent eras. Volume VI (*The Construction of a Global World, 1400–1800 CE*) traces the increasing biological, commercial, and cultural exchanges of the period, and explores regional and trans-regional political, cultural, and intellectual developments. The first book within this volume, “Foundations,” focuses on global matrices that allowed this increasingly interdependent world to be created, including the environment, technology, and disease; crossroads and macro-regions such as the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean, and Southeast Asia in which connections were especially intense; and large-scale political formations, particularly maritime and land-based empires such as Russia, the Islamic Empires, and the Iberian Empires that stretched across continents and seas. The second book within this volume, “Patterns of Change,” examines global and regional migrations and encounters, and the economic, social, cultural, and institutional structures that both shaped and were shaped by these, including trade networks, law, commodity flows, production processes, and religious systems.

Volume VII (*Production, Destruction, and Connection, 1750–Present*) examines the uneven transition to a world with fossil fuels and an exploding human population that has grown ever more interactive through processes of globalization. The first book within this double volume, “Structures, Spaces, and Boundary Making,” discusses the material situations within which our crowded world has developed, including the environment, agriculture, technology, energy, and disease; the political movements that have shaped it, such as nationalism, imperialism, decolonization, and communism; and some of its key regions. The second book, “Shared Transformations?,” explores topics that have been considered in earlier volumes, including the family, urbanization, migration, religion, and science, along with some that only emerge as global phenomena in this era, such as sports, music, and the automobile, as well as specific moments of transition, including the Cold War and 1989.

Taken together, the volumes contain about 200 essays, which means the *Cambridge World History* is comprehensive, but certainly not exhaustive. Each volume editor has made difficult choices about what to include and what to leave out, a problem for all world histories since those of Herodotus and Sima Qian more than two millennia ago. Each volume is arranged in the way that the volume editor or editors have decided is most appropriate for the period, so that organizational schema differ slightly from volume to volume. Given the overlapping chronologies, certain topics are covered in several different volumes because they are important for understanding the historical processes at the heart of each of these, and because we as editors decided that viewing key developments from multiple perspectives is particularly appropriate for world history. As with other *Cambridge Histories*, the essays are relatively lightly footnoted, and include a short list of further readings, the first step for readers who want to delve deeper into the field. In contrast to other *Cambridge Histories*, all volumes are being published at the same time, for the leisurely pace of the print world that allowed publication over several decades does not fit with twenty-first-century digital demands.

Preface

In other ways as well, the *Cambridge World History* reflects the time in which it has been conceptualized and produced, just as the *Cambridge Modern History* did. Lord Acton envisioned his work, and Cambridge University Press described it, as “a history of the world,” although in only a handful of chapters out of several hundred were the principal actors individuals, groups, or polities outside of Europe and North America. This is not surprising, although the identical self-description of the *New Cambridge Modern History* (1957–1979), with a similar balance of topics, might be a bit more so. The fact that in 1957 – and even in 1979 – Europe would be understood as “the world” and as the source of all that was modern highlights the power and longevity of the perspective we have since come to call “Eurocentric.” (In other languages, there are perspectives on world history that are similarly centered on the regions in which they have been produced.) The continued focus on Europe in the mid-twentieth century also highlights the youth of the fields of world and global history, in which the conferences, professional societies, journals, and other markers of an up-and-coming field have primarily emerged since the 1980s, and some only within the last decade. The *Journal of World History*, for example, was first published in 1990, the *Journal of Global History* in 2005, and *New Global Studies* in 2007.

World and global history have developed in an era of intense self-reflection in all academic disciplines, when no term can be used unselfconsciously and every category must be complicated. Worries about inclusion and exclusion, about diversity and multivocality are standard practice in sub-fields of history and related disciplines that have grown up in this atmosphere. Thus as we editors sought topics that would give us a balance between the traditional focus in world history on large-scale political and economic processes carried out by governments and commercial elites and newer concerns with cultural forms, representation, and meaning, we also sought to include topics that have been important in different national historiographies. We also attempted to find authors who would provide geographic balance along with a balance between older and younger voices. Although the author pool is decidedly broader geographically – and more balanced in terms of gender – than it was in either of the Cambridge Modern Histories, it is not as global as we had hoped. Contemporary world and global history is overwhelmingly Anglophone, and, given the scholarly diaspora, disproportionately institutionally situated in the United States and the United Kingdom. Along with other disparities in our contemporary world, this disproportion is, of course, the result of the developments traced in this series, though the authors might disagree about which volume holds the key to its origins, or whether one should spend much time searching for origins at all.

My hopes for the series are not as sweeping as Lord Acton’s were for his, but fit with those of Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, the editors of the two-volume *Cambridge Economic History of India* (1982). In the preface to their work, they comment: “We only dare to hope that our collaborative effort will stimulate discussion and help create new knowledge which may replace before many years the information and analysis offered in this volume.” In a field as vibrant as world and global history, I have no doubts that such new transformative knowledge will emerge quickly, but hope this series will provide an entrée to the field, and a useful overview of its state in the early twenty-first century.

MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS