Land Empires

Jesús Fernández-Villaverde
September 26, 2021

University of Pennsylvania
Land empires

• Six big land empires:

  1. Russia.
  2. Ottoman Empire.
  4. Mughal Empire.
  5. Míng and Qīng China.
  6. Tokugawa Japan.

• Struggle with nomads people.

• Struggle with Western European powers.
Russia
Russia

- Russia’s position in history: Europe, Asia, something different?
- Political connotations.
- Interaction with nomads and Mongol-Turkic peoples.
- Several different principalities.
- In a pattern that we already saw, one powerful, authoritarian state slowly emerges dominant: Grand Duchy of Moscow ("Moscovy").
- Big victory over the Mongol-Tatars in the Battle of Kulikovo (1380) by forces of Prince Dmitry Donskoy.
• After 1453 (fall of Constantinople), Ivan III claimed Moscow was the third Rome, marries Sophia Palaiologina, the niece of the last Byzantine emperor Constantine XI, and adopts the Byzantine double-headed eagle in his coat-of-arms.

• In 1547, Grand Duke Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) is crowned the first Tsar (“Caesar”) of Russia.

• Starts big expansion in Siberia:
  1. in 1555 Ivan IV takes the title of Lord of Siberia.
  2. Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689 with China.

• For over four centuries, Russia expands an average of fifty square miles a day!

• Why Siberia? Furs (10% for the state).

• Trading dynasty of Stroganovs.
The Muscovy Trading Company was a company chartered in 1555, two years after the formation of the The Mystery, Company, and Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers for the Discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places Unknown.

- Search for a North-east passage to China.

- It was the first major English joint-stock trading company.

- Precursor of other trading companies: Levant Company in 1581, the Venice Company in 1583, East India Company in 1600, Virginia Company in 1609, and the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1670.

- The Muscovy Company had a monopoly on trade between England and Muscovy until 1698. It survived as a trading company until 1917.

- Wool for furs and timber, whaling.
Ottoman Empire
Osman I (d. 1323/4), local emir subordinate of Seljuk principality of Rum, starts his military campaigns.

Ottomans create an efficient war machine that groups Turks and Christians from Anatolia.

Great expansion between 1300-1683:

1. Turkmen Beylik.
2. Byzantine empire: Mehmet II (r. 1444-1446, r. 1451-1481) finishes the Byzantine empire in 1453.

Fast deterioration after 1683.
A strategic location

Central position in the Eurasian landmass:

1. Europe just across the Mediterranean or the Balkan peninsula.
2. Central Asia through land routes.
3. India, Indonesia, and China by sea.
4. West Africa through trans-Saharan trade.
5. East Africa through Red Sea.

Consequences:

1. Interaction.
2. International trade.
• However, the Ottoman empire inherits a large amount of institutional background from the Byzantines.

• Janissaries.

• Large needs of cash to pay for outstanding army:

  1. Gold and Silver mines Bosnia and Serbia.

  2. Custom dues from international trade.


  4. Later, tax farming.
Economy

- Two pillars of economic organization:
  1. Çift-hane system: family farm with two oxen. Unit of production, property, and taxation.
  2. Guilds.

- Sectors:
  1. Agriculture: large state ownership of land (miri), around 90% of arable lands, and allocations to soldiers.
  2. International trade. At the same time, internal market is relatively broken.
  3. Istanbul as a gigantic city.
Limits to development

- Bayezid II, 1485: Muslims are prohibited from printing in Arabic.
- Confirmed by Selim I.
- No printing press until 1727.
- Even then, tightly controlled by a committee of three legal scholars and one religious authority.
- Only 24 books printed until it closes in 1797.
Persia
Death of Timur is the end of a long series of invasions in Iran.

Safavid Dynasty (1501-1722).

Little demographic dynamism.

Damage to irrigation systems by invasions never repaired.

Constant struggles with:

1. Ottoman empire.
2. Portuguese. Abbas I uses East Indian Company to get the Portuguese out of the Strait of Hormuz in 1622 in exchange for trading rights.

Connections/problems with Russia.

Connections/problems with Arab traders in the Persian Gulf.
Economy

- Two good references:
  1. Willem Floor, *The Economy of Safavid Persia*.

- Government with difficulties in raising cash. Also, little gold and silver in the economy.

- Safavid Shahs will favor foreign trade. Importance in the Asian trade: re-export business.

- Main trade partner India, then Ottoman Empire despite the long period of wars (1514-1639).

- Exports: silk (most important), carpets, textiles, horses, goat hair, and pearls.
  Particular importance of land-based silk trade.

- Imports: spices, textiles (woolens from Europe, cotton from Gujarat), metals, coffee, and sugar.
Table I

VOC coffee deliveries in Bandar 'Abbas, 1642-1653, Dutch pds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Deliveries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1642-43</td>
<td>39,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643-44</td>
<td>96,201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1644-46</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1646-47</td>
<td>55,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1647-48</td>
<td>125,333</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: ARA, VOC 1150, 1152, 1165, 1168, 1170, 1180, 1185, 1188, 1195, 1201; Coll. Geleynssen de Jongh 157a.

Table II

Coffee prices in Bandar 'Abbas, 1638-56, per pd, in larins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1638</td>
<td>37½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1639</td>
<td>25-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640</td>
<td>16-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1641</td>
<td>22-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1642-43</td>
<td>18-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1644</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1645</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1646-47</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: ARA, VOC 1135, 1137, 1141, 1150, 1152, 1165, 1168, 1180, 1185, 1188, 1195, 1201, 1215; Coll. Geleynssen de Jongh 157a, 162, 171, 296, 296a.
Mughal Empire
• Created by Zahīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Bābur, the Sultan of Kabul.

• Bābur is a Chagatai Turk (related with Tamerlane and Ghengis Khan).

• However, Bābur uses the tactics of the Uzbekis’ cavalry⇒gunpowder empire (Hodgson-McNeill).

• Victory at the First Battle of Panipat (1526, 90 km. north from Delhi), against the Lodi Empire.

• Bābur writes an autobiographical work, Bāburnāma, in the chagatai language (with strong Fārsi influence).
Mughal Empire II

- Consolidated by Akbar the Great.
- Mansabdar system of providing ranks to servants of the empire.
- Cash taxation based on the productivity of land.
- Monetary reform.
- Empire will last, although in minimal form, until 1857.
- In some sense, precursor and cause of the British Raj.
Mughal Empire III

- Population: between 110 and 130 million.

- Rich and powerful at its peak (we still use the word Mogul to denote a powerful industrialist, buildings of Shah Jahan).

- Strong Persian influence ⇒ Farsi and Urdu languages.

- Old-style empire: conquest of existing societies to extract surplus.

- Constant conquests were key to keep the empire going.

- A service nobility of immigrants from the Islamic world and, below them, Hindu Rajput chieftains.
Economic life of the Mughal Empire I

- Fertile river valleys generate large agricultural surpluses and taxes.
- Allow for artisan sector: textiles, shipbuilding, and steel.
- Trade networks all along Asia, from Arabia to Indonesia and China.
- Arrival of gold and silver.
- Role of Gujarati traders.
- Role of religious foundations in Bengal and Burma clearing new lands.
Economic decline after 1707:

1. Costly wars of Aurangzeb, who tries to conquer south of India.


3. Disruption caused by trade with Europeans: more power to maritime provinces, merchants, and gentry classes, less for the old-warrior elite in interior cities.

4. Key point: control over the littoral was always weak.

British textile production.
The British arrive I

- A British East India Company fleet first arrived in India in 1607, first factory in 1612.

- Establishes factories along the coast (Surat, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta,...).

- Main business is textile trade, highly developed at the time in India.

- Big expansion only starts in 1746: British and French start to struggle for supremacy in India by supporting different sides in regional conflicts at the breakdown of the Mughal empire.

- Role of Robert Clive and victory at Plassey, 1757, over the Nawab of Bengal and his French allies.
The British arrive II

- Rapid growth of BEAC until the big rebellion of 1857.

- British strategy. Doctrine of lapse.

- Permanent settlement of 1793 with Bengalis landowners: fixed land tax, enforcement of property rights. Creation of a market for land.

- Evidence that, before British arrive, Bengal is significantly poorer than Western Europe.

- Effect of the first decades of colonization is difficult to gauge.
China
China during the Míng dynasty (1368-1644)

- Domestic dynasty founded by a poor peasant turned general (Zhū Yuánzhāng) who defeated the Mongols.
- Even if later substituted by the Qīng dynasty (1644-1912), of foreign origin, many of its features survived: “late imperial China.”
- Expansion in the south: the new frontier (according to Braudel ≈ USA or Canada).
- Despotic early emperors that used extensive force to keep order, although later they mellowed down into ineffectiveness (Wànlì emperor, 1572-1620).
- Powerful elite of a meritocratic bureaucracy and eunuchs.
- Literati culture in Lower Yángtzǐ with high levels of urbanization, publishing, and trade.
- Trade revolution: silk, porcelain, silver.
the 1510s, and eight in the 1560s. Many appeared in undersupervised peripheral regions, often in response to banditry.

In developed areas, counties emerged in response to economic growth. The town of Tongxiang south of Lake Tai, for example, was elevated to county status in 1430 in a major reorganization designed to improve fiscal operations in this densely populated region. Its surrounding market towns grew so dramatically on the textile trade that local leaders in the 1530s petitioned that each be granted separate county status. A resident of the commercial town of Qingzhen defended the proposal by explaining that the town had grown in size and prosperity because of its location on major transportation routes. “Its residents could not be under four or five thousand families,” he observed. Buddhist pagodas and Daoist monasteries, which depended on donations and were therefore a barometer of local wealth, “are jammed in everywhere you turn. The bridges and the market gates...
The examination system

• Selection of civil servants.

• Tested knowledge of the classics according to a rigid interpretation:
  1. Analects of Confucius (Kǒng Zǐ), the Mencius, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean (the Four Books, Sì Shū).
  2. Neo-confucian interpretation by Zhū Xī.
  3. From 1487, even structure of essay (eight-legged) clearly fixed.

• Quota system by provinces.

• Different levels (with some simplification):
  1. Shēngyuán (government student): administered at exams held in the county level each year⇒100,000.
  2. Jǔrén (recommended man), a provincial graduate, administered at the provincial level every three years.
  3. Jìnshì (presented scholar), a metropolitan graduate, administered in the capital every three years⇒2,000-4,000.

• Political-economic effects?
Figure 2.2. Cheating shirt (top; with detail, bottom). © The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University.
The mandate of heaven changes hands

- Manchu invaders from the north.
- Nurhaci is the founder of the modern Manchu state.
- Míng dynasty weaken by incompetent emperors and several peasant rebellions.
- Chain of events.
  1. Lǐ Zīchéng leads a peasant revolt that proposes dividing land equally and abolishing the grain tax.
  2. Rebels enter Běijīng in 1644 and last Míng emperor, Chóngzhēn, commits suicide.
  3. Wú Sānguì, a Míng general, turns around and allies himself with Qīng. Rebels are defeated.
  4. Manchus conquered Běijīng and declare his first emperor: Shùnzhì of the Qīng dynasty.
  5. Míng loyalist regimes exist in Southern China until 1662.
  6. Kāngxī consolidates his power by defeating the Revolt of the Three Feudatories.
A deep division I

- Constant underlying tension between Manchus and Hans.
- July 1645 haircutting order: “Keep your hair and lose your head, or keep your head and cut your hair.”
- Kǒng Shàngrèn writes The Peach Blossom Fan: love story between a scholar and a courtesan in the southern Míng court of the Prince of Fù.

Kong’s Description

Famous aristocrats, high officials, and talented literati gathered in such a crowd that it was impossible to find space for one’s legs...Yet in the midst of this dazzling theater, there were a few who sat quietly weeping behind their sleeves-former officials and ‘survivors.’ When the lanterns had flickered out and the drinking was over, they uttered sighs and went their ways.

- Jonathan Spence, Return to Dragon Mountain: Memories of a Late Ming Man.
1505 P. COCHINCHINE - Saigon - Chinois mécaniciens à bord des Chaloupes
• Structural problem of the dynasty:

  1. Difficult to rally popular support in difficult times.

  2. Cut deals with big landowners of Lower Yángtźǐ.

  3. Difficult to reform the regime.

  4. Forced strict regulations to maintain a separate Manchu identity.

• We will see later, how, in the 1800s, this division will be a fundamental problem for China.
China during the Qīng dynasty (1644 to 1912)

- Fast expansion to the West. Peter Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Euroasia*.

- Fast expansion in the south:
  
  1. Guóxìngyé (Koxinga), a Ming loyalist, expels the Europeans from Taiwan and creates his own state.
  
  2. In 1683, Qīng conquered Taiwan.

- Expansion based on a powerful military organizations: Eight Banners.

- Maximum historical extension of China state: reach its “natural borders.”

- However, this will become a serious problem when facing Western European powers.
After Nurhaci died in 1626, his son Hong Taiji succeeded him. In consolidating the Jin state, then centered on Mukden, Hong Taiji grudgingly made use of Chinese bureaucrats, but his goal was to replace them with a multiethnic elite equally competent in warfare and documents. In 1636, Hong Taiji renamed his state Qing (“pure”). When he died in 1643 at age forty-six, his brother Dorgon was made regent for his five-year-old son, Fulin, the Shunzhi emperor (r. 1643–1661).

The distinguished Ming general Wu Sangui (1612–1678), a native of Liaodong, was near the eastern end of the Great Wall when he heard that the rebel Li Zicheng had captured Beijing. Dorgon proposed to Wu that they join forces and liberate Beijing. Wu opened the gates of the Great Wall to let the Manchus in, and within a couple of weeks they had occupied Beijing. When the Manchus made clear that they intended to conquer the rest of the country and take the throne themselves, Wu joined forces with them, as did many other Chinese generals.

When word of the fall of Beijing to the Manchus reached the Yangzi valley, Ming officials selected a Ming prince to succeed to the throne and shifted the capital to Nanjing, the Ming secondary capital. They were thus following the strategy that had allowed the Song Dynasty to continue to flourish after it had lost the north in 1126. The Ming court offered to buy off the Manchus, just as the Song had bought off the Jurchens. Dorgon, however, saw no need to check his ambitions. He sent Wu Sangui and several Manchu generals to pursue the rebel forces across north China. Li Zicheng was eliminated in 1645, Zhang Xianzhong in 1647.

At the same time, Qing forces set about trying to defeat the Ming forces in the south. Quite a few able officials joined the Ming cause, but leadership was not well coordinated. Shi Kefa, a scholar-official who had risen to minister of war in Nanjing, took charge.
17-th century sees some of the great works of Chinese culture: Cáo Xuệqín, Dream of the Red Chamber.

Unfortunately, also a period of complacency.

Letter from the Chinese emperor Qiánlóng to King George III of England:
“Our dynasty’s majestic virtue has penetrated unto every country under Heaven...As your Ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country’s manufactures.”

Leibniz’s Instructions to a European traveler to China:
“Not too worry so much about getting things European to the Chinese, but rather about getting remarkable Chinese inventions to us.”

Political-economic reasons?
Economy

- Fast population growth (138 million in 1700 to 381 in 1820, nearly 40% of the world population!)
- High-level Malthusian trap? Adam Smith.
- Extension of cash crops: cotton and silk.
- Manufactures of porcelain. Big failure of imitation in Europe.
- BEIC establishes triangular trade between China, India, and England: silver, tea, porcelain, silk.
- Huge trade surplus: from the mid-17th century, around 28 million kilograms of silver flow into China.
- Opium becomes the star export to China.
- Opium wars of 1839 to 1842 and from 1856 to 1860.
Japan
Japan

- October 21, 1600: Tokugawa clan of samurai decisively defeated its opponents at the battle of Sekigahara.

- Tokugawa Ieyasu petitioned the secluded Priest-Emperor to grant him the title of Shogun, the Priest-Emperor's viceroy in all civil and military matters.

- From its capital, Edo (now Tokyo), the Tokugawa Shogunate ruled Japan for two and a half centuries.

- Nearly total closing to the world ⇒ seclusion laws:
  1. No foreigner could enter nor could any Japanese leave the country on penalty of death.
  2. Only inbound ships from China, Korea, and the Netherlands at Nagasaki.
  3. Persecution of Christianity (Kirishitan).

Consequences of isolation

- For two centuries and a half, Japan is (basically) at peace.
- Rice production raises.
- General improvement in farming and forest production.
- Avoids becoming a colony.
- Technology gap with the rest of the world widens.