

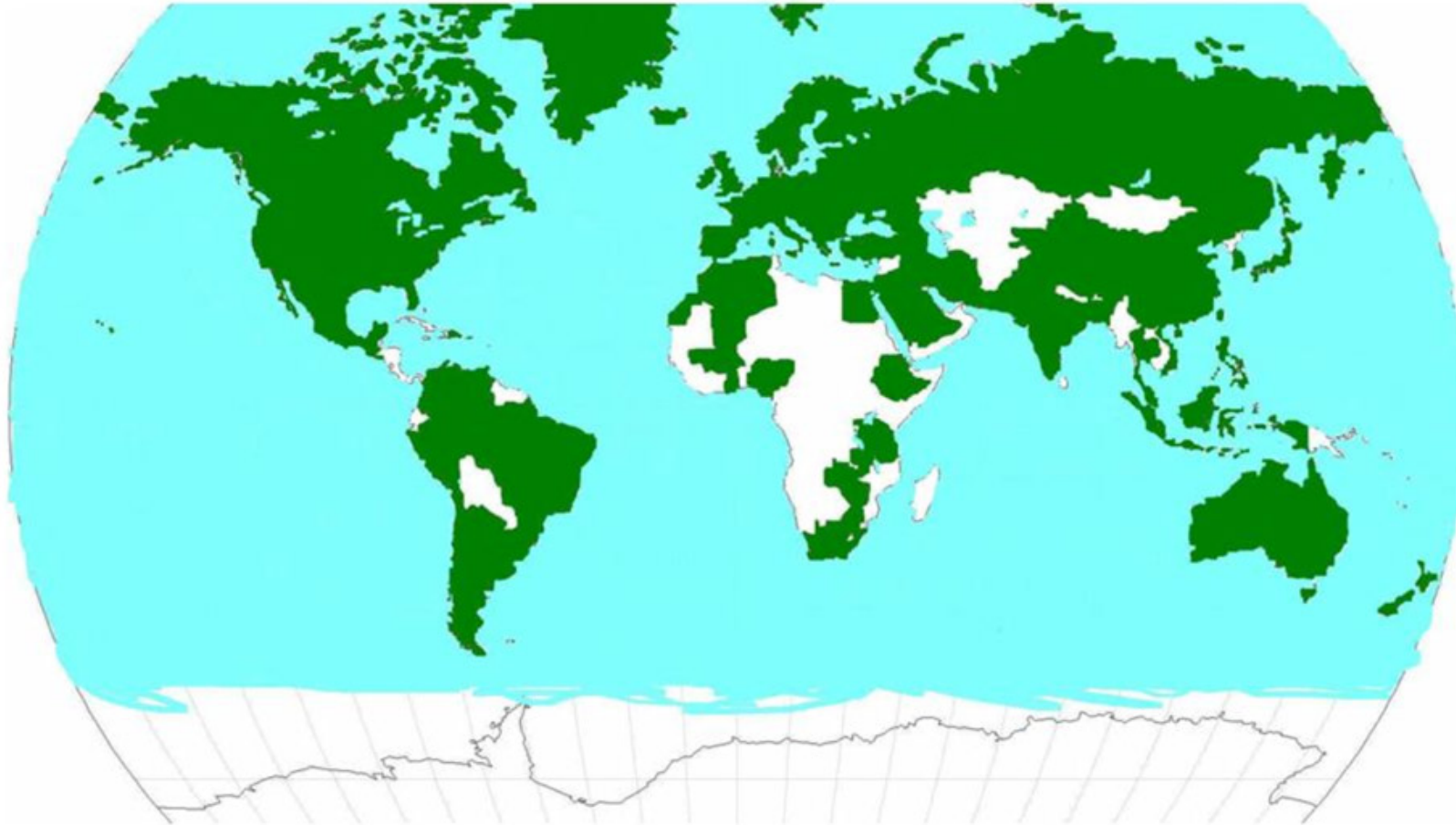
A satellite map of Eurasia and surrounding regions, showing the Mongol Empire's extent. The map is oriented with North at the top. The landmasses are colored in shades of green, brown, and white, representing different terrain types. The surrounding oceans are dark blue. The text is overlaid on the right side of the map.

The Mongol Invasions as a Natural Experiment in World History

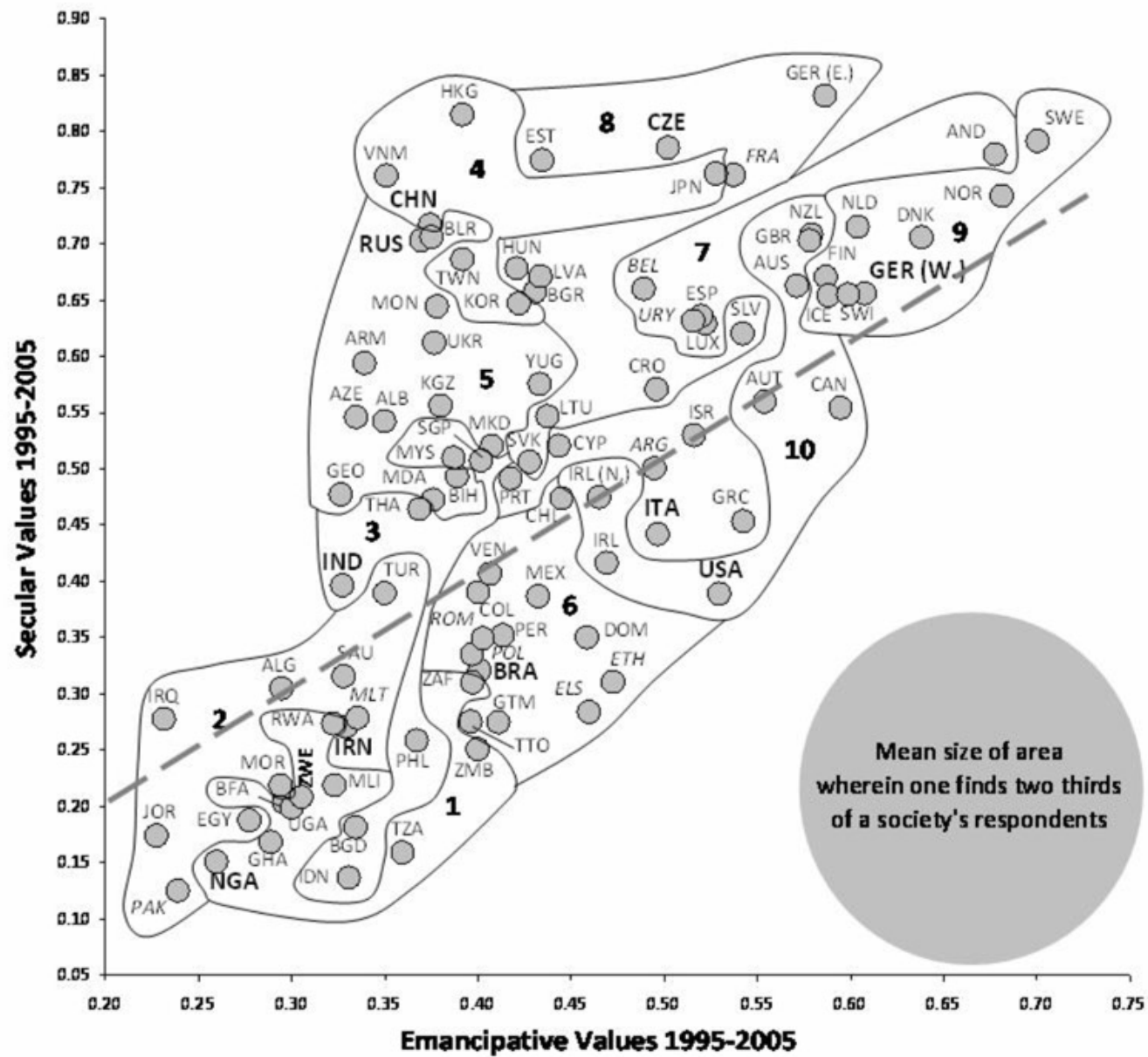
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**Countries surveyed at least once in WVS
(99 countries containing almost 90% of the world's population)**



- The World Values Surveys allow us to explore variations in cultural patterns and societal beliefs across the world.
- Which countries are happy, and which not? Which are religious, and which are secular? Which have high social capital and which have low social capital? Strong or weak civil societies? Tolerant or intolerant of minorities? Nationalist or cosmopolitan? Pro-democratic or authoritarian?



- The following lectures will be exploring the values, identity, and institutions of a particular cluster of countries, those in Eurasia
 - And will be concerned with understanding the evolution of Eurasian societies from the Mongol invasions (13th century) to the present day
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Why Eurasia?

Why Did Modern States First Emerge In Eurasia?

“State History” (darker = longer state history)



Source: Bockstette et al. (2002). Shown is the state history index with a discount rate 50.

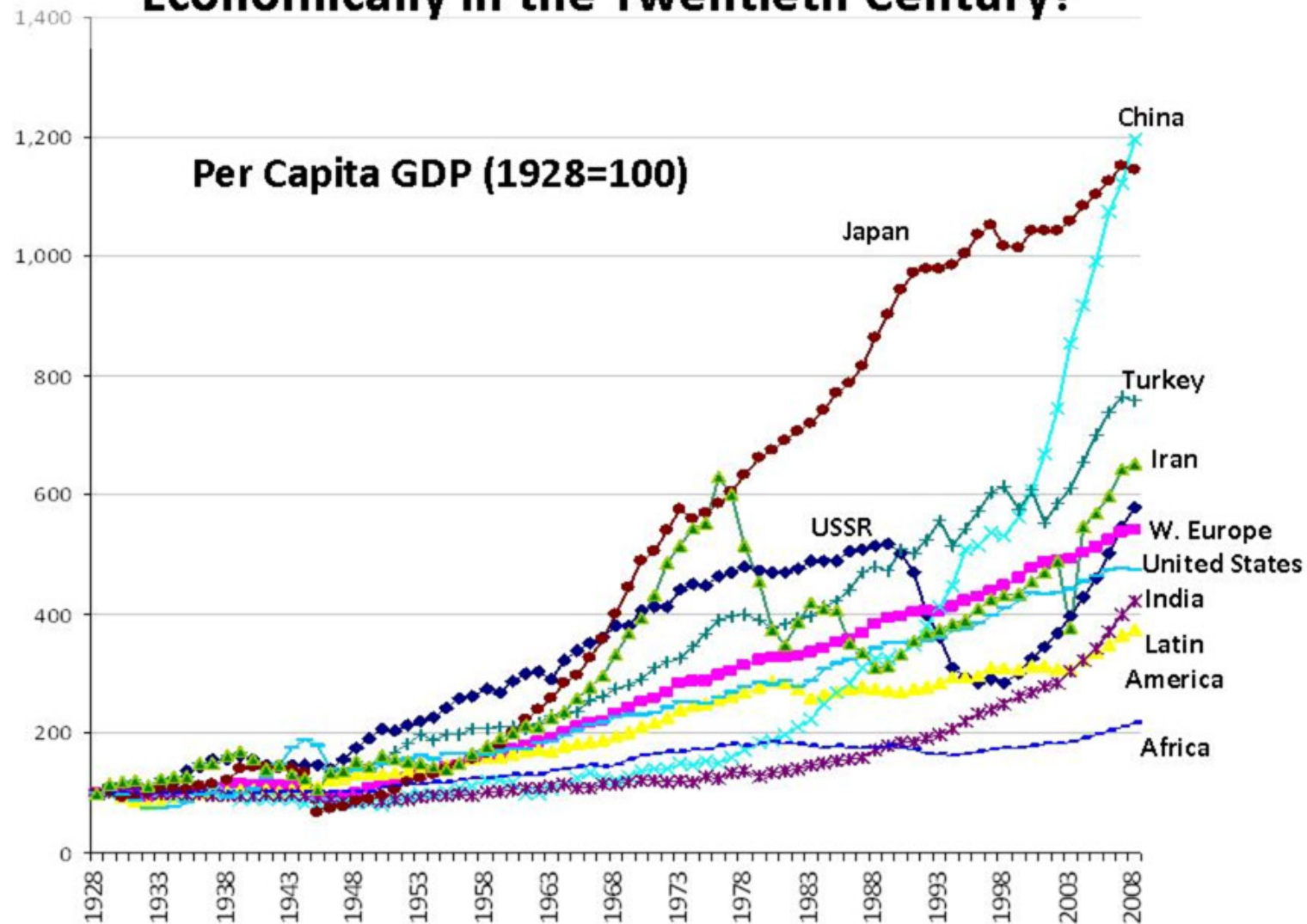
Why Did Economic Growth Start in Eurasia?

Income per capita for the year, 1500. Source: Maddison (2008)

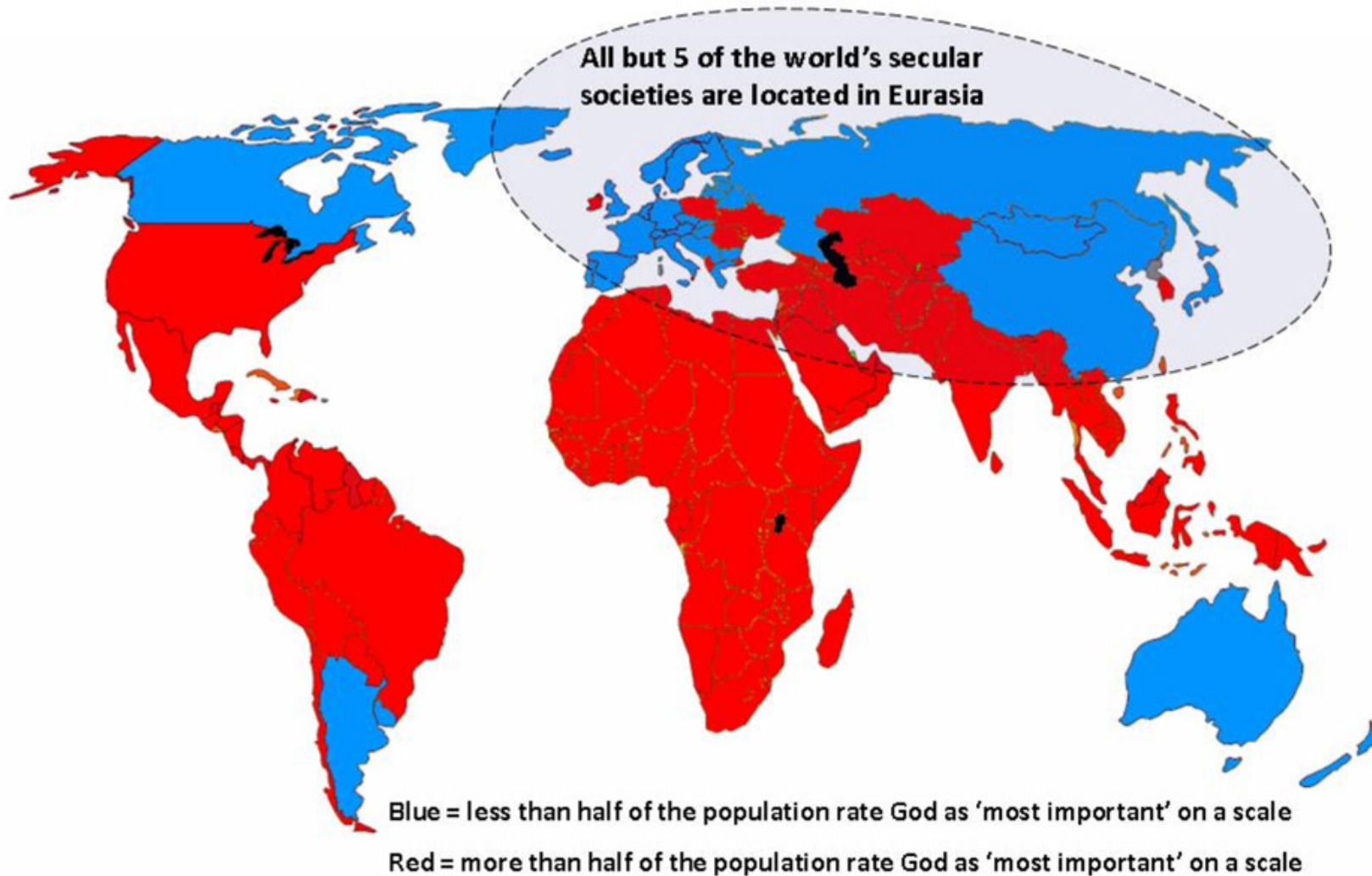


Source: Maddison (2008) Historical Statistics of the World Economy, 1-2008 AD.

Why Did Eurasian States Develop the Fastest Economically in the Twentieth Century?

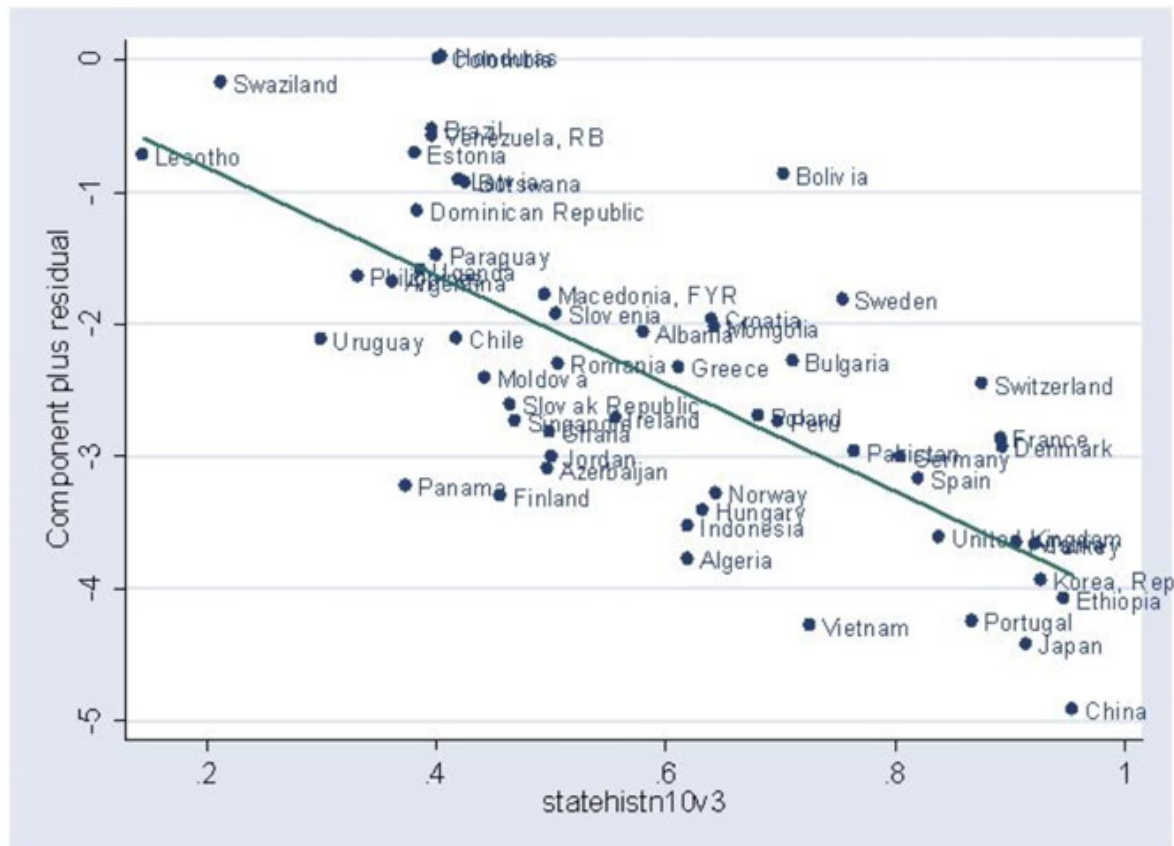


Why does the secular world live in Eurasia?



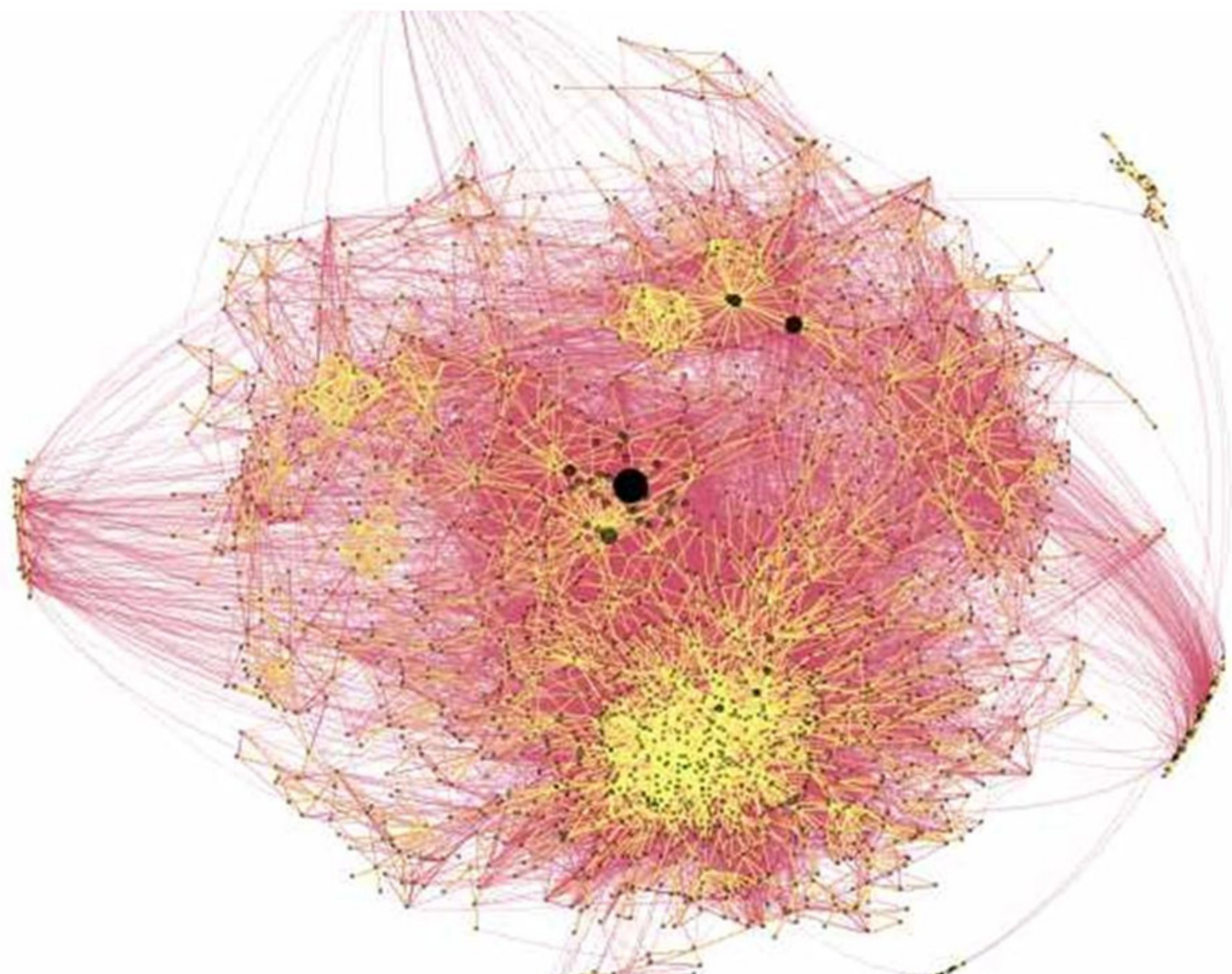
Why is Eurasia the safest part of the world?

Partial correlation of interpol crime rates (homicide, rape, theft, fraud)
against state history



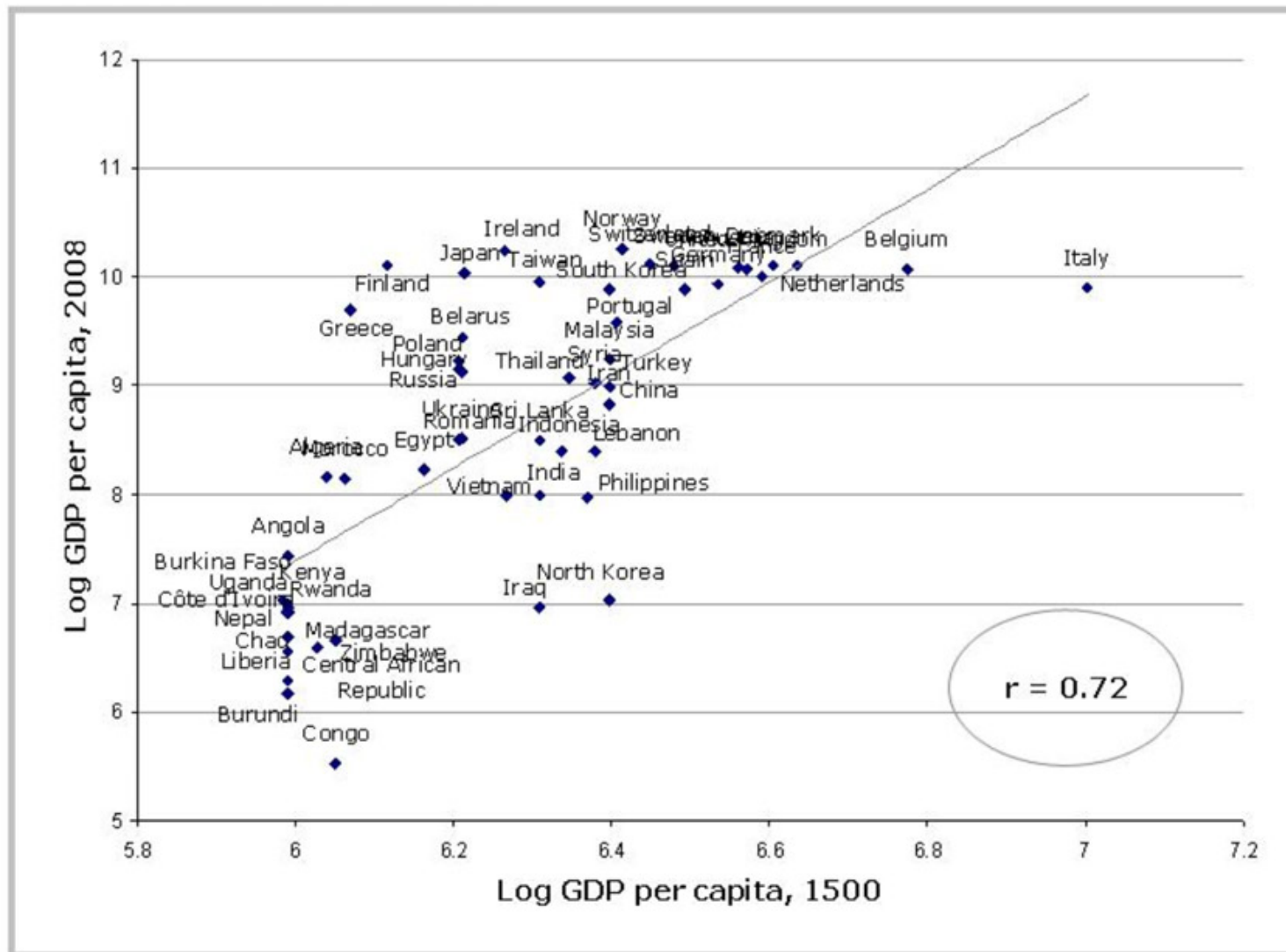
Controlling for: log GDP per capita, ethnolinguistic fractionalisation, former colonial status (0/1) and voluntary associational membership

How Should We Study Human Societies?



**‘a species understands just enough
of the constant and calculable to
base a scheme of behaviour upon
it’ - Nietzsche**

The Most Depressing Chart You Will See Today!



Source: Angus Maddison, Historical Statistics of the World Economy 1-2008 AD

Deep Endogeneity

- Why is this so depressing?
- For developing countries, this is obviously depressing because it implies development (relative to other countries) may *never* happen - even if we wait five centuries (!)
- For social scientists, it is depressing for another reason, though, which is that it is an example of what I call 'deep endogeneity'.
- *Deep endogeneity* is when a set of variables exist in a mutually interdependent relationship for longer than we have available data.
- The result is a serious identification problem. How do we know what causes what?

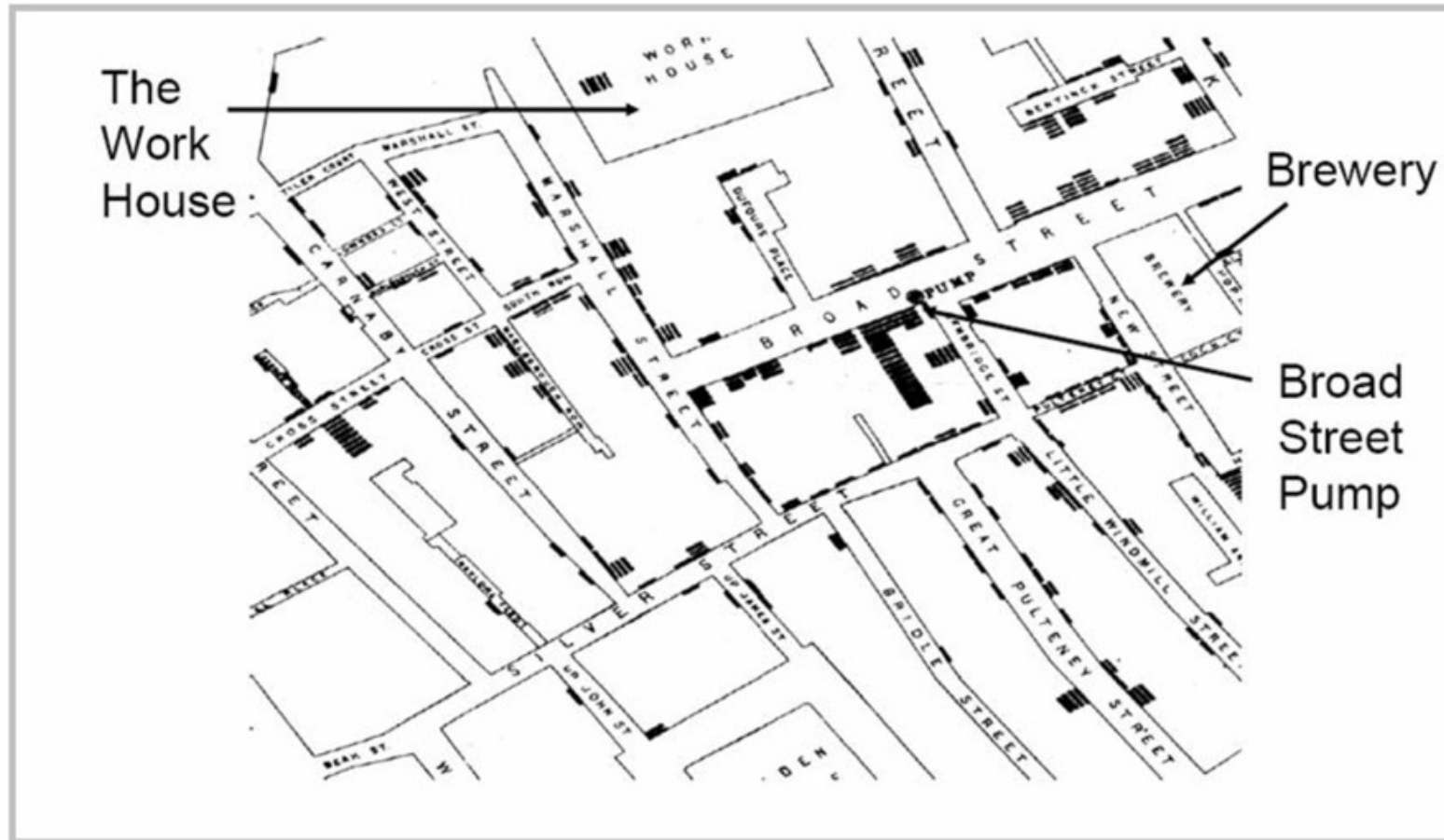
Natural experiments

Another way of dealing with the problem is to look for experimental conditions.

A classic example – John Snow

- Snow was an English doctor who was one of the founders of epidemiology.
- He was investigating the cause of cholera in the 1850s. Existing theories said it was due to miasmas (bad airs) - but Snow thought it was due to bacteria in water. How to prove this?
- He mapped all of the fatalities from an outbreak of cholera in Soho, London, 1854. Discovered that the source must be taking water from the pump in Broad Street. But people close to the pump also breathed the same air!
- People working in the Brewery (who drank beer) and people in the workhouse (which had its own well) were close but did not get cholera.

A classic example – John Snow



John Snow's original map showing deaths from cholera in Broad Street and the neighborhood, from 19th August to 30th September 1854. A black mark or bar for each death is placed in the situation of the house in which the fatal attack took place.



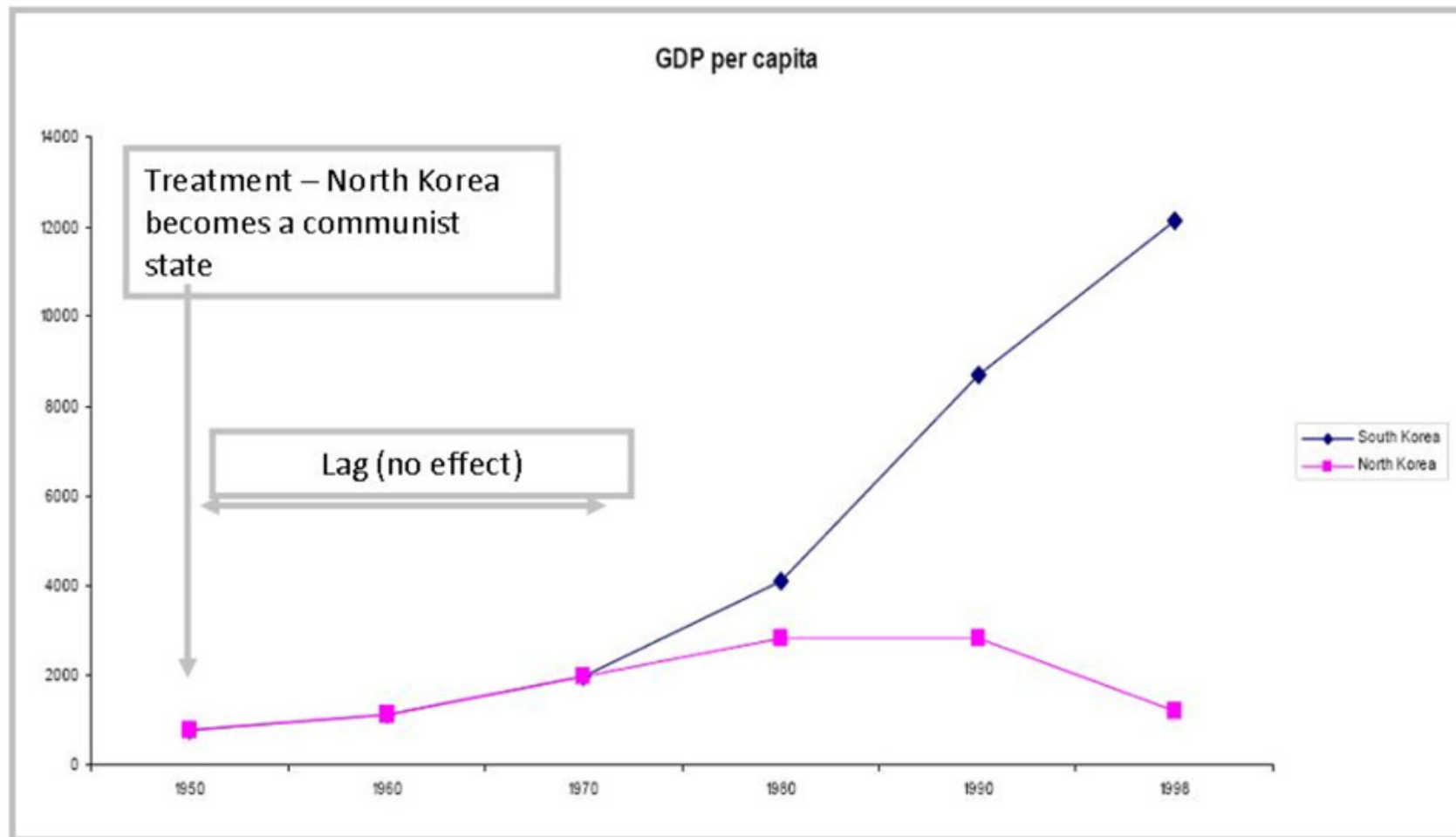
The Pump Today in London – a Memorial to John Snow

- In the first, there is a shock which is water polluted with cholera and this hits a treatment group - those who take water from the Broad Street Pump, but not a control group - brewers and people in the workhouse.
 - The treatment and control group are comparable breath the same air.
 - Crucially, assignment to the treatment and control is as if random - it is not determined by any characteristic which would influence your ability to withstand cholera.
-

- Broad Street is as close to real situation mimicking an actual experiment as you can get.
 - But what you really need is an exogenous source of variation in the variable whose causal impact you want to examine. An experiment is the cleanest example of such exogenous variation, but more generally what we need is an instrument or an instrumental variable.
 - Instead of thinking of yourself as in search of significant correlations, I encourage you to think of yourself as 'detectives'
-

**seek out 'random treatments' in
the social world**

An obvious example - North and South Korea



60 years later (oh dear)



**kim jong-il looking at
a touch-screen device**



**“nonetheless, the country attracts a high
calibre of visiting scholars”**

**Experimental ‘treatments’ are
everywhere *if* we look for them**

The oil shock

- For researchers interested in the effects of GDP on social and political outcomes like democracy, secularisation etc, the oil shock of the 1970s was a fantastic experiment
- Overnight, oil-producing countries like Saudi Arabia went from having an income per capita of \$3,700 (1960) to \$13,000 (1977)
- And this effect was *totally* exogenous – it wasn't caused by other variables we might be interested in (e.g. levels of education, trade, institutions)

What happened?



The oil shock

- Not much! The Gulf States remained authoritarian and conservative for another three decades.
- So didn't we learn anything? Yes!
- Thanks to this exogenous treatment, we learned that GDP per capita *in itself* **doesn't really matter that much**
- suggesting that processes like democratisation, secularisation, or the growth of self-expression values are more a function of variables which are correlated with GDP, like improved education, urbanisation, media access, and the growth of the knowledge economy.
- Of course, thanks to all the new oil wealth, in the last forty years Gulf states *have* now urbanised, built schools and universities, and young Saudis (I'm told) watch MTV and surf the internet. We might look back, and say there was an indirect effect after a LONG lag

Case Study



Genghiz Khan and the Mongols

- One of the most important examples we have of a natural experiment in world history is the reshaping of Eurasian states after the rise of Genghiz Khan.
- The rise of the Mongol Empire(s) was completely random - it came from nowhere. Yet the Mongol invasions completely reshaped Eurasian politics, economies, and society, for centuries to come.

Some Key Sources:

Weatherford, J. (2005) *Genghiz Khan and the Making of the Modern World*. NY: Random House.

Di Cosmo, N. (1999) "State Formation and Periodization in Inner Asian History", *Journal of World History*, Vol. 10 N. 1 pp. 1-40.

Woodman Cleaves, F. (tr.) (1982) *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.



1294

- The Mongol invasions had two major effects in world history.
 - The first was that the Mongol successor states – the Ottoman, Mughal, Persian and Chinese Empires - were the first durable, modern states across Eurasia. All, in varying degrees, copied Mongol institutions, such as military bureaucracy.
 - The second is that the Mongol conquests briefly led to the creation of a single Eurasian economic space, with the free flow of people, goods, and technologies across Eurasia – gunpowder, magnetism, and printing from China, and medicine or masonry from the Middle East. Europe also benefited from this diffusion, as travellers like Marco Polo brought new technologies home with them.
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How did he do it?

The “Secret History of the Mongols”

- Until fairly recently, we didn't know anything about early Mongolia, as the Mongols did not adopt writing until after conquering the Chinese.
- The only document which might have offered any hope was a text known as 'the secret history of the Mongols' - a fabled document written in the last days of the Khan, detailing the events of his early life.
- In the nineteenth century, a copy of the document turned up in Beijing.
- However, there was a problem - while each chapter contained a brief summary in Chinese, the bulk of the text was written in a bizarre pseudo-script, in which ancient Mongol sounds were 'imitated' with Chinese characters.
- For decades, it remained undeciphered.

Script of the Chinese version
of "The Secret History",
showing Chinese-Mongol
phonetics and the modern
Chinese translation

到了呵	名	怕著	快	黃馬	有來
古兒恢魯額	赤列都	阿余周	古兒敦忽必圖	阿主元	
黃馬自的	腿	他的	打著	岡	越過
忽必余安	忽牙亦訥迭列	抽	忽不里南巴里思	不魯灰魯阿	
後頭自 他的	三箇	隨即趕了	人名	山背	
豁亦訥察亦訥	忽兒巴兀刺	兀荅阿刺都罷	赤列都豁失溫		
畏過	同著	車子	自的行	來了呵	
忽赤里思	合里周	帖兒堅	都里顏	亦列恢魯額	
那裏	婦人名	說	那	三箇	人行
田迭阿額命兀真鳴詰列論	帖迭忽兒班合喇泥兀合巴兀赤	覺麼你			

- One hope of better deciphering the text was for experts in classical Chinese to travel to Mongolia and guess which words mapped which characters.
- Alas, during the Cold War, the study of Genghiz Khan was severely proscribed. His birthplace was sealed off as a 'HIGHLY RESTRICTED AREA', surrounded by another, outer ring - simply called the "RESTRICTED AREA".
- Nonetheless, an Australian academic made one attempt at an English version in the 1970s; a US academic (Woodman Cleaves) did the same in the 1980s. In recent years, there has been a flood of scholarship on the *Secret History*, and even more translations exist.
- We now have a pretty good notion of how Genghiz Khan built the early Mongol state - and how initial state formation can occur.

What we know

- The first 40 years of Genghiz Khan's life were pretty typical.
- He spent about 25 years fighting a war in what is now Mongolia against 'Jamuka', the head of a rival tribe.
- The Mongols were identifiable as an ethnic group with a single language, alongside other groups in the Central Asia region (e.g. the Kereyid, Tatar, and Naiman). But they lived in non-state society - they had no single ruler (*Khan*).
- The social order consisted of extended families, or tribes, which moved around with their cattle from season to season.
- Finally, in 1206, Genghiz Khan is done defeating his Mongol rivals, so calls a council meeting of all the tribes (a *Khuriltai*) to declare himself *Khan* (taking the name 'Genghiz Khan' for the first time).

‘[Genghiz Khan] consciously set out to **create a state** and to establish all the institutions necessary for it on a new basis, part of which he borrowed from prior tribes and part of which he invented. For his nation-state to survive, **he needed to build strong institutions**’ (Weatherford, *Genghiz Khan and the Making of the Modern World*, p. 67).

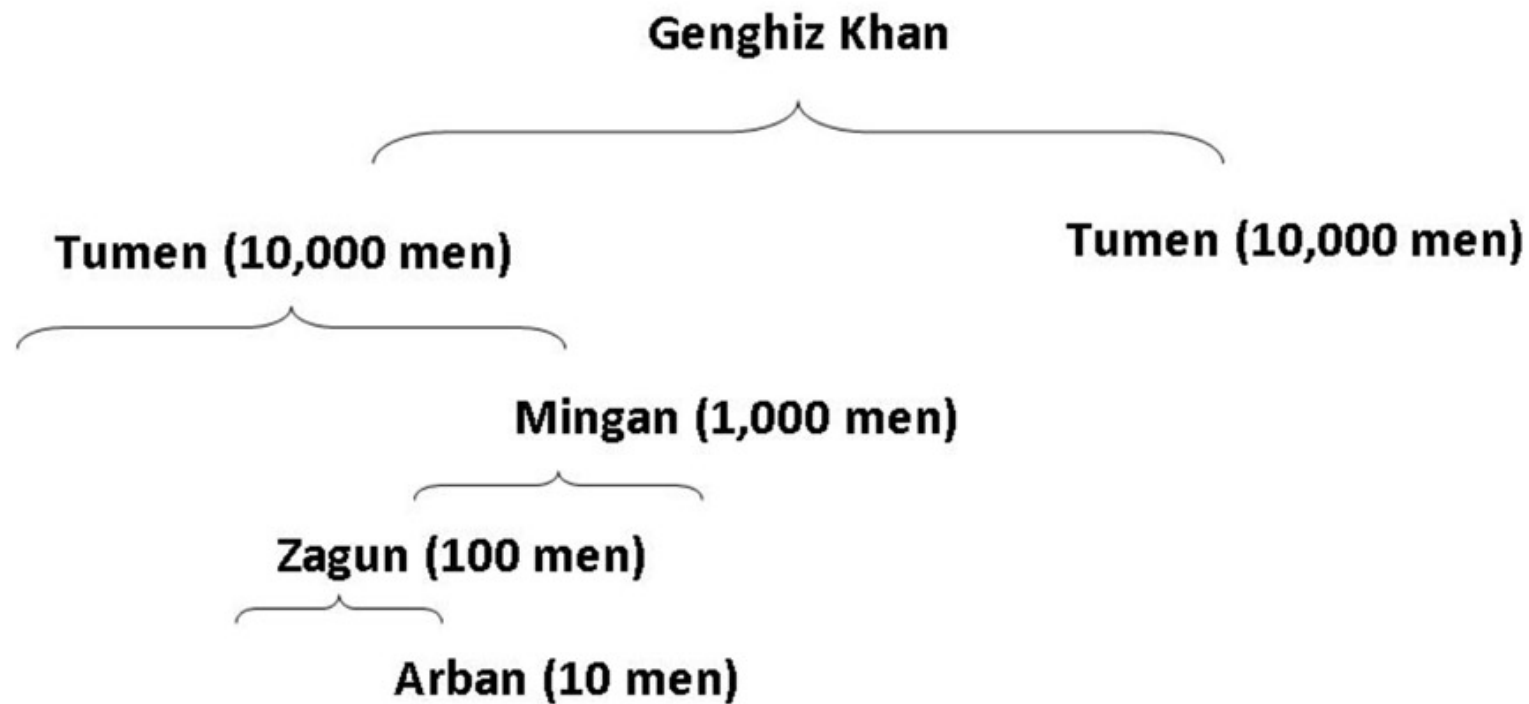
What Kind of Institutions?

Before conquering the world, Genghiz Khan:

- Ending **tribal patrimony**;
- Implemented a **code of laws**;
- Implemented **universal conscription** and a **labour corvee**;
- Abolished the **caste system**;
- Implemented a military **welfare system**.

Ending Tribal Patrimony


- Genghiz Khan wanted to break tribal loyalties and reorganise his subjects into a single people.
- To this end, he 'decimalised' the Mongol army - every 10 men were put into a group (*arban*) and ordered to treat each other as 'brothers', regardless of their kin group or tribal affiliation. Genghiz deliberately mixed different tribes into common *arban*.



“Each ten arban was arranged into a *zagun* (100 men), and 10 companies formed a battalion (*mingan*). Each 10 *mingan* formed one *tumen* (10,000); the leader of each *tumen* was chosen by Genghiz”

The Code of Laws

- i) The prohibition of **kidnapping**;
- ii) the prohibition of **enslavement**;
- iii) sexual relations between married peoples of **different households** were outlawed;
- iv) **Animal rustling** made a capital offense;



Mongol society was very violent, and *wife kidnapping, slavery, adultery, and theft of cattle* - were the main sources of tribal warfare. By outlawing these acts and subjecting them to strict punishment, Genghiz Khan sought to end endemic violence

Conscription

- Genghiz Khan implemented a law of **universal public service**.
- For most, this meant military service - consequently, the Mongol army became vast compared to its rivals.
- For those who could not fight, they had to give one day a week for public projects and services (a **labour corvee**)

‘Citizenship’

- Genghiz Khan banned the distinction between ‘black-bone’ (lower caste) and white-bone (upper caste)
- On the capture of a new territory, all inherited aristocratic titles in lineages, clans and tribes were to be abolished, and their holders executed.

“All such offices **belonged to the state**, not to the individual or his family, and they would be distributed at the will of the new ruler”
(Weatherford, p. 65)

Military Welfare

- Before Genghiz Khan, looting was a 'prebend' – as a soldier, you were free to take whatever you found for yourself.
- He implemented a tax on all gains from looting after rival cities were captured.
- This money was used to establish a **military welfare system**, whereby widows and orphans of dead soldiers would receive a generous pension.
- This both increased **military discipline** (soldiers were less likely to flee if they knew their family would be provided for) and reduced any chance of **insurrection** on the 'home front'.

- If we think about the 'Weberian' state, it is pretty clear Genghiz Khan was a 'state builder'.
- Ending tribal authority in the army and tribal conflict ensured a monopoly of force, as did the purging of aristocracy
- The governing institutions developed by Genghiz Khan survived in post-Mongol Turkic societies (notably, Persia, the Ottoman Empire, and Mughal India)



The Mongol banknote, or 'yuan'
(still the colloquial expression
for a unit of money in China).



**The Mongol passport –
the 'paizi'**

- This lecture, we've looked at natural experiments, and how we might consider the Mongol invasions as an example.
- In the next lecture, we will look at the consequences of the Mongol invasions. How did they lead to the rise of the modern state across Eurasia?