



WESTERN CIVILIZATIONS

VOLUME ONE

JOSHUA COLE • CAROL SYMES

BRIEF

FOURTH EDITION

Western Civilizations

Their History & Their Culture





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Joshua Cole
Carol Symes



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To our families:

Kate Tremel, Lucas and Ruby Cole

Tom, Erin, and Connor Wilson

with love and gratitude for their support.

And to all our students, who have also been
our teachers.

About the Authors



JOSHUA COLE (Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley) is professor of history at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor and the former director, Center for European Studies at the University of Michigan. His publications include work on gender and the history of the population sciences, colonial violence, and the politics of memory in nineteenth- and twentieth-century France, Germany, and Algeria. His first book was *The Power of Large Numbers: Population, Politics, and Gender in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).



CAROL SYMES (Ph.D., Harvard University) is associate professor of history and former director of undergraduate studies in the history department at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, where she has won the top teaching award in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Her main areas of study include medieval Europe, the history of information media and communication technologies, and the history of theater. Her first book was *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007). She is the founding editor of *The Medieval Globe*, the first academic journal to promote a global approach to medieval studies.

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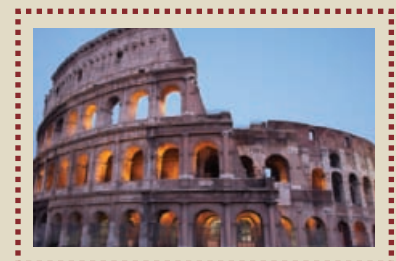


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This new Brief Fourth Edition of *Western Civilizations* sharpens and expands the set of tools we have developed to empower students—our own and yours—to engage effectively with the themes, sources, and challenges of history. It presents a clear, vigorous, and coherent narrative, supplemented by a compelling selection of primary sources and visually striking images. At the same time, as the authors of this book’s previous edition we have worked to develop a unified program of pedagogical elements that guide students toward a more thorough understanding of the past, and of the ways that historians reconstruct that past. This framework helps students to analyze and interpret historical evidence on their own, encouraging them to become active participants in the learning process. We have also worked hard to overcome one of the major shortcomings of most brief editions—the lack of a coherent narrative. Here we used our innovative pedagogical tools as guides, particularly the Story Lines, Chronologies, and Core Objectives, to ensure that the chapter themes and core content remain fully present. Moreover, we cut the narrative by 25 percent, rather than the more traditional 40 percent, which again helps to retain a more coherent reading experience.

Moreover, the wide chronological scope of this book offers an unusual opportunity to trace central human developments (population movements, intellectual currents, economic trends, the formation of political institutions, the power of religious belief, the role of the arts and of technologies) in a region of the world whose cultural diversity has been constantly invigorated and renewed by its interactions with peoples living in other places. Students today have a wide selection of introductory history courses to choose from, thanks to the welcome availability of introductory surveys in Latin American, African, and Asian history, alongside both traditional and innovative offerings in the history of the United States and Europe. Global history has also come into its own in recent years. But our increasing awareness that no region’s history can be isolated from global processes and connec-

tions has merely heightened the need for a richly contextualized and broad-based history such as that represented in *Western Civilizations*. As in previous editions, we have attempted to balance the coverage of political, social, economic, and cultural phenomena with extensive treatment of material culture, daily life, gender, sexuality, art, science, and popular culture. And following the path laid out in the book’s previous editions, we have insisted that the history of European peoples must be understood through their interactions with peoples in other parts of the world. Accordingly, our treatment of this history, attentive to the latest developments in historical scholarship, is both deep and dynamic.

Given the importance of placing human history in a global context, those of us who study the histories of ancient, medieval, and modern Europe are actively changing the ways we teach this history. The title of this book reflects the fact that, for good reasons, few historians today would uphold a monolithic vision of a single and enduring “Western civilization” whose inevitable march to domination can be traced chapter by chapter through time. This older paradigm, strongly associated with the curriculum of early-twentieth-century American colleges and universities, no longer conforms to what we know about the human past. Neither “the West” nor “Europe” can be seen as a distinct, unified entity in space or time; the meanings attributed to these geographical expressions have changed in significant ways. Moreover, historians now agree that a linear notion of any civilization persisting unchanged over the centuries was made coherent only by leaving out the intense conflicts, extraordinary ruptures, and dynamic changes that took place at the heart of the societies we call “Western.” Smoothing out the rough edges of the past does students no favors; even an introductory text such as this one should present the past as it appears to the historians who study it—that is, as a complex panorama of human effort, filled with possibility and achievement but also fraught with discord, uncertainty, accident, and tragedy.

Highlights of the New Brief Fourth Edition

The new Brief Fourth Edition makes history an immersive experience through its innovative pedagogy and digital resources. InQuizitive—Norton’s groundbreaking, formative, and adaptive new learning program—enables both students and instructors to assess learning progress at the individual and classroom level. The Norton Coursepack provides an array of support materials FREE TO INSTRUCTORS who adopt the text for integration into their local learning-management system. The Norton Coursepack includes valuable assessment and skill-building activities like New Primary Source Exercises, Guided Reading Exercises, Review Quizzes, and Interactive Map Resources. In addition, we’ve created new Office Hours and Present and Past videos that help students understand the core objectives and make history relevant for them (see page xxix for information about student and instructor resources).

We know that current and future users of our text will welcome the efforts we made in this new edition to update and reorganize the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods in order to place them in a larger Atlantic World context. The major highlight of this reorganization is a brand-new chapter, entitled “Europe in the Atlantic World, 1550–1650.” It places the newly integrated space of the Atlantic at the center of the story, exploring the ways that nation building, religious warfare, economic developments, population movements, and cultural trends shaped—and were shaped by—historical actors on this dynamic frontier. Another significant result of the reorganization of these two periods is to provide a clearer chronological framework for the narrative, so that the students can better see how major topics and events emerge from their historical context. This, of course, was part of a larger effort begun across the entire text in the previous edition. These revisions demonstrate our dual commitment to keep the book current and up to date, while striving to integrate strong pedagogical features that help students build their study and history skills (see chapter-by-chapter revisions further below).

NEW AND REVISED PEDAGOGICAL FEATURES

In our ongoing effort to shape students’ engagement with history, this book is designed to reinforce your course objectives by helping students to master core content while challenging them to think critically about the past. In order

to achieve these aims, our previous edition augmented the traditional strengths of *Western Civilizations* by introducing several exciting new features. These have since been refined and revised in accordance with feedback from both teachers and student readers of the book. The most important and revolutionary feature is the pedagogical structure that supports each chapter. As we know from long experience, many students in introductory survey courses find the sheer quantity of information overwhelming, and so we have provided guidance to help them navigate through the material and to read with greater engagement.

At the outset of each chapter, the **Before You Read This Chapter** feature offers three preliminary windows into the material to be covered: *Story Lines*, *Chronology*, and *Core Objectives*. The *Story Lines* allow the student to become familiar with the primary narrative threads that tie the chapter’s elements together, and the *Chronology* grounds these *Story Lines* in the period under study. The *Core Objectives* provide a checklist to ensure that the student is aware of the primary teaching points in the chapter. The student is then reminded of these teaching points upon completing the chapter in the **After You Read This Chapter** section, which prompts the student to revisit the chapter in three ways. The first, *Reviewing the Core Objectives*, asks the reader to reconsider core objectives by answering a pointed question about each one. The second, *People, Ideas, and Events in Context*, summarizes some of the particulars that students should retain from their reading, through questions that allow them to relate individual terms to the major objectives and story lines. Finally, *Thinking about Connections*, new to this edition, allows for more open-ended reflection on the significance of the chapter’s material, drawing students’ attention to issues that connect it to previous chapters and giving students insight into what comes next. As a package, the pedagogical features at the beginning and end of each chapter work together to enhance the student’s learning experience by breaking down the process of reading and analysis into manageable tasks.

A second package of pedagogical features is designed to capture students’ interest and compel them to think about what is at stake in the construction and use of historical narratives. Each chapter opens with a vignette that showcases a particular person or event representative of the era as a whole. Within each chapter, an expanded program of illustrations and maps has been enhanced by the addition of **Guiding Questions** that urge the reader to explore the historical contexts and significance of these visual features in a more analytical way. The historical value of images, artifacts, and material culture as types of primary sources is further emphasized in another feature we introduced in our previous edition, **Interpreting Visual Evidence**. These carefully crafted

features provide discussion leaders with a provocative departure point for conversations about the key issues raised by visual sources, which students often find more approachable than texts. Once this conversation has begun, students can further develop their skills by *Analyzing Primary Sources* through close readings of primary texts accompanied by cogent interpretive questions. The dynamism and diversity of Western civilizations are also illuminated through a look at *Competing Viewpoints* in each chapter, in which specific debates are presented through paired primary source texts. The bibliographical *For Further Reading*, now located at the end of the book, has also been edited and brought up to date.

In addition to these tools that have proven very successful, we are delighted to introduce an entirely new feature with this Brief Fourth Edition. The new *Past and Present* features in the main text prompt students to connect events that unfolded in the past with the breaking news of our own time, by taking one episode from each chapter and comparing it with a phenomenon that resonates more immediately with our students. To bring this new feature to life for students, we have also created a new series of *Past and Present* Author Interview Videos in which we describe and analyze these connections across time and place. There are a number of illuminating discussions, including “Spectator Sports,” which compares the Roman gladiatorial games with NFL Football; “The Reputation of Richard III,” which shows how the modern forensics we see on numerous TV shows were recently used to identify the remains of Richard III; “The Persistence of Monarchies in a Democratic Age,” which explains the origins and evolution of our ongoing fascination with royals from Louis XIV to Princess Diana; and “The Internet and the Enlightenment Public Sphere,” which compares the kinds of public networks that helped spread Enlightenment ideas to the way today’s Internet can be used to spread political ideas in movements such as the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street. Through this new feature not only do we want to encourage students to recognize the continuing relevance of seemingly distant historical moments, we want to encourage history-minded habits that will be useful for a lifetime. If students learn to see the connections between their world and that of the past, they will be more apt to comprehend unfolding developments and debates in a more informed and complex historical context.

A TOUR OF NEW CHAPTERS AND REVISION

Our previous edition of *Western Civilizations* featured significant changes to each of the book’s first five chapters, and

this process of revision has continued in the present edition. In Chapter 1, the challenge of locating and interpreting historical evidence drawn from nontextual sources (archaeological, environmental, anthropological, mythic) is a special focus. Chapter 2 further underscores the degree to which recent archeological discoveries and new historical techniques have revolutionized our understanding of ancient history. Chapter 3 offers expanded coverage of the diverse polities that emerged in ancient Greece, and of Athens’ closely related political, documentary, artistic, and intellectual achievements. Chapter 4’s exploration of the Hellenistic world includes an unusually wide-ranging discussion of the scientific revolution powered by this first cosmopolitan civilization. Chapter 5 emphasizes the ways that the unique values and institutions of the Roman Republic are transformed through imperial expansion under the Principate.

With Chapter 6, more-extensive revision has resulted in some significant reshaping and reorganization in order to reflect recent scholarship. The story of Rome’s transformative encounter with early Christianity has been rewritten to enhance clarity and to emphasize the fundamental ways that Christianity itself changed through both its changing status within the Roman Empire and also its contact with peoples from northwestern Europe. Chapter 7, which examines Rome’s three distinctive successor civilizations, now offers more-extensive coverage of the reign of Justinian and emergence of Islam. Balanced attention to the interlocking histories of Byzantium, the Muslim caliphates, and western Europe has been carried forward in subsequent chapters. Chapter 8 contains an entirely new section, “A Tour of Europe around the Year 1000,” with coverage of the Viking diaspora, the formation of Scandinavian kingdoms and the empire of Cnute, early medieval Rus’ and eastern Europe, and the relationships among Mediterranean microcosms. Chapter 8 also features greatly expanded coverage of economy, trade, and the events leading up to the First Crusade. Chapter 9, which now covers the period 1100–1250, features a new segment on the Crusader States and crusading movements within Europe.

Chapter 10’s treatment of the medieval world between 1250 and 1350 is almost wholly new, reflecting cutting-edge scholarship on this era. It includes a fresh look at the consolidation of the Mongol Khanates, new images and maps, some new sources, and a new *Interpreting Visual Evidence* segment on seals and their users. Chapters 11 and 12 have been thoroughly reorganized and rewritten to ensure that the narrative of medieval Europeans’ colonial ventures (from the western Mediterranean to the eastern Atlantic and Africa, and beyond) is integrated with the story of the Black Death’s effects on the medieval world and

the impetus for the intellectual and artistic innovations of the Renaissance. In previous editions of the book, these concurrent phenomena were treated as separate, as though they took place in three separate periods (the later Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the “Age of Exploration”). This divided treatment made the connections among them almost impossible to explain or appreciate. In this Brief Fourth Edition, therefore, the voyages of Columbus are firmly rooted in their historical contexts while the religious social and cultural upheavals of the Reformation (Chapter 13) are more clearly placed against a backdrop of political and economic competition in Europe and the Americas.

This program of revisions sets the stage for the most significant new chapter in the book: Chapter 14, “Europe in the Atlantic World, 1550–1650.” This chapter, the hinge between the book’s first and second halves, resulted from a close collaboration between us. It is designed to function either as the satisfying culmination of a course that surveys the history of western civilizations up to the middle of the seventeenth century (like that taught by Carol Symes) or to provide a foundation for a course on the history of the modern West (like that taught by Joshua Cole). The chapter illuminates the changing nature of Europe as it became fully integrated into a larger Atlantic World that dramatically and how that integration impacted all of its internal political, social, cultural, and economic development. In addition to greatly enhanced treatment of the transatlantic slave trade and the Columbian Exchange, Chapter 14 also features new sections on the different models of colonial settlement in the Caribbean and the Americas, as well as expanded coverage of the Thirty Years’ War.

The new emphasis on the emergence of the Atlantic World carries over to Chapter 15, which covers the emergence of powerful absolutist regimes on the continent and the evolution of wealthy European trading empires in the Americas, Africa, and Asia. This material has now been reorganized to clarify developments over time, as the early successes of the Spanish Empire are gradually eclipsed by the successes of the Dutch, the French, and the British Empires. A new document on the *streltsy* rebellion, meanwhile, allows students to better understand the contested nature of power under the Russian tsars during the absolutist period. We have retained the emphasis on intellectual and cultural history in Chapter 16, on the Scientific Revolution, and in Chapter 17, on the Enlightenment. In Chapter 16 we have enhanced our treatment of the relationship between Christian faith and the new sciences of observation with a new primary source document by Pierre Gassendi. In Chapter 17, meanwhile, we have sought to set

the Enlightenment more clearly in its social and political context, connecting it more explicitly to the theme of European expansion into the Americas and the Pacific. This helps, for example, in connecting a document like the American Declaration of Independence with the ideas of European Enlightenment thinkers.

Chapters 18 and 19 cover the political and economic revolutions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Chapter 18 covers the French Revolution and the Napoleonic empire in depth, while also drawing attention to the way that these central episodes were rooted in a larger pattern of revolutionary political change that engulfed the Atlantic world. Chapter 19 emphasizes both the economic growth and the technological innovations that were a part of the Industrial Revolution, while also exploring the social and cultural consequences of industrialization for men and women in Europe’s new industrial societies. The ***Interpreting Visual Evidence*** feature in Chapter 19 allows students to explore the ways that industrialization created new perceptions of the global economy in Europe, changing the way people thought of their place in the world.

Chapters 20 and 21 explore the successive struggles between conservative reactionaries and radicals in Europe as the dynamic forces of nationalism unleashed by the French Revolution redrew the map of Europe and threatened the dynastic regimes that had ruled for centuries. Here, however, we have sought to clarify the periodization of the post-Napoleonic decades by focusing Chapter 20 more clearly on the conservative reaction in Europe after 1815, and the ideologies of conservatism, liberalism, republicanism, socialism, and nationalism. By setting the 1848 revolutions entirely in Chapter 21 (rather than splitting them between two chapters, as in previous editions), we’ve helped instructors to demonstrate more easily the connection between these political movements and the history of national unification in Germany and Italy in subsequent decades. While making these changes in the organization of the chapters, we have retained our treatment of the important cultural movements of the first half of the nineteenth century, especially romanticism.

Chapter 22 takes on the history of nineteenth-century colonialism, exploring both its political and economic origins and its consequences for the peoples of Africa and Asia. The chapter gives new emphasis to the significance of colonial conquest for European culture, as colonial power became increasingly associated with national greatness, both in conservative monarchies and in more-democratic regimes. Chapter 23 then brings the narrative back to the heart of Europe, covering the long-term consequences of industrialization and the consolidation of a conservative

form of nationalism in many European nations even as the electorate was being expanded. This chapter emphasizes the varied nature of the new forms of political dissent, from the feminists who claimed the right to vote to the newly organized socialist movements that proved so enduring in many European countries.

Chapters 24 and 25 bring new vividness to the history of the First World War and the intense conflicts of the interwar period, while Chapter 26 uses the history of the Second World War as a hinge for understanding European and global developments in the second half of the twentieth century. The *Interpreting Visual Evidence* feature in Chapter 24 focuses on the role of propaganda among the belligerent nations in 1914–18, and the chapter’s section on the diplomatic crisis that preceded the First World War has been streamlined to allow students to more easily comprehend the essential issues at the heart of the conflict. In Chapter 25 the *Interpreting Visual Evidence* feature continues to explore a theme touched on in earlier chapters—political representations of “the people”—this time in the context of fascist spectacles in Germany and Italy in the 1930s. These visual sources help students to understand the vulnerability of Europe’s democratic regimes during these years as they faced the dual assault from fascists on the right and Bolsheviks on the left.

Chapters 27–29 bring the volume to a close in a thorough exploration of the Cold War, decolonization, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc in 1989–1991, and the roots of the multifaceted global conflicts that beset the world in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Chapter 27 juxtaposes the Cold War with decolonization, showing how this combination sharply diminished the ability of European nations to control events in the international arena, even as they succeeded in rebuilding their economies at home. Chapter 28 explores the vibrancy of European culture in the crucial period of the 1960s to the early 1990s, bringing new attention to the significance of 1989 as a turning point in European history. Finally, extensive revisions to Chapter 29 add to the issues covered in our treatment of Europe’s place in the contemporary globalized world. The chapter now includes a new section on efforts to deal with climate change, as well as expanded discussion of both the impact of global terrorism and recent developments in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The discussion on the financial crisis of 2008 and the presidency of Barack Obama has been brought up to date and two new sections have been added to allow students to think about the Arab Spring of 2011 and the European debt crisis of recent years in connection with the broader history of European democracy, nation building, and colonialism in the modern period.

Media Resources for Instructors and Students

History becomes an immersive experience for students using Norton's digital resources with the Brief Fourth Edition of *Western Civilizations*. The comprehensive ancillary package features a groundbreaking new formative adaptive system as well as innovative interactive resources, including maps and primary sources, to help students master the core objectives in each chapter and continue to strengthen the skills they need to do the work of historians. Norton is unique in partnering exclusively with subject-matter experts who teach the course to author these resources. As a result, instructors have all of the course materials they need to successfully manage their Western Civilization course, whether they are teaching face-to-face, online, or in a hybrid setting.

INSTRUCTOR RESOURCES

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actual passages from the textbook, and sample feedback is provided to model responses.

- **New! StoryMaps:** These presentations break complex maps into a sequence of four or five annotated screens that focus on the *story* behind the *geography*. The ten StoryMaps include such topics as the Silk Road, the spread of the Black Death, and nineteenth-century imperialism.
- **Interactive iMaps:** These interactive tools challenge students to better understand the nature of change over time by allowing them to explore the different layers of the maps from the book. Follow-up map worksheets help build geography skills by allowing students to test their knowledge by labeling.
- **Review Quizzes:** Multiple-choice, true/false, and chronological-sequence questions allow students to test their knowledge of the chapter content and identify where they need to focus their attention to better understand difficult concepts.
- **Primary Sources:** Over 400 primary source documents and images

Instructor's Manual

The Instructor's Manual for *Western Civilizations*, Brief Fourth Edition, is designed to help instructors prepare lectures and exams. The Instructor's Manual contains detailed chapter outlines, general discussion questions, document discussion questions, lecture objectives, interdisciplinary discussion topics, and recommended reading and film lists. This edition has been revised to include sample answers to all of the student-facing comprehension questions in the text.

Test Bank


The Test Bank contains over 2,000 multiple-choice, true/false, and essay questions. This edition of the Test Bank has been completely revised for content and accuracy. All

test questions are now aligned with Bloom's Taxonomy for greater ease of assessment.

Lecture PowerPoint Slides

These ready-made presentations provide comprehensive outlines of each chapter, as well as discussion prompts to encourage student comprehension and engagement.

STUDENT RESOURCES

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New! Student Site

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Free and open to all students, Norton Student Site includes additional resources and tools to ensure they come to class prepared and ready to actively participate in discussions and activities.

- **Office Hour Videos:** These segments feature the authors speaking for 90 seconds on the Core Objectives of each chapter. There are nearly 100 of these new video segments.
- **Western Civilizations Tours powered by Google Earth:** This new feature traces historical developments across time, touching down on locations that launch images and primary source documents
- **iMaps:** Interactive maps challenge students to explore change over time by navigating the different layers of the maps from the book. Practice worksheets help students build their geography skills by labeling the locations.
- **Online Reader:** The online reader offers a diverse collection of primary source readings for use in assignments and activities.

Acknowledgments

Our first edition as members of the *Western Civilizations* authorial team was challenging and rewarding. Our second edition has been equally rewarding in that we have been able to implement a number of useful and engaging changes in the content and structure of the book, which we hope will make it even more student- and classroom-friendly. We are very grateful for the expert assistance and support of the Norton team, especially that of our editor, Jon Durbin. Christine D'Antonio, our fabulous project editor, has driven the book beautifully through the manuscript process. Travis Carr has provided good critiques of the illustrations in addition to all the other parts of the project he has handled so skillfully. Laura Wilk, our amazing new emedia editor, has assembled a great team to successfully deliver InQuizitive and all the carefully crafted new elements in the Norton Coursepack. Andy Ensor has masterfully marched us through the production process. Michael Fleming and Bob Byrne were terrific in skillfully guiding the manuscript through the copyediting and proofreading stages. Finally, we want to thank Sarah England for spearheading the marketing campaign for the new Brief Fourth Edition. We are also indebted to the numerous expert readers who commented on various chapters and who thereby strengthened the book as a whole. We are thankful to our families for their patience and advice, and to our students, whose questions and comments over the years have been essential to the framing of this book. And we extend a special thanks to, and we hope to hear from, all the teachers and students we may never meet—their engagement with this book will frame new understandings of our shared past and its bearing on our future.

REVIEWERS

Brief Third Edition Consultants

Paul Freedman, Yale University
Sheryl Kroen, University of Florida
Michael Kulikowski, Pennsylvania State University

Harry Liebersohn, University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign
Helmut Smith, Vanderbilt University

Brief Third Edition Reviewers

Donna Allen, Glendale Community College
Marjon Ames, Appalachian State University
Eirlys Barker, Thomas Nelson Community College
Matthew Barlow, John Abbot College
Ken Bartlett, University of Toronto
Volker Benkert, Arizona State University
Dean Bennett, Schenectady City Community College
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Neil Brooks, Community College of Baltimore County,
Essex
James Brophy, University of Delaware
Kevin Caldwell, Blue Ridge Community College
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Alex D'erizans, Borough of Manhattan Community
College, CUNY
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Karin Enloe, Arizona State University
Kirk Ford, Mississippi College
Michael Gattis, Gulf Coast Community College
David M. Gallo, College of Mount Saint Vincent
Jamie Gruring, Arizona State University
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Bernard Hagerty, University of Pittsburg
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Paul Hughes, Sussex County Community College
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Llana Krug, York College of Pennsylvania
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Charles Levine, Mesa Community College
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Steven Marks, Clemson University
James Martin, Campbell University
Michael Mckeown, Daytona State University
Dan Puckett, Troy State University
Dan Robinson, Troy State University
Craig Saucier, Southeastern Louisiana University
Aletia Seaborn, Southern Union State College
Nicholas Steneck, Florida Southern College
Victoria Thompson, Arizona State University
Donna Trembinski, St. Francis Xavier University
Pamela West, Jefferson State Community College
Scott White, Scottsdale Community College
Aaron Wilson, Creighton University
Julianna Wilson, Pima Community College

Brief Fourth Edition Reviewers

Matthew Barlow, John Abbott College
Ken Bartlett, University of Toronto
Bob Brennan, Cape Fear Community College
Jim Brophy, University of Delaware
Keith Chu, Bergen Community College

Geoffrey Clark, SUNY Potsdam
Bill Donovan, Loyola University Maryland
Jeff Ewen, Sussex County Community College
Peter Goddard, University of Guelph
Paul Hughes, Sussex County Community College
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James Martin, Campbell University
Derrick McKisick, Fairfield University
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Major Ben Richards, US Military Academy
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Kimlisa Salazar, Pima Community College
Sara Scalenghe, Loyola University Maryland
Suzanne Smith, Cape Fear Community College
Bobbi Sutherland, Dordt College
David Tengwall, Anne Arundel Community College
Pam West, Jefferson State Community College
Julianna Wilson, Pima Community College
Margarita Youngo, Pima Community College

Western Civilizations

Their History & Their Culture



Before
You
Read
This
Chapter

STORY LINES

- Historians gather and interpret evidence from a diverse array of sources, many of them environmental, visual, and archaeological.
- All civilizations emerge as the result of complex historical processes specific to a time and place, yet all share certain defining features.
- Prominent individuals can come to power through the use of force, but maintaining power requires legitimacy.
- Those wielding power in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt responded in different ways to the challenge of establishing legitimacy.

CHRONOLOGY

11,000 B.C.E.	Neolithic Revolution begins
7500–5700 B.C.E.	Çatalhöyük flourishes
6500–3000 B.C.E.	Jericho flourishes
4300–2900 B.C.E.	The rise of Uruk in Sumer
c. 3200 B.C.E.	Development of writing
c. 3100 B.C.E.	King Narmer unites Upper and Lower Egypt
2900–2500 B.C.E.	Early Dynastic Period in Sumer
c. 2700 B.C.E.	Reign of Gilgamesh
c. 2686–2160 B.C.E.	Old Kingdom of Egypt
c. 2650 B.C.E.	Imhotep engineers the Step Pyramid for King Djoser
c. 2350 B.C.E.	Sargon of Akkad consolidates power in Sumer
2160–2055 B.C.E.	First Intermediate Period in Egypt
2100–2000 B.C.E.	Ziggurat of Ur constructed
2055–c. 1650 B.C.E.	Middle Kingdom of Egypt
c. 1792–1750 B.C.E.	Reign of Hammurabi



Early Civilizations

CORE OBJECTIVES

- **UNDERSTAND** the challenges involved in studying the distant past.
- **DEFINE** the key characteristics of civilization.
- **IDENTIFY** the factors that shaped the earliest cities.
- **EXPLAIN** how Hammurabi's empire was governed.
- **DESCRIBE** the main differences between Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilizations.

There was a time, the story goes, when all the peoples of the earth shared a common language and could accomplish great things. They developed new technologies, made bricks, and aspired to build a fortified city with a tower reaching to the sky. But their god was troubled by this, so he destroyed their civilization by making it hard for them to understand one another's speech.

We know this as the legend of Babel. It's a story that probably circulated among peoples of the ancient world for thousands of years before it became part of the Hebrew book we call by its Greek name, Genesis, "the beginning." This story lets us glimpse some of the conditions in which the first civilizations arose, and it also reminds us of the ruptures that make studying them hard. We no longer speak the same languages as those ancient peoples, just as we no longer have direct access to their experiences or their beliefs.

Such foundational stories are usually called *myths*, but they are really an early form of history. For the people who told them, these stories helped to make sense of the present by explaining the past. The fate of Babel conveyed a crucial

message: human beings are powerful when they share a common goal, and what enables human interaction is civilization. To the peoples of the ancient world, the characteristic benefits of civilization—stability and safety, government, art, literature, science—were always products of city life. The very word “civilization” derives from the Latin word *civis*, “city.” Cities, however, became possible only as a result of innovations that began around the end of the last Ice Age, about 13,000 years ago, and that came to fruition in Mesopotamia 8,000 years later. The history of civilization is therefore a short one. Within the study of humanity, which reaches back to the genus *Homo* in Africa, some 1.7 million years ago, it is merely a blip on the radar screen. Even within the history of *Homo sapiens sapiens*, the species to which we belong and which evolved about 50,000 years ago, civilization is a very recent development.

The study of early civilizations is both fascinating and challenging. Historians still do not understand why cities developed in the region between the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers, in what is now Iraq. Once developed, however, the basic patterns of urban life quickly spread to other parts of the ancient world, both by imitation and by conquest. A network of trading connections linked these early cities, but intense competition for resources made alliances among them fragile. Then, around the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. (that is, “Before the Common Era,” equivalent to the Christian dating system B.C., “Before Christ”), emerging powers began to shape some fiercely independent cities into empires. How this happened—and how we know that it happened—is the subject of Chapter 1.

BEFORE CIVILIZATION

More than 9,000 years ago, a town began to develop at Çatalhöyük (*CHUH-tal-hih-yik*) in what is now south-central Turkey. Over the next 2,000 years, it grew to cover an area of thirty-three acres, within which some 8,000 inhabitants lived in more than 2,000 separate houses. If this seems small, consider that Çatalhöyük’s population density was actually twice that of today’s most populous city, Mumbai (in India). It was so tightly packed that there were hardly any streets. Instead, each house was built immediately next to its neighbor, and generally on top of a previous house.

The people of Çatalhöyük developed a highly organized and advanced society. They wove wool cloth; they

made kiln-fired pottery; they painted elaborate hunting scenes on the plaster-covered walls of their houses; they made weapons and tools from razor-sharp obsidian imported from the nearby Cappadocian mountains. They honored their ancestors with religious rites and buried their dead beneath the floors of their houses. Settled agriculturalists, they grew grains, peas, and lentils and tended herds of domesticated sheep and goats. But they also hunted and gathered fruits and nuts, like their nomadic ancestors, and their society was egalitarian, another feature common to nomadic societies: both men and women did the same kinds of work. But despite their relatively diverse and abundant food supply, their life spans were very short. Men died, on average, at the age of thirty-four. Women, who bore the additional risks of childbirth, died at around age thirty.

The basic features of life in Çatalhöyük are common to all subsequent human civilizations. But how, when, and why did such settlements emerge? And how do we have access to information about this distant past? The era before the appearance of written records, which begin to proliferate around 3100 B.C.E., is of far greater duration than the subsequent eras we are able to document—and no less important. But it requires special ingenuity to identify, collect, and interpret the evidence of the distant past. In fact, historians have just begun to explore the ways that climatology, neuroscience, evolutionary biology, and genetics can further illuminate this period, augmenting the older findings of paleontology, archaeology, and historical anthropology.

Societies of the Stone Age

Primates with human characteristics originated in Africa 4 to 5 million years ago, and tool-making hominids—species belonging to the genus *Homo*, our distant ancestors—evolved approximately 2 million years ago. Because these early hominids made most of their tools out of stone, they are designated as belonging to the Stone Age. This vast expanse of time is divided into the Paleolithic (“Old Stone”) and the Neolithic (“New Stone”) Eras, with the break between them falling around 11,000 B.C.E.

As early as 164,000 years ago, hominids in Africa were kindling and controlling fire and using it to make tools. The Neanderthals, a hominid species that flourished about 200,000 years ago, made jewelry, painted on the walls of caves, and buried their dead in distinctive graves with meaningful objects such as horns (blown to make music)



CAVE PAINTINGS FROM LASCAUX. These paintings, which date to between 10,000 and 15,000 B.C.E., show several of the different species of animals that were hunted by people of the Ice Age. The largest animal depicted here, a species of long-horned cattle known as the *auroch*, is now extinct.

and, in one case, flowers. Could these hominids speak? Did they have a language? At present, there is no way that we can answer such questions.

However, archaeology has shown that in the last phase of the Paleolithic Era, around 40,000 B.C.E., the pace of human development began to accelerate dramatically. Human populations in Africa expanded, suggesting that people were better nourished, perhaps as a result of new technologies. In Europe, *Homo sapiens* began to produce finely crafted and more-effective tools such as fishhooks, arrowheads, and sewing needles made from wood, antler, and bone. The most astonishing evidence of this change was produced by these new tools: cave paintings like those at Lascaux and Chauvet (in France). These amazing scenes were purposefully painted in recesses where acoustic resonance is greatest, and were probably intended to be experienced as part of multimedia musical ceremonies. This is almost certain evidence for the development of language.

Despite these changes, the patterns of human life altered very little. Virtually all human societies consisted of bands of a few dozen people who moved incessantly in search of food. As a result, these groups left no continuous archaeological record. Their lifestyle also had social, economic, and political limitations which help to explain the differences—both positive and negative—between these subsistence societies and those that can be called “civilizations.” Early humans had no domestic animals to transport goods, so they could have no significant material possessions aside from basic tools. And because they could not accumulate goods over time, the distinctions of rank and status created by disparities in wealth could not develop.

Hierarchical structures were therefore uncommon. When conflicts arose or resources became scarce, the solution was probably to divide and separate. And although scholars once assumed that men did the hunting and women the gathering, it is more likely that all members of a band (except for the very young and very old) engaged in the basic activity of acquiring food.

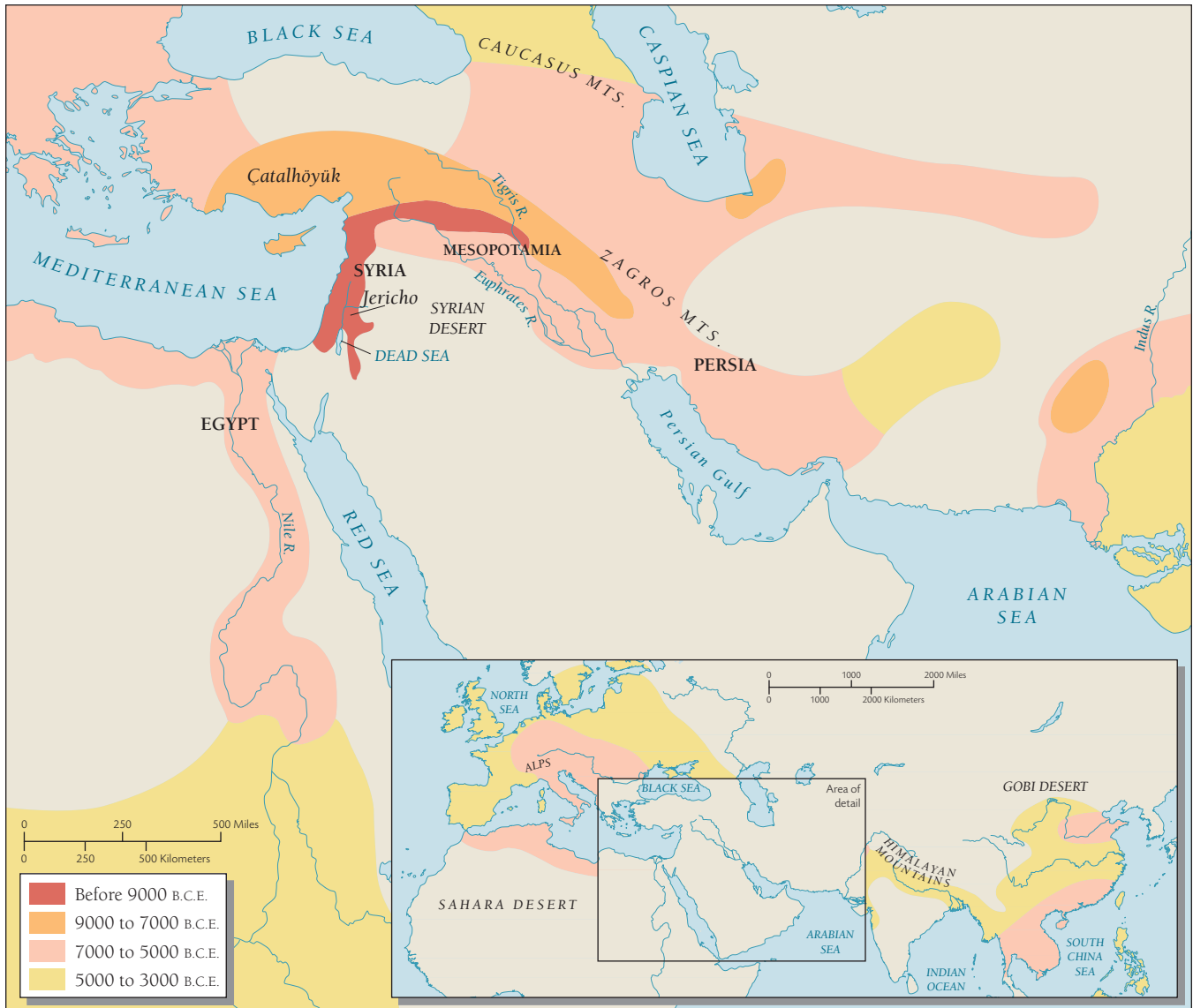
THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF CIVILIZATION

What changes allowed some hunter-gatherer societies to settle and build civilizations? The historical divide between the Paleolithic and Neolithic Ages, around 11,000 B.C.E., reflects very evident developments brought about by changes in the climate, which led to the development of managed food production, which in turn fostered settlements that could trade with one another, both locally and over long distances. For the first time, it became possible for individuals and communities to accumulate and store wealth on a large scale. The results were far-reaching. Communities became more stable, and human interactions more complex. Specialization developed, along with distinctions of status and rank. Both the rapidity and the radical implications of these changes have given this era its name: the Neolithic Revolution.

The Neolithic Revolution

The artists who executed the cave paintings at Lascaux and Chauvet were able to survive in harsh climatic conditions. Between 40,000 and 11,000 B.C.E., daytime temperatures in the Mediterranean basin averaged about 60° F (16° C) in the summer and about 30° F (–1° C) in the winter. These are very low compared to today’s temperatures in the city of Marseilles, not far from Lascaux, which average about 86° F (30° C) in summer and 52° F (11° C) in winter. This means that cold-loving reindeer, elk, wild boar, bison, and mountain goats abounded in regions now famous for their beaches and vineyards. But as the glaciers receded northward with the warming climate, these species retreated with them, all the way to Scandinavia. Some humans moved north with the game, but others stayed behind to create a very different world.

Within a few thousand years after the end of the Ice Age, peoples living in the eastern Mediterranean and



THE GROWTH OF AGRICULTURE. Examine the chronology of agriculture's development in this region. ■ *What areas began cultivating crops first, and why?* ■ *How might rivers have played a crucial role in the spread of farming technologies?*

some other regions of the world accomplished the most momentous transformation in human history: a switch from food-gathering for subsistence to food production. The warmer, wetter climate allowed wild grains to flourish, geometrically increasing the food supply. People began to domesticate animals and cultivate plants. Stable settlements grew into cities. This process took several thousand years, but it still deserves to be called “revolutionary.” In a relatively short time, people altered patterns of existence that were millions of years old.

This revolution produced new challenges and inequalities. For example, well-nourished women in sedentary

communities can bear more children than women in hunter-gatherer groups, and so the women of this era became increasingly sequestered from their male counterparts, who in turn gave up an equal role in child care. The rapid increase in population was also countered by the rapid spread of infectious diseases, while dependence on carbohydrates resulted in earlier deaths than were typical among hunter-gatherers.

Eventually, increased fertility and birthrates outweighed these limiting factors, and by about 8000 B.C.E. human populations were beginning to exceed the wild food supply. They therefore had to

increase the food-growing capacity of the land and devise ways of preserving and storing grain between harvests. Some peoples had learned how to preserve wild grain in storage pits as early as 11,500 B.C.E., and they discovered that they could use this seed to produce even more grain the following year. The importance of the latter discovery cannot be overstated: deliberate cultivation could support larger populations and could also compensate for disasters (such as flooding) that might inhibit natural reseeding. Even more important, intensified seeding and storage provided humans with the stable and predictable surpluses needed to support domestic animals. This brought a host of additional benefits, guaranteeing a more reliable supply of meat, milk, leather, wool, bone, and horn, and also providing animal power to pull carts and plows and to power mills.

The Emergence of Towns and Villages

The accelerating changes of the Neolithic Revolution are exemplified by towns like Çatalhöyük and by the simultaneous rise of trade and warfare—sure signs of increased specialization and competition. Hundreds, and probably thousands, of settlements grew up in western Asia (the “Near East”) between 7500 and 3500 B.C.E. Some of these can be classified as cities: centers of administration and commerce with a large and diverse population, often protected by walls. Among the earliest of these was Jericho, in the territory lying between modern Israel and Jordan. Jericho emerged as a seasonal grain-producing settlement, and by 6800 B.C.E. its inhabitants were undertaking a spectacular building program. Many new dwellings were built on stone foundations, and a massive dressed stone wall was constructed around the western edge of the settlement. It included a circular tower whose excavated remains still reach to a height of thirty feet, a powerful expression of its builders’ wealth, technical prowess, and political ambitions.

Jericho covered at least eight acres and supported 3,000 people, so it was even more densely settled than Çatalhöyük. It was sustained by intensive cultivation, made possible by irrigation, of recently domesticated strains of wheat and barley. Jericho’s inhabitants also produced some of the earliest-known pottery, which allowed them to store grain, wine, and oils more effectively. Pottery’s most important benefits, however, were in cooking. For the first time, it was possible to produce

nourishing stews, porridges, and ales. (The capacity to produce beer is a sure sign of civilization.) Pottery production was not only vital to ancient civilizations, it is vital to those who study them. As the techniques for making pottery spread throughout the Near East and Asia, identifiable regional styles also developed. By studying the different varieties, archaeologists can construct a reasonably accurate chronology and can also trace the movements of goods and people.

Jericho and Çatalhöyük illustrate the impact that stored agricultural surpluses have on human relations. For the first time, significant differences began to arise in the amount of wealth individuals could stockpile for themselves and their heirs. Dependence on agriculture also made it more difficult for individuals to split off from the community when disputes and inequities arose. The result was the construction of a much more stratified society, with more opportunities for a few powerful people to become dominant. The new reliance on agriculture also meant a new dependence on the land, the seasons, and the weather, which in turn led to new speculations about the supernatural. Different life forces were believed to require special services and gifts, and the regular practice of ritual and sacrifice ultimately produced a priestly caste of individuals or families who seemed able to communicate with these forces. Such spiritual leadership was allied to more worldly forms of power, including the capacity to lead war bands, to exact tribute from other settlements, to construct defenses, and to resolve disputes.

Trade was another important element in the development of early settlements. Local trading networks were already established around 9000 B.C.E., and by 5000 B.C.E., long-distance routes linked settlements throughout the region. Long-distance trade accelerated the exchange of ideas and information within the Fertile Crescent, and it further increased social stratification. Because status was enhanced by access to exotic goods from afar, local elites sought to monopolize trade by organizing and controlling the production of commodities within their own communities and by regulating their export. Certain people could now devote at least a portion of their labor to pursuits other than agriculture: making pottery or cloth, manufacturing weapons or tools, building houses and fortifications, or facilitating trade. Thus the elites who fostered and exploited the labor of others eventually became specialized themselves, with the leisure and resources to engage in intellectual, artistic, and political pursuits. The building blocks of civilization had been laid.



THE WHITE TEMPLE AT URUK, c. 3400 B.C.E. This temple may have been dedicated to the sky god, An, or designed to provide all the region's gods with a mountaintop home in a part of the world known for its level plains.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN MESOPOTAMIA

The Greeks called it Mesopotamia, the “Land between Rivers.” It was a land that received only about eight inches (20 cm) of rainfall per year. Its soils are sandy, and summer temperatures exceed 110° F (44° C). The two rivers supplying water—the Tigris and Euphrates—are noted for their violence and unpredictability. Both are prone to flooding, and the Tigris was liable to change its course from year to year. It was in this challenging environment that the urban society of Sumer flourished.

Early Ubaid Settlements

The earliest cities of Mesopotamia were founded by the Ubaid peoples, so called because of their settlement at al-Ubaid (now in Iraq), which dates to around 5900 B.C.E. In this era, the headwaters of the Persian Gulf extended at least 100 miles farther inland than they do today, so some Ubaid settlements bordered on fertile marshlands, which enabled them to develop irrigation systems. Although these began as relatively simple channels and collection pools, Ubaid farmers quickly learned to build more sophisticated canals and to line some pools with stone. They also constructed dikes and levees to control the seasonal flooding of the rivers and to direct the excess

water into irrigation canals. Despite the hostility of the environment, Ubaid communities were soon producing surpluses sufficient to support specialists in construction, weaving, pottery, metalwork, and trade: the typical attributes of Neolithic village life.

Yet there is also early evidence of something quite new: central structures that served religious, economic, and administrative functions, something not found in Çatalhöyük. Starting out as shrines, these structures soon became impressive temples built of dried mud brick, like the bricks described in the story of Babel—and unlike the plentiful stone used at Jericho (the scarcity of stone meant that builders in this region had to be more resourceful). Each large settlement had such a temple, from

which a priestly class acted as managers of the community's stored wealth and of the complex irrigation systems that would make the civilization of Sumer possible.

Urbanism in Uruk, 4300–2900 B.C.E.

After about 4300 B.C.E., Ubaid settlements developed into larger, more prosperous, and more highly organized communities. The most famous of these sites, Uruk, became the first Sumerian city-state. Its sophistication and scale is exemplified by the White Temple, built between 3500 and 3300 B.C.E. Its massive sloping platform looms nearly forty feet above the surrounding flatlands, and its four corners are oriented toward the cardinal points of the compass. Atop the platform stands the temple proper, dressed in brick and originally painted a brilliant white.

Such temples were eventually constructed in every Sumerian city, reflecting the central role that worship played in civic life. Uruk in particular seems to have owed its rapid growth to its importance as a religious center. By 3100 B.C.E. it encompassed several hundred acres, enclosing a population of 40,000 people within its massive brick walls. The larger villages of Sumer were also growing rapidly, attracting immigrants just as the great cities did. Grain and cloth production grew tenfold. Trade routes expanded dramatically. And to manage this increasingly complex economy, the Sumerians invented the technology on which most historians now rely: writing.



CUNEIFORM WRITING. The image on the left shows a Sumerian clay tablet from about 3000 B.C.E. Here, standardized pictures are beginning to represent abstractions: notice the symbol *ninda* (food) near the top. On the right, carvings on limestone from about 2600 B.C.E. reveal the evolution of cuneiform. ■ *Why would such standardized pictograms have been easier to reproduce quickly?*

The Development of Writing

In 4000 B.C.E., the peoples of Sumer were already using clay tokens to keep inventories. Within a few centuries, they developed a practice of placing tokens inside hollow clay balls and inscribing, on the outside of each ball, the shapes of all the tokens it contained. By 3300 B.C.E., scribes had replaced these balls with flat clay tablets on which they inscribed symbols representing the tokens. These tablets made keeping the tokens themselves unnecessary, and they could also be archived for future reference or sent to other settlements as receipts or requests for goods.

Writing thus evolved as a practical recording technology to support economic pursuits. Because it existed to represent real things, its system of symbols—called *pictograms*—was also realistic: each pictogram resembled the thing it represented. Over time, however, a pictogram might be used not only to symbolize a physical object but to evoke an idea associated with that object. For example, the symbol for a bowl of food, *ninda*, might be used to express something more abstract, such as “nourishment.” Pictograms also came to be associated with particular spoken sounds, or *phonemes*. Thus when a Sumerian scribe needed to employ the sound *ninda*, even as part of another word, he would use the symbol for a bowl of food to represent that phoneme. Later, special marks were added so that a reader could tell whether the writer meant it to represent the object itself, a larger concept, or a sound used in a context that might have nothing to do with food.

By 3100 B.C.E., Sumerian scribes also developed a specialized tool suited to the task of writing, a stylus made

of reed. Because this stylus leaves an impression shaped like a wedge (in Latin, *cuneus*), this script is called *cuneiform* (*kyoo-NAY-i-form*). Cuneiform symbols could now be impressed more quickly into clay. And because the new stylus was not suited to drawing pictograms that accurately represented things, the symbols became even more abstract. Meanwhile, symbols were invented for every possible phonetic combination in the Sumerian language, reducing the number of necessary pictograms from about 1,200 to 600. Whereas the earliest pictograms could have been written and read by anyone, writing and reading now became specialized, powerful skills accessible only to a small and influential minority who were taught in special scribal schools.

THE CULTURE OF SUMER

The great centers of Sumerian civilization shared a common culture and a common language. They also shared a set of beliefs. However, this common religion did not produce peace. The residents of each city considered themselves to be the servants of a particular god, whom they sought to glorify by exalting their own city above others. The result was intense competition that frequently escalated into warfare. There was also an economic dimension to this conflict, since water rights and access to arable land and trade routes were often at stake.

Much of the economic production of a city passed through the great temple warehouses, where priests