


From Human Prehistory to the Early Civilizations

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

What are some of the main characteristics of the human state?

What are the main differences between the agricultural and a hunting and gathering economy?

How did agriculture encourage technological change?

Why are nomadic societies important in world history?

One day about 10,000 years ago, in a rock shelter near the Pecos River, an early human inhabitant of what is today West Texas inserted the bloom stalk of a yucca plant into one of several holes worn into a fire-starting stick and, holding the stalk upright, twirled it between her hands, as depicted in the artist's recreation on this page. After much effort on the part of the young woman, as shown here, the friction between the spinning stalk and the stick produced wisps of smoke, then sparks, then glowing embers. The woman used the embers to set fire to a small pile of dried yucca leaves that she had gathered nearby. Yucca leaves have thin tendrils that, when dry, catch fire readily. Carefully tended, the leaves could be used to kindle a steady fire that provided not only warmth, but the means for cooking a meal. And, importantly, stalks, fire-sticks, and leaves could easily be carried by migratory groups of early humans.



Read the Document on MyHistoryLab: A Visitor from the Neolithic



FIGURE 1.1 Crouching against a rock shelter the first sparks from a Neolithic woman spins a dried yucca stalk against a much-used fire-starter to generate heat that will kindle a fire on the dried plant material she has placed under the fire-starting stick.

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Several yucca-based fire-starter kits, some including bows used in the place of hands to turn the yucca stalk, have been found across the American Southwest. These Neolithic (New Stone Age) kits send us a number of messages about early world history. Most obviously, early men and women were tool users. They not only deliberately selected branches, stones, and other natural objects from the environment, they crafted them into weapons, utensils, and tools that could be used to ward off animal and human enemies, hunt, trap, fish, prepare food, and construct shelters. This capacity to fashion tools distinguishes human beings from all other animals. Although a number of other animals, including apes, are tool users, only human beings construct their tools. By this time, humans had known how to make and use fire for thousands of years—another discovery unique to humans. The use of fire for cooking allowed early humans to eat a wider variety of foods, particularly animal protein.

The toolmakers of the American Southwest lived far from eastern Africa, where human beings first evolved. Just decades ago, it was believed that the first humans migrated from northeast Asia into what is now Alaska only 12,000 years ago. Vastly improved archeological techniques have recently revealed that the crossing had been made at least as early as 25,000 B.C.E. and that the migrants spread out quickly, probably traveling both overland and by boat along the Pacific Coast, from Alaska to Chile.

Finally, we know our early ancestors could talk. Human beings had developed what some call the “speech gene” about 70,000 years earlier, vastly improving the species’ capacity to communicate, beyond the sounds and gestures common to a number of animal groups. Neolithic humans were what we sometimes call “primitive,” but they had already experienced a number of fundamental changes and, in some places, they were poised to introduce some more. ■

The creation of fire-starters and other tools, including weapons, proved critical to the survival of early humans and to the development of ever-larger communities and eventually whole societies. In the chapter that follows we will trace the successive stages of the early material and social development of the human species. We will explore the technological and organizational innovations that made it possible for what became the great majority of humans to move from tiny bands of wandering hunters and gatherers to sedentary village dwellers and then the builders of walled cities with populations in the thousands. More than any other factor, these transformations were made possible by the development of agriculture that increased and made more secure the supply of food by which more and more humans could be sustained.

The domestication of animals and the shift to agriculture was accompanied by major changes in the roles and relationships between men and women and patterns of childrearing. They also led to increasing social stratification, new forms of political organization, increasingly elaborate means of artistic expression, and more lethal ways of waging war. During these millennia of transition, farming communities occupied only small pockets of the earth’s land area and only rarely ventured out on the sea or large rivers. Pastoral peoples who depended on herds of domesticated animals for their livelihood occupied a far greater share of the space where there was a human presence. An uneasy balance between the peoples who followed these two main adaptations to the diverse ecosystems in which humans proved able to survive was a dominant feature of the history of the species and the planet until five or six centuries.

Late Paleolithic	Transition Phase	Neolithic Age		Metal Age	
15,000 B.C.E.	10,000 B.C.E.	8000 B.C.E.	6000 B.C.E.	4000 B.C.E.	2000 B.C.E.
18,000–100,000 Central Russian mammoth bone settlements 15,000–12,000 Domestication of dogs 10,500–8000 Natufian settlements	8500 Domestication of sheep 8500–5000 Development of farming in the Middle East	7500–6500 Domestication of pigs, goats, cattle 7000 Full-fledged town at Jericho 6250–5400 Çatal Hüyük at its peak	5600 Beans domesticated 5000–2000 Yangshao culture in north China 5000 Domestication of maize (corn)	4000–3000 Age of innovation in the Middle East: introduction of writing, metalworking, wheel, plow 3500 Llama domesticated 3500–2350 Civilization of Sumer c. 3100 Rise of Egyptian civilization 2500–1500 Indus valley civilization in south Asia	2000 Kotosh culture in Peru c. 1766 Emergence of Shang kingdom in China 1700–1300 Rise of village culture in Mesoamerica 1000–500 Olmec civilization in Mesoamerica 400 Potatoes domesticated

GETTING STARTED IS ALWAYS HARD

1.1 What are some of the main characteristics of the human species?

The human species developed some distinctive characteristics, and some drawbacks.

The human species has accomplished a great deal in a relatively short period of time. There are significant disagreements over how long an essentially human species, as distinct from other primates, has existed. However, a figure of about 2.5 million years seems acceptable. This is approximately 1/4000 of the time the earth has existed. If one thinks of the whole history of the earth to date as a 24-hour day, the human species began at about 5 minutes until midnight. Human beings have existed for less than 5 percent of the time mammals of any sort have lived. Yet in this brief span of time—by earth-history standards—humankind has spread to every landmass (with the exception of the polar regions) and, for better or worse, has taken control of the destinies of countless other species.

To be sure, human beings have some drawbacks as a species, compared to other existing models. They are unusually aggressive against their own kind: While some of the great apes, notably chimpanzees, engage in periodic wars, these conflicts can hardly rival human violence. Human babies are dependent for a long period, which requires some special family or childcare arrangements and often has limited the activities of many adult women. Certain ailments, such as back problems resulting from an upright stature, also burden the species. And, the distinctive human awareness of the inevitability of death imparts some unique fears and tensions.

Distinctive features of the human species account for considerable achievement as well. Like other primates, but unlike most other mammals, human beings can manipulate objects fairly readily because of the grip provided by an opposable thumb on each hand. Compared to other primates, human beings have a relatively high and regular sexual drive, which aids reproduction; being omnivores, they are not dependent exclusively on plants or on animals for food, which helps explain why they can live in so many different climates and settings; the unusual variety of their facial expressions aids communication and enhances social life. The distinctive human brain and a facility for elaborate speech are even more important: much of human history depends on the knowledge, inventions, and social contracts that resulted from these assets.

Although the rise of humankind has been impressively rapid, its early stages can also be viewed as painfully long and slow. Most of the 2 million plus years during which our species has existed are described by the term **Paleolithic**, or **Old Stone Age**. Throughout this long time span, which runs until about 14,000 years ago, human beings learned only simple tool use, mainly through employing suitably shaped rocks and sticks for hunting and warfare. Fire was tamed about 750,000 years ago. The nature of the species also gradually changed during the Paleolithic, with emphasis on more erect stature and growing brain capacity. Archeological evidence also indicates some increases in average size.

Paleolithic Age The Old Stone Age ending in 12,000 B.C.E.; typified by use of crude stone tools and hunting and gathering for subsistence.

Homo sapiens sapiens The humanoid species that emerged as most successful at the end of the Paleolithic period.

A less apelike species, whose larger brain and erect stance allowed better tool use, emerged between 500,000 and 750,000 years ago; it is called, appropriately enough, *Homo erectus*. Several species of *Homo erectus* developed and spread in Africa, then to Asia and Europe, reaching a population size of perhaps 1.5 million 100,000 years ago.

Considerable evidence suggests that more advanced types of humans killed off or displaced many competitors over time. Inter-marriage also occurred. And even *Homo sapiens sapiens* coexisted with other human species in several regions for considerable periods, as recent archeological and genetic evidence suggests. Ultimately, however, the single species predominated throughout the world, rather than a number of rather similar human species, as among monkeys and apes. The newest human breed, *Homo sapiens sapiens*, of which all humans in the world today are descendants, originated about 120,000 years ago, also in Africa. The success of this subspecies means that there have been no major changes in the basic human physique or brain size since its advent.

Part of human evolution in this decisive later phase involved a probably modest genetic modification in the brain that allowed much more elaborate patterns of speech. A number of animals and birds have some power of speech, in terms of varied sounds that communicate. But with the advent of this “language gene,” people became capable of a much wider variety of sounds. From this, it was possible to invent languages. Scientists have wondered what the first people who had this gene must have thought, surrounded by other people who were still confined to a series of grunts plus elaborate facial expressions.

Hunting-and-gathering economies dominated human history until 9000 B.C.E. These economies helped propel migration over most of the lands on earth.



Read the Document on MyHistoryLab: Marshall Sahlins, “The Original Affluent Society”

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE

1.2

What were the most significant human achievements before the rise of agriculture and what were the patterns of early human migration?

Even after the appearance of *Homo sapiens sapiens*, human life faced important constraints. People who hunted food and gathered nuts and berries could not support large numbers or elaborate societies. Most hunting groups were small, and they had to roam widely for food. Two people required at least one square mile for survival. Population growth was slow, partly because women breast-fed infants for several years to limit their own fertility. On the other hand, people did not have to work very hard—hunting took about seven hours every three days on average. Women, who gathered fruits and vegetables, worked harder, but there was significant equality between the sexes based on common economic contributions.

Paleolithic people gradually improved their tool use, beginning with the crude shaping of stone and wooden implements. The development of speech allowed more group cooperation and the transmission of technical knowledge. By the later Paleolithic period, people had developed rituals to lessen the fear of death and created cave paintings to express a sense of nature’s beauty and power (Figure 1.2). Goddesses often played a prominent role in the religious pantheon. Thus, the human species came to develop systems of belief that helped explain the environment and set up rules for various kinds of social behavior. The development of speech provided rich language and symbols for the transmission of culture and its growing sophistication. At the same time, different groups of humans, in different locations, developed quite varied belief systems and languages.

The greatest achievement of Paleolithic people was the sheer spread of the human species over much of the earth’s surface. The species originated in eastern Africa; most of the earliest types of human remains come from this region, in the present-day countries of Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. But gradual migration, doubtless caused by the need to find scarce food, steadily pushed the human reach to other areas. Key discoveries, notably fire and the use of animal skins for clothing—both of which enabled people to live in colder climates—facilitated the spread of Paleolithic groups. Th



Read the Document on MyHistoryLab: The Toolmaker 3300 B.C.E.



FIGURE 1.2 In Lascaux, France, in 1940, four boys happened upon a long-hidden cave filled with thousands of complex and beautiful Stone Age paintings like this one. Most of the paintings are of animals, some of which were extinct by the time they were painted. No one knows for sure why Stone Age artists painted these pictures, but they remain a powerful reminder of the sophistication of so-called primitive peoples.

VISUALIZING THE PAST

Representations of Women in Early Art

THE EARLIEST WRITING SYSTEM WE KNOW of was not introduced until around 3500 B.C.E. in the civilization of Sumer in Mesopotamia (see Chapter 2). Consequently, evidence for piecing together the history of human life in the Paleolithic and Neolithic ages comes mainly from surviving artifacts from campsites and early towns. Stone tools, bits of pottery or cloth, and the remains of Stone Age dwellings can now be dated rather precisely. When combined with other objects from the same site and time period, they give us a fairly good sense of the daily activities and life cycle of the peoples who created them.

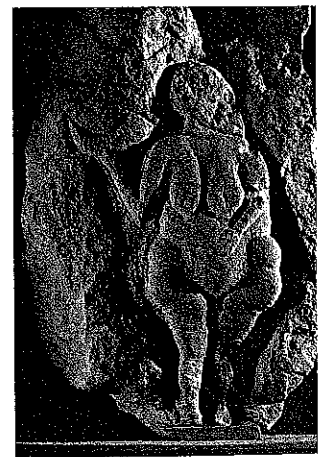
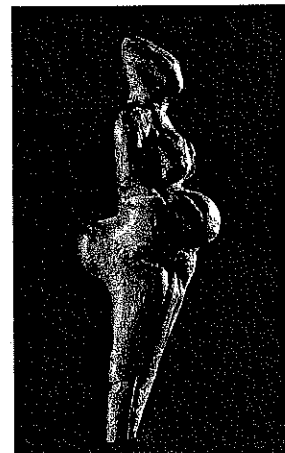
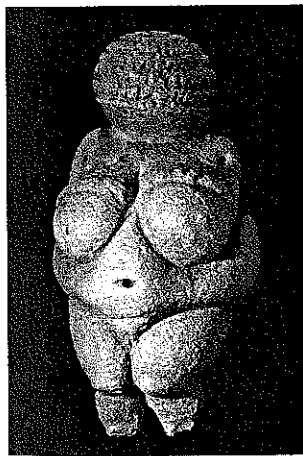
Of all the material remains of the Stone Age era, none provide better insights into the social organization and thinking of early humans than works of art. Much of what we know about gender relations, or the status of males and females and the interaction between them, has been interpreted from the study of the different forms of artistic expression of Stone Age peoples. The stone carvings and figurines reproduced here illustrate themes and impressions of women and their roles that recur in the art of many prehistoric cultures.

Some of the earliest rock carvings, such as the Venus of Laussel (c. 25,000 B.C.E.) shown in the far-right image below, depict robust pregnant women. Figurines similar to the Laussel Venus, which was found in the remains of a campsite at

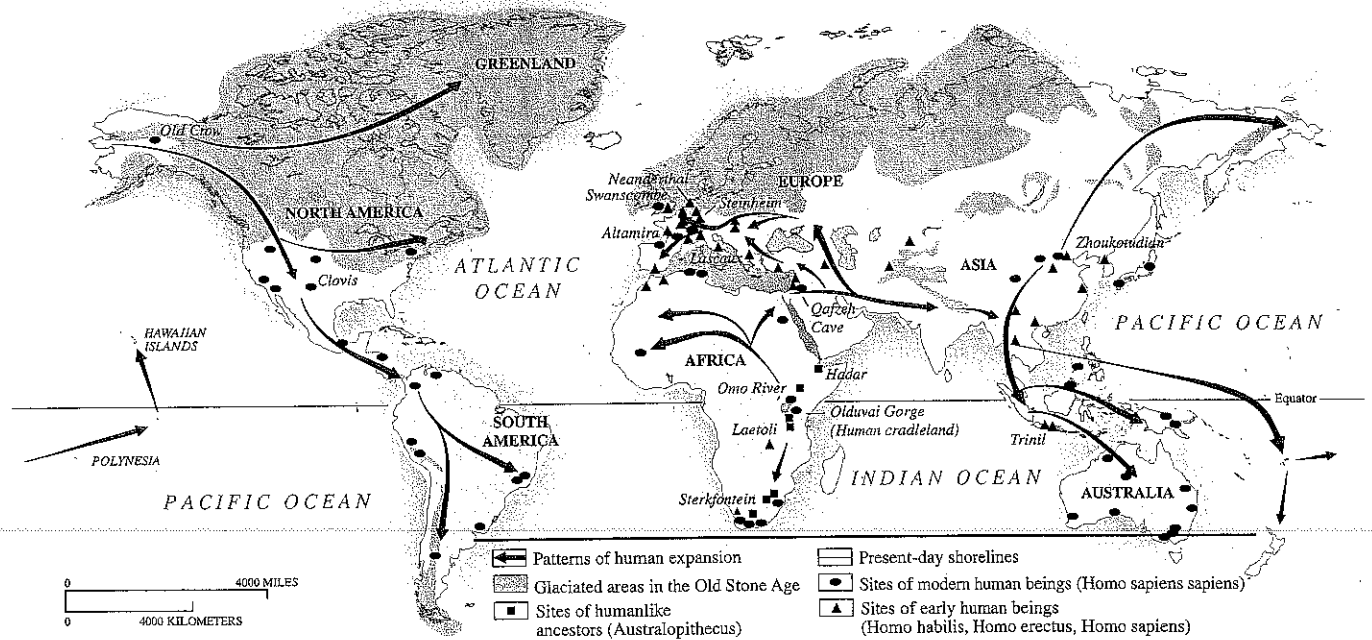
St.-Germain-en-Laye in France, are among the most common artifacts of early human cultures. At other early sites, including Catal Hüyük, women are depicted as goddesses. And at Hacilar, another prehistoric town uncovered in what is today Turkey, they are represented in figurines that may well have served as images of cult veneration and paintings that suggest they may have served as oracles or cult priestesses. As in the Laussel Venus, voluptuous women predominate, and in many of the clay sculptures their roles in reproduction and nurturing are celebrated. But female figures in postures suggesting political authority, such as the woman shown sitting on what may have been a throne with animal heads, have also been found. Many of these sculptures may also have been intended to depict goddesses and may have served as objects of worship.

QUESTIONS

- On the basis of the sample provided in these illustrations, which roles in early human society were closely associated with women?
- What do these representations tell us about the extent and sources of power exercised by women in prehistoric times?
- What sort of requests might those who worshiped goddesses have made through their prayers and offerings?



first people moved out of Africa about 750,000 years ago. Human remains (Peking man, Java man) have been found in China and southeast Asia dating from 600,000 and 350,000 years ago, respectively. Humans inhabited Britain 250,000 years ago. Later, migrations of *Homo sapiens sapiens* from Africa took people to Eurasia. Two strands developed once migrants had crossed into west Asia: one took people to Europe, central Asia, and south Asia and the other pushed on to east and southeast Asia. From this in turn, further migrations occurred: people first crossed to Australia 60,000 years ago, followed by another group 20,000 years later, combining to form the continent's aboriginal population.



MAP 1.1 The Spread of Human Populations, c. 10,000 B.C.E. As the map indicates, *Homo sapiens sapiens* first emerged in a single core area in east Africa and then migrated over long periods of time north to the Mediterranean and Europe, east to Asia, and then ultimately across the seas to the Americas and Oceania.

Humans crossed what was then a land bridge from Siberia to Alaska about 25,000 years ago and quickly began to spread out, reaching the tip of the South American continent possibly within a mere thousand years. Settlers from China reached Taiwan, the Philippines, and Indonesia 4500 to 3500 years ago.

In addition, soon after this time—roughly 14,000 years ago—the last great ice age ended, which did wonders for living conditions over much of the Northern Hemisphere. Human development began to accelerate. A new term, Mesolithic, or Middle Stone Age, designates a span of several thousand years, from about 12,000 to 8000 B.C.E., in which human ability to fashion stone tools and other implements improved greatly. From the Mesolithic also date the increased numbers of log rafts and dugouts, which improved fishing, and the manufacture of pots and baskets for food storage. Mesolithic people domesticated additional animals, such as cows (dogs had been tamed earlier), which again improved food supply. Population growth accelerated, which also resulted in more conflicts and wars. Skeletons from this period show frequent bone breaks and skull fractures caused by weapons.

In time, better tool use, somewhat more elaborate social organization, and still more population pressure led people in many parts of the world to the final Stone Age—the **Neolithic**, or **New Stone Age** (Map 1.1). And from Neolithic people, in turn, came several more dramatic developments that changed the nature of human existence—the invention of agriculture, the creation of cities, and other foreshadowings of civilization, which ended the Stone Age altogether throughout much of the world.

Neolithic Age The New Stone Age between 8000 and 5000 B.C.E.; period in which adaptation of sedentary agriculture occurred; domestication of plants and animals accomplished.

The Neolithic revolution centered on the development of agriculture.

1.3

What are the main differences between an agricultural and a hunting and gathering economy?

Human achievements during the various ages of stone are both fascinating and fundamental. What people accomplished during this long period of prehistory remains essential to human life today; our ability to make and manipulate tools depends directly on what our Stone Age ancestors invented.

Arrows actually had been invented, probably in southern Africa, 65,000 years ago, and knowledge of this advance for hunting and warfare gradually spread—although it had not reached below northern South America when Columbus made his voyage in 1492. In the Mesolithic period itself, people further refined their ability to shape stone, while also using wood and animal bones to make needles and other precise tools.

However, it was the invention of agriculture that most clearly moved the human species toward more elaborate social and cultural patterns that people today would recognize. With agriculture, human beings were able to settle in one place and focus on particular economic, political, and religious goals and activities. Agriculture also spawned a great increase in the sheer number of people in the world, a tenfold increase over several millennia.

The initial development of agriculture—that is, the deliberate planting of grains for later harvest—was probably triggered by two results of the ice age's end. First, population increases, stemming from improved climate, prompted people to search for new and more reliable sources of food. Second, the end of the ice age saw the retreat of certain big game animals, such as mastodons. Human hunters had to turn to smaller game, such as deer and wild boar, in many forested areas. Hunting's overall yield declined. Here was the basis for new interest in other sources of food. There is evidence that by 9000 B.C.E., in certain parts of the world, people were becoming increasingly dependent on regular harvests of wild grains, berries, and nuts. This undoubtedly set the stage for the deliberate planting of seeds (probably accidental to begin with) and the improvement of key grains through the selection of seeds from the best plants.

As farming evolved, new animals were also domesticated. Particularly in the Middle East and parts of Asia, by 9000 B.C.E. pigs, sheep, goats, and cattle were being raised. Farmers used these animals for meat and skins and soon discovered dairying as well. These results not only contributed to the development of agriculture, but they also served as the basis for nomadic herding societies.

Farming was initially developed in the Middle East and Black Sea regions, in an arc of territory running from present-day Turkey to Iraq and Israel. This was a very fertile area, more fertile in those days than at present. Grains such as barley and wild wheat were abundant. At the same time, this area was not heavily forested, and animals were in short supply, presenting a challenge to hunters. In the Middle East, the development of agriculture may have begun as early as 10,000 B.C.E., and it gained ground rapidly after 8000 B.C.E. Gradually, during the Neolithic centuries, knowledge of agriculture spread to other centers, including parts of India, North Africa, and Europe. Agriculture, including rice cultivation, soon developed independently in China (the second of at least three separate inventions of the new economic systems). We will see that agriculture spread later to much of Africa south of the Mediterranean coast, reaching west Africa by 2000 B.C.E., although here too there were additional developments with an emphasis on local grains and also root crops such as yams (Map 1.2). Agriculture had to be invented separately in the Americas, based on the cultivation of corn and other root crops such as potatoes, where it was also a slightly later development (about 5000 B.C.E.).

Many scholars have termed the development of agriculture a **Neolithic revolution**. The term is obviously misleading in one sense: agriculture was no sudden transformation, even in the Middle East, where the new system had its roots. Learning the new agricultural methods was difficult, and many peoples long combined a bit of agriculture with considerable reliance on the older systems of **hunting and gathering**. A "revolution" that took more than a thousand years, and then several thousands more, to spread to key population centers in Asia, Europe, and Africa, is hardly dramatic by modern standards.

The concept of revolution is, however, appropriate in demonstrating the magnitude of change involved. Early agriculture could support far more people per square mile than hunting ever could; it also allowed people to settle more permanently in one area. The system was nonetheless not easy. Agriculture required more regular work, at least of men, than hunting did. Hunting-and-gathering groups today, such as the Kung or Khoisan people of the Kalihari Desert in southwest Africa, work an average of 2.5 hours a day, alternating long, intense hunts with periods devoted to such pursuits as music, dance, and decorative art. Settled agriculture concentrated populations and encouraged the spread of disease. As much as agriculture was demanding, it was also rewarding: Agriculture supported larger populations, and with better food supplies and a more settled existence, agricultural peoples could afford to build houses and villages. Animals provided not only hides but also wool for more varied clothing.



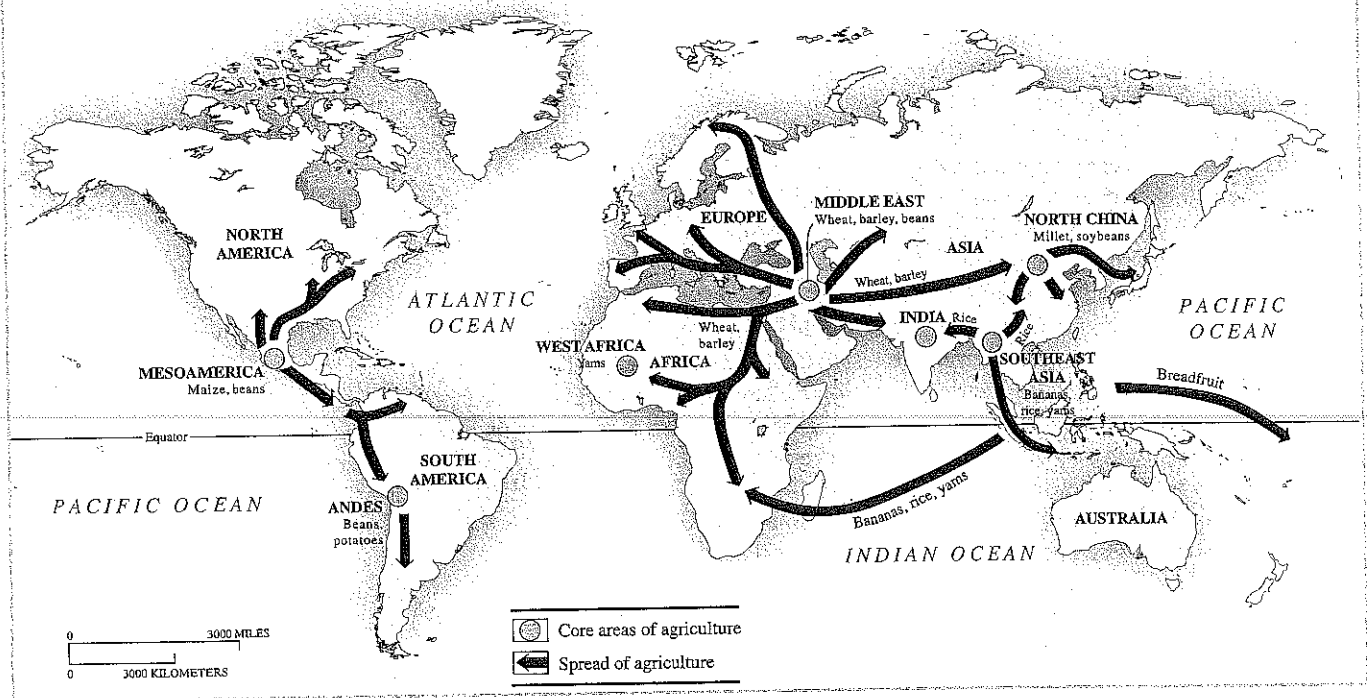
Read the Document on
MyHistoryLab: Agricultural
Origins and Dispersals

Neolithic revolution The succession of technological innovations and changes in human organization that led to the development of agriculture, 8500–3500 B.C.E.

hunting and gathering The original human economy, ultimately eclipsed by agriculture; groups hunt for meat and forage for grains, nuts, and berries.



Watch the Video on MyHistoryLab: Agricultural Innovations in Ancient Africa (Jonathan T. Reynolds)



MAP 1.2 The Spread of Agriculture Agriculture appears to have spread in ways similar to human populations, but from a Middle Eastern rather than African epicenter. And in important cases, particularly in the Americas, a wide range of staple crops were known in only some parts of the world until Columbus's voyage in the late-15th century brought together the civilizations of the Americas and Afro-Euroasia.

We know next to nothing of the debates that must have raged when people were first confronted with agriculture, but it is not hard to imagine that many would have found the new life too complicated, too difficult, or too unexciting. Most evidence suggests that many gathering and hunting peoples resisted agriculture as long as they could. Gradually, of course, agriculture did gain ground. Its success was hard to deny. And as farmers cleared new land from forests, they automatically drove out or converted many hunters. Disease played a role: Settled agricultural societies suffered from more contagious diseases because of denser population concentrations. Hunting-and-gathering peoples lacked resistance and often died when agriculturists who had developed immunities carried the diseases into new areas.

Not all the peoples of the world came to embrace the slowly spreading wave of agriculture, at least not until very recently. Important small societies in southern Africa, Australia, the islands of southeast Asia, and even northern Japan were isolated for so long that news of this economic system simply did not reach them. The white-skinned hunting tribes of northern Japan disappeared only about a hundred years ago. Northern Europeans and southern Africans converted to agriculture earlier, about 2000 years ago, but well after the Neolithic revolution had transformed other parts of their continents. Agriculture was initiated in the Americas as early as 5000 B.C.E. and developed vigorously in Central America and the northern part of South America. However, most Indian tribes in North America continued a hunting-and-gathering existence, although it was often combined with seasonal agriculture, until recent centuries. Finally, the peoples of the vast plains of central Asia long resisted a complete conversion to agriculture, in part because of a harsh climate; herding, rather than grain growing, became the basic socioeconomic system of this part of the world. From this area came waves of tough, nomadic invaders and migrants whose role in linking major civilizations was a vital force in world history until a few centuries ago.

AGRICULTURE AND CHANGE

1.4 How did agriculture encourage technological change?

Agriculture encouraged the formation of larger as well as more stable human communities than had existed before Neolithic times. A few Mesolithic groups had formed villages, particularly where opportunities for fishing were good, as around some of the lakes in Switzerland. However, most hunting peoples moved in relatively small groups, or tribes, each containing anywhere from 40 to 60 individuals, and they could not settle in a single spot without the game running out. With agriculture, these constraints changed for most of the people involved. There were advantages to staying put: Houses could be built to last, wells built to bring up water, and other “expensive” improvements afforded because they served many generations. In the Middle East, China, and parts of Africa and India, a key incentive to stability was the need for irrigation devices to channel river water to the fields. This same need helps explain why agriculture usually generated communities and not a series of isolated farms. Small groups simply could not regulate a river’s flow or build and maintain irrigation ditches and sluices. Irrigation and defense encouraged villages—groupings of several hundred people—as the characteristic pattern of residence in almost all agricultural societies from Neolithic days until our own century.

One Neolithic town, **Çatal Hüyük** in southern Turkey, has been elaborately studied by archeologists (Figure 1.3). It was founded about 7000 B.C.E. and was unusually large, covering about 32 acres. Houses were made of mud bricks set in timber frameworks, crowded together, with few windows. People seem to have spent a good bit of time on their rooftops in order to experience daylight and make social contacts—many broken bones attest to frequent falls. Some houses were lavishly decorated, mainly with hunting scenes. Religious images, both of powerful male hunters and “mother goddesses” devoted to agricultural fertility, were common, and some people seem to have had special religious responsibilities. The town produced almost all the goods it consumed. Some trade was conducted with hunting peoples who lived in the hills surrounding the village, but apparently it was initiated more to keep the peace than to produce economic gain. By 5500 B.C.E., important production activities developed in the village, including those of skilled toolmakers and jewelers. With time also came links with other communities. Towns such as Çatal Hüyük ruled over smaller communities. This meant that some families began to specialize in politics, and military forces were organized. Some towns became small cities, ruled by kings who were typically given divine status. Here were developments that led to bigger changes in the organization of some agricultural societies.

The discovery of metal tools dates back to about 4000 B.C.E. Copper was the first metal with which people learned how to work, although the more resilient metal, bronze, soon entered the picture. In fact, the next basic age of human existence was the **Bronze Age**. By about 3000 B.C.E., metal-working had become so commonplace in the Middle East that the use of stone tools dissipated, and the long stone ages were over

Agriculture generated some surplus that could support other specialist labor. By 7000 B.C.E. cities and crafts that depended on trade emerged in the Middle East.

Çatal Hüyük [cha-tal HOY-ewk]

Early urban culture based on sedentary agriculture; located in modern southern Turkey; was larger in population than Jericho, had greater degree of social stratification.

Bronze Age From about 4000 B.C.E., when bronze tools were first introduced in the Middle East, to about 1500 B.C.E., when iron began to replace it.



View the Closer Look on MyHistoryLab: Çatal Hüyük

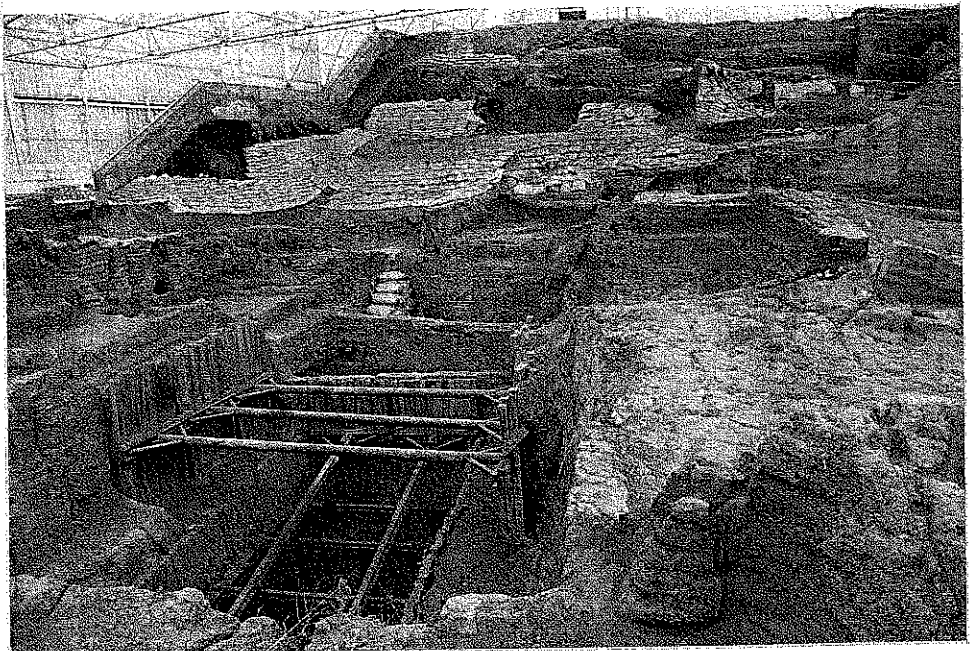


FIGURE 1.3 Excavation of the ancient settlement at Çatal Hüyük, in what is now southern Turkey. Movement within the settlement was mainly across the roofs and terraces of the houses. Because each dwelling had a substantial storeroom for food, the settlement was often the target of attacks by outsiders. The houses were joined together to provide protection from such attacks; when the outside entrances were barricaded, the complex was transformed into a fortress.

at last—although, of course, an essentially Neolithic technology persisted in many parts of the world, even among some agricultural peoples.

Metalworking was extremely useful to agricultural or herding societies. Metal hoes and other tools allowed farmers to work the ground more efficiently. Metal weapons were obviously superior to those made from stone and wood. Agricultural peoples now supported the small number of individuals such as toolmakers, who specialized in this activity and exchanged their products with farmers for food. Specialization of this sort did not, however, guarantee rapid rates of invention; indeed, many specialized artisans seemed very conservative, eager to preserve methods that had been inherited. But specialization did improve the conditions or climate for discovery, and the invention of metalworking was a key result. Like agriculture, knowledge of metals gradually fanned out to other parts of Asia and to Africa and Europe.

Gradually, the knowledge of metal tools created further change, not only for farmers but also for manufacturing artisans, who benefited from better tools. Woodworking, for example, became steadily more elaborate as metal replaced stone, bone, and fire in the cutting and connecting of wood. We are, of course, still living in the metal ages today, although we rely primarily on iron—whose working was introduced around 1500 B.C.E. by herding peoples who moved into the Middle East from central Asia—rather than copper and bronze.

By about 4000 B.C.E., other changes began to accumulate in several agricultural centers, particularly in the Middle East, beyond metalworking and the expansion of towns. These changes depended on the extent to which agricultural production could free up a few people to specialize in craft manufacturing, initially on products used in the agriculture process, such as the manufacture of pots. Gradually, certain other inventions cropped up that could benefit agricultural production, while also spilling over into other human activities such as warfare. Around 4000 B.C.E., for example, the wheel was introduced, probably by peoples who migrated into the Middle East. Here was a vital contribution to the movement of goods and, soon, to certain kinds of fighting.

NOMADIC SOCIETIES

Nomadic societies differed from hunter-gatherers and from agricultural groups, but would play a key role in world history.

1.5

Why are nomadic societies important in world history?

Because it spread slowly and incompletely, agriculture was not the only economic system available to human societies, although it ultimately became the most important one. In addition to the persistence of hunting and gathering groups in some regions, nomadic herding economies created another option. Nomadic societies were more suitable to certain regions than agriculture was, and they would make their own important contribution to world history more generally.

We do not know when nomadic societies first developed, for they have left few written records and no real architectural monuments. They may have begun before the first civilizations emerged. Nomadic societies ultimately developed, particularly in the region of the huge grassy plains of central Asia, on the fringes of the Sahara desert in Africa, and also in southern Arabia. Smaller nomadic societies also developed in the Americas, in the Andes Mountains, the only place where there were relevant domesticated animals. Nomadic regions generally are characterized by rainfalls sufficient for developing grasslands but less adequate for settled agriculture.

The first groups of **nomads** to break into the historical record were the Indo-Europeans, who periodically intervened in the civilizations of the Middle East and India for a thousand years, beginning about 1500 B.C.E. Some Indo-European groups invaded civilized areas and established their own empires—such as the Hittites, who fit into the series of empire-invaders in Mesopotamia. Others, such as the Greeks, migrated into new territory and settled down, ultimately trying to fight off later groups of Indo-European invaders with whom they finally intermingled. Indo-European (Aryan) incursions into India increasingly threatened the later phases of Harappan civilization. Early Indo-Europeans used war chariots drawn by horses, but gradually they developed the equipment needed to ride horses directly.

Another early nomadic group that played an important role in larger world history, also from central Asia, was the Xiongnu, known in Europe as the Huns. The Hun invasions in China caused great devastation from the 4th century B.C.E. on. Like the Indo-Europeans before them, Hun movements

nomads Cattle- and sheep-herding societies normally found on the fringes of civilized societies; commonly referred to as “barbarian” by civilized societies.

were probably initially due to droughts and internal warfare in central Asia, but then, achieving success, they took on a life of their own. Even before Hun invasions, Chinese rulers became very conscious of the nomadic peoples to their west, and sent out expeditions to meet and conciliate. They valued the nomads as a source of horses (not native to China) and also wanted to keep them happy; these were the reasons for offering gifts, such as silk, in a pattern that ultimately gave rise to a larger, interregional silk trading network—a specific example of the role nomads could play in wider historical processes.

Other early nomadic groups included reindeer herders in northern Europe (the Lapps). More important were the camel herders in Arabia and north central Africa. The camel was domesticated by 1700 B.C.E. as a pack animal. Its capacity for traveling with huge loads, for more than 20 days without new water, was ideal for nomadic life in the deserts. Cattle-raising nomads also played a role in parts of Africa.

Nomadic Society and Culture

Seasonal travel was fundamental to the nomadic way of life. Harsh weather forced movement in search of adequate food, and too much time in one place exhausted the available vegetation. Most nomadic groups usually traveled the same routes, year after year. But droughts or other hardships could promote change. While nomadic groups usually respected each other's routes, problems could cause conflicts as one group tried to muscle into the territory of another.

Animals formed the core of the cultural interests of nomadic societies, with religion usually emphasizing animal sacrifices. Size of herd was the measure of wealth in nomadic societies. Animals were also the core of the nomadic economy. Nomads traded in leather, wool, milk products, and bone sculptures.

The harshness of the nomadic environment, plus periodic warfare, often introduced a common note of violence into nomadic life. Most nomadic societies emphasized the importance of honor, or what anthropologists call courage culture. Strong, warlike men dominated, and their leadership was dependent on a willingness to meet physical challenge. Nomadic cultures valued heroic action above all other achievements. In addition to recognizing brave leaders, nomadic organization depended on kinship relations in small bands, usually of 30 to 150 people. These bands could, however, assemble into much larger groups in response to crisis.

Hospitality was another keynote of characteristic nomadic culture. Honor required that travelers be aided, a recognition of the harshness of the nomadic life. Acts of great generosity contributed to the reputation of leaders.

Nomads were outstanding fighters. Because their economic activity required much less time than that of agricultural peoples, there was more opportunity to train for battle. Easy familiarity with

DOCUMENT

Aryan Poetry in Praise of a War Horse

THE FOLLOWING EARLY VEDIC hymn exults in the power of a great Aryan war horse.

Rushing to glory, to the capture of herds,
Swooping down as a hungry falcon,
Eager to be first, he darts amid the ranks of the chariots
Happy as a bridegroom making a garland,
Spurning the dust and champing at the bit.
And the victorious steed and faithful,
His body obedient to his driver in battle,
Speeding on through the melee,
Stirs up the dust to fall on his brows.
And at his deep neigh, like the thunder of heaven,
The foemen tremble in fear,

For he fights against thousands, and none can resist him,
So terrible is his charge.

QUESTIONS

- In what ways does this poem convey the Aryans' delight in warfare?
- What does it tell us about the way they fought their battles and their attitudes toward the herd animals that were so central to their culture?
- How does it convey the Aryans' ideals of manliness, heroism, and loyalty, and what does it say about their attitudes toward death?

horses (or other animals) made for excellent military skills as well. Nomads' ability to ride for long distances often allowed them to draw the armies of civilizations out, where, exhausted, they could later be picked off. This technique was used successfully against Persian armies in the 6th century B.C.E., in western Asia, and against the British in 19th-century Africa.

Because of their fighting skills, nomads had a reputation for cruelty. This was sometimes exaggerated, but not always. Hun invaders in China had drinking cups made from the skulls of defeated rivals. Some nomadic groups routinely killed the wives and children of leaders they defeated.

Nomadic societies were male dominated, with care of animals and skill in their use reserved for men. Marriages were arranged to promote the interests of kinship groups, although nomads liked to tell stories about great romance and love of beautiful women. Polygamy was common for wealthier men. Women's tasks, besides childrearing, involved making and breaking camp, cooking, and sewing. In a few nomadic societies, however, women held positions of greater prestige, occasionally even participating in wars and holding leadership positions.

Nomads and Civilizations

Nomads are particularly famous in history when they invade. Civilized peoples, from the Chinese to the Romans, feared and condemned nomads as offspring of evil spirits, the ultimate barbarians. Without question, nomadic invasions were important, particularly when they were part of larger migrations that could change the population structure as well as political leadership. The role of the Indo-Europeans in shaking up civilizations in the Middle East and India is obvious, and this basic pattern repeated in the classical and postclassical periods. We will discuss the unusually important impact of Mongol nomads in Chapter 15.

But nomads often had a peaceful, mutually beneficial relationship with agricultural societies, as in the exchange of goods with China, and this pattern had its own historical significance. Nomads often traded with farmers for useful goods, including vegetables, silks, and iron tools and weapons. In turn, the meat and milk products provided by the nomads could supplement meager diets for frontier farming communities. Nomads also provided warhorses for civilizations not only for China, but also for India, the Middle East, and sub-Saharan Africa.

THINKING HISTORICALLY

The Idea of Civilization in World Historical Perspective

THE BELIEF THAT THERE ARE FUNDAMENTAL differences between civilized and "barbaric" or "savage" peoples is very ancient and widespread. For thousands of years the Chinese set themselves off from cattle- and sheep-herding peoples of the vast plains to the north and west of China proper, whom they saw as barbarians. To the Chinese, being civilized was cultural, not biological or racial. If barbarians learned the Chinese language and adopted Chinese ways—from the clothes they wore to the food they ate—they were regarded as civilized.

A similar pattern of demarcation and cultural absorption was found among the American Indian peoples of present-day Mexico. Those who settled in the valleys of the mountainous interior, where they built great civilizations, lived in fear of invasions by

peoples they regarded as barbarous and called Chichimecs, meaning "sons of the dog." The latter were nomadic hunters and gatherers who periodically moved down

from the desert regions of north Mexico into the fertile central valleys in search of game and settlements to pillage. The Aztecs were simply the last, and perhaps the fiercest, of a long line of Chichimec peoples who

entered the valleys and conquered the urban-based empires that had developed there. But after the conquerors settled down, they adopted many of the religious beliefs and institutional patterns and much of the material culture of defeated peoples.

The word *civilization* is derived from the Latin word *civilis*, meaning "of the citizens." The term was coined by the Romans. They used it to distinguish between themselves as citizens of a

The word civilization is derived from the Latin word civilis, meaning "of the citizens."

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cosmopolitan, urban-based civilization and the “inferior” peoples who lived in the forests and deserts on the fringes of their Mediterranean empire. Centuries earlier, the Greeks, who had contributed much to the rise of Roman civilization, made a similar distinction between themselves and outsiders. Because the languages of the non-Greek peoples to the north of the Greek heartlands sounded like senseless babble to the Greeks, they lumped all the outsiders together as *barbarians*, which meant “those who cannot speak Greek.” As in the case of the Chinese and Aztecs, the boundaries between civilized and barbarian for the Greeks and Romans were cultural, not biological. Regardless of the color of one’s skin or the shape of one’s nose, it was possible for free people to become members of a Greek *polis*—city-state—or to become Roman citizens by adopting Greek or Roman customs and swearing allegiance to the polis or the emperor.

Until the 17th and 18th centuries C.E., the priority given to cultural attributes (e.g., language, dress, manners) as the means by which civilized peoples set themselves off from barbaric ones was rarely challenged. But in those centuries, two major changes occurred among thinkers in western Europe. First, efforts were made not only to define the differences between civilized and barbarian but to identify a series of stages in human development that ranged from the lowest savagery to the highest civilization. Peoples such as the Chinese and the Arabs, who had created great cities, monumental architecture, writing, advanced technology, and large empires, usually won a place along with the Europeans near the top of these ladders of human achievement. Nomadic, cattle- and sheep-herding peoples, such as the Mongols of central Asia, usually were classified as barbarians. Civilized and barbarian peoples were then pitted against various sorts of savages. These ranged from the hunters and gatherers who inhabited much of North America and Australia to many peoples in Africa and Asia, whom the Europeans believed had not advanced beyond the most primitive stages of social and political development.

The second major shift in Western ideas about civilization began at the end of the 18th century but did not really take hold until a century later. In keeping with a growing emphasis in European thinking and social interaction on racial or biological differences, modes of human social organization and cultural expression were increasingly linked by historians and others to what were alleged to be the innate capacities of each human *race*. Although no one could agree on what a race was or how many races there were, most European writers argued that some races were more inventive, moral, courageous, and artistic—thus more capable of building civilizations—than others. Of course, white (or Caucasian) Europeans were considered by white European authors to be the most capable of all. The hierarchy from savage to civilized took on a color dimension, with white at the top, where the civilized peoples clustered, to yellow, red, brown, and black in descending order.

Some authors, including many prominent historians, sought to reserve all the attainments of civilization for whites, or peoples of European stock. As the evolutionary theories of thinkers such as Charles Darwin came into vogue in the late 1800s, race and level of cultural development were seen in the perspective of thousands of years of human change and adaptation rather than

as being fixed in time. Nevertheless, this new perspective had little effect on the rankings of different human groups. Civilized whites were simply seen as having evolved much further than backward and barbaric peoples.

The perceived correspondence between race and level of development and the hardening of the boundaries between civilized and “inferior” peoples affected much more than intellectual discourse about the nature and history of human society. These beliefs were used to justify European imperialist expansion, which was seen as a “civilizing mission” aimed at uplifting barbaric and savage peoples across the globe. In the last half of the 19th century, virtually all non-Western peoples came to be dominated by the Europeans, who were confident that they, as representatives of the highest civilization ever created, were best equipped to govern lesser breeds of humans.

In the 21st century much of the intellectual baggage that once gave credibility to the racially embedded hierarchies of civilized and savage peoples has been discarded by most historians and other social scientists. A number of 20th-century developments, including the revolt of colonized peoples and the crimes committed by the Nazis before and during World War II in the name of racial purification, discredited racist thinking. In addition, these ideas have failed because racial supremacists cannot provide convincing proof of innate differences in mental and physical aptitude between various human groups. These trends, as well as research that has resulted in a much more sophisticated understanding of evolution, have led to the abandonment of rigid and self-serving 19th-century ideas about civilization. Historians in particular have increasingly adopted a less Eurocentric or culturally specific definition of civilization that encompasses varied cultures across the globe.

Perhaps the best way to avoid the tendency to define the term with reference to one’s own society is to view civilization as we do in this world history as one of several human approaches to social organization rather than attempting to identify specific kinds of cultural achievement (e.g., writing, cities, monumental architecture). All peoples, from small bands of hunters and gatherers to farmers and factory workers, live in societies. All societies produce *cultures*: combinations of the ideas, objects, and patterns of behavior that result from human social interaction. But not all societies and cultures generate the surplus production that permits the levels of specialization, scale, and complexity that distinguish civilizations from other modes of social organization. All peoples are intrinsically capable of building civilizations, but many have lacked the resource base, historical circumstances, or desire to do so.

QUESTIONS

- Identify a society you consider civilized. What criteria did you use to determine that it was civilized?
- Can you apply those criteria to other societies?
- Can you think of societies that might not fit your criteria and yet be civilizations?
- Do the standards that you and others use reflect your own society’s norms and achievements rather than neutral, more universal criteria?

Global Connections and Critical Themes

THE EARLY CIVILIZATIONS AND THE WORLD

The most important global contacts during the early periods of human history involved the spread of techniques and foods. The diffusion of agriculture and, later, the use of metals, from centers of initial invention, form the most important examples. Diffusion of this sort was usually slow, and we rarely know the precise connections involved. But foods also spread. For example, African farmers by 1000 B.C.E. were growing foods, including bananas, which originated in southeast Asia, which greatly

enriched the variety available to them. Presumably this exchange occurred through Indian Ocean trade, but we do not know the mechanisms.

The most striking point about the early human experience, aside from the capacity to introduce a dramatically new economic system, involves the wide dispersion of peoples. Separate localities and regions formed, and for a long time local and regional factors shaped most of the human experience. Most polytheistic religions, for example, were local in specific beliefs and practices, even if they shared wider elements because of a common human need to explain forces of nature or the inevitability of death.

Further Readings

David Christian's *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley, 2005) provides insight into perspectives on early human history; other rich accounts of human prehistory include John H. Morgan's "In the Beginning—": *The Paleolithic Origins of Religious Consciousness* (2007); Brian Fagan, *Peoples of the Earth* (1998 ed.); Pamela R. Willoughby, *The Evolution of Modern Humans in Africa: A Comprehensive Guide* (2007); Hawthorne Harris Wilder, *Man's Prehistoric Past* (2007); Peter S. Belwood, *The First Farmers: Origins of Agricultural Societies* (2005); and Andrew Jones, *Prehistoric Europe: Theory and Practice* (2008). See also Ronald Wright, *A Short History of Progress* (2004); John Mears, *Agricultural Origins in Global Perspective* (2000); Donald R. Kelley, "The Rise of Prehistory," *Journal of World History* (2003); www.historycooperative.org/journals/jwh/14.1/kelley.html (2006); John Robb, *The Early Mediterranean Village: Agency, Material Culture, and Social Change in Neolithic Italy* (2007); Michael Balter, *The Goddess and The Bull: Catalhöyük—An Archaeological Journey to*

the Dawn of Civilization (2006); Marcel Mazoyer and Laurence Roudart, *A History of World Agriculture: From the Neolithic Age to the Current Crisis* (2006); Raymond Corbey and Wil Roebroeks, eds., *Studying Human Origins: Disciplinary History and Epistemology* (2001); Joy Hakim, *The First Americas* (1999); Chris Gosden, *Prehistory: A Very Short Introduction* (2003); and Steven Mithen, *After the Ice: A Global Human History, 20,000–5000 B.C.* (2004); and Barbara Sher Tinsley, *Reconstructing Western Civilization: Irreverent Essays on Antiquity* (2006).

On specific regions, see Douglas Price, *Europe's First Farmers* (2000); Ian Kuijt, *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities* (2000); R. Douglas Hurt, *Indian Agriculture in America* (1997); James Mellaart, *The Neolithic of the Near East* (1975); and Chris Scarre, ed., *Monuments and Landscape in Atlantic Europe* (2002). Jared Diamond's *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fate of Human Societies* (1997) deals powerfully with agriculture. On debates over human nature (culture and genetics), see Matt Ridley's *Nature via Nurture* (2003). For a splendid guide to world history, from beginnings on, see Patrick Manning's *Navigating World History* (2003).

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Critical Thinking Questions

1. Compare nomadic societies and agricultural societies.
2. Why were people able to adapt to so many different environments?
3. What were the most significant disadvantages of agriculture?
4. Why did women not reject the imposition of patriarchal family structures?
5. Compare agriculture in the Americas to agriculture in Asia and Europe.
6. What was the impact of agriculture on the environment?

2

Early Civilizations, 3500–600 B.C.E.

By 3000 B.C.E., Çatal Hüyük, the agricultural city discussed in Chapter 1, had become part of a civilization. Although many of the characteristics of civilization had existed by 6000 or 5000 B.C.E. in this Middle Eastern region, the origins of civilization, strictly speaking, approximately date to only 3500 B.C.E. From this point on to roughly 1000 B.C.E., the emergence of several civilization centers defined key developments in world history more generally. The first civilization arose in the Middle East along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Another center of civilization started soon



Read the Document on MyHistoryLab: Herodotus on the Egyptians

Listen to Chapter 2 on MyHistoryLab

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

What were the main features of civilization as a form of human organization? p. 27

What did the river valley civilizations have in common? p. 27

How did Mesopotamian and Egyptian political structures compare? p. 27

How did Mesopotamian and Egyptian political structures compare? p. 29

Why do we know less about Harappan civilization than about Egypt? p. 30

How does early China illustrate the main features of river valley civilizations? p. 32

How did conditions in the Americas differ from those in Asia and North Africa during the formation of early civilizations? p. 33

How and why did the early civilization period come to an end and what were the main religious changes introduced by Judaism? p. 35



FIGURE 2.1 This detail from Egyptian tomb art shows a husband and wife harvesting grain. As dictated by patriarchal values, the husband takes the lead in the work and the wife follows, but in Egypt, unlike Mesopotamia, men and women were depicted working together.

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thereafter in northeast Africa (Egypt) (Figure 2.1), and a third by around 2500 B.C.E. along the banks of the Indus River in northwestern India. These three early centers of civilization had some interaction. The fourth early civilization center arose in China along the Yellow River, although a bit later and more separately. A fifth center would emerge in Central America, though it was not river based.

CIVILIZATION

The emergence of civilization occurred in many, although not all, agricultural societies. Early civilizations formed in Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Indus River basin, China, and the Americas.

2.1

What were the main features of civilization as a form of human organization?

After the rise of agriculture, the introduction of **civilization** as a form of human organization was a crucial step for many people. Civilization first developed in Mesopotamia, after about 3500 B.C.E., on the heels of several changes in technology and communication. This form of human organization spread to several other places, and separately developed in China and Central America. Human organization along civilization lines did not emerge everywhere at the same time, and many regions—even some successful agricultural economies—avoided it altogether, at least until much more recently. Hunting-and-gathering and nomadic societies lacked the economic surplus necessary to develop civilization and often actively disliked the constraints they saw in civilization as well.

Civilizations normally demonstrated four distinctive features, operating powerfully in combination. First, they developed greater amounts of economic surplus, beyond subsistence needs, and they distributed this surplus unequally. This provided funds for new kinds of monuments. It also heightened social inequalities, compared to other “non-civilized” kinds of societies. Second, civilizations developed formal governments with at least small bureaucracies. Leadership thus became more specialized than in simpler agricultural or nomadic societies. Third, almost all civilizations, including all the early ones, had writing. This facilitated trade over long distances by facilitating standardized communication; it enhanced recordkeeping, which aided both commerce and bureaucracy. And fourth, they developed larger and more important urban centers as cities emerged as concentrations of populations.

In agricultural civilizations, most people lived in the countryside, and most people remained illiterate. But cities and writing were nonetheless influential in shaping societies with different characteristics from those of the earliest agricultural settlements.

There are problems with the definition of *civilization*. Some scholars prefer to use a smaller number of criteria, which would allow other societies—those that had surpluses and some formal leadership, for example, but not cities and writing—to be included as civilizations.

More serious is the common connotation of *civilization* as being better than other systems of human organization. Leaders of early civilizations often argued that their way of life was more cultivated than that of non-civilized peoples—barbarians—around them. But people in civilizations could be cruel and rude. To groups such as North American Indians, encountering Europeans in the 17th century, the behavior of the “civilized”—including drinking and violently spanking children—seemed far cruder than their own, whose habits and capacities for emotional control were often quite refined. Civilization as meaning greater impulse control should not be included in the definition of *civilization* as a form of human organization. The two meanings might, but also might very well not, overlap. Civilizations also increased human impact on the environment, another arguably “bad” result. For example, the first center of copper production in Europe, along the Danube valley, led to such deforestation that the fuel supply was destroyed, and the industry collapsed after about 3000 B.C.E. The extensive agriculture needed to support Indus river cities opened the land to erosion and flooding because of overuse of the soil and removal of trees.

civilization Societies distinguished by reliance on sedentary agriculture, ability to produce food surpluses, and existence of nonfarming elites, as well as merchant and manufacturing groups.

5000 B.C.E.

5000 Plant domestication becoming widespread
4000 Maize domesticated in Mexico
c. 3000–1500 Evidence of cotton cultivation, metallurgy, ceramics
2000 B.C.E.–500 C.E. Early cultures in southwestern United States
2000 Pottery in use in Mesoamerica
1800–1200 Ceremonial centers in the highlands of southern Mexico
1500–800 Olmec civilization flourishes

1000 B.C.E.

900 Maya civilization beginnings; classic period in Mesoamerica
850–250 Early Horizon; Chavín culture flourishes
300 B.C.E.–900 C.E. Height of Maya civilization
200 B.C.E.–500 C.E. Nazca culture

500 B.C.E.

100 Germans in southern Germany, on Roman borders

Is the term *civilization* too misleading with its implications of progress and superiority? Is there another term that would be more accurate, while still covering the important organizational changes involved? One final caution: Areas where early civilization developed covered only a tiny portion of the inhabited parts of the world, although they were the most densely populated. The early civilizations, all clustered in key river valleys, were in a way pilot tests of the new form of social organization. Only after about 1000 B.C.E. did a more consistent process of development and spread of civilization begin. However, the great civilizations unquestionably built on the achievements of the river valley pioneers, so some understanding of this contribution to the list of early human accomplishments is essential.

Mesopotamian civilization pioneered basic forms of civilization, from an urban economy to writing. Frequent invasions contributed to distinctive religious belief and political systems.

Mesopotamia Literally “between the rivers”; the civilizations that arose in the alluvial plain of the Tigris and Euphrates river valleys.

Sumerians People who migrated into Mesopotamia c. 4000 B.C.E.; created first civilization within region organized area into city-states.

cuneiform [kyoo-NAY-uh-form] A form of writing developed by the Sumerians using a wedge-shaped stylus and clay tablets.

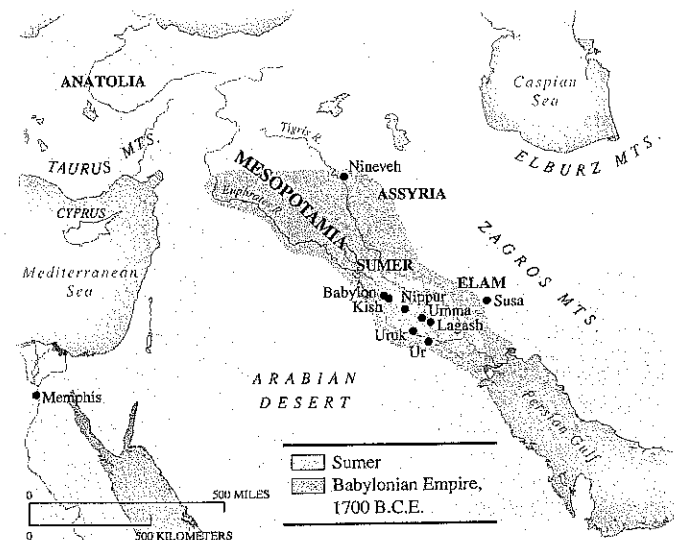
TIGRIS-EUPHRATES CIVILIZATION

2.2 What did the river valley civilizations have in common?

As new organizational forms, the earliest civilizations introduced innovations that most of us now take for granted—writing; formal codes of law; city planning and architecture; and institutions for trade, including the use of money. Once developed, most of these building blocks of human organization did not have to be reinvented, although in some cases they spread only slowly to other parts of the world.

It is not surprising then, given its lead in agriculture, metalworking, and village structure, that the Middle East generated the first example of human civilization. Indeed, the first civilization, founded in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in a part of the Middle East long called **Mesopotamia** (Map 2.1), forms one of only a few cases of a civilization developed absolutely from scratch—and with no examples from any place else to imitate. (Chinese civilization and civilization in Central America also developed independently.) By 4000 B.C.E., the farmers of Mesopotamia were familiar with bronze and copper working and had already invented the wheel for transportation. They had a well-established pottery industry and interesting artistic forms. Farming in this area, because of the need for irrigation, required considerable coordination among communities, and this in turn served as the basis for complex political structures.

By about 3500 B.C.E., a people who had recently invaded this region, the **Sumerians**, developed a **cuneiform** system, the first known case of human writing (Figures 2.2 and 2.3). Their system at first used different pictures to represent various objects but soon shifted to the use of geometric shapes to symbolize spoken sounds. Early Sumerian writing may have had as many as 2000 such symbols, but this number was later reduced to about 300, as later people adapted the system for their own



MAP 2.1 Early Sumer The civilization fanned out along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.



FIGURE 2.2 One of the early uses of writing was to mark property boundaries. This picture shows cuneiform writing on a Mesopotamian map from about 1300 B.C.E. The map focuses on defining the king's estate, with sections for priests and for key gods such as Marduk. In what ways did writing improve property maps?

languages. Even so, writing and reading remained complex skills, which only a few had time to master. Scribes wrote on clay tablets, using styluses shaped quite like the modern ballpoint pen.

Sumerian art developed steadily as statues and painted frescoes were used to adorn the temples of the gods. Statues of the gods also decorated individual homes. Sumerian science aided a complex agricultural society, as people sought to learn more about the movement of the sun and stars—thus founding the science of astronomy—and improved their mathematical knowledge. (Astronomy defined the calendar and provided the astrological forecasts widely used in politics and religion.) The Sumerians employed a system of numbers based on units of 10, 60, and 360 that we still use in calculating circles and hours. In other words, Sumerians and their successors in Mesopotamia created patterns of observation and abstract thought about nature that a number of civilizations, including our own, still rely on, and they also introduced specific systems, such as charts of major constellations, that have been in use, at least among educated people, for 5000 years not only in the Middle East but, by later imitation, in India and Europe as well.

Sumerians developed complex religious rituals. Each city had a patron god and erected impressive shrines to please and honor this and other deities. Massive towers, called **ziggurats**, formed the first monumental architecture in this civilization. Professional priests operated these temples and conducted the rituals within. Sumerians believed in many powerful gods, for the nature on which their agriculture depended often seemed swift and unpredictable. Prayers and offerings to prevent floods as well as to protect good health were a vital part of Sumerian life. Sumerian ideas about the divine force in natural objects—in rivers, trees, and mountains—were common among early agricultural peoples; a religion of this sort, which sees gods in many aspects of nature, is known as **polytheism**. More specifically, Sumerian religious notions, notably their ideas about the gods' creation of the earth from water and about the divine punishment of humans through

floods, later influenced the writers of the Old Testament and thus continue to play a role in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim cultures. Sumerian religious ideas also included a belief in an afterlife of punishment—an original version of the concept of hell.

Sumerian political structures stressed tightly organized **city-states**, ruled by a king who claimed divine authority. The Sumerian state had carefully defined boundaries, unlike the less formal territories of precivilized villages in the region. Here is a key early example of how civilization and a more formal political structure came together. The government helped regulate religion and enforce its duties; it also provided a court system in the interests of justice. Kings were originally military leaders during times of war, and the function of defense and war, including leadership of a trained army, remained vital in Sumerian politics. Kings and the noble class, along with the priesthood, controlled considerable land, which was worked by slaves. Thus began a tradition of slavery that long marked Middle Eastern societies. Warfare remained vital to ensure supplies of slaves, taken as prisoners during combat. At the same time, slavery was in a variable state of existence, and many slaves were able to earn money and even buy their freedom.

Mesopotamian civilization developed a strongly patriarchal family structure. By 3000 B.C.E., only men were shown as wielding a plow in Middle Eastern art. Laws insisted that women remain sexually faithful, but they granted greater latitude to men. Women had a few legal protections, at least in principle: Husbands were supposed to support their wives, and wives could legitimately leave if this support failed. Outside the law, customs developed, particularly in the cities, that further marked off women. By 2000 B.C.E., veiling of respectable women became common, in order to shield them from the eyes of men outside their family.

The Sumerians added to their region's agricultural prosperity not only by using wheeled carts but also by learning about fertilizers and by adopting silver as a means of exchange for buying and selling—an early form of money. However, the region was also hard to defend and proved a constant temptation to outside invaders from Sumerian times to the present. The Sumerians themselves fell to

ziggurats [ZIG-uh-rats] Massive towers usually associated with Mesopotamian temple complexes.

city-state A form of political organization typical of Mesopotamian civilizations; consisted of agricultural hinterlands ruled by an urban-based king.

Babylonians Unified all of Mesopotamia c. 1800 B.C.E.; empire collapsed due to foreign invasion c. 1600 B.C.E.

Hammurabi (r. 1792–1750 B.C.E.) The most important ruler of the Babylonian empire; responsible for codification of law.

a people called the Akkadians around 2400 B.C.E. The Akkadians continued much of Sumerian culture. It was an Akkadian king, Sargon, who came to be the first identifiable figure in world history, in terms of surviving records. He unified the empire and added to Sumerian art the theme of royal victory. Sargon maintained 5400 troops, a larger professional army than had existed before. Akkadians sent troops as far as Egypt and Ethiopia.

After about 200 years, another period of decline was followed by conquest by the **Babylonians**, who extended their own empire and thus helped bring civilization to other parts of the Middle East. It was under Babylonian rule that the king **Hammurabi** introduced the most famous early code of law, boasting of his purpose:

to promote the welfare of the people, me Hammurabi, the devout, god-fearing prince, to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, that the strong might not oppress the weak.

Hammurabi's code established rules of procedure for courts of law and regulated property rights and the duties of family members, setting harsh punishments for crimes.

For many centuries during and after the heyday of Babylon, Middle Eastern societies were troubled by the invasions of hunting and herding groups. Indo-European peoples pressed in from the north, starting about 2100 B.C.E. In the Middle East itself, invasions by Semitic peoples from the south were more important, and Semitic people and languages increasingly dominated the region. The new arrivals adopted the culture of the conquered peoples as their own, so the key features of the civilization persisted. But large political units declined in favor of smaller city-states or regional kingdoms, particularly during the centuries of greatest turmoil, between 1200 and 900 B.C.E. Thereafter, new invaders, first the Assyrians and then the Persians, created large new empires in the Middle East.

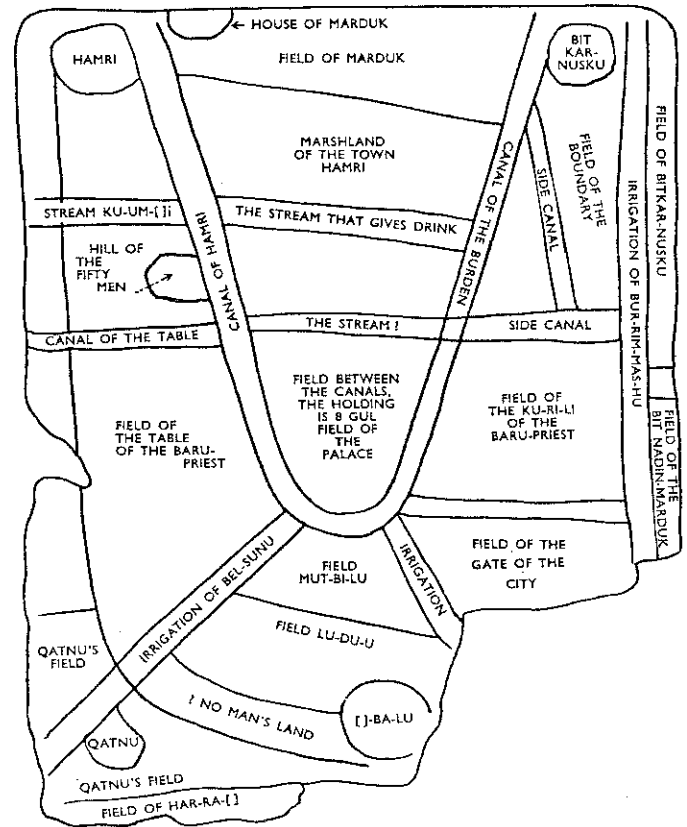


FIGURE 2.3 A translation of the map shown in Figure 2.2. (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Neg.#54-13970)



View the Closer Look on MyHistoryLab: Enemies Crossing the Euphrates to Escape Assyrians

VISUALIZING THE PAST

Mesopotamia in Maps

THE MESOPOTAMIAN CIVILIZATIONS STEADILY EXPANDED FROM their roots in the fertile valley between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers throughout their centuries of existence. Reading the maps can help explain the nature of the civilizations in the region.

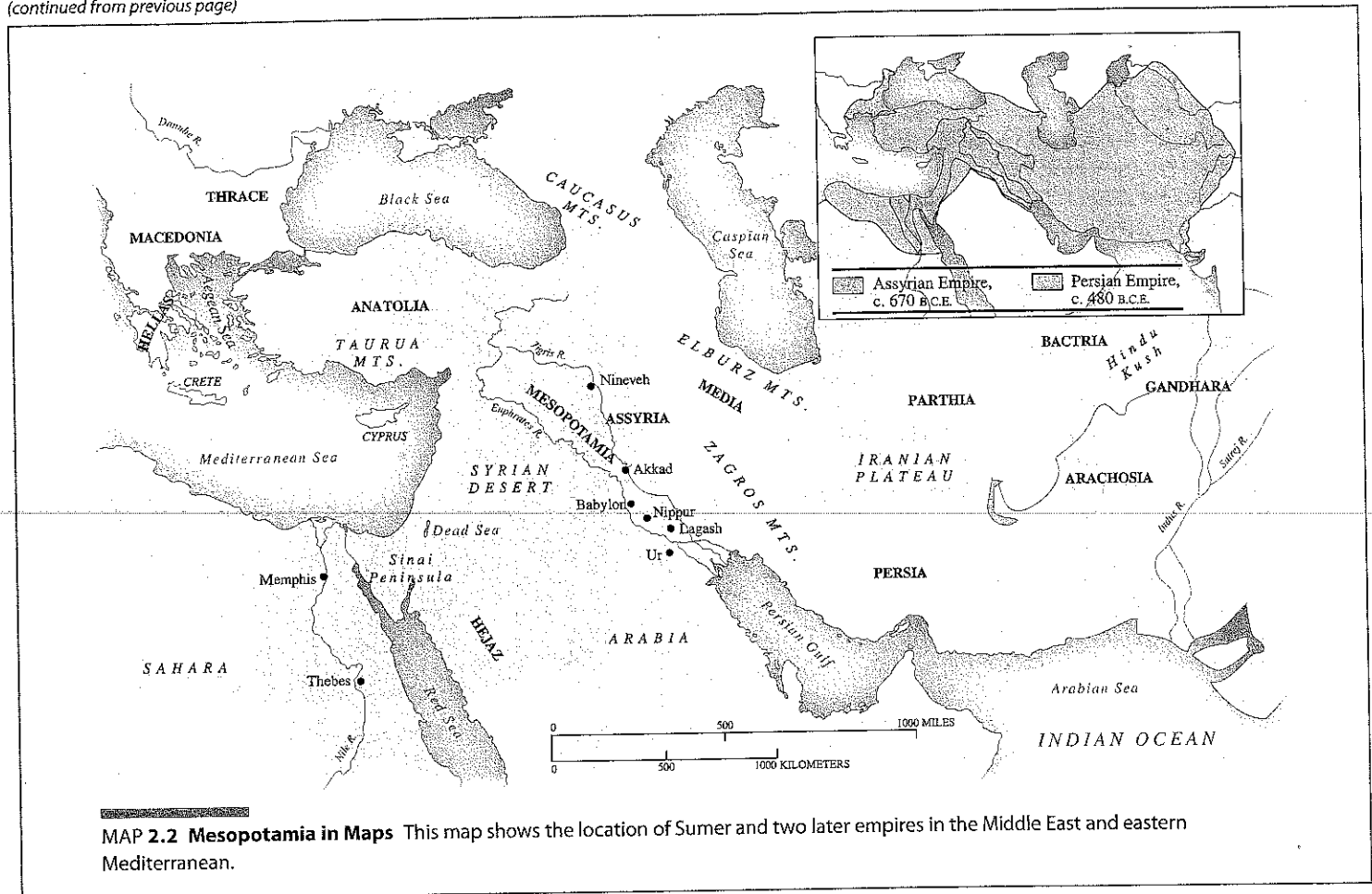
This map shows the location of Sumer and two later empires in the Middle East and eastern Mediterranean.

QUESTIONS

- What do these maps suggest about the relationship between Mesopotamian civilizations and the topography of the Middle East?
- Does geography suggest reasons for invasion and political instability in this civilization center?
- Did later empires in the region have the same relationship to river valleys as did the earlier states?
- What were the potential contacts between Mesopotamia and other river valley civilization centers?
- Why has the Middle East been so significant in European, African, and Asian history?

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DOCUMENT

Hammurabi's Law Code

HAMMURABI, AS KING OF BABYLON, UNITED MESOPOTAMIA under his rule from about 1800 to 1750 B.C.E. His law code, the earliest such compilation still in existence, was discovered on a stone slab in Iran in 1901 C.E. Not a systematic presentation, it was a collection of exemplary cases designed to set general standards of justice. The code provides vital insights into the nature of social relations and family structure in this ancient civilization. Examples of the Hammurabic code follow:

When Marduk commanded me to give justice to the people of the land and to let [them] have [good] governance, I set forth truth and justice throughout the land [and] prospered the people.

At that time:

If a man has accused a man and has charged him with manslaughter and then has not proved [it against] him, his accuser shall be put to death.

If a man has charged a man with sorcery and then has not proved [it against] him, he who is charged with the sorcery shall go to the holy river; he shall leap into the holy river and, if the holy river overwhelms him, his accuser shall take and keep his house; if the holy river proves that man clear [of the offense] and he comes back safe, he who has charged him with sorcery shall be put to death; he who leapt into the holy river shall take and keep the house of his accuser.

If a man has come forward in a case to bear witness to a felony and then has not proved the statement that he has made, if that case [is] a capital one, that man shall be put to death.

If he has come forward to bear witness to [a claim for] corn or money, he shall remain liable for the penalty for that suit.

If a judge has tried a suit, given a decision, caused a sealed tablet to be executed, [and] thereafter varies his judgment, they shall convict that judge of varying [his] judgment and he shall pay twelvefold the claim in that suit; then they shall remove him

from his place on the bench of judges in the assembly, and he shall not [again] sit in judgment with the judges.

If a free person helps a slave to escape, the free person will be put to death.

If a man has committed robbery and is caught, that man shall be put to death.

If the robber is not caught, the man who has been robbed shall formally declare whatever he has lost before a god, and the city and the mayor in whose territory or district the robbery has been committed shall replace whatever he has lost for him.

If [it is] the life [of the owner that is lost], the city or the mayor shall pay one maneh of silver to his kinsfolk.

If a person owes money and Adad [the river god] has flooded the person's field, the person will not give any grain [tax] or pay any interest in that year.

If a person is too lazy to make the dike of his field strong and there is a break in the dike and water destroys his own farmland, that person will make good the grain [tax] that is destroyed.

If a merchant increases interest beyond that set by the king and collects it, that merchant will lose what was lent.

If a trader borrows money from a merchant and then denies the fact, that merchant in the presence of god and witnesses will prove the trader borrowed the money and the trader will pay the merchant three times the amount borrowed.

If the husband of a married lady has accused her but she is not caught lying with another man, she shall take an oath by the life of a god and return to her house.

If a man takes himself off and there is not the [necessary] maintenance in his house, his wife [so long as] her [husband is delayed] shall keep [herself chaste; she shall not] enter [another man's house].

If that woman has not kept herself chaste but enters another man's house, they shall convict that woman and cast her into the water.

If a son strikes his father, they shall cut off his forehead.

If a man has put out the eye of a free man, they shall put out his eye.

If he breaks the bone of a [free] man, they shall break his bone.

If he puts out the eye of a villain or breaks the bone of a villain, he shall pay one maneh of silver.

If he puts out the eye of a [free] man's slave or breaks the bone of a [free] man's slave, he shall pay half his price.

If a man knocks out the tooth of a [free] man equal [in rank] to him[self], they shall knock out his tooth.

If he knocks out the tooth of a villain, he shall pay one-third maneh of silver.

If a man strikes the cheek of a [free] man who is superior [in rank] to him[self], he shall be beaten with 60 stripes with a whip of ox-hide in the assembly.

If the man strikes the cheek of a free man equal to him[self] in rank, he shall pay one maneh of silver.

If a man strikes the cheek of a villain, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

If the slave of a [free] man strikes the cheek of a free man, they shall cut off his ear.

QUESTIONS

- What can you tell from the Hammurabic code about the social and family structure of Mesopotamia?
- What is the relationship between law and trade?
- Why did agricultural civilizations such as Babylon insist on harsh punishments for crimes?
- What religious and magical beliefs does the document suggest?
- Using specific examples, show how interpreting this document for significant historical meaning differs from simply reading it.

EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION

2.3

How did Mesopotamian and Egyptian political structures compare?

A second center of civilization sprang up in northern Africa, along the Nile River. Egyptian civilization, formed by 3000 B.C.E., benefited from the trade and technological influence of Mesopotamia, but it produced quite a different society and culture. Less open to invasion, Egypt retained a unified state throughout most of its history. With some fluctuations, the kingdom lasted almost 3000 years, although its period of greatest vitality had passed by 1000 B.C.E. Farming had developed along the Nile by about 5000 B.C.E., but economic activity increased before 3200, in part because of greater trade with Mesopotamia. This acceleration provided the basis for the formation of regional kingdoms and soon a unified empire along the great river.

Because of its early unity and its cohesion along the banks of the Nile, Egypt had fewer problems with political unity than Mesopotamia did. The king, or **pharaoh**, possessed immense power. The Egyptian economy was more fully government directed than its Mesopotamian counterpart, which had a more independent business class. Government control may have been necessary because of the complexity of coordinating irrigation along the Nile. It nonetheless resulted in godlike status for the pharaohs, who built splendid tombs for themselves—the **pyramids**—from 2700 B.C.E. on. During

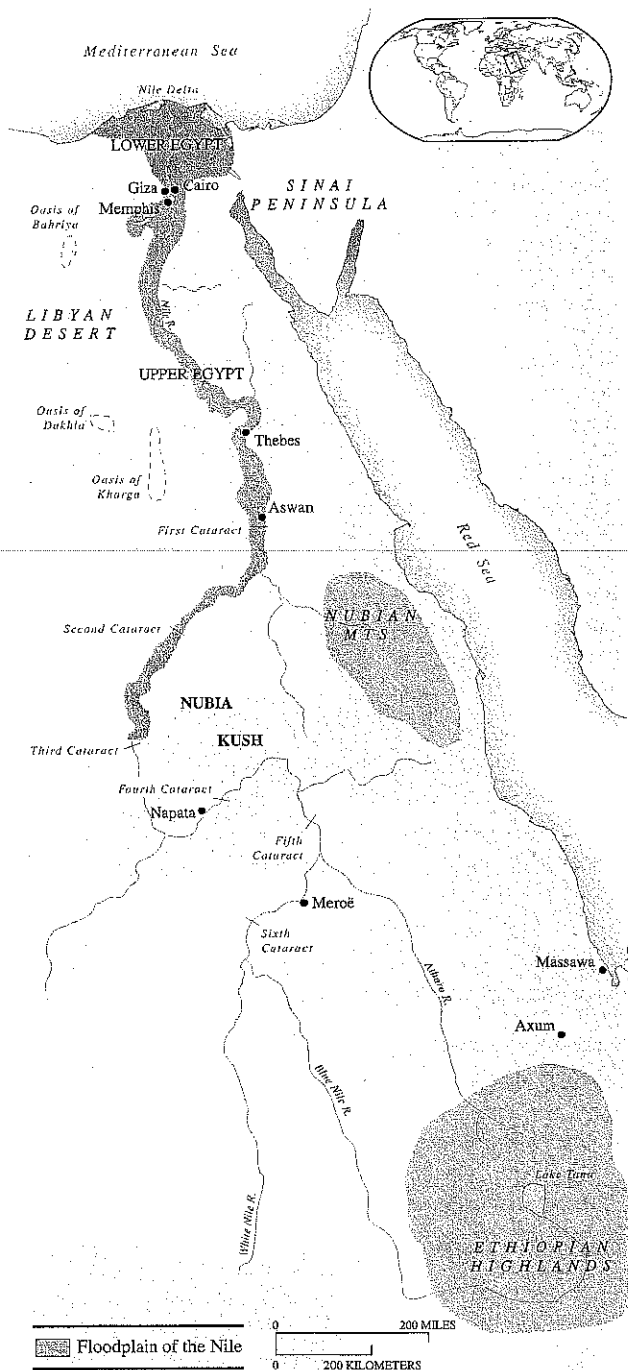
Egypt, in northeastern Africa, benefited from Mesopotamian trade and technology. The Egyptians developed a different, and more stable, version of civilization.



Read the Document on MyHistoryLab: An Egyptian Hymn to the Nile

pharaoh Title of kings of ancient Egypt.

pyramids Monumental architecture typical of Old Kingdom Egypt; used as burial sites for pharaohs.



MAP 2.3 Egypt, Kush, and Axum, Successive Dynasties As Egypt weakened, kingdoms farther up the Nile and deeper into Africa rose in importance.

Kush An African state that developed along the upper reaches of the Nile c. 1000 B.C.E.; conquered Egypt and ruled it for several centuries.



Read the Document on MyHistoryLab: Egyptian Folk Tale, c. 2000 B.C.E.

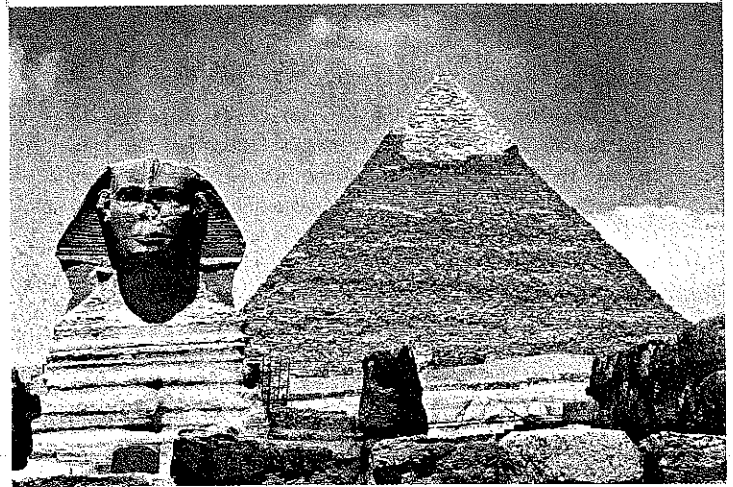


FIGURE 2.4 The statue known to the West as the *Sphinx* and to the Arabs as the *Father of Terror* has the head of a man, wearing the royal headdress of ancient Egypt, and the body of a lion. At 200 feet long and 65 feet tall, it was the largest single-stone statue in the ancient world. Exactly who built it and when is unknown, but it is believed to have been constructed as the guardian of the Necropolis at Giza (home of the Great Pyramids) and a symbol of the power of the pharaohs.

periods of weak rule and occasional invasions, Egyptian society suffered a decline, but revivals kept the framework of Egyptian civilization intact until after 1000 B.C.E. (Map 2.3). At key points, Egyptian influence spread up the Nile to the area now known as Sudan, with an impact on the later development of African culture. The kingdom of **Kush** interacted with Egypt and invaded it at some points.

Neither Egyptian science nor the Egyptian alphabet was as elaborate as its Mesopotamian equal, although mathematics was more advanced in this civilization. Egyptian art was exceptionally lively; cheerful and colorful pictures decorated not only the tombs—where the belief in an afterlife made people want to be surrounded by objects of beauty—but also palaces and furnishings. Egyptian architectural forms were also quite influential, not only in Egypt but in other parts of the Mediterranean as well. Egyptian mathematics produced the idea of a day divided into 24 hours, and here too Egypt influenced the development of later Mediterranean cultures.

The most famous Egyptian art form was of course the pyramid, which the pharaohs built to house themselves and their families after death (Figure 2.4). The largest pyramids required labor forces of up to 100,000 people, and they were amazing achievements given the state of Egyptian technology. Workers rolled the huge stones, weighing more than five tons, over logs and onto Nile barges. The pyramids attested to royal power. They also illustrated Egypt's ability to generate agricultural surpluses and to command a labor force.

Egypt interacted periodically with the Middle East, but the contacts were not very influential in either direction. Egypt's interactions with the upper reaches of the Nile, deeper into Africa, were more significant. After about 1570 B.C.E., in the final main phase of the great kingdoms, Egypt also expanded trade with the islands of the eastern Mediterranean, which extended the empire's influence to southern Europe, particularly in terms of monumental art but also in the area of mathematics.

EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA COMPARED

2.4 How did Mesopotamian and Egyptian religions compare?

By comparing the two first civilizations, we can highlight their differences as well as their important similarities.

Comparisons in politics, culture, economics, and society suggest that the two civilizations varied substantially because of largely separate origins and environments. The distinction in overall tone was striking, with Egypt more stable and optimistic than Mesopotamia not only in its beliefs about gods and the afterlife but also in the colorful and lively pictures the Egyptians emphasized in their decorative art. The distinction in internal history was also striking: Egyptian civilization was far less marked by disruption than its Mesopotamian counterpart.

Egypt and Mesopotamia differed in many ways, thanks to variations in geography, exposure to outside invasion and influence, and different beliefs. Despite trade and war, they did not imitate each other much. Egypt emphasized strong central authority, whereas Mesopotamian politics shifted more often over a substructure of regional city-states. Mesopotamian art focused on less monumental structures and embraced a literary element that Egyptian art lacked.

The economies differed as well. Mesopotamia developed more technological improvements because the environment was more difficult to manage than the Nile valley. Trade contacts were more wide ranging, and the Mesopotamians gave considerable attention to a merchant class and commercial law.

Social differences between the two civilizations are less obvious because we have less information on daily life for this early period. It is probable, though, that the status of women was higher in Egypt than in Mesopotamia (where women's position seems to have deteriorated after Sumer). Egyptians seem to have paid great respect to women, at least in the upper classes, in part because marriage alliances were vital to the preservation and stability of the monarchy. Vivid love poetry indicated a high regard for emotional relations between men and women. Also, Egyptian religion included more pronounced deference to goddesses as sources of creativity. Egyptians did not practice female infanticide—the killing of baby girls—which most societies used for population control.

Differences were not the whole story; as river valley civilizations, Egypt and Mesopotamia shared important features. Both emphasized social stratification, with a noble, land-owning class at the top

THINKING HISTORICALLY

Women in Patriarchal Societies

IN CONTRAST TO HUNTING-AND-GATHERING SOCIETIES, agricultural civilizations were generally *patriarchal*; that is, they were not only run by men but were based on the assumption that men directed political, economic, and cultural life. Furthermore, as agricultural civilizations developed and became more prosperous and more elaborately organized, the status of women increasingly deteriorated.

Patriarchal family structure rested on men's control of most or all property, starting with land. Marriage was based on property relationships, and it was assumed that marriage, and therefore subordination to men, was the normal condition for women. A revealing symptom of patriarchy in families was the

fact that after marrying, a woman usually moved to the orbit (and often the residence) of her husband's family.

A good portion of Mesopotamian law (such as the Hammurabic code) was devoted to prescriptions for women, ensuring certain basic protections but clearly emphasizing limits and inferiority.

Characteristic patriarchal conditions developed in Mesopotamian civilization. Thus, in Sumerian law, the adultery of a wife was punishable by death, whereas a husband's adultery was treated far more lightly—a double standard characteristic of patriarchalism. Mesopotamian societies after Sumerian times began to emphasize the importance of a woman's virginity at marriage and to require women to wear veils in public to emphasize their modesty. A good portion of Mesopotamian law (such as the Hammurabic code) was devoted to prescriptions for women,

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ensuring certain basic protections but clearly emphasizing limits and inferiority.

Patriarchal conditions varied from one agricultural civilization to another. Egyptian civilization gave women, at least in the upper classes, considerable credit and witnessed several powerful queens. Nefertiti, wife of Akhenaton, seems to have been influential in the religious disputes during his reign; artistic works suggest her religious role. Some agricultural societies traced descendants from mothers rather than from fathers. This was true of Jewish law, for example. But even these matrilineal societies held women to be inferior to men; for example, Jewish law insisted that men and women worship separately, with men occupying the central temple space. These variations are important, but they usually operated within a basic framework of patriarchy. It was around 2000 B.C.E. that an Egyptian writer, Ptah Hotep, put patriarchal beliefs as clearly as anyone in the early civilizations: "If you are a man of note, found for yourself a household, and love your wife at home, as it beseems. Fill her belly, clothe her back. . . . But hold her back from getting the mastery."

As agriculture improved with the use of better techniques, women's labor, though still vital, became less important than it had been in hunting-and-gathering or early agricultural societies. This was particularly true in the upper classes and in cities, where men often took over the most productive work (e.g., craft production or political leadership). The inferior position of women in the upper classes, relative to men, usually was more marked than in peasant villages, where women's labor remained essential.

Patriarchy raises important questions about women themselves: Why did they put up with it? Many women

internalized the culture of patriarchy, holding that it was their job to obey and to serve men and accepting arguments that their aptitudes were inferior to those of men. But patriarchy did not preclude some important options for women. In many societies, a minority of women could gain expression through religious tasks, such as prayer or service in ceremonies. These could allow them to act independently of family structures. Patriarchal laws defined some rights for women even within marriage, protecting them in theory from the worst abuses. Babylonian law, for example, gave women as well as men the right to divorce under certain conditions when the spouse had not lived up to obligations. Women could also wield informal power in patriarchal societies by their emotional hold over husbands or sons. Such power was indirect, behind the scenes, but a forceful woman might use these means to figure prominently in a society's history. Women also could form networks, if only within a large household. Older women, who commanded the obedience of many daughters-in-law and unmarried daughters, could shape the activities of the family.

Patriarchy was a commanding theme in most agricultural civilizations from the early centuries on. Its enforcement, through law and culture, was one means by which societies tried to achieve order. In many agricultural civilizations, patriarchy dictated that boys, because of their importance in carrying on the family name and the chief economic activities, were more likely to survive: When population excess threatened a family or a community, female infants sometimes were killed as a means of population control.

and masses of peasants and slaves at the bottom. A powerful priestly group also figured in the elite. Although specific achievements in science differed, both civilizations emphasized astronomy and related mathematics and produced durable findings about units of time and measurement. Both Mesopotamia and Egypt changed slowly by more modern standards. Having developed successful political and economic systems, both societies tended strongly toward conservatism. Change, when it came, usually was brought by outside forces (natural disasters or invasions).

Finally, both civilizations left important heritages in their regions and adjacent territories. Several smaller civilization centers were launched under the impetus of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and some produced important innovations of their own by about 1000 B.C.E.

RIVER VALLEY CIVILIZATION IN INDIA

2.5 Why do we know less about Harappan civilization than about Egypt?

River valley civilizations developed in two other centers. Early civilization in the northeastern part of the Indian subcontinent—today known as Pakistan—developed impressive urban structures. Trade with the Middle East was active. The civilization ultimately did not endure, however, and for various reasons—including the inability to decipher the writing system—less is known about this society than about Egypt or Mesopotamia. Early civilization in China cropped up a bit later and is also shrouded in some mystery; but this society transmitted cultural values more directly to subsequent Chinese history than was the case in any other region, so it deserves attention.

A prosperous urban civilization emerged along the **Indus River** by 2500 B.C.E., supporting several large cities, including **Harappa** (Map 2.4). Here was another case where contacts helped support

Between about 2500 and 1600 B.C.E., the two great cities uncovered thus far and numerous towns of Harappan civilization flourished in the Indus River valley. As in the Fertile Crescent, environmental change, natural calamities, and successive nomadic migrations brought about the irretrievable decline of Harappa in the middle centuries of the 2nd millennium B.C.E.

Indus River River sources in Himalayas to mouth in Arabian Sea; location of Harappan civilization.

Harappa Along with Mohenjodaro, major urban complex of the Harappan civilization; laid out on planned grid pattern.

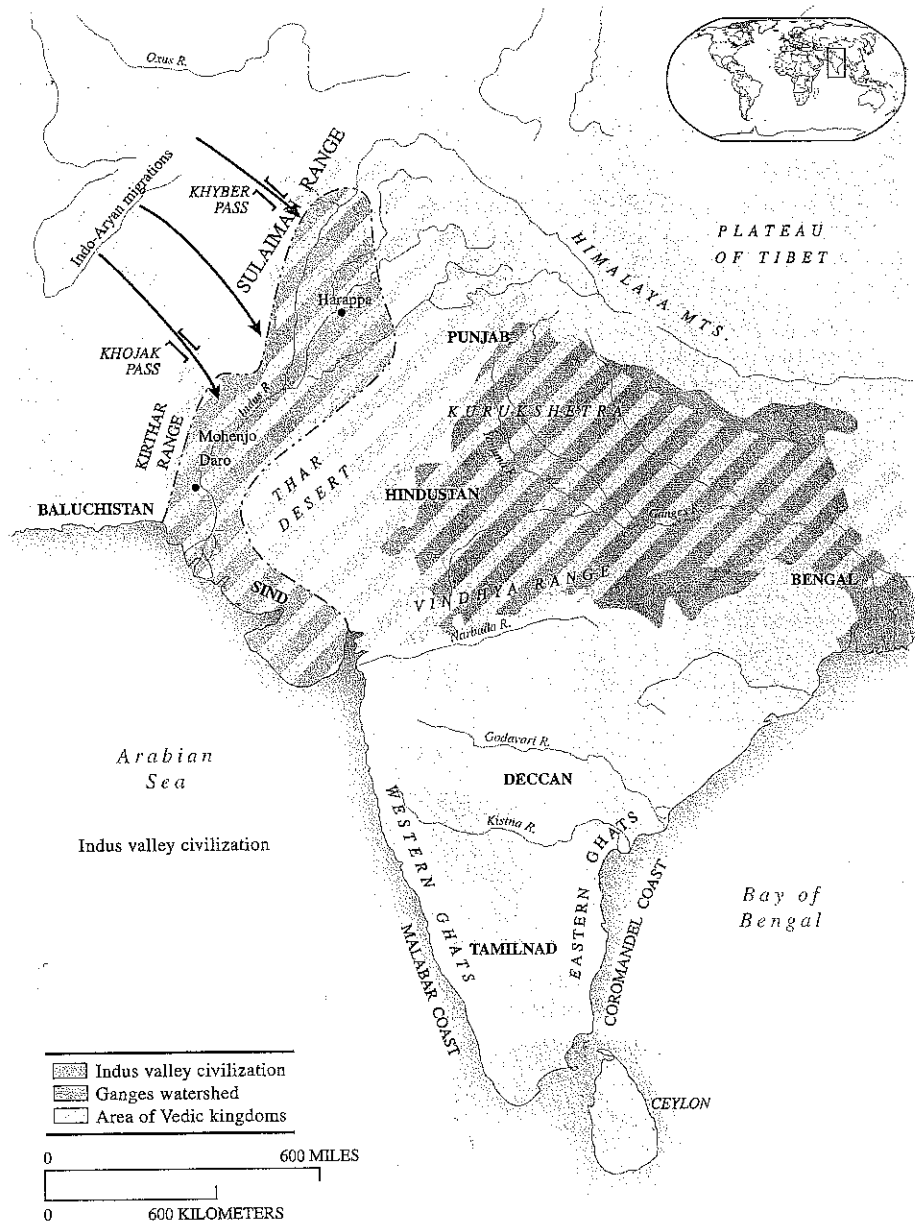
the expansion of early civilization: Harappa had extensive trade relations with Mesopotamia. Harappa featured elaborate urban facilities, with houses benefitting from running water. Toilets, in fact, connected to citywide drainage systems, were perhaps the first that humans ever invented. The important trading contacts with Mesopotamia did not prevent the development of a distinctive alphabet and artistic forms. The large cities, including Harappa itself, contained buildings that were probably for religious ceremonies or community assemblies. Public baths were also available. Governments stored grain for times of shortage and for festival days. Trade was extensive, and precious stones from China and southeast Asia have been found. Priests had great power in this civilization, serving as intermediaries between the people and the gods and goddesses who were believed to control fertility.

For all their achievements, the Harappan people seem to have been somewhat conservative. Although they used bronze, they did not keep up with the tools available in Mesopotamia, even though they had contact with this area. Notably, they did not manufacture swords, relying on bronze-tipped arrows instead. They became vulnerable to attack.

Harappa remains something of a mystery. Its ruins began to be discovered only in the mid-19th century, when it became clear that this had been a major center of ancient civilization but also rather unlike what later developed in India, for example, in terms of the styles of writing. We also do not fully know what caused the civilization to gradually decline after about 1500 B.C.E. The decline resulted from several factors, including massive flooding. Invasions and, even more, migrations by a cattle-herding people, the Indo-Europeans, probably challenged the control of the priestly group. Some violence was involved, and skeletons with crushed skulls and in postures of flight, either from invaders or from floods, have been found. Environmental changes were almost certainly a greater problem, with excessive forest-cutting leading to the creation of desert conditions and saltier soils. Historians continue to debate how the factors involved compare with other cases of civilization decline. The Harappan decline resulted in such complete destruction of this culture—that we know little about its nature or its subsequent influence on India. It remains true that civilization never had to be fully reinvented in India. The Indo-European migrants combined their religious and political ideas with those that had taken root in the early cities. In recent times, Indians' pride in their early civilized history has become an important part of their national identity.

After Harappa's Fall

The fall of Harappa was followed by a long transitional period in the history of the Indian subcontinent. This period is sometimes called the Vedic and Epic ages, because important cultural developments centered on the creation of elaborate epic poems. During these centuries, from about 1500 to 700



MAP 2.4 India in the Age of Harappa and the Early Aryan Migrations Although South Asia's first civilization was located in the Indus valley in the northwest, the Aryan invasions from southwest Asia led to extensive settlement in the Ganges valley to the east and to internal migrations that gave rise to the splendid Dravidian civilization in the Deccan and Tamilland further south.

Aryans Indo-European nomadic pastoralists who replaced Harappan civilization; militarized society.

Vedas Aryan hymns originally transmitted orally but written down in sacred books from the 6th century B.C.



Watch the Video: The Aryans in India (Howard Spodek)

Mahabharata [muh-hah-BUH-uh-tuh] Indian epic of war, princely honor, love, and social duty; written down in the last centuries B.C.E.; previously handed down in oral form.

Ramayana [ruh-MEYE-ehn] One of the great epic tales from classical India; traces adventures of King Rama and his wife, Sita; written 4th to 2nd centuries B.C.E.

Upanishads [oo-PAHN-uh-shadz] Later books of the Vedas; contained sophisticated and sublime philosophical ideas; utilized by Brahmans to restore religious authority.



Read the Document on MyHistoryLab: Selections from the Rig-Veda

Chinese civilization emerged from the unification of large village communities that had developed along the Yellow River. In the Shang era, which spanned much of the 2nd millennium B.C.E., existing irrigation systems were extended, and a system of writing was devised that has proved a key source of Chinese identity to the present day.



View the Closer Look on MyHistoryLab: A Bronze Axe Head from the Shang Dynasty

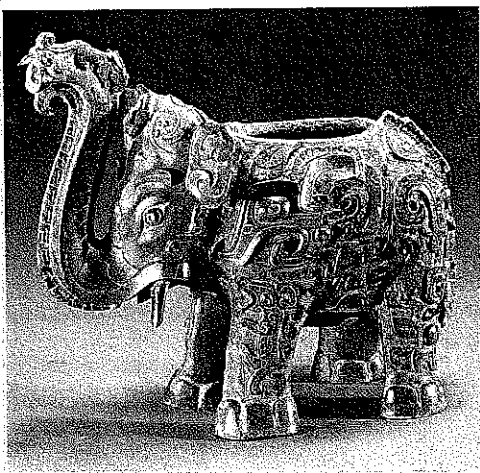


FIGURE 2.5 This elaborately decorated bronze vessel from the Shang era shows the sophisticated artistic expression achieved very early in Chinese history. It also demonstrates a high level of metalworking ability, which carried over into Shang weapons and tools. Although the design of these ritual vessels often was abstract, mythical creatures such as dragons and sacred birds were deftly cast in bronzes that remain some of the great treasures of Chinese art.

B.C.E., **Aryan** (Indo-European) migrants poured into India. These hunting and herding peoples, originally from Central Asia, gradually converted to agriculture, extending farming from the Indus River valley to the more fertile Ganges basin. The Aryans used iron tools to clear away the dense vegetation.

The Aryans developed a series of literary epics, initially passed on orally and later written down. The sacred books were called the **Vedas**, from the Sanskrit word Veda, or “knowledge.” The first epic, the Rig-Veda, consists of 1028 hymns dedicated to the Aryans gods and composed by various priests. New stories, developed during the Epic Age between 1000 and 600 B.C.E., include the **Mahabharata**, India’s greatest epic poem, and the **Ramayana**, both of which deal with real and mythical battles. These epics reflected a more settled agricultural society and better-organized political units than the Rig-Veda. The Epic Age also saw the creation of the **Upanishads**, epic poems with a more mystical flavor. The vital role of priests, but also the generation of increasingly abstract religious ideas, formed central themes in this formative period of Indian history.

Aryan ideas and social forms became increasingly influential. As they settled into agriculture, the Aryans encouraged tight levels of village organization that became characteristic of Indian history. Village chiefs, drawn from leaders of the various Aryan tribes, organized village defenses and regulated property relationships among families. In turn, patriarchal controls and tight extended family relationships among grandparents, parents, and children, solidified the local base of Indian society. As we will see, the Aryans also promoted a distinctive system of social inequality, another factor in the growing social cohesion of Indian society as it moved beyond the transitional centuries.

CHINA

2.6

How does early China illustrate the main features of river-valley civilizations?

Civilization along the Huanghe (**Yellow River**) in China developed in considerable isolation, although some overland trading contact with India and the Middle East did develop (Map 2.5). Huanghe civilization was the subject of much later Chinese legend, which praised the godlike kings of early civilization, starting with the mythic ancestor of the Chinese, Pan Gu. The Chinese had an unusually elaborate concept of their remote origins, and they began early to record a part-fact, part-fiction history of their early kings.

What is clear is the following: First, a well-organized state developed that carefully regulated irrigation in the fertile but flood-prone river valley. Early kings sponsored a considerable network of dikes and canals. Second, by about 2000 B.C.E., the Chinese had produced an advanced technology and developed an elaborate intellectual life. They had learned how to ride horses and were skilled in pottery; they used bronze well and by 1000 B.C.E. had introduced iron, which they soon learned to work with coal. Their writing progressed from knotted ropes to scratches of lines on bone to the invention of **ideographic** symbols. By 1500 B.C.E., at least 3000 pictographic characters had been devised. This standardized writing began to provide some unity to the very diverse peoples assembled in this river valley kingdom, who originally spoke a wide array of languages. Science, particularly astronomy, also arose early. Chinese art emphasized delicate designs (Figure 2.5). Because of limits on building materials in the region, the Chinese did not construct many massive monuments, choosing to live in simple houses built of mud. By about 1500 B.C.E., a line of kings called the **Shang** ruled over the Huanghe valley, and these rulers did construct some impressive tombs and palaces. Invasions disrupted the Shang dynasty and caused a temporary decline in civilization. However, there was less of a break between the river valley society and the later, fuller development of civilization in China than occurred in other regions.

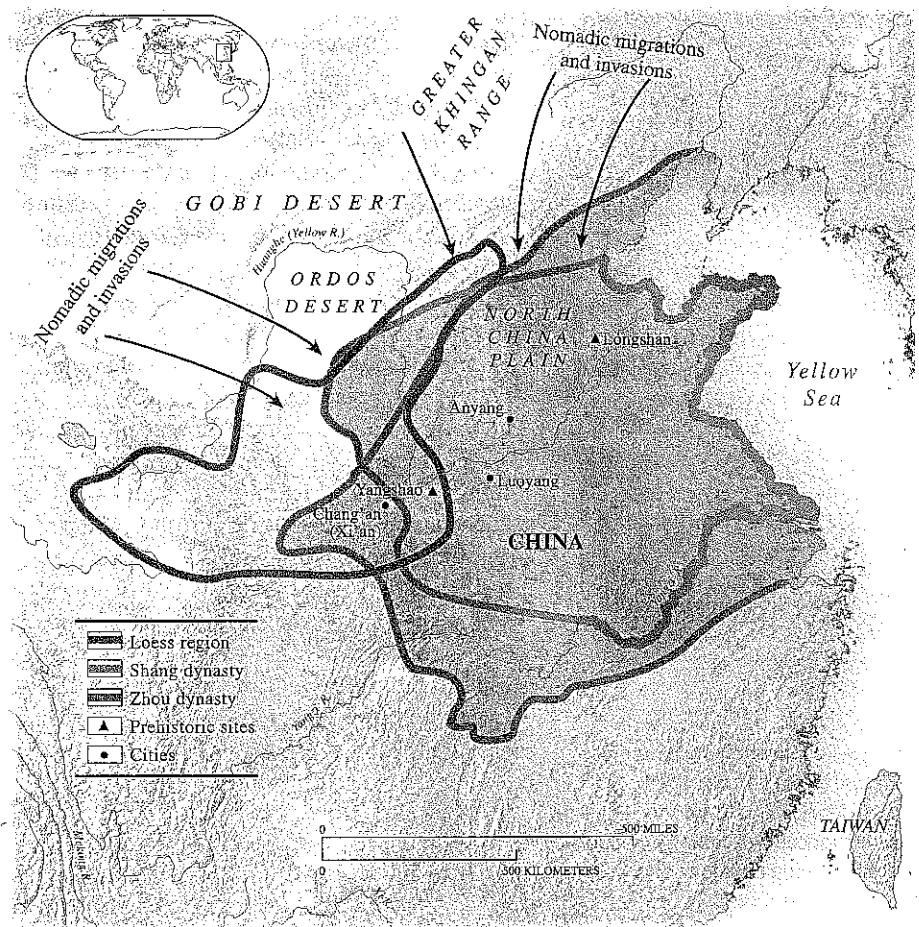
River valley civilization in China generated a number of features of importance for later periods. Silk manufacturing developed. Some form of ancestor worship began. Emphasis on a strong, expansionist state, particularly under the Shang, set the basis for later Chinese politics. The Shang fought on horseback and from chariots, using conquered peoples as foot soldiers. They maintained fuller control over their armies than was characteristic

of many other early societies. Shang rulers also directed important rituals, devoted to fertility. In times of famine or drought, the state provided dancers to woo the gods with their performance, and the dancers were later buried alive to calm the spirits who had caused the natural disaster. The state, in other words, took on cultural responsibilities, and this too characterized the ongoing Chinese political tradition.

The Zhou Dynasty

The collapse of the Shang dynasty did not end the early civilization period in China. It was followed by the Zhou dynasty, which initially came from the north, flourishing between 1029 and about 700 B.C.E., although technically extending beyond this point. The Zhou ruled through alliances with landed families, lacking the means to govern the whole territory directly. This was China's feudal period, with supporters asked to provide troops and tax revenues to the central government in return for grants of land. The Zhou did introduce several innovations that would connect with later Chinese history, serving as a transition from the early civilization period to the next phase. They encouraged settlers to move south, to the Yangzi river basin: This expanded China benefited from two agricultural regions (rice and wheat growing), which encouraged both population growth and trade. The Zhou emperors also claimed a "mandate of heaven"—divine support for their rule. And they promoted greater cultural unity, backing the use of the Mandarin language and discouraging more primitive religious practices, including human sacrifice, and urging more restrained ceremonies for worshipping the gods. Oral epics and stories began to be written down, further encouraging a shared culture.

The Zhou could not maintain their hold, however. After about 700 political fragmentation increased, with landlords disregarding the state and establishing their own power base. Additional nomadic peoples migrated into China, often converting to Chinese culture as they settled down. The new levels of disorder encouraged intellectuals to define a clearer Chinese value system and ultimately would provoke a more effective attempt to introduced political unity. These were the changes that ended the early civilization period more decisively.



MAP 2.5 China in the Shang and Zhou Eras As this map of early centers of Chinese civilization depicts dramatically, Chinese peoples occupied only a small portion of the area that would correspond to China from the last centuries B.C.E. to the present day.

Yellow River Also known as the Huanghe; site of development of sedentary agriculture in China.

ideographs Pictographic character grouped together to create new concepts; typical of Chinese writing.

Shang First Chinese dynasty for which archeological evidence exists; capital located in Ordos bulge of the Huanghe; flourished 1600 to 1046 B.C.E.

EARLY CIVILIZATIONS IN THE AMERICAS

2.7

How did conditions in the Americas differ from those in Asia and North Africa during the formation of early civilizations?

Early civilizations emerged somewhat later in the Americas than in Asia and North Africa, in part because agriculture had developed later. Many similarities arose with previous patterns in the Middle East or Harappa. But conditions in the Americas were somewhat distinctive. Few animals were available for domestication: dogs, turkeys, guinea pigs, and (in the Andes) llamas and alpacas comprised the full list. There were simply no animals to assist with heavy transportation. American societies also developed without the use of metals for tools and weapons. Finally, contact among civilization centers

The Olmec civilization spread certain elements of culture over the Mesoamerican region. The civilization of Chavin spread along the Peruvian coast and created a horizon of widely shared culture.

was challenging in the Americas, because travel was required in a north-south direction, across climate zones, again in contrast to patterns in Asia, southern Europe and North Africa.

We have seen that people began to migrate to the Americas from Asia at least by 25,000 B.C.E., and probably earlier. Dispersal occurred fairly quickly, as small tribes fanned out in both North and South America, and a variety of different languages emerged. These early peoples were effective hunters, using Stone Age weapons, and they may have contributed to the disappearance of some large mammal species, like the mammoth, through overhunting.

Recurrent debate focuses on whether, after the migration period when the Siberian land bridge disappeared, there were any exchanges with other parts of the world. Occasional contacts may have occurred, but they did not lead to extensive borrowing. Lack of knowledge of iron technology, or the wheel, obviously continued to condition developments in the Americas. Isolation from disease exchange would also, much later on, have profound effects, for no resistance could develop to disease common to Asia, Europe, and Africa.

Agriculture developed in several regions of the Americas between 7000 and 5000 B.C.E., along with new abilities in fishing. Many groups continued to combine some agriculture with hunting, but more extensive agriculture arose in Central America, around cultivation of corn (maize), plus beans, squash, and peppers. In the Andes, the potato was also adapted for agriculture. In these centers, significant population growth occurred. More complex social and cultural forms began to emerge as well, including more elaborate artistic production. Social hierarchies included nobles and priests, as well as merchant groups. Several states arose, often from a single city center with a tribal chief as ruler.

Knowledge of many early societies in the Americas is limited by lack of evidence. Some societies did not build extensive monuments, which limits surviving archeological remains. Challenges here can be compared to problems scholars still encounter with some early civilizations elsewhere, such as Harappa.

Olmecs. People of a cultural tradition that arose at San Lorenzo and La Venta in Mexico c. 1200 B.C.E.; featured irrigated agriculture, urbanism, elaborate religion, beginnings of calendrical and writing systems.

The Olmecs

Around 1500 B.C.E. a group called the **Olmecs** established the first civilization in the Americas, on a coastal area of what is now called the Gulf of Mexico. We do not know the origins of the Olmecs, and while they built upon successful village agriculture in the region, their emergence seems rather sudden.

There is no question about the apparatus they introduced: irrigation for agriculture, some early cities, and the beginnings of a writing system. Olmec religion became more complex, and monumental architecture developed. Olmec capacity to move large stones, often for many miles, was impressive and still unexplained; Olmec statuary often involved giant sculpted heads (Figure 2.6). The Olmecs also sketched a formal calendar that became the basis for all the calendar systems in Central America. The Olmec state featured a hereditary elite, while the elaborate religion governed many aspects of life. The Olmecs traded fairly widely in the region, among other things for precious jade stones that they valued for carving.

Olmec civilization declined by about 800 B.C.E., although we do not know why. Cities were abandoned or destroyed. But the legacy of the Olmecs undoubtedly affected later civilizations in the region, including the Maya. Olmec science and also artistic styles proved widely influential. It is impossible to determine whether influence reflected conquest or active trade or missionary outreach, or simply admiring imitation. But while several complex societies would later emerge in this region, for a few centuries after the Olmecs no large organizations seem to have developed.

Chavin and the Andean World

The geography of the Andes presented both challenges and opportunities. The rugged terrain complicated transportation. But different kinds of agriculture could develop at different levels, encouraging some regional trade. Farmers could grow corn (introduced from Central America) in the lower valleys, while potatoes and quinoa (a local grain) grew higher up, and llamas were pastured in higher altitudes still.

Between 1800 and 1200 B.C.E., a more complex society began to emerge. Irrigation was introduced, and large ceremonial structures were built along the coast. Pottery making

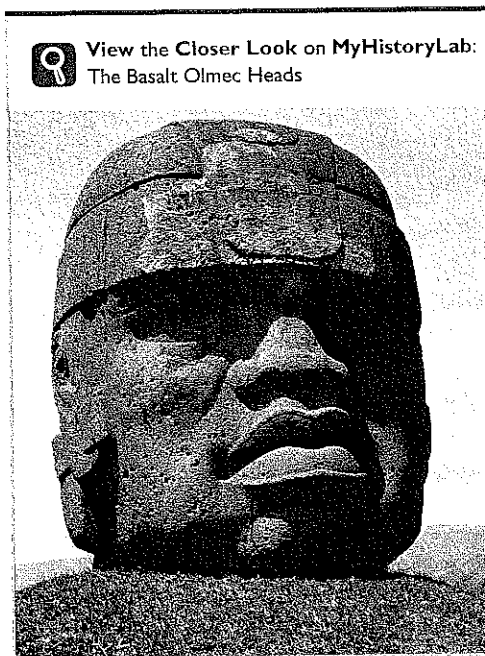


FIGURE 2.6 The origins of the Olmecs remain shrouded in mystery. Some of their enormous stone sculptures seem to have distinctively African features that indicate possible transatlantic contact. Similar features also have been found in early Khmer art from southeast Asia.

expanded. The most important early center was **Chavín de Huantar** (850–250 B.C.E.) in the highlands of what is now Peru. Chavin contained several large temple platforms and an active craft population working in jewelry, textiles, and ceramics. Chavin artistic styles and religious beliefs spread widely in the region. Jaguars and snakes were common artistic themes, along with frequent scenes of violence. Some style resembled those of the Olmecs, leading to some speculation that both peoples may have had a common origin in the Amazonian lowlands. But, as with the Olmecs, much is not known, including the nature of the wide regional influence.

Chavin decline had occurred by about 300 B.C.E., and there followed a long period of political decentralization in the Andes. Agriculture continued to develop, however, and population grew; despite localized government, artistic production remained strong and creative.

Chavín de Huantar [SHAH-ven de WAHN-tahr] Chavin culture appeared in highlands of Andes between 1800 and 1200 B.C.E.; typified by ceremonial centers with large stone buildings; greatest ceremonial center was Chavín de Huantar; characterized by artistic motifs.

THE END OF THE RIVER VALLEY PERIOD

2.8

How and why did the early civilization period come to an end and what were the main religious changes introduced by Judaism?

Most river valley civilizations declined after about 1200 B.C.E. A number of small centers emerged in the Middle East that introduced further innovations, including the religion of Judaism.

The river valley societies were widely separated, although they had trading contacts with their neighbors and, in the case of the Middle East and North Africa, an occasional military encounter. With this separation, it is not surprising that there was no single development, or even a single century, to signal the transition away from the river valley period.

The decline of the Olmecs, for example, seems to have been abrupt, amid circumstances that remain unclear; it had nothing to do with developments in other early civilization centers. Patterns in China were distributed in a different way. The replacement of the Shang dynasty by the Zhou led to important new developments. But it was the faltering of the Zhou dynasty, and cultural and then political reactions to growing disorder, that really ended the early period of Chinese civilization. But there was no full or decisive break, just a more gradual accumulation of basic changes.

The end of the river valley period in northwestern India was also more decisive, given the gradual but conclusive decline of Harappan society. Migrating and invading Indo-European peoples even ignored agriculture for many centuries, relying on animal herding. In the process, most traces of Harappan civilization became a dim memory. A few symbols remained, including the mother goddess and yoga positions. So did certain artistic images, including a swastika that became prominent in later Indian religious art. Agricultural techniques, including the growing of cotton, were not abandoned, and the Indo-Europeans ultimately took them over. But with the passing of Harappa, a decisive new period in Indian history clearly began.

A different set of developments took place in the Middle East and North Africa. In Egypt, we have seen that the power of the pharaohs began to weaken by around 1000 B.C.E. Invasions, including from other African peoples in the south, became more common. At times, the kingdom was divided in half. After 500 B.C.E. Persian, then Greek, then Roman invasions effectively brought an end to Egypt's independence.

In the Middle East, the pattern of outside invasion continued to 1000 B.C.E. and even beyond. As before, the new states tended to adopt Mesopotamian culture and legal forms. Around 1100 invasions by an Assyrian ruler were marked by unusual cruelty, including mass execution and the deporting of civilian populations. But the Assyrians did not maintain consistent control, although parts of their empire revived periodically. This inconsistency, and the decline of Egypt, allowed the formation of a number of smaller states for several centuries around 1000 B.C.E.

The Heritage of the River Valley Civilizations

Many accomplishments of the river valley civilizations had a lasting impact. Monuments such as the Egyptian pyramids have long been regarded as one of the wonders of the world. Other achievements, although more prosaic, are fundamental to world history even today: the invention of the wheel; the taming of the horse; the creation of usable alphabets and writing implements; the production of key mathematical concepts such as square roots; the development of well-organized monarchies, bureaucracies, and legal codes; and the invention of functional calendars and methods for other divisions of time. These basic achievements, along with the awe that the early civilizations continue

to inspire, are vital legacies to the whole of human history. Almost all the major alphabets in the world today are derived from the writing forms pioneered in the river valleys, apart from the even more durable concept of writing itself. Almost all later civilizations, then, built on the massive foundations first constructed in the river valleys.

Despite these accomplishments, we have seen that most of the river valley civilizations were in decline by 1000 B.C.E. The civilizations had flourished for as many as 2500 years, although of course with periodic disruptions and revivals. But, particularly in India, the new waves of invasion did produce something of a break in the history of civilization, a dividing line between the river valley pioneers and later cultures.

This break raises one final question: Besides the vital achievements—the fascinating monuments and the indispensable advances in technology, science, and art—what legacies did the river valley civilizations leave for later ages? The question is particularly important for the Middle East and Egypt. In India, we must frankly admit much ignorance about possible links between Indus River accomplishments and what came later. In China, there is a definite connection between the first civilization and subsequent forms, as the Zhou-recorded Chinese history flowed smoothly at this point. But what was the legacy of Mesopotamia and Egypt for later civilizations in or near their centers?

Europeans, even North Americans, are sometimes prone to claim these cultures as the “origins” of “their” Western civilization. These claims should not be taken too literally. It is not altogether clear that either Egypt or Mesopotamia contributed much to later political traditions, although the Roman empire emulated the concept of a godlike king, as evidenced in the trappings of the office, and the existence of strong city-state governments in the Middle East continued to be significant. Ideas about slavery may also have been passed on from these early civilizations. Specific scientific achievements are vital, and Greek students went to Egypt to study mathematics. But scholars argue over how much of a connection exists between Mesopotamian and Egyptian science and later Greek thinking, aside from certain techniques of measuring time or charting the stars. Some historians of philosophy have asserted a basic division between a Mesopotamian and Chinese understanding of nature, which they claim affected later civilizations around the Mediterranean in contrast to China. Mesopotamians were prone to stress a gap between humankind and nature, whereas Chinese thinking developed along ideas of basic harmony. It is possible, then, that some fundamental thinking helped shape later outlooks, but the continuities here are not easy to assess. Mesopotamian art and Egyptian architecture had a more measurable influence on Greek styles, and through these, in turn, later European and Islamic cultures. The Greeks thus learned much about temple building from the Egyptians, whose culture had influenced island civilizations, such as Crete, which then affected later Greek styles.

Whatever their precise legacy, Egypt and Mesopotamia radiated a wide influence. They affected Greece, and through this not only later Western civilization but also east European civilization. Even more obviously, they influenced subsequent developments in the Middle East, including Persia, and in North Africa: Political models, but also the strong commitment to trade and vital cultural forms, including science, showed most clearly in this obvious regional transmission.

New States and Peoples around 1000 B.C.E.

There was a final connection between early and later civilizations in the form of regional cultures that sprang up under the influence of Mesopotamia and Egypt, along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and in northeastern Africa mainly after 1200 B.C.E. These cultures produced important innovations that affected later civilizations in Africa, the Middle East, and throughout the Mediterranean. They also created a diverse array of regional identities that continued to mark the Middle East even as other forces, such as the Roman empire or the later religion of Islam, took center stage. Several of these small cultures proved immensely durable, and in their complexity and capacity to survive, they influenced other parts of the world as well.

Kingdoms began to develop south of Egypt, for example. A kingdom in Kush emerged about 2000 B.C.E., under strong Egyptian influence. Egypt conquered the area after 1500, setting up an elaborate bureaucracy and building large temples. At this point, the population of Kush was about 100,000. Trade with southern Arabia expanded. In the 8th century, Kushites conquered Egypt, although they soon were driven out by Assyrians. Kingdoms in northeastern Africa continued to flourish, with a growing population. Local artistic styles combined with the use of Egyptian forms such as pyramids and obelisks. Much of this tradition continued in the later kingdom of Ethiopia.

Along the Mediterranean coast of the Middle East, another mixture of societies emerged. A people called the **Phoenicians**, for example, devised a greatly simplified writing system with 22 letters around 1300 B.C.E.; this alphabet, in turn, became the predecessor of Greek and Latin alphabets. The Phoenicians also improved the Egyptian numbering system. Great traders, they set up colony cities in North Africa and on the coasts of Europe. Phoenicians traded as far away as England, where they purchased tin to make bronze, and also down the Atlantic coast of Africa. Another regional group, the Lydians, first introduced coined money.

Phoenicians Seafaring civilization located on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean; established colonies throughout the Mediterranean.

Judaism

In terms of ultimate historical impact, the most important of the smaller Middle Eastern groups were the Jews, who gave the world the first clearly developed monotheistic religion. We have seen that early religions, both before and after the beginnings of civilization, were polytheistic, claiming that many gods and goddesses worked to control nature and human destiny. The Jews, a Semitic people influenced by Babylonian civilization, settled near the Mediterranean around 1200 B.C.E. The Jewish state was small and relatively weak, retaining independence only when other parts of the Middle East were in political turmoil. What was distinctive about this culture was its firm belief that a single God, Jehovah, guided the destinies of the Jewish people. Priests and prophets defined and emphasized this belief, and their history of God's guidance of their people formed the basis for the Hebrew Bible. The Jewish religion and moral code persisted even as the Jewish state suffered domination by a series of foreign rulers, from 772 B.C.E. until the Romans seized the state outright in 63 B.C.E. Jewish **monotheism** has sustained a distinctive Jewish culture to this day; it also served as a basis for the development of both Christianity and Islam as major world religions in the Abrahamic tradition.

monotheism The exclusive worship of a single god; introduced by the Jews into Western civilization.

The innovations of Judaism involved more than the focus on a single god. Unlike many polytheistic systems, which emphasized the gods' links with nature and with each other, Judaism stressed God's focus on humankind, and injunctions for ethical behavior among people in obedience to divine commandments. While Judaism stressed appropriate forms of worship, it also stressed Jewish law, held to be derived from God, and the importance of mercy and generosity among people themselves. In gradually assembling a set of holy texts, Judaism also became a religion of the book, with a literature that would continue to inspire religious scholars as well as ordinary worshippers.

Because Judaism stressed God's special compact with the chosen Jewish people, there was no premium placed on converting non-Jews. This belief helps explain the durability of the Jewish faith itself; it also kept the Jewish people in a minority position in the Middle East as a whole. However, the elaboration of monotheism ultimately gained wider significance. In Jewish hands, the concept of god became more human focused but also less humanlike, more abstract. This represented a basic change in not only religion but also humankind's overall outlook. Jehovah had not only a power but also a rationality far different from what the traditional gods of the Middle East or Egypt possessed. These gods were whimsical and capricious; Jehovah was orderly and just, and individuals knew what to expect if they obeyed God's rules. Moral behavior was both defined and emphasized. Religion for the Jews was a way of life, not merely a set of rituals and ceremonies. The full impact of this religious transformation on Middle Eastern civilization, and beyond, was realized only later, when Jewish beliefs were embraced by other, proselytizing faiths.