



GREAT HALL OF BULLS, LASCAUX CAVES

An example of animals depicted in a prehistoric cave painting.

Musée des Antiquités, St. Germain en Laye/Dagli Orti/The Art Archive

Chapter One

THE FIRST CIVILIZATIONS

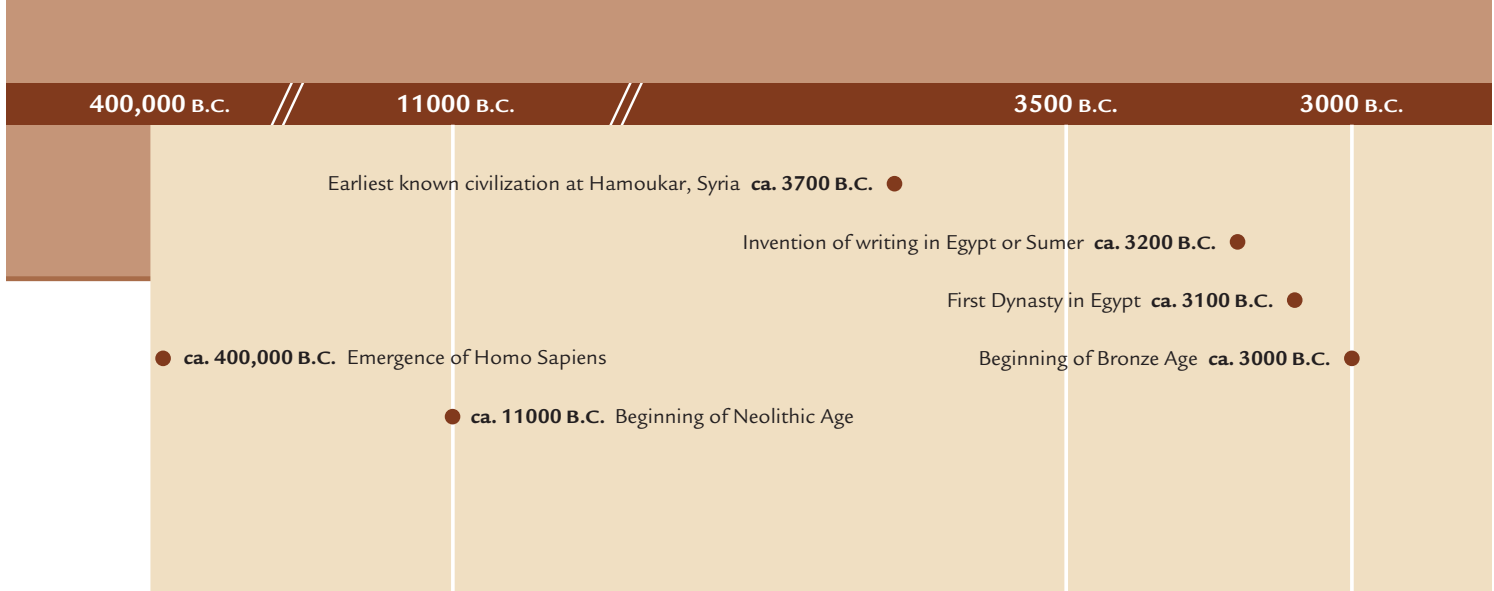
THE EARLIEST HUMANS • THE FIRST CIVILIZATIONS IN MESOPOTAMIA
EGYPT • PALESTINE • THE NEAR EASTERN STATES

The subject of this book is the Western experience—that is, the history of European civilization, which is the civilization of modern Europe and America. Yet we do not begin with the mainland of present-day Europe, for our civilization traces its origins to earlier ones in Mesopotamia and around the Mediterranean Sea. Human beings began to abandon a nomadic existence and live in settled agricultural villages about 8000 B.C. This change in human lifestyle points to some of the themes that will run through this book—for example, the rise of technology to contain rivers and to survey and map areas for farming, or the art of cutting and assembling huge stones to build walls and pyramids.

By about 3000 B.C. humans had created settlements of some size along the banks of the Tigris, Euphrates, Nile, and Indus rivers. People's efforts to build a better

life transformed the agricultural villages into something we can recognize as cities—having a scale and pattern crucial for the development of civilization. In these valleys, types of behavior and institutions first appeared that have persisted, in varying forms, throughout all periods of Western civilization.

Powerful kingdoms and great empires, centered on sizable cities, gradually arose in Mesopotamia and in Egypt. Their achievement of literacy and their many written records; their long-distance trade; their invention of increasingly ingenious tools, utensils, vehicles, and weapons; their development of monumental architecture and representative art; and their advances in medicine, astronomy, and mathematics marked the change from primitive life and constituted civilization.



THE EARLIEST HUMANS

Our first task as we try to grasp historical chronology is to gain a sense of the overwhelmingly long period that we call “prehistory.” The astronomer Carl Sagan reckoned that, if the entire history of the universe were plotted out over the span of one year, everything that we usually think of as European history—the subject of this book—would have taken place in the last two or three minutes of the year.

All human beings are members of the species *Homo sapiens* (“thinking human being”), which evolved, according to present evidence, about 400,000 years ago. The immediate predecessor was *Homo erectus*, which may have emerged as long ago as 1.5 million years. Back in time beyond *Homo erectus* is an area of doubt and controversy. There is growing support for the theory that humanity originated, in the form of *Homo habilis*, roughly “skillful human being,” in east Africa about 2 million years ago. As to humankind’s emigration from Africa, recent excavations in the nation of Georgia (part of the former Soviet Union) have discovered two skulls that are considered the most ancient human remains outside Africa. They date to about 1.7 million years ago and suggest that people emigrated when they became carnivorous and had to expand their territory in search of meat; they also show that the emigration must have been under way by this time.

There is no *inevitable* pattern of development in social groups. Hunter-gatherers can remain so forever, and small farming villages may never turn into anything else.¹ But there seem to be certain stages through

which many societies have developed on the way to civilization.

Human Beings as Food Gatherers

Human beings have always had to try to come to terms with their environment. For the greatest part of their time on earth, they have struggled simply to hunt and gather food. Only at a later stage did people live in stable settlements—first villages, then cities.

Labor in Early Communities In all observed societies, labor is divided on the basis of sex. In the earliest societies, both hunting and gathering food were the means of survival. Current research suggests that women may have done most of the gathering as well as caring for the young. If hunting animals required longer expeditions, we may guess that men usually performed this duty. Even later, as agriculture became the basis of the economy, modern research suggests that women must have continued their domestic tasks, such as cooking and tending children.

We can surely guess that quarrels of some kind broke out between societies. One hunting band, for example, might have had to turn aside the claims of another band to certain territory. In such clashes, we may guess that men assumed leadership through their strength and thus created a division of roles based on sex that gave them dominance of their communities. One result of this social division has been a comparative lack of information about the role of women in history; the reconstruction of this role, the restoring of women to history, has been a leading theme of historical research in the present generation.

The Old Stone Age The period during which people gathered food is often called the Old Stone Age, or

¹ A point convincingly made by Johnson and Earle, p. 6 (see recommended readings at end of this chapter).



Paleolithic Age, and ranges from the beginning of human history to about 11,000 B.C. Even in this early period, some human beings developed a remarkably sophisticated kind of painting, the earliest demonstration of the role of artistic creation as another theme in the history of civilization. The most striking creations known from food-gathering societies are a series of cave paintings that survive at their finest in Lascaux in France and Altamira in Spain (28,000–22,000 B.C.). Most of the paintings show wild animals, enemies of human beings and yet part of their essential support. The paintings may have a quasi-religious meaning as symbolic attempts to gain power over the quarry; scars on the walls suggest that people threw spears at the painted animals, as if to imitate killing them. If so, the cave paintings provide our earliest evidence for one of the main themes of history: the attempt to communicate with forces outside human control through symbolic action, art, and thought—that is, through religion and ritual acts.

Human Beings as Food Producers

The Discovery of Agriculture About 11,000 B.C., according to recent research, there occurred the most important event in all human history: People turned from hunting animals and gathering food to producing food from the earth. This event, the rise of agriculture, is called the Neolithic Revolution and introduced the **Neolithic Age**, or New Stone Age.² The word *revolution* usually implies dramatic action over a short time, which was in no way true of this one. Yet revolution it was, for it made possible the feeding of larger populations. Agriculture, once mastered, be-

came another enduring theme throughout history and has always been the largest single factor in the economy of the world. Indeed, increasing the food supply was the imperative step to be taken on the path to cities and civilization.

Patterns in Population But *why* did this revolution take place? What caused people to turn from the pattern of roaming the countryside that had lasted hundreds of thousands of years? The driving force was probably an inevitable increase in population. As humans multiplied in the later, or “upper,” Paleolithic Age, it became imperative to develop a continuous food supply and to have a secure reserve over the whole year. But traditional foraging might not guarantee such a supply. As people hunted animals, they inevitably made their prey scarcer. Even gathering fruit and grains required ever longer journeys. Therefore farming became a necessity. People grew grain in the summer and stored it in winter, but not all single families could be certain of enough food at all times. Storage of food became a task for the community, and this led to social cooperation, which in turn required social control—an approach to political organization and government.

Moreover, when people invested labor in their settlements and began to depend on land, protecting and even expanding their territory became of immense importance. Therefore one effect of the agricultural revolution was the impetus to gain control over territory—sometimes through negotiation, but sometimes through war. War is another of the constantly recurring themes of Western civilization.

Early Near Eastern Villages

The First Settlements The Neolithic Revolution first occurred probably in the hills of what is now southern

²The Mesolithic (Middle Stone) Age, beginning around 8000 B.C., was limited to northwestern Europe.


 CHRONOLOGY

An Overview of Events

ca. 8000–486 B.C.

(All dates B.C. *)

ca. 8000	First permanent villages in Near East.
ca. 3000	Formation of cities in Sumer; unification of Upper and Lower Egypt.
ca. 1900	Hebrews begin immigration into Palestine.
1792–1750	Hammurabi unifies Babylonia and issues his law code.
ca. 1595	Sack of Babylon by Hittites.
ca. 1539–1075	Egyptian Empire (New Kingdom).
ca. 1400–1200	High point of Hittite kingdom.
ca. 1240–1230	Exodus of Israelites from Egypt and their invasion of Canaan.
ca. 900–612	Assyrian conquests.
559–530	Cyrus founds Persian Empire.
522–486	Rule of Darius I in Persia.

*Some historians use an alternative system of dating: B.C.E. (Before the Common Era) and C.E. (Common Era).

Turkey and northern Iraq, especially in the Zagros hills east of the Tigris River. But, again, why was *this* region the cradle of agriculture? Historians have concluded that only this location held a sufficient supply of animals for domestication along with the needed vegetables and cereals. The earliest known settlements, dating from about 9000 B.C., were unwalled and unfortified, and their people lived in simple huts. About 8000 B.C. the first somewhat larger villages appeared. The oldest seem to have been Jericho and Jarmo, but even these were still small settlements; by about 8000 B.C. Jericho may have had 2,000–3,000 people. The population of Jarmo, settled about 7000 B.C., is estimated at about 150, crowded into twenty to twenty-five houses of baked clay.

Invention, Travel, Trade As villages became permanent, they also became more versatile in their inventions; our first evidence of pottery, for example, comes from what is now Syria and dates from about 8000 B.C. This invention allowed the storage of food and sustained the population in periods when hunting and gathering were more difficult. Another invention, the art of weaving, was practiced in Anatolia, now within

modern Turkey, by about 7000 B.C. and provided both new occupations and new resources for a village.

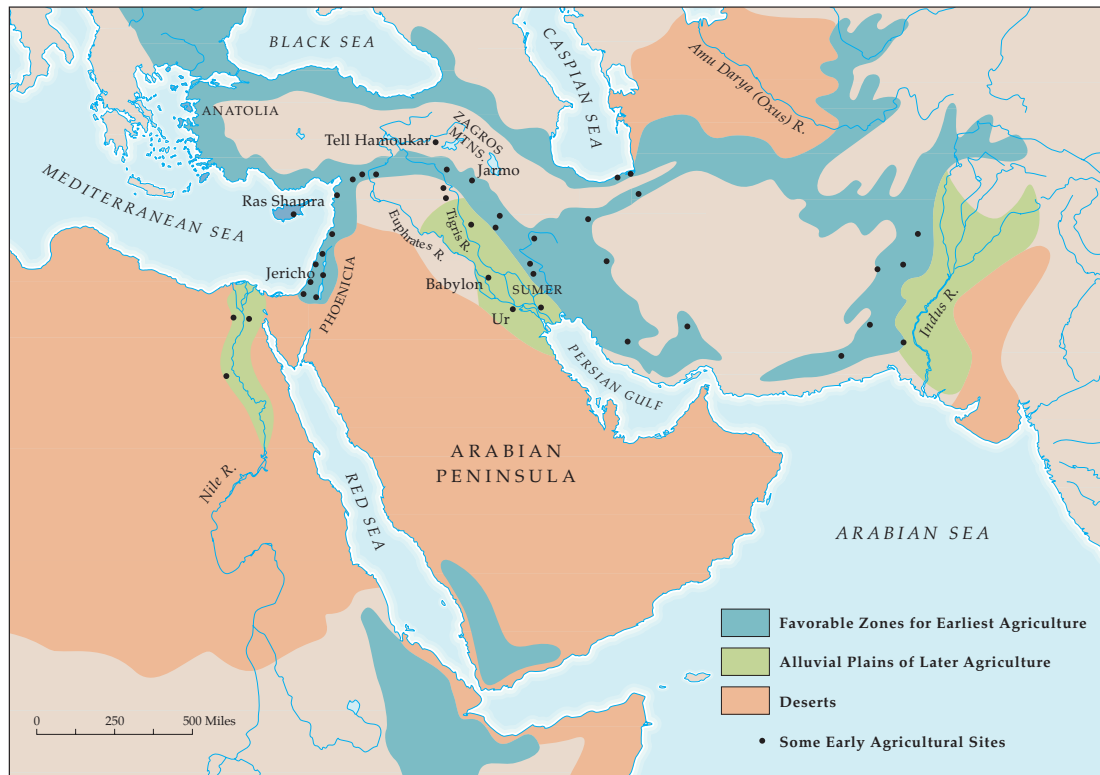
About this time, too, people began to travel in crude rafts and in carts with wheels. Potters gradually learned to fashion their wares on the surface of a turning wheel, and thus could make in minutes what had previously taken hours; and the pot, the raft, and the wheel combined to provide the means to transport grain and other goods. Thus arose another institution of all later societies: the mutually profitable exchange of goods in trade, pursued by people skilled enough to make a living at it. Some archaeologists have suggested that a number of towns were formed not for the sake of local agriculture but to serve as trading centers. Trade needs safe routes and a guarantee of safety for traders, which in turn require some kind of political protection, mutual understanding between communities, and control.

Agricultural Communities The early farmers were naturally much concerned with fertility. When people feared that their own efforts might not solve life's problems, they turned to divine powers for help. These societies therefore sought to communicate with goddesses in the form of statuettes of unmistakable earth-mothers with large buttocks and breasts, whose fertile bodies, it was hoped, would make the soil productive. Such figures also signify the importance of human mothers, for the villages flourished only if women produced and sustained each new generation.

So by stages there arose agrarian communities with communal gods, domesticated animals, simple technologies and economies, and some regulation of social behavior. Yet we must remember how painfully slow was the transition from nomadic hunters to food-producing villagers. And still another 4,000–5,000 years were to separate such agricultural villages from the first civilizations.

THE FIRST CIVILIZATIONS IN MESOPOTAMIA

History has been called an argument without end. It is still not definitely clear where civilization began, but the region of Mesopotamia has at least some claim as the cradle of civilization. The historian can point to the forming of cities, as distinct from farming towns, in this region, and Mesopotamia was also home to one of the two earliest systems of writing. From these beginnings arose two of the earliest civilizations, those of Sumer and of Babylonia. Both have left behind them written documents that are priceless sources for the thoughts and practices of these societies.



MAP 1.1 THE EARLIEST CIVILIZATIONS

This shows the famous “fertile crescent,” which runs north from Jericho and turns southeast to Sumer and beyond. This was the cradle of agriculture from about 11,000 B.C., and here were the first agricultural villages. Which rivers supported agriculture in these regions?

◆ For an online version, go to www.mhhe.com/chambers9 > chapter 1 > book maps

The Emergence of Civilization

We may define civilization as a social organization with more complex rules than those that guided dwellers in caves or the earliest farmers. In a civilization, there are more sophisticated divisions of authority and labor, including duties, powers, and skills that pass down within certain families. A sensational excavation in A.D. 2000 at the site of Tell Hamoukar, in modern Syria, has revealed that people were living there by about 4000 B.C. and that they developed the earliest known civilization at this site about 3700 B.C. (the ancient name of the city has not yet been found). Among the signs of civilization found here are monumental architecture and seals used, perhaps by officials, to stamp valuable goods. Further knowledge of this site must await more excavation.

The Beginnings of Government The establishment of firm authority requires the acceptance by both gover-

nors and the governed of their status; we shall see this balance throughout history, but we shall also observe its collapse when conflict leads to the replacement of one governing group by another. Rulers, however named, often arise from among the heads of powerful families. But there may be other sources of political strength. Seeking social order, people give authority to a man or woman who seems to have some special quality of leadership or ability.

An equally essential part of the social cement, in all periods of civilization, has been law, formally accepted codes of behavior, as distinct from the simple customs of a village. Law may develop slowly, but eventually it is recorded in detailed law codes, which tell us how societies controlled their people. Such codes can also tell us about ethical values, divisions between citizens, and social structure.

The Power of Cities Cities are larger and therefore stronger than villages; they have the power to dominate

A ZIGURAT FROM UR
The stairway leads up to a room in which a god could rest and take his pleasure. The ziggurat formed the core of a temple compound, while around it were storehouses.

Georg Gerster/Comstock



the hinterland and its inhabitants. In many early civilizations, one society even enslaved parts of another society. Slavery, though deplorable in modern eyes, allowed the enslavers more varied occupations by freeing them from the mundane requirements of existence. As people began to use their freedom, however obtained, to pursue special skills, some gained a reputation for religious knowledge and became the state's communicators with divine powers; and such is the strength of religious belief that these priests could form a class of advisers whom even kings could not ignore.

Other citizens used their new freedom to develop new arts and crafts. Along with improved techniques of pottery, weaving, and domestication of animals, a major step forward took place when workers discovered how to blend other metals with copper to fashion bronze, especially for weapons. As the first cities reached significant size, humanity thus entered the Bronze Age, which started about 3000 B.C. and ended between 1200 and 1000 B.C.

Sumer

Cities of Sumer **Mesopotamia** (the "land between the rivers") is a rich alluvial plain created by deposits from the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. At the southern end of this plain, within modern Iraq, arose a civilization with a more advanced scale of development than that of the people of Tell Hamoukar. This took place in the area known as Sumer. Geography both nourished and threatened the Sumerians. The land was fertile, yet the rivers could roar over their banks, carrying away homes and human lives. Also, the land was open to invasion. Thus survival itself was often uncertain, a fact reflected in a strain of pessimism in Sumerian thought.

The people of Sumer and their language appear to be unrelated to any other known people or language. By about 3000 B.C. Sumer contained a dozen or more city-states—in other words, cities that were each independent of the others, each ruled by its own king (known as the lugal) and worshipping its own patron deity, a god that was thought to offer protection to the city. Sumerian religion held that rule by the king was a divine gift to the people and that the king ruled in the service of the gods. Thus religion and government, two of the large themes of civilization, were combined to comfort the people and, at the same time, to organize and control society.

Sumerian cities were much larger than the early farming villages already mentioned. One of them, Uruk, had a population estimated at 50,000 by around 3000 B.C. and a walled circumference of ten miles. The citizens of each city were divided into three classes: nobles and priests, commoners, and slaves. These classifications are the first example of what we shall often meet in history: a recognized, legal division of people into social orders. The king was not considered divine, but rather a servant of the gods. In practical political terms, he held power only so long as he could command support from the powerful priests and nobles.

The City and Its God At the center of a Sumerian city usually stood a **ziggurat**, a terraced tower built of baked brick and culminating in a temple, probably for the patron god of the city. A ziggurat might be a stupendous structure: The wall surrounding one was some thirty-six feet thick. The Old Testament contains many echoes from Sumer, and it seems likely that the story in the Bible of the Tower of Babel was ultimately based on the memory of a ziggurat.

In Sumerian culture, the patron god theoretically owned the whole city; but in fact, much of the land was private property, held mainly by powerful men and their families but also by private citizens. Most houses were of a single story and were jammed into narrow streets, but some richer houses had two stories and an open court. The people were monogamous, and women held property and took part in business but did not hold political office.

Trade and Mathematics Geography also forced Sumerians to devise the art of trading. Trade was essential for the growth of Sumerian cities because, despite the region's astonishing fertility, it lacked good timber and stone. Sumerians pioneered the art of building in baked brick, but to obtain other materials they had to export such goods as metalwork, a craft at which they became outstanding.

Perhaps to bolster their expertise in the essential art of trading, the Sumerians developed a precise system of mathematical notation. Their system was the **sexagesimal**, in which the number 60 (*sexaginta* in Latin) is one of the main elements; this system has the advantage of including 3, 10, and 12 as factors. One of the longest-lasting legacies of Mesopotamia to our world is this system: Even today, the foot has 12 inches; the day, twice 12, or 24, hours; the minute and hour, 60 units each; and the circle, 360 degrees.

Sumerian Writing Historians have long disputed whether the Sumerians or the Egyptians first developed the art of writing; recent research may show a slight lead in favor of Egypt. In any case, the Sumerians were writing by about 3000 B.C. The most important intellectual tool ever discovered, writing enables people to keep records, codify laws, and transmit knowledge. All the record keeping, libraries, and literature of later times are made possible by this invention. Their script was pictographic: Each sign was originally a stylized picture of the article that the scribe had in mind.³

Sumerian texts were written on clay tablets by pressing the end of a reed or bone stylus into the wet clay; the resulting wedge-shaped marks are called **cuneiform** (Latin *cuneus*, meaning "wedge"), a name used for all such scripts in whatever language they occur. *Scripts* are not *languages*: They are symbols that can be used to write several languages, as the Latin script is used to write all the languages of western Europe.

The Epic of Gilgamesh Sumerian literature has left us a priceless document, a stirring narrative known as *The Epic of Gilgamesh*. There evidently was a king in



A relief showing the Sumerian hero Gilgamesh holding a conquered lion, from the reign of Sargon II of Assyria, eighth century B.C. The relief shows the long continuation of the Sumerian legend.

Giraudon/Art Resource, NY

³ The Sumerian system of writing is excellently described by S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, 1963, pp. 302 ff.

Sumer with this name (about 2700 B.C.), but in the epic, Gilgamesh is a great hero and ruler, said to be part man and part god. The woodless geography of Sumer

dictates part of the story, as Gilgamesh sets out to recover cedar from northern lands (probably what is now Syria). He travels with his companion, Enkidu, who is killed by the storm god, Enlil. Gilgamesh, mourning the loss of his friend and confronted with the near certainty of death, plods on through the world in search of eternal life. He finds the plant that restores youth, but a serpent swallows it while Gilgamesh is bathing. In sorrow he returns home, and the epic ends with his death and funeral.

The epic is profoundly pessimistic and gives us a key to the Sumerian view of the universe. The gods, who created the world, established the standards by which people had to live. The storm god, Enlil, lived in heaven. Normally kind and fatherly, Enlil made the rich soil of Mesopotamia fertile and was credited with designing the plow. At times, however, when Enlil had to carry out the harsh decrees of other gods, he became terrifying.

The Fate of Humanity in Sumerian Thought This fearful alternation between divine favor and divine punishment doubtless reflects the uncertainty bred in the Sumerians by the constant threat of floods. When the rivers overflowed and destroyed the crops, the Sumerians thought the gods had withdrawn their favor, and they rationalized such treatment by assuming that they had somehow offended the gods or failed to observe their requirements.

In Sumerian mythology, humanity was almost completely dependent on the gods. Indeed, Sumerian myth taught that the gods had created people merely to provide slaves for themselves. In another Sumerian epic, *The Creation of Mankind*, Marduk the creator says, "Let him be burdened with the toil of the gods, that they may freely breathe." Other Sumerian myths foreshadow the biblical accounts of eating from the tree of knowledge in paradise and of the flood that covered the earth.

Sargon of Akkad and the Revival of Ur Wars among the cities of Sumer weakened them and prepared the way for the first great warlord of Western history: Sargon, of the area called Akkad, named for a city just north of Babylon. Sargon ruled from 2371 to 2316 B.C.⁴ and conquered all Mesopotamia; his kingdom even reached the Mediterranean Sea. From the name of his city, Akkad, linguists have created the term *Akkadian* to comprise two Semitic languages, Assyrian and Babylonian (there is no separate Akkadian language). Thus, through Sargon, we meet one of the most important of all groups of peoples in Western civilization, the Semites. They spoke a number of related languages including Akkadian, Hebrew, and Canaanite.

⁴ Dates in early Near Eastern history are in constant revision. For dates in this chapter, we normally rely on the *Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd ed., 1970–2000.

Akkadian, also written in cuneiform, now replaced Sumerian as a spoken language, although Sumerian continued as a written language until about the beginning of the Christian era.

Sargon and his successors ruled from Akkad until about 2230 B.C., when invasion, and perhaps internal dissension, dissolved the Akkadian kingdom. The Sumerians then regained control of southern Mesopotamia and established the so-called Third Dynasty of Ur. The chief ruler of this period was Ur-Nammu (2113–2096 B.C.). He created another practice that we will see again and again in history when he issued the first law code and spelled out regulations and penalties for a broad range of offenses. He also established standard weights and measures, a recognition of the importance of trade to the people of his state. Ur-Nammu's law code is preserved in only fragmentary form, but it is clear that he laid down fines in money rather than calling for physical retribution: "If a man has cut off the foot of another man . . . he shall pay ten shekels. . . . If a man has severed with a weapon the bones of another man . . . he shall pay one mina of silver." (Some historians assign this code to his son Shulgi.)

The Babylonian Kingdom

Ur declined, toward the year 2000 B.C., and was destroyed by neighboring peoples in 2006. A Semitic people called Amorites soon established their own capital at Babylon, within the region known as Babylonia. Hammurabi, the sixth king of the dynasty in Babylon itself, finally succeeded in unifying Mesopotamia under his rule.

Hammurabi and His Law Code Hammurabi (r.⁵ 1792–1750 B.C.) is a towering figure whose greatest legacy is the most significant of all the written documents down to his time: a stone column, now in the Louvre Museum in Paris, recording in cuneiform script a long series of legal judgments published under his name. This Code of Hammurabi, like the earlier one of Ur-Nammu, is not a complete constitution or system of law; rather, it is a compilation of those laws and decisions that Hammurabi thought needed restating. Its form is important. The code begins with a preamble, in which the god Marduk is made to declare that he is giving his laws to Hammurabi; this preamble thus validates the laws by assigning them a divine origin.

The code includes 280 sections, much more carefully organized than any earlier one that we know (see "Hammurabi's Law Code," p. 11). Hammurabi has

⁵ Throughout this book, the letter *r.* before a date or a series of dates stands for "reigned."



HAMMURABI'S LAW CODE

Here are some excerpts from the "judgments" laid down by Hammurabi in his famous law code.

"When Marduk [the patron god of Babylon] sent me to rule the people and to bring help to the country, I established law and justice in the language of the land and promoted the welfare of the people. At that time I decreed:

"1. If a man accuses another man of murder but cannot prove it, the accuser shall be put to death.

"2. If a man bears false witness in a case, or cannot prove his testimony, if that case involves life or death, he shall be put to death.

"22. If a man commits robbery and is captured, he shall be put to death.

"23. If the robber is not captured, the man who has been robbed shall, in the presence of the god, make a list of what he has lost, and the city and the governor of the province where the robbery was committed shall compensate him for his loss.

"138. If a man wants to divorce his wife who has not borne him children, he shall give her money equal to her

marriage price and shall repay to her the dowry she brought from her father; and then he may divorce her.

"142. If a woman hates her husband and says, 'You may not possess me,' the city council shall inquire into her case; and if she has been careful and without reproach and her husband has been going about and belittling her, she is not to blame. She may take her dowry and return to her father's house.

"195. If a son strikes his father, they shall cut off his hand.

"196. If a man destroys the eye of another man, they shall destroy his eye.

"197. If he breaks another man's bone, they shall break his bone.

"200. If a man knocks out a tooth of a man of his own rank, they shall knock out his tooth."

From Robert F. Harper (tr.), *The Code of Hammurabi*, Gordon Press, 1904, 1991 (language modified).

always been considered the primary example of the lawgiver, the man who grasped the organizing power of royal declarations of law; his example was to be followed by many other potentates, whether or not they consciously looked back to the Babylonian model. The sections of the code, like those of Ur-Nammu's code, are all arranged in the form, "If A takes place, B shall follow," for example, "If a man strikes his father, they shall cut off his hand."

Hammurabi recognized three classes within his society: We follow the historian H. W. F. Saggs⁶ and call them gentleman (one of the landowning families), landless free citizen, and slave. The penalties for various offenses were not uniform; rather, they differed according to the status of the victim. Sometimes the code allowed monetary compensation rather than physical retaliation. For example, "If a man destroys another man's eye, they shall destroy his eye"; but "If a man destroys the eye of another man's slave, he shall pay one half the slave's price." The penalties were severe, to say the least, and the rule of strict retaliation between members of the same class has given us the saying "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth"⁷ as a motto for Hammurabi's principles.

⁶ *Civilization before Greece and Rome*, 1989, p. 44.

⁷ This formulation also reaches us through the Bible (Exod. 21:24).

Women and the Family in the Code But Hammurabi was not concerned merely with retaliation. Among the most forward-looking provisions in his code were those regarding the family. Hammurabi evidently recognized the vulnerable position of women and children in his society and took care to protect them. If a man's wife became ill, he could marry another woman but had to continue to support the first wife; and she, if she wished, could move out and keep her dowry, that is, the contribution made by her family when she was married. A widower could not spend his dead wife's dowry but had to save it for her sons; and a widow could keep her dowry.

Hammurabi carefully regulated marriage for the sake of future generations. He dealt with breach of promise by decreeing that, if a man had paid a marriage price to his future father-in-law and then decided not to marry the young woman, the woman's father could keep the marriage price. If a man wanted to divorce a wife who had not produced children, he could do so but had to return the dowry she had brought into the marriage.

The Code and Society The code is not a wholly progressive document. Some decisions in the code show a double standard for the sexes. A wife could divorce her husband for adultery and reclaim her dowry, but only if she had been chaste; if not, she was thrown into the

CHRONOLOGY

Dates in Egyptian History

3100–332 B.C.

The basic source for Egyptian chronology is a list of the rulers compiled about 280 B.C. by Manetho, an Egyptian priest, who wrote in Greek. He grouped the kings into thirty dynasties (later chronicles added a thirty-first). Modern scholars accept Manetho's divisions. The following approximate dates rely on *Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, rev. ed., 2000, by J. Baines and J. Malek. All dates are B.C.

Late Predynastic Period	ca. 3100
Early Dynastic Period (Dynasties 1–3)	2950–2575
Old Kingdom (Dynasties 4–8)	2575–2125
First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 9–11)	2125–1975
Middle Kingdom (Dynasties 11–14)	1975–1630
Second Intermediate Period (Dynasties 15–17; Hyksos era)	1630–1539
New Kingdom, or Empire (Dynasties 18–20)	1539–1075
Third Intermediate Period (Dynasties 21–25)	1075–715
Late Period (Dynasties 25–31)	715–332
Conquest of Egypt by Persia	525
Conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great	332

Top: The ceremonial palette of King Narmer is a symbolic representation of the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. This side of the palette shows the king, wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt, smashing the head of an enemy. The god Horus, in the form of a falcon, holds a rope attached to a captive of Lower Egypt, a region symbolized by six papyrus plants.

Bottom: On this side of the palette King Narmer has completed his conquest of Lower Egypt and wears the red crown of that kingdom. He is reviewing the bodies of decapitated victims. The exotic beasts with necks intertwined may symbolize the unity of the two Egypts.

Hirmer Fotoarchiv



Euphrates River (and, presumably, drowned) along with her lover. Nowhere does the code state that a husband will suffer the same punishment if he has been unfaithful.

At the end of his long document, Hammurabi added a proud epilogue, reading in part, "The great gods called

me, and I am the guardian shepherd whose beneficent shadow is cast over my city. In my bosom I carried the people of the land of Sumer and Akkad; I governed them in peace; in my wisdom I sheltered them." He thus combined the power of both law and religious belief to create a civic order for his society.



AN EXAMPLE OF A HIEROGLYPH.

The man on the left says (reading from right to left), "Seize [it] well." The worker on the right replies (from top to bottom), "I will do as you wish." From the tomb of Ptahhotep (Old Kingdom, Dynasty V, ca. 2565–2423 B.C.).

Mesopotamian Culture

Hammurabi's subjects used all manner of commercial records (bills, letters of credit, and the like), and their knowledge of mathematics was amazing. They built on foundations laid by the Sumerians, using the sexagesimal system, with the number 60 as the base. They had multiplication tables, exponents, tables for computing interest, and textbooks with problems for solution.

The Mesopotamians also developed complex systems of astrology (the art of predicting the future from the stars) and astronomy. It is not certain which science inspired the other, but we have both astrological predictions and astronomic observations from the second millennium. The Babylonian calendar had twelve lunar months and thus had only 354 days, but astronomers learned how to regularize the year by adding a month at certain intervals. When the Hebrews and Greeks wanted to order time through a calendar, they learned the method from the Babylonians. In fact, the calendars of both Jerusalem and Athens were also lunar, with 354 days and a month added from time to time.

EGYPT

The early cities of Mesopotamia had turbulent histories, falling now to one warlord, now to another. The kingdom of Egypt, by contrast, achieved a nearly incredible permanence. The basic element in the long history of Egyptian civilization is the Nile River. The

Nile flows down to the Mediterranean Sea over a series of granite thresholds known as cataracts. Each summer it overflows its banks, reviving the land with fresh water and depositing a thick layer of soil for cultivation. Only this yearly flood protected the early Egyptians from starvation.

The geography of Egypt must also have played a part in the social organization of the state. In effect, Egyptians could live only along the Nile and could not withdraw into any kind of interior. Moreover, the need to live close to the river isolated Egypt from other peoples and allowed a long, generally unbroken development. The climate is usually equable, and the river was a friend, not the potential enemy that it was in Sumer.

These conditions allowed the kings to control their subjects through governors and, if need be, with troops up and down the river. The narrow bed of the Nile as it flows down to the Mediterranean Sea is almost a metaphor for the highly "vertical" structure of Egyptian society. Egyptians must have thought that the regularity of their agricultural life was a gift from the gods. The kings and their servants saw to the maintenance of religion, and the faith of Egypt was a large factor in the strength and longevity of their society.

The Old and Middle Kingdoms

Unification of Egypt and Its Kings Historians divide Egyptian history into nine periods, which include the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms (see "Dates in Egyptian History," p. 12). These periods in turn are divided

into thirty-one groups of kings, or dynasties. Before the First Dynasty, Egypt was divided into two regions, Upper Egypt (the Nile Valley) and Lower Egypt (the delta, to the north, where the water spreads into a shape like an upside down Greek letter delta). It seems likely that the two Egypts went through a gradual unification near the beginning of the First Dynasty, but decisive impetus to this movement may have come from Narmer, who lived about 3100 B.C. A famous plaque shows him as king of both Upper and Lower Egypt. The first king of the First Dynasty is recorded as Menes (some historians have identified him with Narmer), who established a capital of the whole land at Memphis, at the southern point of the delta, the site of modern Cairo.

Egyptian rulers enjoyed a supremacy that we can hardly imagine today. The king (he was not called **pharaoh** until the New Kingdom, about 1540 B.C.) was the owner of all Egypt and was considered a god as well. The entire economy was a royal monopoly; serving the king was a hierarchy of officials, ranging from governors of provinces down through local mayors and tax collectors. Artisans, peasants, and servants, all working for the king, nourished the whole system.

The supreme monuments of the Old Kingdom are the three immense pyramids, tombs for kings, built at Giza (now within the city of Cairo) in the Fourth Dynasty between 2575 and 2450 B.C. These staggering feats of engineering dwarf any other monuments from any age. The Egyptians were the unchallenged masters in cutting and manipulating stone. They fitted the tremendous blocks of the pyramids together with nearly perfect tightness, and the sides of these pyramids are exactly aligned toward the four cardinal points of the compass. Building such a pyramid may well have been the chief activity of a king during his reign. The ability to move and arrange such huge weights was a sign of an omnipotent ruler.

Religion The king was seen as a god—specifically, the incarnation of the god Horus, who is represented in art as a falcon. Here Egypt differs from the Mesopotamian kingdoms, in which the ruler was not considered divine. Thus Egypt offers another example of the political power of religion in organizing early societies. Other gods, who occupied lesser positions in Egyptian religion, appeared in a variety of forms, often as animals, and in origin were probably deities of the villages up and down the Nile. The Egyptians believed in a pleasant life after death, in which people would perform their usual tasks but with more success. The king, already a god, would become a greater god; soothsayers, priests, and administrators would hold even higher positions. For everyone who had lived a good life, there would be delights such as boating and duck hunting.

In Egyptian mythology, the god who ruled over the dead was **Osiris**, a god of vegetation and fertility. At



THE PYRAMIDS OF GIZA

Left to right, the pyramid of Menkaure, Khafre, and Khufu (the “Great” pyramid).

Henning Bock/AKG London

times he was identified with the Nile, which gives fertility to Egypt. Myths said that he had given Egypt its laws and had shown the people how to prosper. Legend also told that he was murdered by his treacherous brother and his body cut into fragments. His loving wife and sister, Isis, resurrected him by reassembling these parts. Osiris’ son, Horus, was identified with the king, who was, as we have said, seen as the incarnation of Horus on earth.

In harmony with their expectation of survival beyond death, the Egyptians made careful preparations for the physical needs of the afterlife, especially by placing favored possessions, such as jewelry and wine cups, into a tomb; above all, by embalming and making mummies of the dead. Statues sat in the tombs of kings and those high officials who could afford them, as receptacles for their spirits in case their bodies should be destroyed.

Maat The Egyptians recognized an abstract ethical quality called **maat**, which Egyptologists translate roughly as “right order.” Maat existed if everything was in the order that the gods had ordained. All ancient societies valued order—most of them had a monarchic system that naturally prized discipline—but the notion of maat seems to show a new way of advocating moral behavior. When a society can give a name to the abstract idea of right order, a subtler kind of thinking is taking place. Right order would, indeed, help to hold Egyptian society together. The king maintained maat



MAP 1.2 ANCIENT EGYPT

The kingdom of Egypt was centered on the Nile River, which provided the fertile soil for agriculture. Notice that the river flows over a series of cataracts into the Mediterranean Sea. At the northern mouth, in Lower Egypt, the river fans out into a larger area called the delta. Which are some of the main towns along the river?

◆ For an online version, go to www.mhhe.com/chambers9 > chapter 1 > book maps

and acted in accordance with it; he could not, therefore, be evil or act wrongly. Thus maat illustrates another frequent use of religion throughout history: as a carefully crafted tool to promote and maintain social order and political control. Egyptian religion also taught that Osiris, ruler of the underworld, judged human beings and decided whether the dead truly deserved admission to the hereafter.

Writing Egyptians developed a form of writing known as **hieroglyphs** (“sacred carvings”). The indispensable key to the Egyptian past is the Rosetta Stone, found when Napoleon occupied parts of Egypt in A.D. 1798. This stone, now in the British Museum, contains a partly preserved hieroglyphic text from 196 B.C., along with a translation in Demotic, at that time the “modern” form of Egyptian, and another in Greek,



An Egyptian papyrus showing an antelope and a lion in a game of chess; a playful scene from daily life.
© British Museum

which was then the administrative language. Greek, a known language, offered a way of deciphering the other two.

Like the cuneiform script of Mesopotamia, hieroglyphs began as pictorial signs. Recent research has suggested that writing in Egypt began about 3200 B.C. If so, Egypt could claim the prize as the society that invented writing, a little ahead of Sumer.

Papyrus The Egyptians made writing material from the papyrus plants (from which comes our word *paper*) that grew abundantly in the Nile. The stems of the plant were placed crosswise in layers, then soaked, pressed, and dried to produce sheets and rolls. The dry climate has preserved thousands of papyri in legible condition. In later times many Greek texts were also preserved on papyri.

Literature and Instructions Egyptians developed a rich, lively literature. Their works, like their art, are full of mythology and the afterlife, and their hymns to various deities, poems celebrating the king's victory over death, and stories about the gods all reflect the serene Egyptian confidence in the beneficence of divine powers. Various texts, collectively known as the *Book of the Dead*, provide charms and other methods of ensuring a successful transition to the other world.

Success in this world appears as the central concern of another literary genre, appropriately known as “instructions” or “instructions in wisdom.” These books, in which a wise man gives advice about how to get ahead in the world, offer a key to Egyptian social attitudes, especially the supreme position of the king. The writers counsel discretion and loyalty:

If you are a man of note sitting in the council of your lord, fix your heart upon what is good. Be silent—this is better than flowers. Speak only if you can unravel the difficulty . . . to speak is harder than any other work. . . . Bend your back to him that is over you, your superior in the king's administration. So will your house endure with its substance, and your pay be duly awarded. To resist him that is set in authority is evil.⁸

We also have Egyptian love poetry: “I love to go to the pond to bathe in your presence, so I may let you see my beauty in my tunic of finest royal linen, when it is wet.” And there are meditations, songs, ghost stories, and fables of all kinds. In fact, not until the Greeks did the ancient world have another literature with variety and beauty equal to that of Egypt.

⁸ Adolf Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians: A Sourcebook of Their Writings*, 1966, pp. 61–62 (language modified).

Mathematics The Egyptians were pioneers in applied science. The need for careful planting in the silt deposits of the Nile forced them to master arithmetic, geometry, and the art of surveying; an unusually rich overflow might wipe out the boundaries between plots of land, and when this happened the land had to be remeasured.

Medicine Medicine in Egypt depended largely on driving out demons from the body. The Egyptians believed that a separate god ruled over each organ and limb, and treatment consisted largely in finding the right chant to appease the appropriate deity and then delivering it in the right tone of voice. Sometimes a sorcerer simply threatened a demon by promising to invoke the aid of the gods if it did not depart at once.

But medicine was not based entirely on magic. We have recipes for toothache, for depression, for constipation, and much more. The Edwin Smith Papyrus, a treatise on surgery, discusses some forty-eight medical problems, classified according to the various parts of the body. Whenever possible, the author gives a diagnosis and suggests a treatment through surgery. A verdict is often given in one of three forms—"An ailment that I will treat," "An ailment with which I will contend," or "An ailment not to be treated"—probably according to whether the prognosis was favorable, uncertain, or unfavorable. This text is a witness to the birth of a kind of inquiry that transcends haphazard folk medicine. Such maturing and broadening of knowledge independent of magic characterize the civilizing process throughout history.

The New Kingdom

The Period of the Hyksos Beginning about 1630 B.C. the delta region, in Lower Egypt, was largely under the control of the people known as the Hyksos. The name means, roughly, "rulers of foreign lands," and the Egyptians farther south called them the Aamu, "Asiatics" (that is, from western Asia). They appear to have immigrated from the southern Levant or Palestine. By about 1520 B.C. Egyptian warriors from Thebes had come north and driven the Hyksos back into their homeland. The period following their departure is called the New Kingdom, sometimes also the Egyptian Empire.

The Eighteenth Dynasty During the Eighteenth Dynasty the kings from Thebes, now called pharaohs, strengthened the power of the central government and organized the country into a military state. They enlarged their domain by invading Asia Minor, fighting in what is roughly modern Syria, where they clashed above all with a kingdom known as Mitanni.



Queen Hatshepsut of Egypt (1473–1458 B.C.), history's first female ruler, pictured as a sphinx, which was a divine animal. She is depicted as a sphinx with a ceremonial false beard, as if to emphasize her right to rule.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1931 (31.3.166).

Photograph © 2002 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Hatshepsut (1473–1458 B.C.) Within the Eighteenth Dynasty there reigned the most powerful female ruler of ancient times, Hatshepsut. This dynamic woman seized power and had herself crowned king of Egypt. It was an act of breathtaking audacity in a social system in which men had always held the absolute power of monarch. Perhaps to emphasize her right to rule as king, she had herself portrayed as a sphinx with a beard.

Hatshepsut wanted to be remembered above all as a builder, the restorer of Egypt. "I have repaired," she proclaimed on inscribed walls, "what was destroyed by the Hyksos; I have raised up what was in pieces ever since

Akhnaton and Nefertiti in a familial scene hold three of their children while the sun-disk blesses and cherishes them. The style of art (round bellies, slender bodies, elongated jaws) is typical of the Amarna period.

M. Büsing/BPK Berlin/Art Resource, NY



the Asiatics had been in the Delta, overthrowing what had been made." Her great temple tomb in the Nile valley is among the most majestic of temples in Egypt.

Thutmose III (1479–1425 B.C.) Thutmose III, Hatshepsut's successor, became Egypt's greatest military leader. He made seventeen expeditions into Asia and expanded the empire as far as the Euphrates River. He proudly recorded his victory over Mitanni (about 1440 B.C.). His successors, exploiting these conquests, grew rich on the tribute paid by subject peoples. With this economic power the Egyptians expanded their trade, honored their gods with more temples, and continued working the rich copper mines in the Sinai peninsula.

Akhnaton's Religious Reform After the conquests of Thutmose III, a dramatic conflict of religions took place in the New Kingdom. This struggle arose from a contest between the pharaoh and certain priests and nobles, as each party strove to make its own god the supreme one. Thus the apparent religious battle—not for the last time in history—was, in reality, a political one. Although this battle was but one event during the centuries of the New Kingdom, the reforming aims of one side in this conflict have fascinated modern observers.

Early in his reign, King Amenhotep IV (1353–1336 B.C.) began to oppose the worship of **Amon-Re**, for centuries the traditional god of Thebes, and sponsored the worship of the **aton**, the physical disk, or circle, of the

sun. Supported by his wife, Nefertiti, Amenhotep appears to have been trying to overcome the influence of priests and bureaucrats in Thebes. To advertise the new faith among his people, he changed his own name to Akhnaton, meaning "he who serves Aton." He moved his capital from Thebes to a completely new city called Akhetaton, "the horizon of Aton" (a village called El Amarna today), where he built a temple to Aton. He composed a soaring hymn in praise of Aton, hailing him as the creator of the world—an account of creation comparable to those of the Sumerians and the Israelites.⁹ Art of the Amarna period showed a different style from that of the earlier periods. The king was portrayed with a pot belly and elongated head and jaw, and this style was reflected in portraits of common people as well.

Akhnaton evidently fought the worship of other gods, even hacking the name of Amon-Re from monuments. His devoted worship of Aton has even led some historians to call him the first monotheist. But such a view is anachronistic and overlooks how Aton was worshiped: The royal family alone worshiped this god, while the Egyptian people were expected to continue to worship the pharaoh himself. Scenes in art show priests and nobles in attitudes of reverence, but they are addressing their prayers to the pharaoh, not directly to Aton.

⁹ Strong resemblances have been seen between this hymn and Psalm 104. See J. A. Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*, 1951, p. 227.



Syrian subjects presenting tribute to the pharaoh of Egypt on a wall painting at Thebes in the period of the empire.
C. M. Dixon/© British Museum

The Reaction against Akhnaton The more conservative priests, and probably most Egyptians, continued to worship Amon-Re, and Akhnaton's religious reform ended with his death. The second following ruler (1332–1322 B.C.) changed his name from Tutankhaton to Tutankhamen, thus indicating that Amon-Re, the older chief deity, was again in favor. The royal court moved back north to Memphis, and the city named for Aton, Akhetaton, was abandoned and destroyed. Akhnaton's name was savagely hacked off monuments and king lists, and he was now known as "the criminal of Akhetaton." The young king Tutankhamen reigned for only nine years and was buried with dazzling splendor. His tomb, discovered in 1922 intact with all its treasures, is one of the most stunning finds in the history of Egyptology.

Ramses II (1279–1213 B.C.) In the Nineteenth Dynasty, the New Kingdom emerged from the period of religious conflict with renewed strength and was led by ambitious pharaohs, the most famous of whom was Ramses II. After warfare between Egypt and the Hittite kingdom of Asia Minor, the two kingdoms signed a peace treaty in 1259 B.C.;¹⁰ this may have been the

world's first nonaggression pact and brings forth another of the themes that run through history, namely, diplomacy and negotiation between states.

Ramses II devoted much of Egypt's wealth to amazing building projects. At Karnak, for example, he completed an enormous hall of columns sacred to Amon-Re, who had now fully regained his old position. Ramses' supreme achievement as a builder is the colossal temple that he had carved out of the rocky cliffs along the Nile at Abu Simbel. In front of the temple sit four 65-foot-high statues of the king. The building of the Aswan Dam by the modern Egyptians would have drowned the temple and its statues beneath the water of an artificial lake, but an international group of engineers preserved Ramses' desire to be remembered for all time by cutting the outer monuments free and raising them above the level of the water.

A View of Egyptian Society

Administration and Slavery In antiquity, communication by ship was greatly superior to overland transportation because of the greater speed and economy of sailing. The Nile therefore imposed a natural administrative unity on Egypt. The kings secured their power through the help of ministers and advisers, especially the class of priests, while a complex bureaucracy carried out the routine work of government and saw to the

¹⁰ Both the Hittite and Egyptian texts of this document are translated in J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 1969, pp. 199–203.

economy, which was a royal monopoly with the exception of marketing the simplest household products.

Slaves existed, but the economic difference between free citizens and slaves was not always vast. Both classes worked the fields, labored on the pyramids, and were indeed the ultimate economic basis for the regime, although their own lives changed little from one generation to another.

Education For all its controls, the Egyptian hierarchy did allow youths to enter and rise through education. The kings and their gods needed all manner of scribes, treasurers, and functionaries, and Egyptian children might learn the art of writing in a school run by a temple or a palace or even from a private teacher in a village. They normally studied from age four to age sixteen and could then enter the army or the royal service. Scribes were also needed for the arts of medicine and architecture and for priesthoods; most priests were men, but some were women.

Women and the Family Egypt had no formal marriage. Men and women simply started to live together, often as teenagers. The desire for children was universal as insurance against the future. One wise man of the Eighteenth Dynasty advised, "Take a wife when you are young, so that she might give you a son. Happy is the man with a large family, for he is respected on account of his children." A woman held the title "mistress of the house," and the house and its management were her responsibilities. Agricultural work was by far the main occupation of Egyptians, and women participated in the task; they also went shopping, a fact noted with surprise by the Greek historian Herodotus on his visit to Egypt.

Most women were peasants with little education, but they had certain powers not granted, for example, to women of Israelite or Greco-Roman societies. Most remarkably, in view of the critical importance of ownership of land in Egypt, land passed down from mother to daughter; probably, it has been said, because it is always clear who one's mother is, while paternity can be uncertain. Likewise, men commonly identified themselves by citing the name of their mother, not of their father.

Women and Occupations This method of passing on property meant that women could own and manage both land and other property. Thus a woman did not have to turn her property over to her husband at the time of marriage. Women could also initiate legal action, buy and sell property, and execute wills. But women were legally equal to men only within their own class. Most women were peasants and shared the daily work of planting crops, picking fruit, and carrying baskets; above all, they had to produce children.

Men normally held the important positions in the state and the bureaucracy (again the amazing position of the queen Hatshepsut should be remembered). Below this level of political influence, women performed tasks like overseeing weavers, singers, and cooks; some were treasurers in private businesses. A respected occupation was that of midwife, and midwives delivered most Egyptian babies. A great many women were singers, dancers, and professional mourners at funerals. Among higher positions open to women were priest-hoods, often including priestesses who chanted or played instruments in temples.

Women were buried along with their men, sharing in the elegance of the tomb according to the rank of their husbands. Privileged women could be given in death a profusion of jewels, necklaces, and other ornaments.

The Permanence of Egypt We must not overlook the turmoil within Egyptian history: the invasion of the Hyksos, wars in Asia, the collapse of the New Kingdom, and its conquest by Assyria and then by Persia (see "Dates in Egyptian History," p. 12). Yet there remains the awesome *permanence* of Egypt: No other state, in the history of the nations we call Western, ever survived so long. On the whole, over the span of some thirty centuries, life flowed predictably, like the Nile, making severe demands but bringing the material for a well-earned reward.

PALESTINE

We have already discussed the Semitic society of Babylonia and turn now to Semites in the area of Palestine. They include the Phoenicians, who were famous as sailors and explorers; they also developed an alphabet that became the mother of all the scripts of Europe. Even more important to the Western experience was the society of Israel, which gave the Western world its greatest book—the Bible.

Canaanites and Phoenicians

The region of Palestine was originally inhabited by a group of Semitic tribes known as the Canaanites, among whose cities were Jericho and Jerusalem. By about 1200 B.C. the Canaanites had settled mainly in Phoenicia, a narrow region along the Mediterranean Sea (roughly modern Lebanon). The Phoenicians drew part of their culture from the Mesopotamian and Egyptian states nearby, but they were also brilliant innovators.

The Phoenician Alphabet Their outstanding contribution was a simplified alphabet with 22 characters that was later adopted by the Greeks and became the

Egyptian
(hieroglyphs)Akkadian
(cuneiform)

Phoenician



Greek

Several translations of "I am Darius," in hieroglyphic, Akkadian, Phoenician, and Greek.

ancestor of Western alphabets. The political and social importance of this invention is impossible to overstate. It ended the long period during which people had to learn thousands of pictorial symbols to be reasonably literate and writing was a mysterious art known to only a few. Especially in the hands of the Greeks, writing brought a knowledge of law codes and historical records within the intellectual reach of ordinary citizens and led to reevaluation of the past and a critical spirit about received tradition.

Phoenician Exploration The Phoenicians lacked the military power to create an empire, but they influenced other cultures, especially through trade on both land and sea. They established trading posts or colonies far from Palestine, the most famous of which was Carthage, a powerful city on the north coast of Africa that controlled parts of North Africa and Spain. The Greek historian Herodotus records that some Phoenicians for the first time sailed completely around Africa.

Among the Phoenician articles of trade was a reddish dye that the ancients called *purple*; cloth dyed in this color became a luxury and has remained a mark of royalty or eminence. The Phoenicians' wide explorations made them masters of the sea, and because of their sailing ability they provided the navy for the Persian Empire. They and other Canaanite peoples had thus developed a high urban civilization by the time the Israelites began their invasion of the Palestinian coast.

Hebrew Society and the Bible

South of Phoenicia is the region of Palestine that today is known as Israel, also settled in antiquity by

speakers of the Semitic Hebrew language. The Hebrew Bible, or Old Testament, provides a continuous record of how this people viewed its past, but before historians can use the narratives and chronicles of the sacred books as a source, they must take a stand on the credibility of the documents. Scholars in the nineteenth century questioned whether the Old Testament contained unchallengeable, divinely revealed truth. Archaeology in recent years has often confirmed the Bible, at least in questions of geography and topography, but literal accuracy is not, after all, the central issue to the historian. Religious traditions of any society, whether or not they are strictly verifiable, can instruct us about a society, just as do law codes and lists of kings.

The Israelite chroniclers concentrated on a single god and on humanity's relationship to him. This great theme, varied in countless ways, fuses the Old Testament into a story about one god and the history of his chosen people. Unlike Mesopotamian epics, the Bible deals with real people and real times; it combines ethics, poetry, and history into the most influential book in the Western tradition.

The Early Hebrews and Moses Hebrew tradition tells that a nomadic tribe led by Abraham migrated into Palestine from the east. A probable date for this movement is about 1900 B.C. His grandson, Jacob, is said to have organized the settlers into twelve tribes under the leadership of his twelve sons. Jacob himself also took the name Israel (meaning "God strove" or "God ruled"), and this name is also used for the people. Israel was therefore a tribal society, unlike the urban society of Sumer or the unified monarchy of Egypt.



THE SALVATION OF ISRAEL

The Old Testament book of Exodus narrates the return of the Israelites from Egypt and preserves the hymn of praise sung by Moses and his people after they reached the holy land. The poem celebrates the strength of God and his generosity in saving Israel. It also shows that Israel saw itself as having a special compact with God.

"I will sing to the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider he has thrown into the sea. The Lord is my strength and my song, and he has become my salvation; this is my God, and I will praise him, my father's God, and I will exalt him. The Lord is a man of war; the Lord is his name. Pharaoh's chariots and his host he cast into the sea; and his picked officers are sunk in the Red Sea. The floods cover them; they went down into the depths like a stone. Thy right hand, O Lord, glorious in power, thy right hand, O Lord, shatters the enemy. . . .

Thou hast led in thy steadfast love the people whom thou has redeemed, thou hast guided them by thy strength to thy holy abode . . . the sanctuary, O Lord, which thou hast made for thy abode, the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established. The Lord will reign for ever and ever."

From Exodus 15, Revised Standard Version of the Bible, National Council of Churches of Christ, 1946, 1952, 1971.

Egypt and the Exodus Some Israelite tribes settled in Canaan. Others migrated to Egypt, according to the Bible to escape a severe famine, although immigration into Egypt had long been allowed. They remained there, but evidently suffered such harsh conditions that they determined to return to their homeland. Their return took place probably about 1240–1230 B.C., in the "exodus" (see "The Salvation of Israel," above). At their head was Moses, who led them across the Sinai peninsula during a period of general unrest in the Near East. Their return was the critical formative event in their history. Moses organized the tribes of Israel and some neighboring Canaanites into a confederation bound by a covenant to the god he named YHWH (by convention, we write this word Yahweh; in English it later became Jehovah) and placed all the people in Yahweh's service. Moses proclaimed the new covenant between God and his people on Mount Sinai, in the wastes of the desert. According to the Old Testament Book of Exodus, he received his instructions directly from Yahweh. These instructions, a document of the greatest historical interest, include the Ten Commandments, in which Yahweh issues the terse order, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." Most scholars interpret this command as a declaration that Yahweh was the one and only God: No others existed at all. So far as we can tell, this was the first time that any people in Western civilization embraced genuine monotheism.

But *why* did Israel accept a single god, in contrast to the rest of the ancient world, in which families of deities were the rule? Was Moses, who had lived in Egypt, perhaps influenced by Akhnaton's worship of Aton as the only true god? We do not know, but we may guess that Moses saw the need to unify his people

so that they would be strong enough to regain their home in Palestine; and what could forge a stronger bond than having the whole people swear allegiance to one god above all?

Moses also laid down a code of laws, which, unlike earlier codes, is a series of laws prescribing ethically right conduct. Far more than other ancient codes, this one respects people over property, lays down protection for the oppressed, and insists on respect for parents. This code appears to be the first intervention of religion into the private behavior of human beings. The historical reality of Moses, the fact that his laws are connected with the experience of a people, and the power of the ethical concerns of that people have given the faith of Israel an immediacy to which Sumerian or Egyptian religion could hardly pretend.

Israel and Its Society Early Israelite society was clearly father-dominated through the patriarchs and God, whom they considered their supreme father. This structure led to a patriarchal family and shaped the legal status of women. Marriage occurs through purchase throughout the Old Testament, and a daughter might be bestowed on a man as a kind of salary, as in the moving story of Jacob and Rachel. Jacob loved Rachel dearly, and this is the point of the story, but he worked seven years to gain her in lieu of the purchase price (Gen. 29). Sometimes women were awarded as prizes for military success.

Some women did indeed rise above such a level of dependence on the family, and their heroism is all the greater. For example, the book of Ruth tells the story of Naomi, a woman of Bethlehem who moves to Moab (east of the river Jordan and the Dead Sea). When she



JEREMIAH REPROACHES ISRAEL

The people of Israel discovered monotheism, but to maintain it was not easy. The prophet Jeremiah warned his people that they were backsliding into worshiping false gods such as Baal, rather than retaining allegiance to the one true God.

“The Lord said to me, “There is revolt among the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. They have turned back to the iniquities of their forefathers, who refused to hear my words; they have gone after other gods to serve them; the house of Israel and the house of Judah have broken my covenant which I made with their fathers. Therefore, thus says the Lord, Behold, I am bringing evil upon them which they cannot escape; though they cry to me, I will not listen to them. . . . The Lord once called you, “A

green olive tree, fair with goodly fruit”; but with the roar of a great tempest he will set fire to it, and its branches will be consumed. The Lord of hosts, who planted you, has pronounced evil against you, because of the evil which the house of Israel and the house of Judah have done, provoking me to anger by burning incense to Baal.”

From Jeremiah 11, Revised Standard Version of the Bible, National Council of Churches of Christ, 1946, 1952, 1971.

decides to return to Bethlehem, her loving Moabite daughter-in-law Ruth refuses her orders to remain behind. Ruth toils faithfully in the field and meets Naomi’s relative Boaz, whom she marries. Her grandson is Jesse and her great-grandson is David, who became King of Israel and whom Christians consider an ancestor of Jesus (Matthew 1). Again, there is the strong figure of Deborah. The book of Judges (5) preserves her hymn of praise to God, which many scholars consider the oldest passage in the Bible. She was also one of the judges, leaders of the villages of Israel before there was a united kingdom, and is said to have served forty years.

The Israelite Monarchy By a series of attacks on Canaanite cities and by covenants made with other tribes, the Israelites established themselves in Palestine. About 1230 B.C. they invaded Canaanite territory in a campaign aimed at expansion. Biblical stories say that Joshua, the successor of Moses, led the tribes of Israel across the Jordan River and followed God’s instructions to take the Canaanite city of Jericho by siege. Many modern scholars would modify the biblical account and assume a more gradual process of occupation.

During the years of the conquest of Canaan, Israel still lacked a central government. The judges managed to reunite the people in periods of crisis, but the tribes then habitually drifted apart. They were also under pressure from the Philistines, a warlike people living along the coast of Palestine. According to the Bible, the people finally demanded a king, evidently wanting to imitate the practice of the Canaanites and also as protection against the Philistines: “We will have a king over us; then we shall be like other nations, with a king to govern us, to lead us out to war and fight our bat-

les” (1 Sam. 8:20). The first king was Saul (ca. 1020–1000 B.C.). His successor, David (ca. 1000–961 B.C.), captured Jerusalem and made it Israel’s capital. The entire nation now took the name Israel, and David extended the kingdom to its farthest boundaries. In modern terms, his domain comprised modern Israel, Lebanon, much of Jordan, and part of Syria even north of Damascus.

Solomon Solomon, David’s son and successor (ca. 961–922 B.C.), was famed for his wisdom. Like all great kings of the period, Solomon was a builder. He left behind him the physical memorial that symbolized the faith of Israel through the centuries—the Temple in Jerusalem. But the temple could not compare in size with his magnificent palace and citadel, whose stables, according to tradition, housed twelve thousand horses.

Solomon’s autocratic rule and extravagance may have caused resentment among his people, who were heavily taxed to pay for his palace and army. After his death the kingdom split into two parts. The northern half, centered on the ancient town of Shechem, retained the name of Israel; the southern half, ruled from Jerusalem, was now called Judah, and only it remained from Solomon’s kingdom. Weakened by internal quarrels, the northern kingdom of Israel was conquered in 722 B.C. by the Assyrians to the northeast, who deported much of the population into Babylonia.

The Dissolution of Israel Judah was now the only Israelite kingdom. The Greeks called this people *Ioudaioi*, from which comes the name Jews. Judah also fell in 586 B.C. to the Neo-Babylonian Kingdom ruled by Nebuchadnezzar. The captives were deported to Babylon, in the so-called Babylonian captivity, but



An extreme rarity, the only example of frescoes in a Jewish synagogue showing scenes from the Bible. From Dura Europos, ca. A.D. 239; now in a museum at Damascus.
Princeton University Press/Art Resource, NY

later in the same century they were allowed by King Cyrus of Persia to trickle back into Palestine. In general the Jews became pawns of the various forces that ruled Palestine until A.D. 1948, when a revived Jewish state—the republic of Israel—took its place among sovereign nations.

The Faith and the Prophets Judaism was also shaped by a few resolute critics, known as the prophets: men of the people, tradesmen, and preachers, such as Amos, Micah, Hosea, Jeremiah, and Isaiah. These prophets were not kings and had no military power that could make the people listen to their message. The most authoritative prophet had been Moses, and all successors looked back to him for guidance. The later prophets spoke one general message: Israel was becoming corrupt and only a rigid moral reform could save it. Worship of Yahweh had sometimes been blended with that of the gods, or Baalim, of the Canaanites. Luxury, promiscuity, and extravagance were weakening the discipline of Israelite society (see “Jeremiah Reproaches Israel,” p. 23). Perhaps most important, they warned

that worship of Yahweh had become, for many, only a matter of form and ritual. They insisted that their people should put their faith in God and live in a just and righteous manner.

But even as they denounced the prevalent wickedness, the prophets promised that God would forgive Israel if the people repented and that he would further prove his love to Israel by sending a Messiah. The word **Messiah** (*mashiah* in Hebrew) means a person or even a thing possessing a divine power or purpose; referring to people, it came to mean one “anointed” by God to perform a special mission. From about 200 B.C. onward, Jewish thought held that a king would someday appear, a descendant of David, who would restore the power and glory of Israel on earth. The famous Dead Sea Scrolls (discussed in chapter 5), ranging in date from the second century B.C. through the first century A.D., often speak of the awaited Messiah. Christians, too, developed their theory of a Messiah, who would return to rule on earth over all humanity: To them, the “anointed one” (*ho christós* in Greek) is Jesus, but to Jews, the hero is still unborn or unknown.



MAP 1.3 FIVE ANCIENT STATES

Over the years, these five states developed in the same general region. Assyria would later dominate the other states including Egypt. What was the greatest extent of the Egyptian Empire?

◆ For an online version, go to www.mhhe.com/chambers9 > chapter 1 > book maps

The Jewish Legacy

The Jews are the only society originating in the ancient Near East whose social and religious traditions have continued to influence modern European civilization. For reasons that no one can fully explain, adversity has never broken the Jewish spirit, and over many centuries the Jews have persisted as a society even without an independent state. Their faith provided the most persuasive answer to the problem that also troubled their neighbors—the nature of the relationship between humanity and God.

To Israel, there was only one god; unlike the gods of the pagans, he tolerated the existence of no others. He judged severely, but he was also prepared to forgive those who sincerely regretted wrong behavior. He had created the world but stood outside the world; he never appeared as an animal or in any other form. Above all, he was a god for everyone, not just for nobles, priests, and kings. Christianity, the religion of medieval and modern Europe, and Islam, the chief religion of the

Near East, are both children of Judaism and preserve the morality and ethics of the older faith.

THE NEAR EASTERN STATES

A series of general disruptions about 1250 to 1150 B.C. left no state dominant for the next few centuries until the Assyrians began their conquests. They became the first people to accomplish a political unification of large parts of the Near East (see map 1.3). The Persians, the next great imperialists of this region, built on foundations laid by the Assyrians and ruled with an administrative skill that only the Roman Empire would equal in ancient times. The Persians also developed a widely accepted religion, Zoroastrianism, some of whose doctrines persisted long after the Persian Empire had disappeared.

The Assyrian State

The Assyrians The Assyrians were descended from Semitic nomads who had entered northern Mesopotamia about 2500 B.C. and founded the city of Ashur, named after their chief god. From this name comes the designation *Assyrian* for the people. Their language was a Semitic dialect closely resembling that of the Babylonians, and they wrote in the cuneiform script that had originated in Sumer and had remained in general use.

Assyrian Conquests About 900 B.C. the Assyrians began their most important period of conquest and expansion. Their territory included Babylonia to the south, the cities of Palestine to the west, and northern Egypt. By the middle of the seventh century B.C. their dominion embraced most of the Near East.

If any one concept could characterize Assyrian society, it would be militarism. The army was especially dominant and efficient. The Assyrians faced a greater challenge than any earlier state in absorbing large kingdoms such as Egypt and Babylonia. They ruled with a degree of control unknown in any of the earlier conglomerates.

Assyrian Rule The Assyrian kings exacted heavy payments of tribute as the price of leaving the conquered territories in peace. Some peoples, such as the inhabitants of Judah, escaped further burdens, but other less independent peoples had to accept a vizier, or governor, serving the king. In some cases the imperial government deported subject peoples who might prove troublesome—for example, inhabitants of Israel who were dispersed within the Assyrian domain. Assyrian armies stationed in the provinces were a further guarantee of stability. We must also record that Assyrian kings took



MAP 1.4 FIVE KINGDOMS OF THE NEAR EAST, TO 500 B.C.

This map shows five kingdoms and records their chronological development. The Persian Empire finally became the greatest of all and dominated the entire Near East. Notice that it even reached into Europe in the region of Thrace. Which bodies of water were the outer limits of the Persian Empire?

◆ For an online version, go to www.mhhe.com/chambers9 > chapter 1 > book maps

pride in their brutal treatment of enemies and victims. Certainly, brutality has always existed in war, but the boast of one king is repellent:

3000 of their combat troops I felled with weapons. . . .
 Many of the captives taken from them I burned in a fire.
 Many I took alive; from some (of these) I cut off their
 hands to the wrist, from others I cut off their noses, ears,
 and fingers; I put out the eyes of many of the soldiers. . . .
 I burnt their young men and women to death.¹¹

Language became another means of unifying the Assyrian domain; the Semitic language known as Aramaic (originally spoken by the Aramaeans, who controlled parts of Mesopotamia from about 1100 to about 900 B.C.) was ultimately spoken everywhere in lands dominated by Assyria. It later became the common tongue of the Near East and was the official language of the Persian Empire. In Palestine, Aramaic was spoken by the Jews, including Jesus.

Assyrian Art and Writings For all their harsh militarism and their brutal rule over their conquered subjects, the Assyrians created magnificent works of art.

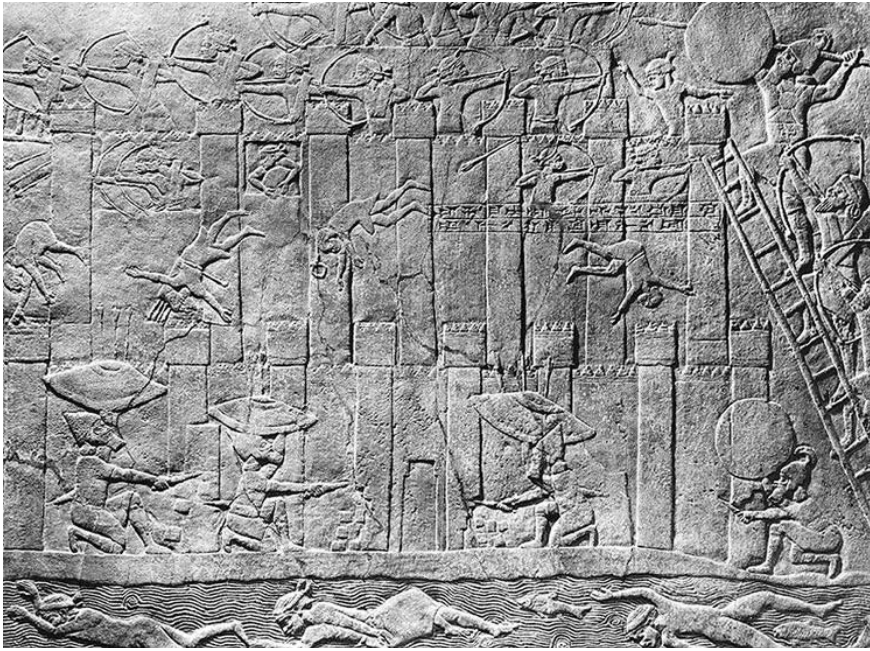
Much of the wealth extracted from the empire was spent on glorifications of the king and his conquests. Most notable are the reliefs cut on the palace walls at Nineveh, the capital, and elsewhere. The last powerful Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.), also created a library of cuneiform texts. The largest single group of these texts covers omens, divination, or observations of the stars, because Assyrian kings relied heavily on omens and their interpretation by priests to guide royal policy.

It is hardly surprising that the subjects of the Assyrians watched for any chance to rebel. Finally, in 612 B.C., a combination of forces led by Babylonians captured Nineveh, and the Assyrian Empire collapsed. Within a few years Assyria was reduced to a primitive state of nonurbanized living. Greek explorers 200 years later found it only sparsely populated.

The Neo-Babylonian Kingdom and the Medes

The Assyrian Empire gave way to two states: the Neo-Babylonian Kingdom and the Kingdom of the Medes. Babylon, the ancient city of Hammurabi, was the capital of the Neo-Babylonian Kingdom. It was notorious as a center of luxury and wealth. The dominant tribe in

¹¹ From H. W. F. Saggs, *The Might That Was Assyria*, 1984, p. 261.



An Assyrian relief showing Ashurbanipal's soldiers attacking a city. Some soldiers swim to the attack; others scale the walls with ladders while defenders fall from the ramparts.

Hirmer Fotoarchiv

the kingdom was the Chaldeans, south of Babylon. They were the most learned astronomers of antiquity. They kept minute records of eclipses, charted a plan of the heavens, and calculated the length of the year. Their discoveries were passed on to the Greeks and Romans and influenced all medieval and modern astronomy.

Nebuchadnezzar (604–562 B.C.), the most famous Neo-Babylonian king, built lavish temples and is said to have constructed a terraced roof garden known as the Hanging Gardens, which was considered one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. It was he who captured Jerusalem in 586 B.C., destroyed the city and its holy temple, and scattered thousands of Jews within Babylonia, a tragedy recorded by the prophet Jeremiah.

The Iranians Down to this point we have met the Sumerians, the Egyptians, and some Semite peoples. We come now to a people who spoke an Indo-European language, the Iranians. No documents have been found in the original Indo-European language, but from this language almost all the modern languages of Europe descend. Germanic languages (including English), Greek, Latin, Romance languages, Slavic languages including Russian, and the languages of India, Pakistan, and Iran all belong to this family. Perhaps about 6000–5000 B.C. the Indo-European peoples began a slow dispersion across Europe and parts of Asia. Some of them finally settled on the Indian subcontinent, while others moved westward into Greece, Italy, central Europe, and Asia Minor.

A new people, the Iranians, appeared, another branch of the family that spoke Indo-European languages. Two noteworthy Iranian societies were the

Medes and the Persians. The Medes, living in the area of Media to the east of Mesopotamia, formed a coherent kingdom about 625 B.C., and they took part in the capture of Nineveh in 612 B.C. We know little of their society because no written documents from Media have yet been found.

Their neighbors, the Persians, lived in the same general area and eventually subdued the Medes. Yet the Medes had enough prestige to be named first in official documents in which both Medes and Persians are mentioned. The Greeks, too, used *Medes* (*Medoi*) as the term embracing both Medes and Persians, and they called their two wars with the Persian Empire the *Medic* wars.

The Persian Empire

Cyrus (559–530 B.C.) The Persians proceeded to form the largest, most efficient state down to their time. The founder of the Persian Empire was King Cyrus. His actions show him as a determined imperialist, and his first conquest was his victory over Media, to the north, in 550 B.C. A few years later Cyrus led his forces into western Asia Minor and conquered the kingdom of Lydia. This advance brought the Persian Empire westward as far as the Aegean Sea, which separates Asia Minor from Greece, and set the stage for a direct clash between the vast empire of the Near East and the new culture of the Greeks; but this clash was not to come for another two generations.

To secure the southern flank of his growing empire, Cyrus led his forces against the Neo-Babylonian Kingdom and captured Babylon. The inhabitants evidently



Part of the Bisitun inscription in Iran, showing King Darius of Persia (522–486 B.C.) receiving the submission of rebels. Carved in three languages, this inscription provided the key to deciphering cuneiform writing.

Dr. G. G. Cameron, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (Neg #ANEP Plate 462)

welcomed him, for they offered little resistance. Their judgment was sound; Cyrus treated the city with moderation, not sacking it, as an Assyrian conqueror might have done. In fact, his administration was marked by a notable toleration of the customs and religions of the people he brought under his control. We have seen that he allowed as many as 40,000 refugees from Judah to return to their homeland.

Cambyses and Egypt Cyrus' successor, Cambyses (530–522 B.C.), made the third conquest that completed the Persian Empire: He conquered Egypt in 525 B.C.,

and the rich valley of the Nile remained under Persian rule until Alexander the Great captured it in 332 B.C.

Darius (522–486 B.C.) The most skillful administrator of the Persian Empire was Darius. He left behind a superb monument—a proud summary of his reign written in three languages (Old Persian, Akkadian, Elamite). Carved under a relief showing Darius and some of his captives, this text survives high on the face of a rock at Bisitun in Iran. In a series of paragraphs, each beginning “Saith Darius the king,” he records his conquests, including that of Babylon, and the defeat and mutilation of his enemies. He also clarifies that he is the only source of law: “As was said by me, thus it was done.” The tone and physical setting of this grandiose monument confirm the lofty position of the king in the Persian state. A later inscription on his tomb also proclaimed his devotion to justice: “I am a friend to right, not to wrong. Whoever does harm, I punish him according to the damage he has done.” This statement reminds us of the insistence on restitution built into Hammurabi’s code and shows how some Near Eastern kings, for all their unchallengeable power, tried to earn a reputation for fairness.

The Administration of the Empire Darius divided his empire into some twenty satrapies, or provinces, each ruled by a satrap (“protector of the realm”). The king, naturally, was the supreme head of the state, but the satraps had a high degree of independence; they dispensed justice, designed foreign policy, and were in charge of finance. Each satrap, for example, was responsible for collecting an assigned amount of revenue from his province. This system of delegating authority became the model for the Roman Empire when it expanded Rome’s domain outside Italy.

The Greek historian Herodotus, writing in the fifth century B.C., mentions with admiration the Persian system of roads begun by Cyrus and perfected by Darius. A great highway ran across the empire from the capital at Susa westward to Sardis in Lydia, a distance of more than one thousand miles. The first long highway built anywhere, this road served trade and commerce and also bound the far-flung empire together.

Zoroaster The Persian king was never considered divine, but he often served as a priest and claimed to have received his authority from the god of the Persians, Ahura Mazda. The prophet who formed the Persian faith was Zoroaster (also known as Zarathustra). We are not sure of the date of his life and work, but a number of historians think he lived about 600 B.C. or soon after.

Zoroaster was not considered divine; rather, he taught that the supreme god, Ahura Mazda, a god of



Two panels on a staircase of the great reception hall at the Persian capital, Persepolis. In each panel an official leads a messenger whose followers bear tribute for the king of Persia.

George Holton/Photo Researchers, Inc.

light, had created the world and directed the heavens and seasons. The Persian conception of God as creator of the world, and of light and darkness, seems to have influenced Judaism to some degree. Within the book of the prophet Isaiah, God says, "I form light and create darkness. . . . I made the earth, and created humankind upon it; it was my hands that stretched out the heavens" (ch. 45).

The Dualist Religion of Persia Around Ahura Mazda gathered good deities such as "Truth," "Righteous Thought," "Devotion," and so on, whose ideals humanity should follow. But the Persian faith taught that Ahura was opposed by Ahriman, a wholly evil spirit—a devil, in fact. Thus Zoroaster taught a dualist religion, that is, one with two divine forces, although only Ahura is the true god whose message we are to hear. A concern with the devil was to expand greatly in the New Testament. Another similarity to Christian thought is found

in Zoroaster's proclamation that, after thousands of years, a day of judgment will see the final triumph of good, and those people who have followed Ahura in morally good lives will gain paradise, while the rest will suffer in the realm of endless night. Zoroaster also rejected such ancient practices as the sacrifice of animals. The faith he taught demanded recognition of the one good spirit and a life of devotion to Ahura's ideals. His noble thought far outlasted the Persian Empire and still has followers today in Iran and in India.

In this chapter we have observed several historical themes. The rise of agriculture, which enabled humanity to live in permanent villages, led to the expansion of such villages into cities. In the cities, civilization arose with more ingenious tools that led to monumental architecture. Trade and its companion, writing, emerged. Monarchy became and remained the form of government, and rulers issued law codes to control their societies.

Summary

The mighty legacy of the ancient Near Eastern societies—including the art of writing, monumental architecture, and the development of pottery and weaponry—also influenced the development of their neighbors, the Greeks. The Greeks further learned from the older societies the use of coinage, the measurement of time, and forms of diplomacy. They added to this heritage a radical individualism and a passion for logical argument; their policies and institutions have influenced our own, even more directly and profoundly than those of the Near East, as will be apparent when we turn to the Mediterranean and the peoples of Greece.

QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER THOUGHT

1. This chapter has looked at religious practices in several societies. How does the religion of Israel resemble some other religions? How does it differ from them?
2. In the forming of societies, which contributes more, intellectual skills or the dominance and administration of a strong government?

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*Available in paperback.