

Reading THE GLOBAL VOLUME ONE PAST Prehistory to 1500

RUSSELL J. BARBER . LANNY B. FIELDS . CHERYL A. RIGGS

READING THE GLOBAL PAST

Selected Historical Documents

Volume I Prehistory to 1500

EDITED BY

RUSSELL J. BARBER

California State University—San Bernardino

LANNY B. FIELDS

California State University—San Bernardino

CHERYL A. RIGGS

California State University—San Bernardino

For Bedford Books

President and Publisher: Charles H. Christensen

General Manager and Associate Publisher: Joan E. Feinberg

History Editor: Katherine E. Kurzman Developmental Editor: Iane Betz

Managing Editor: Elizabeth M. Schaaf

Production Editor: Ara Salibian *Copyeditor:* India Koopman

Text Design: DeNee Reiton Skipper

Cover Design: Hannus Design Associates

Cover Art: Mask, c. 1150–550 B.C. (detail). Olmec, Veracruz, Middle Preclassic. Gift of Landon T. Clay. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Yu bronze vase, 1100–1000 B.C. (detail). China, end of the Shangying period, beginning of the Zhou period. Courtesy of the Tokyo National Museum.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 97–80446

Copyright © 1998 by Bedford Books (A Division of St. Martin's Press. Inc.)

All Rights Reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted by any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, except as may be expressly permitted by the applicable copyright statutes or in writing by the Publisher.

Manufactured in the United States of America.

For information, write: Bedford Books, 75 Arlington Street, Boston MA 02116 (617–426–7440)

ISBN 0-312-17184-6

Acknowledgments and copyrights appear at the back of the book, on pages 153–156, which constitute an extension of the copyright page. It is a violation of the law to reproduce these selections by any means whatsoever without the written permission of the copyright holder.

READING THE GLOBAL PAST

PREFACE

he study of global history is made difficult by the magnitude of the subject. Modern human beings have been on the earth for about 100,000 years, and their ancestors can be traced back to a period over 3 million years earlier. There are six inhabited continents and thousands of inhabited islands. And whenever and wherever there have been people, their activities have comprised part of the composite past that is the subject of global history. Studying such a massive subject is daunting.

To make sense of this vast sweep of time and space, scholars have to find some way to select from the details of history and produce a simpler picture. One way to do that is to seek general patterns that recur at various times and places: that approach has guided the selection of documents in *Reading the Global Past*. Recognizing the impossibility of including every document of significance, we have focused on a few themes of special global significance and selected documents that shed light on those themes. As a result, some old standbys of world history anthologies have been left out, while some unusual documents have been included.

A textbook and an anthology serve very different purposes in a course on the global past. The job of the textbook is to make sense out of the bewildering welter of details that composes the raw material of history. Ideally, the picture presented in the textbook is coherent, consistent, and clear. The job of an anthology of readings that accompany a textbook, in contrast, is to reintroduce some of the detail and conflicting information that was de-emphasized in the textbook. These readings inject complexity and contradiction into the course, as well as life and interest.

The 96 readings that make up *Reading the Global Past* were selected to present a cross section of the major kinds of sources used in global

history. Each part contains mostly primary sources along with a few scholarly works. The primary sources present information through the words of participants in, or direct observers of, historic events or processes; they reveal the concerns and conceptions of the place and time in a more vivid manner than any later scholar possibly could do. They provide the raw material that can support minute reconstructions of the past and can give a "feel" for the period that usually is lost in the more sterile accounts of textbooks. The scholarly works are interpretations of historical or archaeological evidence by scholars at a later period; they provide a framework for the assessment and understanding of the primary sources.

The scholarly works we have selected cut across the disciplines that study the past. Many were written by historians, but others were written by archaeologists, anthropologists, geographers, sociologists, and economists. The study of the global past is too complicated and difficult to leave in the hands of any single discipline.

The readings in this anthology span the globe, treating the human past on all the inhabited continents. In recognition of the accomplishments of peoples around the world and of their contributions to the modern world, it is only appropriate that coverage should be truly global.

Finally, the readings have been selected with an eye toward readability. Readings should be understandable by the beginning history student, but in cases where technical vocabulary or other background might be required, we have added notes and introductory material to assist the student.

While *Reading the Global Past* can be used along with any world history text, it was designed to be used with *The Global Past*, the world history text written by the same authors. Accordingly, its emphases and organization are similar. Each part of the text (with the exception of the final part of each volume, which is given over to broad perspectives) has a corresponding part in this reader, with a common theme and title. Organizing the reader by part, rather than chapter, emphasizes thematic comparison among the geographical and cultural areas that form the basis for chapter divisions. The instructor's manual, *Teaching the Global Past*, provides suggestions on how the use of text and reader can be coordinated profitably.

Dividing the readings of each part into scholarly works and primary sources underscores how these two categories of documents differ from and complement one another. The scholarly works provide students with a framework in which they can evaluate and critically use the primary sources. The primary sources, in turn, shed light on the evidence that led scholars to their conclusions. Organizing primary sources into small thematic groups provides case studies of important issues that could be referred to only briefly in *The Global Past*.

Reading the Global Past was conceived with the intention of encouraging habits of good historical scholarship in students. A full bibliographic citation for each reading is included on its first page to encourage recognition of the obligation to cite one's sources. Each reading is introduced by a discussion of the author and, as appropriate, the circumstances of writing; these permit the student to exercise some evaluation of the source for bias and credibility. Each part ends with a set of questions to consider, which are designed to guide students toward a critical evaluation of the readings and a recognition of their significance.

For all these reasons, *Reading the Global Past* forms a valuable complement to a global history textbook, particularly *The Global Past*. The readings interject detail, controversy, and the personalities of writers who participated in some of the great events and processes of history.

C O N T E N T S

Preface		ix
PART ONE	PREHISTORY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVILIZATION	1
INTRODU	CTION	1
SCHOLAF	RLY WORKS	3
Kwang-c	hih Chang, The Question of State Origins, Civilization, and Urbanism	3
Robert M	cC. Adams, The Pace of the Development of Civilization	6
Richard S	S. MacNeish, The Development of Agricultural Dependence in the Tehuacán Valley	10
Volkmar	Fritz, Trade in the Negev Desert at the Dawn of Civilization	12
Sheila Po	zorski and Thomas Pozorski, Early Andean Cities	17
	SOURCES IONS AND CLASS STRATIFICATION	25 25
Speciali	zed Occupations in Ancient India: A Hymn to Soma	26
Ancient	Chinese Class Stratification as Revealed in The Book of Songs	27
HIERARC	HICAL STATE GOVERNMENT	28
Autobio	graphy of Uni, an Egyptian Official	29
FORMAL	Legal Systems	31
A Babyl	onian Prenuptial Agreement	32
Monum	ENTAL ARCHITECTURE IN ANCIENT EGYPT	32
The Offi	icial Tablet at Wadi Hammamat	33
Dedicat	ory Inscription at Thebes	34
Ramses	II's Announcement That He Will Complete Unfinished Monuments	34

vi READING THE GLOBAL PAST

Early Writing		
A Babylonian Manumission Agreement Oracle-Bone Inscriptions from China's Shang Dynasty		
of Palenque		
Questions to Consider	41	
PART TWO THE CONVERGENCE TOWARD EMPIRE	43	
INTRODUCTION	43	
SCHOLARLY WORK	44	
Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, What It Takes to Run an Empire	44	
PRIMARY SOURCES	53	
Conquerors and Conquests	53	
The Piankhi Stela: The Siege of Memphis		
Arrian, Alexander's Address to His Troops	57	
EMPERORS AND THE LEGITIMACY OF RULE	58	
Augustus, My Accomplishments	58	
Ban Gu, On the Destiny of Kings	64	
IMPERIAL BUREAUCRACY	67	
Ashoka, Three Edicts	67	
THE ECONOMICS OF EMPIRE	69	
Chao Cuo, The Encouragement of Agriculture	69	
Diocletian, Edict on Maximum Prices	72	
Questions to Consider	75	
PART THREE THE RISE OF REGIONAL STATES	77	
INTRODUCTION	77	
SCHOLARLY WORKS	78	
Averil Cameron, The Breakup of Empires into Regional States	78	
Donald McCloud, Southeast Asian Trade and Regionalism		
René Grousset, Geographical Factors in Chinese Regionalism	86	
Ray Huang, Another Look at Geographical Factors in Chinese Regionalism	88	

	CONTENTS	vii	
PRIMARY SOURCES			
The Breakup of the Carolingian Empire			
Annales Bertiniani, The Treaty of Verdun			
Relations between Rulers and Regional Leadership			
Anonymous Medieval Chronicler, The Creation of Normandy in 911			
Tokugawa	a Hidetada, The Tokugawa Shogunate	94	
Traveler	Travelers' Accounts		
Ibn Battu	Ibn Battuta, Cultural Unity and Regional States		
Duarte B	arbosa, Regional States in East Africa	98	
Question	ns to Consider	103	
PART FOUR	THE REEMERGENCE OF EXPANSIVE SOCIETIES	105	
INTRODU	ICTION	105	
SCHOLAI	RLY WORK	107	
	pman Abu-Lughod, The World System in		
	the Thirteenth Century: Dead-End or Precursor?	107	
PRIMARY	SOURCES	122	
THE MO	NGOLS AND WAR	122	
Marco Polo, Concerning Chinggis Khan		123	
Marco Po	Marco Polo, Of the Tartar Armies		
William	of Rubruck, Another View of the Mongols	126	
MILITARI	STIC VALUES	130	
Theophy	rlact Simocatta, An Old Byzantine Soldier		
	Exhorts His Comrades	131	
POEMS R	REFLECTING DOUBT ABOUT MILITARISM	133	
Du Fu, A	Recruiting Officer at Shih-hao	133	
•	ong of the War Chariot	134	
Nezahua	dpilli, Song of Nezahualpilli during the War with Huexotzind	co 135	
AZTEC A	CCOUNTS OF TRIBUTE AND TRADE	138	
Fray Ber	Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Aztec Conquest Leads to Tribute		
The Cod	ex Mendoza, A Tribute List for Tepequacuilco	141	
Fray Bei	nardino de Sahagún, <i>The Merchant</i>	142	
Fray Bei	rnardino de Sahagún, Imperial Direction of the Market	144	
Fray Ro	rnarding de Sahagún, Conquest and Trade	146	

viii READING THE GLOBAL PAST

Advice to Traders	148
Francesco Pegolotti, Advice to Merchants Bound for Cathay	148
Questions to Consider	150
Index of Authors and Titles	157

PREHISTORY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVILIZATION

INTRODUCTION

The human story began millions of years ago, but the development of civilizations is comparatively recent. The warming that accompanied the retreat of the last glaciers at about 10,000 B.C. stimulated the growth of human populations. Increased population encouraged people in many places around the world to experiment with the domestication and growing of crops over the next few millennia. By 5000 B.C. agriculture was firmly established on all the inhabited continents except Australia, providing a strong base from which the elements of civilization could take root. The earliest heartlands for this transition to civilization were Mesopotamia, the eastern Mediterranean (including Egypt), India, China. Mesoamerica, and Peru.

While the word "civilization" is widely used and understood, it is difficult to define appropriately. Often it is used with a strong moral or judgmental flavor to contrast an "advanced" society with a "backward" one. The problem with this usage is that it encourages the ranking of societies in terms of advancement, which is easily translated into a ranking of value. There is no reason to believe that a civilization is more moral or superior in its treatment of its members than is a noncivilized society; in fact, there is considerable reason to believe that violence, exploitation, and prejudice are greater in civilizations than in noncivilized societies.

The approach to defining "civilization" that we have followed in *The Global Past* is maintained here. We consider it a loose term that is characterized by several criteria, some of which are required for a society to be considered a civilization, some of which frequently (but not always) occur in civilizations. Every civilization has a slightly different mix of these elements, but they all share a complexity that permits them to cope with the varied needs of a large and complicated society.

There are six core elements of civilization, as defined in *The Global Past*. These are:

- Agricultural dependence—the procurement of most of a society's food through the purposeful growing of crops.
- Occupational specialization—the existence of individuals who
 perform certain specialized tasks for their livings, exchanging
 their goods or services (or money) for the goods or services produced by other specialists.
- Class stratification the existence of different classes in society, characterized by different levels of wealth, power, and prestige.
- A state-level government a government that has coercive power over its people and that is sufficiently large to require a bureaucracy for its operation.
- Long-distance trade—the regular exchange of goods over great distances, permitting the acquisition of items that require resources or skills not locally available.
- Urbanism—the existence of a system that includes cities, with their large populations and varied neighborhoods, in a hierarchical relationship with smaller towns and villages.

These characteristics are common to all civilizations, forming the basic definition of the term.

In addition to these core elements, there are secondary elements that are usually present in civilizations. There are many of these, but a few of them that will be treated in this reader are:

- Writing—a system of written language so that messages can be recorded.
- Formal legal system—a set of legal principles, laws, and courts or other judicial institutions that control activities and stipulate penalties for breaking laws.
- Monumental architecture large and impressive buildings and other structures, usually for state or religious use, that are constructed through projects that expend large amounts of labor and materials.
- Great art style—a distinctive art style that is associated with a state or religion and spreads over a large area.

Other secondary elements of civilization that are discussed in *The Global Past* but are not treated in this part's readings are a developed transportation system, standards of measurement, mathematics, sophisticated metallurgy, and astronomy.

The readings in this part are restricted to ones that bear on the earlier civilizations of the world, those covered in Part One of *The Global Past*. Some of these early civilizations receive more attention than others because of the amount of information available. The availability of primary sources from a particular society, of course, depends upon whether the

society had writing, whether at least some of its literature has survived, and whether scholars know how to translate it into modern languages. Peruvian civilizations had no writing; the earliest writing in eastern Mexico is very poorly represented in the surviving record; the earliest Chinese writing was restricted to a few subjects; the Indus Valley civilization had writing and used it extensively, and it has survived to today, but we do not know how to read it. Even archaeological research, which can sometimes provide information when the documentary record is weak or nonexistent, is not pursued equally in all parts of the world. Consequently, some areas (such as Egypt) have a disproportionate wealth of archaeological information, while others (such as Peru) have relatively few researchers actively investigating their archaeology. As a result, this part relies heavily on Egypt and Mesopotamia for its examples, though there are readings for every area where early civilization developed.

SCHOLARLY WORKS

The Question of State Origins, Civilization, and Urbanism Kwang-chih Chang

A specialist in the ancient history and archaeology of China, Kwang-chih Chang is concerned with both the specifics of the development of complex society in China and the general patterns that characterize the development of complex society everywhere. This article, originally published as a concluding section to a 1980 interpretation of China's Shang Dynasty, tackles some provocative issues of the latter sort: worldwide patterns of the development of complex society.

This brief article adopts an economic interpretation, defining "civilization" a bit differently than it is defined in the introduction to this part of the reader and in most textbooks. Chang then focuses on interaction as a critical factor in the development of the state, urbanism, and civilization. He calls his proposed generalizations "laws," hoping they could be tested in the manner of the natural sciences; some other scholars are less confident that such laws of human activity are attainable and have preferred to consider Chang's statements as interesting and useful propositions.

State, civilization, and city are not only concurrent in their initial occurrence but also, in all likelihood, interrelated in the causes for their occurrence. But anthropologists seem determined to tackle them separately according to academic fashion. The 1950s were the decade of the cities,

beginning with Gordon Childe's famous treatise on "The Urban Revolution" and concluding with the conferences that resulted in *City Invinsible* and *Courses Toward Urban Life*. Civilization has been a perennial theme, but the decade of the 1960s saw more than its share of monumental tomes with that theme, from *The Dawn of Civilization* to *The First Civilizations*. The current decade, the 1970s, is the state's turn, if the mushrooming crop of books and articles on "state origins" or "state formations" is any indication. The last fad, that of the origins of the state, one finds even in China, although it probably was not the result of diffusion from America!

These concepts could best be looked at together and as part of overall evolutionary issues. One begins by looking for the essential societal features behind what we call civilizations in the first place.

What is a civilization? There are many definitions of the term, and many of them are very refined and sophisticated. But to most of us, at least to most of the reading public, civilization is a style, a quality, that is most characteristically represented by such objects of material culture in the archaeological record as monumental architecture and religious art. To put it bluntly, these are objects that are remote from daily use or from subsistence needs, or objects that are wasteful from a utilitarian point of view. When we see an ancient society willing and able to devote considerable wealth for seemingly useless tasks, we would admire its people and call them civilized. The more wasteful they are, the greater their civilization looms in our eyes.

Looked at this way, it is obvious that civilization is possible only with an abundant surplus of wealth within the society that produced it. It must be noted, however, that no surplus can come about naturally with advanced technology, because the subsistence threshold is always arbitrarily defined. A surplus is a man-made portion of wealth, arbitrarily imposed upon the society as a result of the reshuffling of its resources and its wealth. Such a reshuffling concentrates society's wealth in the hands of a small segment of the society, giving them both the capability and the necessity to create the wasteful hallmarks of the so-called civilizations. Such resource reshuffling is enabled by at least three sets of societal dichotomies or societal opposites. I would refer to civilization, as archaeologically recognized, as the cultural manifestation of these contrastive pairs of societal opposites: class-class, urban-nonurban, and state-state. In other words, economic stratification, urbanization, and interstate relations are three of civilization's necessary societal determinants.

Truistic explanations suffice. Economic stratification enables the concentration of resources within the state, and urbanization is the mechanism whereby the state accomplishes that concentration within regional economic universes. Then interstate interaction in the form of warfare and trade makes possible a higher degree of flow of both resources and information which further widens the systemic sphere of the economy and facilitates the concentration of resources within the

state. All of these have been shown to be working principles in Shang society. Current studies permit the generalization that the Shang society was sharply stratified into economic classes, that it is one in which there were highly sophisticated regional economic networks, and, more importantly, it was one of a number of contemporary polities of comparable complexity. Its archaeology is characterized by the hallmarks of what we regard as civilization.

We can further generalize from this to produce what I will immodestly call laws of ancient civilizational development. First, early civilizations came about only with a political situation in which more than a single state is involved. At least two states must be involved, more likely in excess of two. There can be no civilization in a single state surrounded by barbarians. As Henry Wright has pointed out, "[Complex chiefdoms] may exist on favored islands, but they do not seem to develop into states until they are drawn into a larger system. Our concern is with networks of chiefdoms regulated by warfare and alliance" and "[states], like chiefdoms, usually exist in networks of states. Among simpler states these networks seem to be regulated by competition and alliance, as was briefly noted for chiefdoms."

In the Chinese situation, as we have noted, the various states—Hsia [Xia], Shang, and Chou [Zhou], and others—occupied different territories in North and Central China, each characterized by certain distinctive resources. It has been further noted that the Shang-period oracle records suggest that the Shang's principal interactions were with other states of comparable civilizational level. The economic interacting relationship among three — or more — states of comparable levels of development would enable a degree of circulation of raw material and products North and Central China-wide that would not have been possible within single states or between a state and more primitive societies. Such circulation of goods would provide favorable conditions for the concentration of wealth and for the production of surpluses within each of the interacting states. In addition, threat of external violence would tend to promote internal integration, or at least such claims have been a favorite political technique throughout human history. As Trigger put it, "the truism that provides the point of departure for most of Service's recent arguments about the nature of early civilizations is the observation that no state can be held together by force alone. For a regime to survive, a majority of its subjects must remain convinced that there is no reasonable chance of seeing it replaced by a regime that might better serve their interests." The competition among the states and any national consciousness that may be formed within each of the states in the course of long centuries and millennia must have been one of the major stabilizing factors within each of the states.

The second law-like statement one can make is that the more uneven or inequitable the resource reshuffling within the state, the greater the hallmarks of civilization that will be produced. And vice versa. This

principle affords us the ability to predict the degree of economic stratification and complexity of regional economic system on the basis of the manifestations of civilization of that society. The higher that degree is in the archaeological manifestation we encounter, the more wastefully sophisticated or the less utilitarian it is from the point of view of subsistence needs. One look at King Tut's tomb, for example, without knowing anything about ancient Egypt, and we can predict that we are seeing an extremely stratified society, with an efficiently run and regionally differentiated economic universe and with fierce interstate or interpolity competition. There is no question that it is great art, but neither is there any question that it was purchased at extreme human cost. What is a rise of civilization and what is its fall? These value-charged words represent an evaluative judgment that has been made of the society's apex. I wonder if, in passing judgment over a civilization's rise and fall we should not, instead, take into account the meaning of these concepts in terms of lives away from the top and in terms of a society's evolutionary course. As often as not, a civilization's fall marks a society's progress. In John E. Pfeiffer's words, "one man's decadence . . . may be another man's renaissance. Less effort was being spent on the care and feeding of elites and more on the rest of the population, on such things as wider distribution of wealth and higher standards of living."

The Pace of the Development of Civilization Robert McC. Adams

Robert McC. Adams is an eminent archaeologist who for decades has been concerned with how societies became urban and civilized. This article is the conclusion to one of his books, The Evolution of Urban Society (1966), in which he examines and compares the development of civilization in Mesopotamia and Mesoamerica. In searching for a general historical pattern, Adams found that there were similarities and differences, and he discusses a few of those in this brief essay. He poses the interesting question: Do urbanization and the development of the other characteristics that define civilization develop in spurts or by steady, gradual growth? There was no full answer to this question when Adams asked it, and there is none now, but Adams presents us with some preliminary answers and stimulating speculation.

In what must always be a process of selection and emphasis from among many details, valid and accurate for some purposes and not for others, the main purpose of this essay has been to suggest that two territorially extensive, complex, long-lived, innovative, characteristically "civilized"

Robert McC. Adams, *The Evolution of Urban Society: Early Mesopotamia and Prehispanic Mexico* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966), 170–75.