
THE WESTERN HERITAGE

SIXTH EDITION

VOLUME I: TO 1715

DOCUMENTS SET



DONALD KAGAN ✧ STEVEN OZMENT ✧ FRANK M. TURNER

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The Birth of Civilization

1-1 The Epic of Gilgamesh

From The Epic of Gilgamesh, introduction and translation by N.K. Sandars (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), pp. 61-65, 67-69, 85-86, 89, 108-111, 116-17. Copyright © N.K. Sandars, 1960, 1964, 1970. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

Their first adventure is to secure timber from the distant Cedar Forest, which is guarded by the ogre Humbaba, whom they must kill. Upon their return to Uruk, the fierce Ishtar, goddess of love, tries to entice Gilgamesh into marriage; however, because Gilgamesh and Enkidu spurn Ishtar, she sends down the Bull of Heaven to punish them. Gilgamesh and Enkidu kill this creature, thereby angering the powerful Enlil, king of the gods, who takes his revenge by killing Enkidu. King Gilgamesh is devastated by his friend's death and laments humanity's fate.

The second half of the epic is devoted to Gilgamesh's quest for his secret of life. He descends into the Netherworld in search of Utnapishtim, to whom the gods had granted immortality and from whom he hopes to learn the key to life. When the two meet, Utnapishtim introduces Gilgamesh to the story of the Great Flood, which had killed all life save for Utnapishtim, his family, and the animals he had placed in his great ship. At the end of the Flood tale, Utnapishtim tells Gilgamesh of a certain Plant of Life that can give immortality. Gilgamesh is able to retrieve this plant and bring it back to the living; yet his hopes are dashed when it is eaten by a snake. At the end of the poem, Gilgamesh can only lament the human fate, old age and death.

I will proclaim to the world the deeds of Gilgamesh. This was the man to whom all things were known; this was the king who knew the countries of the world. He was wise, he saw mysteries and knew secret things, he brought us a tale of the days before the flood. He went on a long journey, was weary, worn out with labour, returning he rested, he engraved on a stone the whole story.

When the gods created Gilgamesh they gave him a perfect body. Shamash the glorious sun endowed him

with beauty. Adad the god of the storm endowed him with courage, the great gods made his beauty perfect, surpassing all others, terrifying like a great wild bull. Two thirds they made him god and one third man.

In Uruk he built walls, a great rampart, and the temple of blessed Eanna for the god of the firmament Anu, and for Ishtar the goddess of love. . . .

The Coming of Enkidu

Gilgamesh went abroad in the world, but he met with none who could withstand his arms till he came to Uruk. But the men of Uruk muttered in their houses, "Gilgamesh sounds the tocsin for his amusement, his arrogance has no bounds by day or night. No son is left with his father, for Gilgamesh takes them all, even the children; yet the king should be a shepherd to his people. His lust leaves no virgin to her lover, neither the warrior's daughter nor the wife of the noble; yet this is the shepherd of the city, wise, comely, and resolute."

The gods heard their lament, the gods of heaven cried to the Lord of Uruk, to Anu the god of Uruk. . . . When Anu had heard their lamentation the gods cried to Aruru, the goddess of creation, "You made him, O Aruru, now create his equal; let it be as like him as his own reflection, his second self, stormy heart for stormy heart. Let them contend together and leave Uruk in quiet."

So the goddess conceived an image in her mind, and it was of the stuff of Anu of the firmament. She dipped her hands in water and pinched off clay, she let it fall in the wilderness, and noble Enkidu was created. There was a virtue in him of the god of war, of Ninurta himself. His body was rough, he had long hair like a woman's; it waved like the hair of Nisaba, the goddess of corn. His body was covered with matted hair like Samuqan's, the god of cattle. He was innocent of mankind; he knew nothing of the cultivated land.

Enkidu ate grass in the hills with the gazelle and lurked with wild beasts at the water-holes; he had joy of the water with the herds of wild game. But there was a trapper who met him one day face to face at the drinking-hole, for the wild game had entered his territory. On three days he met him face to face, and the trapper was frozen with fear. He went back to his house with the game that he had caught, and he was dumb, benumbed with terror. His face was altered like that of one who has made a long journey. . . .

So the trapper set out on his journey to Uruk and addressed himself to Gilgamesh saying, "A man unlike any other is roaming now in the pastures; he is as strong as a star from heaven and I am afraid to approach him. He helps the wild game to escape; he fills in my pits and pulls up my traps." Gilgamesh said, "Trapper, go

back, take with you a harlot, a child of pleasure. At the drinking-hole she will strip, and when he sees her beckoning he will embrace her and the game of the wilderness will surely reject him."

Now the trapper returned, taking the harlot with him. After a three days' journey they came to the drinking-hole, and there they sat down; the harlot and the trapper sat facing one another and waited for the game to come. For the first day and for the second day the two sat waiting, but on the third day the herds came; they came down to drink and Enkidu was with them. The small wild creatures of the plains were glad of the water, and Enkidu with them, who ate grass with the gazelle and was born in the hills; and she saw him, the savage man, come from far-off in the hills. The trapper spoke to her: "There he is. Now, woman, make your breasts bare, have no shame, do not delay but welcome his love. Let him see you naked, let him possess your body. When he comes near uncover yourself and lie with him; teach him, the savage man, your woman's art, for when he murmurs loves to you the wild beats that shared his life in the hills will reject him."

She was not ashamed to take him, she made herself naked and welcomed his eagerness; as he lay on her murmuring love she taught him the woman's art. For six days and seven nights they lay together, for Enkidu had forgotten his home in the hills; but when he was satisfied he went back to the wild beasts. Then, when the gazelle saw him, they bolted away; when the wild creatures saw him they fled. Enkidu would have followed, but his body was bound as though with a cord, his knees gave way when he started to run, his swiftness was gone. And now the wild creatures had all fled away; Enkidu was grown weak, for wisdom was in him, and the thoughts of a man were in his heart. So he returned and sat down at the woman's feet, and listened intently to what she said, "You are wise, Enkidu, and now you have become like a god. Why do you want to run wild with the beasts in the hills? Come with me. I will take you to strong-walled Uruk, to the blessed temple of Ishtar and of Anu, of love and heaven; there Gilgamesh lives, who is very strong, and like a wild bull he lords it over men." . . .

And now she said to Enkidu, "When I look at you you have become like a god. Why do you yearn to run wild again with the beasts in the hills? Get up from the ground, the bed of a shepherd." He listened to her words with care. It was good advice that she gave. She divided her clothing in two and with the other half she clothed him and with the other herself; and holding his hand she led him like a child to the sheepfolds, into the shepherds' tents. There all the shepherds crowded round to see him, they put down bread in front of him, but Enkidu could only suck the milk of wild animals. He fumbled and gaped, at a loss what to do or how he

should eat the bread and drink the strong wine. Then the woman said, "Enkidu, eat bread, it is the staff of life; drink the wine, it is the custom of the land." So he ate till he was full and drank strong wine, seven goblets. He became merry, his heart exulted and his face shone. He rubbed down the matted hair of his body and anointed himself with oil. Enkidu had become a man; but when he had put on man's clothing he appeared like a bridegroom.

Now Enkidu strode in front and the woman followed behind. He entered Uruk, that great market, and all the folk thronged round him where he stood in the street in strong-walled Uruk. The people jostled; speaking of him they said, "He is the spit of Gilgamesh." "He is shorter." "He is bigger of bone." "This is the one who was reared on the milk of wild beasts. His is the greatest strength." The men rejoiced: "Now Gilgamesh has met his match. This great one, this hero whose beauty is like a god, he is a match even for Gilgamesh."

In Uruk the bridal bed was made, fit for the goddess of love. The bride waited for the bridegroom, but in the night Gilgamesh got up and came to the house. Then Enkidu stepped out and stood in the street and blocked the way. Mighty Gilgamesh came on and Enkidu met him at the gate. He put out his foot and prevented Gilgamesh from entering the house, so they grappled, holding each other like bulls. They broke the doorposts and the walls shook. Gilgamesh bent his knee with his foot planted on the ground and with a turn Enkidu was thrown. Then immediately his fury died. When Enkidu was thrown he said to Gilgamesh, "There is not another like you in the world. Ninsun, who is as strong as a wild ox in the byre, she was the mother who bore you, and now you are raised above all men, and Enlil have given you the kingship, for your strength surpasses the strength of men." So Enkidu and Gilgamesh embraced and their friendship was sealed. . . .

[After they had become good friends, Gilgamesh and Enkidu set out for the Cedar Forest (possible southern Turkey or Phoenicia) in order to secure wood for the city. Before they got to the wood, however, they had to kill a fire-breathing ogre called Humbaba. Succeeding in this mission, they returned to Uruk, where Gilgamesh was offered marriage by the goddess of love, Ishtar (or Inanna).]

Gilgamesh opened his mouth and answered gloriously Ishtar, "If I take you in marriage, what gifts can I give in return? What ointments and clothing for your body? I would gladly give you bread and all sorts of food fit for a god. I would give you wine to drink fit for a queen. I would pour out barley to stuff your granary; but as for making you my wife—that I will not. How would it go with me? Your lovers have found you like a brazier which smolders in the cold, a backdoor which

keeps out neither squall of wind nor storm, a castle which crushes the garrison, pitcher that blackens the bearer, a water-skin that chafes the carrier, a stone which falls from the parapet, a battering-ram turned back from the enemy, a sandal that trips the wearer. Which of your lovers did you ever love for ever? What shepherd of yours has pleased you for all time?" . . .

[Gravely insulted by the king's words, Ishtar asked her father, Anu, to punish Gilgamesh by sending the Bull of Heaven to ravage the land. Gilgamesh and Enkidu managed to kill the bull, whose hind leg Enkidu tore off and flung at the goddess. Such a serious offense against the gods demanded immediate punishment; thus did Enkidu fall ill and die.]

So Enkidu lay stretched out before Gilgamesh; his tears ran down in streams and he said to Gilgamesh, "O my brother, so dear as you are to me, brother, yet they will take me from you." Again he said, "I must sit down on the threshold of the dead and never again will I see my dear brother with my eyes." . . .

[Gilgamesh was unreconciled to the death of his beloved friend Enkidu. He decided to make a long and difficult journey to the Netherworld in order to search for the secret of immortality. There he encountered the Sumerian Akkadian Noah called Utnapishtim (or Ziusudra). Utnapishtim tells Gilgamesh of a Flood that had been sent by the gods to destroy all life except for Utnapishtim and his family.]

"In those days the world teemed, the people multiplied, the world bellowed like a wild bull, and the great god was aroused by the clamour. Enlil heard the clamour and he said to the gods in council, 'The uproar of mankind is intolerable and sleep is no longer possible by reason of the babel.' So the gods agreed to exterminate mankind. Enlil did this, but Ea because of his oath warned me in a dream. He whispered their words to my house of reeds, 'Reed-house, reed-house! Wall, O wall, hearken reed-house, wall reflect; O man of Shuruppak, son of Ubara-Tuttu; tear down your house and build a boat, abandon possessions and look for life, despise worldly goods and save your soul alive. Tear down your house, I say, and build a boat. These are the measurements of the barque as you shall build her: let her beam equal her length, let her deck be roofed like the vault that covers the abyss; then take up into the boat the seed of all living creatures.'

"In the first light of dawn all my household gathered round me, the children brought pitch and the men whatever was necessary. On the fifth day I laid the keel and the ribs, then I made fast the planking. The ground-space was one acre, each side of the deck measured one hundred and twenty cubits, making a square. I built six decks below, seven in all. I divided them into nine sec-

tions with bulkheads between. I drove wedges where needed, I saw to the punt-poles, and laid in supplies. The carriers brought oil in baskets, I poured pitch into the furnace and asphalt and oil; more oil was consumed in caulking, and more again the master of the boat took into his stores. I slaughtered bullocks for the people and every day I killed sheep. I gave the shipwrights wine to drink as though it were river water, raw wine and red wine and oil and white wine. There was feasting then as there is at the time of the New Year's festival; I myself anointed my head. On the seventh day the boat was complete.

"Then was the launching full of difficulty; there was shifting of ballast above and below till two thirds was submerged. I loaded into her all that I had of gold and of living things, my family, my kin, the beast of the field both wild and tame, and all the craftsmen. I sent them on board, for the time that Shamash had ordained was already fulfilled when he said, 'In the evening, when the rider of the storm sends down the destroying rain, enter the boat and batten her down.' The time was fulfilled, the evening came, the rider of the storm sent down the rain. I looked out at the weather and it was terrible, so I too boarded the boat and battened her down. All was now complete, the battening and the caulking; so I handed the tiller to Puzur-Amurri the steersman, with the navigation and the care of the whole boat. . . .

"For six days and six nights the winds blew, torrent and tempest and flood overwhelmed the world, tempest and flood raged together like warring hosts. When the seventh day dawned the storm from the south subsided, the sea grew calm, the flood was stilled; I looked at the face of the world and there was silence, all mankind was turned to clay. The surface of the sea stretched as flat as a roof-top; I opened a hatch and the light fell on my face. Then I bowed low, I sat down and I wept, the tears streamed down my face, for on every side was the waste of water. I looked for land in vain, but fourteen leagues distant there appeared a mountain, and there the boat grounded; on the mountain of Nisir the boat held fast, she held fast and did not budge. One day she held, and a second day on the mountain of Nisir she held fast and did not budge. A third day, and a fourth day she held fast on the mountain and did not budge; a fifth day and a sixth day she held fast on the mountain. When the seventh day dawned I loosed a dove and let her go. She flew away, but finding no resting-place she returned. Then I loosed a swallow, and she flew away but finding no resting-place she returned. I loosed a raven, she saw that the waters had retreated, she ate, she flew around, she cawed, and she did not come back. Then I threw everything open to the four winds, I made a sacrifice and poured out a libation on

the mountain top. Seven and again seven cauldrons I set up on their stands, I heaped up wood and cane and cedar and myrtle. When the gods smelled the sweet savour, they gathered like flies over the sacrifice.”

[Utnapishtim then revealed to Gilgamesh the secret of immortality. With the aid of his ferryman, Urshanabi, King Gilgamesh secured this mysterious prickly plant, but his hopes for future rejuvenation were not to be.]

“Gilgamesh, I shall reveal a secret thing, it is a mystery of the gods that I am telling you. There is a plant that grows under the water, it has a prickle like a thorn, like a rose; it will wound your hands, but if you succeed in taking it, then your hands will hold that which restores his lost youth to a man.”

When Gilgamesh heard this he opened the sluices so that a sweet-water current might carry him out to the deepest channel; he tied heavy stones to his feet and they dragged him down to the water-bed. There he saw the plant growing; although it pricked him he took it in his hands; then he cut the heavy stones from his feet, and the sea carried him and threw him on to the shore. Gilgamesh said to Urshanabi the ferryman, “Come here, and see this marvellous plant. By its virtue a man may win back all his former strength. I will take it to Uruk of the strong walls; there I will give it to the old men to eat. Its name shall be ‘The Old Men Are Young Again’; and at last I shall eat it myself and have back all my lost youth.” So Gilgamesh returned by the gate through which he had come, Gilgamesh and Urshanabi went together. They travelled their twenty leagues and then they broke their fast; after thirty leagues they stopped for the night.

Gilgamesh saw a well of cool water and he went down and bathed; but deep in the pool there was lying a serpent, and the serpent sensed the sweetness of the flower. It rose out of the water and snatched it away, and immediately it sloughed its skin and returned to the well. Then Gilgamesh sat down and wept, the tears ran

down his face, and he took the hand of Urshanabi: “O Urshanabi, was it for this that I toiled with my hands, is it for this I have wrung out my heart’s blood? For myself I have gained nothing; not I, but the beast of the earth has joy of it now. Already the stream has carried it twenty leagues back to the channels where I found it. I found a sign and now I have lost it. Let us leave the boat on the bank and go.”

After twenty leagues they broke their fast, after thirty leagues they stopped for the night; in three days they had walked as much as a journey of a month and fifteen days. When the journey was accomplished they arrived at Uruk, the strong-walled city. Gilgamesh spoke to him, to Urshanabi the ferryman, “Urshanabi, climb up on to the wall of Uruk, inspect its foundation terrace, and examine well the brickwork; see if it is not of burnt bricks; and did not the seven wise men lay these foundations? One third of the whole is city, one third is garden, and one third is field, with the precinct of the goddess Ishtar. These parts and the precinct are all Uruk.”

This too was the work of Gilgamesh, the king, who knew the countries of the world. He was wise, he saw mysteries and knew secret things, he brought us a tale of the days before the flood. He went on a long journey, was weary, worn out with labour, and returning engraved on a stone the whole story.

1. What elements of this epic do you also find in Homer’s *Odyssey* (see Reading 14)?
2. Why was *Enkidu* created and how was he changed?
3. In the second half of the epic, what is Gilgamesh seeking? Does he succeed in this quest?
4. What part of the epic is the most familiar to you?

1–2 Hittite Laws

From “*The Hittite Laws*,” trans. Albrecht Goetze, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. with supplement, ed. James B. Pritchard. Copyright © renewed 1969 by Princeton University Press. Reprinted with permission of Princeton University Press.

1. If anyone kills a man or a woman in a quarrel, he shall be declared liable for him/her. He shall give four persons, man or woman, and pledge his estate as security.

2. If anyone kills a male or female slave in a quarrel, he shall be declared liable for him/her. He shall give two persons, man or woman, and pledge his estate as security.
3. If anyone strikes a free man or woman and he/she dies, (only) his hand doing wrong, he shall be declared liable for him/her. He shall give two persons and pledge his estate as security.
4. If anyone strikes a male or a female slave and he/she dies, (only) his hand doing wrong, he shall be liable for him/her. He shall give one person and pledge his estate as security.

7. If anyone blinds a free man or knocks out his teeth, they would formerly give one mina of silver; now he shall give twenty shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.
8. If anyone blinds a male or female slave or knocks out his/her teeth, he shall give ten shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.
9. If anyone batters a man's head, they would formerly give six shekels of silver; he who was battered would receive three shekels of silver, and they would receive three shekels of silver for the palace. Now the king has abolished the (share) of the palace and only he who was battered received three shekels of silver.
10. If anyone batters a man so that he falls ill, he shall take care of him. He shall give a man in his stead who can look after his house until he recovers. When he recovers, he shall give him six shekels of silver, and he shall also pay the physician's fee. Later version of 10: If anyone injures a free man's head, he shall take care of him. He shall give a man in his stead who can look after his house until he recovers. When he recovers, he shall give him ten shekels of silver, and he shall also pay the physician's fee. If it is a slave, he shall pay two shekels of silver.
11. If anyone breaks a free man's hand or foot, he shall give him twenty shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.
12. If anyone breaks the hand or foot of a male or a female slave, he shall give ten shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security. Later version of 11 and 12: If anyone breaks a free man's hand or foot, in case he is permanently crippled, he shall give him twenty shekels of silver. But in case he is not permanently crippled, he shall give him ten shekels of silver. If anyone breaks a slave's hand or foot, in case he is permanently crippled, he shall give him ten shekels of silver. But in case he is not permanently crippled, he shall give him five shekels of silver.
13. If anyone bites off a free man's nose, he shall give thirty shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.
14. If anyone bites off the nose of a male or female slave, he shall give thirty shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.
17. If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry-if (it is the ninth or) the tenth month, he shall give ten shekels of silver, if (it is) fifth month, he shall give five shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.
Later version of 17: If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry, he shall give twenty shekels of silver.
18. If anyone causes a slave-woman to miscarry, if (it is) the tenth month, he shall give five shekels of silver.
22. If a slave runs away and anyone brings him back-if he seizes him in the vicinity, he shall give him shoes; if on this side of the river, he shall give him two shekels of silver; if on the other side of the river, he shall give him three shekels of silver.
23. If a slave runs away and goes to the country of Luwiya, he shall give to him who brings him back six shekels of silver. If a slave runs away and goes to an enemy country, whoever brings him nevertheless back, shall receive him (the slave) himself.
24. If a male or female slave runs away, the man at whose hearth his master finds him/her, shall give a man's wages for one year, (namely) x shekels of silver, or a woman's wages for one year, namely x shekels of silver.
27. If a man takes a wife and carries her to his house, he takes her dowry with her. If the woman dies, they turn her property into (property) of the man, and the man also receives her dowry. But if she dies in the house of her father, and there are children, the man will not receive her dowry.
29. If a girl is betrothed to a man and he has given the bride-price for her, but the parents subsequently abrogate the contract and withhold her from the man, they shall make double compensation.
32. If a slave takes a free woman, the provision of the law is the same for them.
33. If a slave takes a slave-girl, the provision of the law is the same for them.
57. If anyone steals a bull-if it is a weanling, it is not a bull; if it is a yearling, it is not a bull; if it is a two-year-old, that is a bull-they would formerly give thirty (head of) cattle. Now he shall give fifteen (head of) cattle, (specifically) five two-year-olds, five yearlings (and) five weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.
60. If anyone finds a bull and removes the brand, (if) its owner traces it out, he shall give seven (head of) cattle; he shall give (specifically) two two-year-olds, three yearlings, and two weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.
61. If anyone finds a stallion and removes the brand, (if) its owner traces it out, he shall give seven horses; he shall give (specifically) two two-year-olds, three yearlings, and two weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.
94. If a free man steals a house, he shall give (back) the respective goods; they would formerly give for the theft one mina of silver, but now he shall give

- twelve shekels of silver. If he has stolen much, they shall impose a heavy fine upon him; if he has stolen little, they shall impose a small fine upon him and pledge his estate as security.
198. If a free man sets a house on fire, he shall rebuild the house. Whatever was lost in the house, whether it is man, cattle or sheep, he shall replace as a matter of course.
199. If a slave sets a house on fire, his master shall make compensation in his stead. They shall cut off the slave's nose (and) ears and shall give him back to his master. But if he does not make compensation, he will lose that (slave).
172. If a man saves a free man's life in a year of famine, he shall give (a person) like himself. If he is a slave, he shall give ten shekels of silver.
173. If anyone rejects the judgment of the king, his house shall be made a shambles. If anyone rejects the judgment of a dignitary, they shall cut off his head. If a slave rises against his master, he shall go into the pit.
188. If a man does evil with a sheep, it is a capital crime and he shall be killed. They bring him to the king's court. Whether the king orders him killed or whether the king spares his life, he must not appeal to the king.
189. If a man violates his own mother, it is a capital crime. If a man violates his daughter, it is a capital crime. If a man violates his son, it is a capital crime.
192. If a man's wife dies (and) he marries his wife's sister, there shall be no punishment.
193. If a man has a wife and then the man dies, his brother shall take his wife, then his father shall take her. If in turn also his father dies, one of the brother's sons shall take the wife whom he had. There shall be no punishment.
197. If a man seizes a woman in the mountains, it is the man's crime and he will be killed. But if he seizes her in (her) house, it is the woman's crime and the woman shall be killed. If the husband finds them, he may kill them: there shall be no punishment for him.
198. If he brings them to the gate of the palace and declares: "My wife shall not be killed" and thereby spares his wife's life, he shall also spare the life of the adulterer and shall mark his head. If he says, "Let them die, both of them!" . . . The king may order them killed, the king may spare their lives.
199. If anyone does evil with a pig, (or) a dog, he shall die. They will bring him to the gate of the palace and the king may order them killed, the king may spare their lives; but he must not appeal to the king. If an ox leaps at a man, the ox shall die, but the man shall not die. A sheep may be proffered in the man's stead and they shall kill that. If a pig leaps at a man, there shall be no punishment.

1. Was there legal equality among the Hittites?
2. Why would we say that the Hittite code closely approximates that of the Visigoths (see Reading 54)?

1-3 Hebrew Laws and Their Covenant

From Exodus, 20:1-26 and 21:1-36 (King James Version); slightly modernized.

And God spoke all these words saying,
I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out
of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.
Thou shalt have no other gods before me.
Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or
any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above,
or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the
water under the earth:
Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve
them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God,

visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the
children unto the third and fourth generation of
them that hate me;
And showing mercy unto thousands of them that love
me, and keep my commandments.
Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in
vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that
taketh his name in vain.
Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.
Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work:
But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy
God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor
thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy
maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that
is within thy gates:
For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the
sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh
day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day,
and hallowed it.

Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may
be long upon the land which the Lord thy God
giveth thee.

Thou shalt not kill.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

Thou shalt not steal.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy
neighbour.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou
shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his
manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor
his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.

And all the people saw the thunders, and the
lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the
mountain smoking: and when the people saw it,
they removed, and stood afar off.

And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and
we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest
we die.

And Moses said unto the people, Fear not: for God is
come to prove you, and that his fear may be
before your faces, that ye sin not.

Now these are the judgments which thou shalt set
before them.

If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall
serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for
nothing.

If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself:
if he were married, then his wife shall go out with
him.

If his master have given him a wife, and she have
born him sons or daughters; the wife and her
children shall be her master's, and he shall go out
by himself.

And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master,
my wife, and my children; I will not go out free:

Then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he
shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door
post; and his master shall bore his ear through
with an aul; and he shall serve him for ever.

And if a man sell his daughter to be a maidservant,
shall not go out as the menservants do.

If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her
to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to
sell her unto a strange nation he shall have no
power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her.

And if he have betrothed her unto his son, he shall
deal with her after the manner of daughters.

If he take him another wife; her food, her raiment,
her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish.

And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she
go out free without money.

He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall be surely
put to death.

And if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into
his hand; then I will appoint thee a place whither
he shall flee.

But if a man come presumptuously upon his
neighbour, to slay him with guile; thou shalt take
him from mine altar, that he may die.

And he that smite his father, or his mother, shall be
surely put to death.

And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be
found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

And he that curseth his father, or his mother, shall
surely be put to death.

And if men strive together, and one smite another
with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but
keepeth his bed:

If he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then
shall he that smote him be quit: only he shall pay
for the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be
thoroughly healed.

And if a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a
rod, and he die under his hand; he shall be surely
punished.

Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall
not be punished: for he is his money.

If men strive, and hurt a woman with child, so that
her fruit depart from her, and yet no mischief
follow: he shall be surely punished, according as
the woman's husband will lay upon him; and he
shall pay as the judges determine.

And if any mischief follow, then thou shalt give life
for life,

Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for
foot,

Burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye
of his maid, that it perish; he shall let him go free
for his eye's sake.

And if he smite out his manservant's tooth, or his
maidservant's tooth; he shall let him go free for
his tooth's sake.

If an ox gore a man or a woman that they die: then
the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall
not be eaten; but the owner of the ox shall be quit.

But if the ox were wont to push with horn in time
past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and
he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a
man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his
owner shall also be put to death.

If there be laid on him a sum of money, then he shall
give for the ransom of his life whatsoever is laid
upon him.

Whether he have gored a son, or have gored a
daughter, according to this judgment shall it be
done unto him.

If the ox shall push a manservant or a maidservant;
he shall give unto their master thirty shekels of
silver, and the ox shall be stoned.

And if a man shall open a pit, or if a man shall dig a
pit, and not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall
therein;

The owner of the pit shall make it good, and give
money unto the owner of them; and the dead
beast shall be his.

And if one man's ox hurt another's, that he die; then
they shall sell the live ox, and divide the money
of it; and the dead ox also they shall divide.

Or if it be known that the ox hath used to push in
time past, and his owner hath not kept him in; he
shall surely pay ox for ox; and the dead shall be
his own.

And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt
gather in the fruits thereof:

But the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still;
that the poor of thy people may eat: and what
they leave the beasts of the field shall eat. In like
manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, and
with thy oliveyard.

Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh
day thou shalt rest: that thine ox and thine ass
may rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the
stranger, may be refreshed.

And in all things that I have said unto you be
circumspect: and make no mention of the name of
other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy
mouth.

Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the year.
Thou shalt keep the feast of unleavened bread: (thou
shalt eat unleavened seven days, as I commanded
thee in the time appointed of the month Abib; for
in it thou camest out from Egypt: and none shall
appear before me empty:)

And the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours,
which thou hast sown in the field: and the feast
of in-gathering, which is in the end of the year,
when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the
field.

Three times in the year all thy males shall appear
before the Lord God.

Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with
leavened bread; neither shall the fat of my
sacrifice remain until the morning.

The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring
into the house of the Lord thy God. Thou shalt
not boil a kid in his mother's milk.

Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in
the way, and to bring thee into the place which I
have prepared.

Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not;

for he will not pardon your transgressions: for my
name is in him.

But if thou shalt indeed obey his voice, and do all
that I speak; then I will be an enemy unto thine
enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries.

For mine Angel shall go before thee, and bring thee
in unto the Amorites, and the Hittites, and the
Perizzites, and the Canaanites, and the Hivites
and the Jebusites; and I will cut them off.

Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve
them, nor do after their works: but thou shalt
utterly overthrow them, and quite breakdown their
images.

And ye shall serve the Lord your God, and he shall
bless thy bread, and thy water; and I will take
sickness away from the midst of thee.

There shall nothing cast their young, nor be barren, if
thy land: the number of thy days I will fulfill.

I will send my fear before thee, and will destroy all
the people to whom thou shalt come, and I will
make all thine enemies turn their backs unto thee.

And I will send hornets before thee, which shall drive
out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite,
from before thee.

I will not drive them out from before thee in one
year; lest the land become desolate, and the beast
of the field multiply against thee.

By little and little I will drive them out from before
thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land.

And I will set thy bounds from the Red sea even unto
the sea of the Philistines, and from the desert unto
the river: for I will deliver the inhabitants of the
land into your hand; and thou shalt drive them out
before thee.

Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with
their gods.

They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they make thee
sin against me: for if thou serve their gods, it will
surely be a snare unto thee.

[While Moses was receiving the Ten Commandments,
the Hebrews broke God's commandments.]

And when the people saw that Moses delayed to
come down out of the mount, the people gathered
themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto
him, Up, make us gods, which shall go before us;
for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up
out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is
become of him.

And Aaron said unto them, Break off the golden
earrings, which are in the ears of your wives, of
your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them
to me.

And all the people broke off the golden earrings which were in their ears, and brought them unto Aaron.

And he received them at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he made it a molten calf: and they said, These by thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.

And when Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, Tomorrow is a feast to the Lord.

And they rose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and brought peace offerings, and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.

And the Lord said unto Moses, Go, get thee down; for thy people, which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves: They turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them: they have made them a molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed thereunto, and said, These by thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.

And the Lord said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people: Now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them: and I will make of thee a great nation.

And Moses besought the Lord his God, and said, Lord, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with great power, and with a mighty hand?

Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, and say, For mischief did he bring them out, to slay them in

the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth? Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people.

Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it for ever.

And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people.

And Moses turned, and went down from the mount, and the two tables of the testimony were in his hand: the tables were written on both their sides; on the one side and on the other were they written.

And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables.

1. *What elements of the Ten Commandments show a refined moral concern?*
2. *How were the Hebrews influenced by other law codes?*
3. *Why do you suppose that sexual perversion was harshly punished in these codes?*
4. *Do you find legal equality among the Hebrews? Why do you suppose their attitude on equality differs from that of the Hittites?*
5. *What sin did the Hebrews commit that angered their God?*
6. *Why might other religions have accepted the Hebrews' act of worship that angered their God?*

1-4 Hammurabi's Code

From C. H. W. Johns, Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters. New York: Scribner's, 1904.

Theft

6. If a man has stolen goods from a temple, or house, he shall be put to death; and he that has received the stolen property from him shall be put to death.

8. If a patrician has stolen ox, sheep, ass, pig, or

ship, whether from a temple, or a house, he shall pay thirtyfold. If he be a plebeian, he shall return tenfold. If the thief cannot pay, he shall be put to death.

14. If a man has stolen a child, he shall be put to death.

15. If a man has induced either a male or female slave from the house of a patrician, or plebeian, to leave the city, he shall be put to death.

21. If a man has broken into a house he shall be killed before the breach and buried there.

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

23. If the highwayman has not been caught, the man that has been robbed shall state on oath what he has lost and the city or district governor in whose terri-

tory or district the robbery took place shall restore to him what he has lost.

Marriage

128. If a man has taken a wife and has not executed a marriage-contract, the woman is not a wife.

129. If a man's wife be caught lying with another, they shall be strangled and cast into the water. If the wife's husband would save his wife, the king can save his servant.

130. If a man has ravished another's betrothed wife, who is a virgin, while still living in her father's house, and has been caught in the act, that man shall be put to death; the woman shall go free.

131. If a man's wife has been accused by her husband, and has not been caught lying with another, she shall swear her innocence, and return to her house.

138. If a man has divorced his wife, who has not borne him children, he shall pay over to her as much money as was given for her bride-price and the marriage-portion which she brought from her father's house, and so shall divorce her.

139. If there was no bride-price, he shall give her one mina of silver, as a price of divorce.

140. If he be a plebeian, he shall give her one-third of a mina of silver.

148. If a man has married a wife and a disease has seized her, if he is determined to marry a second wife, he shall marry her. He shall not divorce the wife whom the disease has seized. In the home they made together she shall dwell, and he shall maintain her as long as she lives.

149. If that woman was not pleased to stay in her husband's house, he shall pay over to her the marriage-portion which she brought from her father's house, and she shall go away.

153. If a man's wife, for the sake of another, has caused her husband to be killed, that woman shall be impaled.

154. If a man has committed incest with his daughter, that man shall be banished from the city.

155. If a man has betrothed a maiden to his son and his son has known her, and afterward the man has lain in her bosom, and been caught, that man shall be strangled and she shall be cast into the water.

156. If a man has betrothed a maiden to his son, and his son has not known her, and that man has lain in her bosom, he shall pay her half a mina of silver, and shall pay over to her whatever she brought from her father's house, and the husband of her choice shall marry her.

186. If a man has taken a young child to be his son, and after he has taken him, the child discovers his own parents, he shall return to his father's house.

188, 189. If a craftsman has taken a child to bring up and has taught him his handicraft, he shall not be reclaimed. If he has not taught him his handicraft that foster child shall return to his father's house.

Assault

195. If a son has struck his father, his hands shall be cut off.

196. If a man has knocked out the eye of a patrician, his eye shall be knocked out.

197. If he has broken the limb of a patrician, his limb shall be broken.

198. If he has knocked out the eye of a plebeian or has broken the limb of a plebeian's servant, he shall pay one mina of silver.

199. If he has knocked out the eye of a patrician's servant, or broken the limb of a patrician's servant, he shall pay half his value.

200. If a patrician has knocked out the tooth of a man that is his equal, his tooth shall be knocked out.

201. If he has knocked out the tooth of a plebeian, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

Liability

229. If a builder has built a house for a man, and has not made his work sound, and the house he built has fallen, and caused the death of its owner, that builder shall be put to death.

230. If it is the owner's son that is killed, the builder's son shall be put to death.

231. If it is the slave of the owner that is killed, the builder shall give slave for slave to the owner of the house.

232. If he has caused the loss of goods, he shall render back whatever he has destroyed. Moreover, because he did not make sound the house he built, and it fell, at his own cost he shall rebuild the house that fell.

237. If a man has hired a boat and a boatman, and loaded it with corn, wool, oil, or dates, or whatever it be, and the boatman has been careless, and sunk the boat, or lost what is in it, the boatman shall restore the boat which he sank, and whatever he lost that was in it.

238. If a boatman has sunk a man's boat, and has floated it again, he shall pay half its value in silver.

251. If a man's ox be a gorer, and has revealed its evil propensity as a gorer, and he has not blunted its

horn, or shut up the ox, and then that ox has gored a free man, and caused his death, the owner shall pay half a mina of silver.

252. If it be a slave that has been killed, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

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1. *What are the similarities and differences in the legal concerns of Hammurabi and ours today?*

The Rise of Greek Civilization

2-1 Homer from the *Iliad*

From The Iliad, translation by Robert Fagles (New York: Viking Press, 1990), p. 77-80.

Rage—Goddess, sing the rage of Peleus' son Achilles,
murderous, doomed, that cost the Achaeans countless losses,
hurling down to the House of Death so many sturdy souls,
great fighters' souls, but made their bodies carrion,
feasts for the dogs and birds,
and the will of Zeus was moving toward its end.
Begin, Muse, when the two first broke and clashed,
Agamemnon lord of men and brilliant Achilles.

What god drove them to fight with such a fury?
Apollo the son of Zeus and Leto. Incensed at the king he
swept a fatal plague through the army—men were dying and
all because Agamemnon spurned Apollo's priest.
Yes, Chryses approached the Achaeans' fast ships
to win his daughter back, bringing a priceless ransom
and bearing high in hand, wound on a golden staff,
the wreaths of the god, the distant deadly Archer.
he begged the whole Achaean army but most of all
the two supreme commanders, Atreus' two sons,
"Agamemnon, Menelaus—all Argives geared for war!
May the Gods who hold the halls of Olympus give you
Priam's city to plunder, then safe passage home.
Just set my daughter free, my dear one . . . here,
accept these gifts, this ransom. Honor the god
who strikes from worlds away—the son of Zeus, Apollo!"

And all ranks of Achaeans cried out their assent:
"Respect the priest, accept the shining ransom!"
But it brought no joy to the heart of Agamemnon.
The king dismissed the priest with a brutal order
ringing in his ears: "Never again, old man,
let me catch sight of you by the hollow ships!
Not loitering now, not slinking back tomorrow.
The staff and the wreaths of god will never save you then.
The girl—I won't give up the girl. Long before that,
old age will overtake her in *my* house, in Argos,

far from her fatherland, slaving back and forth
at the loom, forced to share my bed!

No go,
don't tempt my wrath—and you may depart alive."

The old man was terrified. He obeyed the order,
turning, trailing away in silence down the shore
where the roaring battle lines of breakers crash and drag.
And moving off to a safe distance, over and over
the old priest prayed to the son of sleek-haired Leto,
lord Apollo, "Hear me, Apollo! God of the silver bow
who strides the walls of Chryse and Cilla sacrosanct—
lord in power of Tenedos—Smintheus, god of the plague!
If I ever roofed a shrine to please your heart,
ever burned the long rich bones of bulls and goats
on your holy altar, now, now bring my prayer to pass.
Pay the Danaans back—your arrows for my tears!"

His prayer went up and Phoebus Apollo heard him.
Down he strode from Olympus' peaks, storming at heart
with his bow and hooded quiver slung across his shoulders.
The arrows clanged at his back at the god quaked with rage,
the god himself on the march and down he came like night.
Over against the ships he dropped to a knee, let fly a shaft
and a terrifying clash rang out from the great silver bow.
First he went for the mules and circling dogs but then,
launching a piercing shaft at the men themselves,
he cut them down in droves—
and the corpse-fires burned on, night and day, no end in sight.

Nine days the arrows of god swept through the army.
On the tenth Achilles called all ranks to muster—
the impulse seized him, sent by white-armed Hera
grieving to see Achaean fighters drop and die.
Once they'd gathered, crowding the meeting grounds,
the swift runner Achilles rose and spoke among them:
"Son of Atreus, now we are beaten back, I fear,
the long campaign is lost. So home we sail . . .
if we can escape our death—if war and plague
are joining forces now to crush the Argives.
But wait: let us question a holy man,
a prophet, even a man skilled with dreams—
dreams as well can come our way from Zeus—
come, someone to tell us why Apollo rages so,
whether he blames us for a vow we failed, or sacrifice.
If only the god would share the smoky savor of limbs
and full-grown goats, Apollo might be willing, still,
somehow, to save us from this plague."

So he proposed
and down he sat again as Calchas rose among them,
Thestor's son, the clearest by far of all the seers
who scan the flight of birds. He knew all things that are,
all things that are past and all that are to come,
the seer who had led the Argive ships to Troy

with the second sight that god Apollo gave him.
 For the armies' good the seer began to speak:
 "Achilles, dear to Zeus . . .
 you order me to explain Apollo's anger,
 the distant deadly Archer? I will tell it all.
 But strike a pact with me, swear you will defend me
 with all your heart, with words and strength of hand.
 For there is a man I will enrage—I see it now—
 a powerful man who lords it over all the Argives,
 one the Achaeans must obey . . . A mighty king,
 raging against an inferior, is too strong.
 Even if he can swallow down his wrath today,
 still he will nurse the burning in his chest
 until, sooner or later, he sends it bursting forth.
 Consider it closely, Achilles. Will you save me?"

And the matchless runner reassured him: "Courage!
 Out with it now, Calchas. Reveal the will of god,
 whatever you may know. And I swear by Apollo
 dear to Zeus, the power you pray to, Calchas,
 when you reveal god's will to the Argives—no one,
 not while I am alive and see the light on earth, no one will

lay his heavy hands on you by the hollow ships.
 None among all the armies. Not even if you mean
 Agamemnon here who now claims to be, by far,
 the best of the Achaeans."

The seer took heart
 and this time he spoke out, bravely: "Beware—
 he casts no blame for a vow we failed, a sacrifice.
 The god's enraged because Agamemnon spurned his priest,
 he refused to free his daughter, he refused the ransom.
 That's why the Archer sends us pains and he will send us more
 and never drive this shameful destruction from the Argives,
 not till we give back the girl with sparkling eyes
 to her loving father—no price, no ransom paid—
 and carry a sacred hundred bulls to Chryse town.
 Then we can calm the god, and only then appease him."

1. What is the role of the Gods in this reading?

2. What virtues are important to the ancient Greeks?

2-2 Thucydides from *History of the Peloponnesian War*

From History of the Peloponnesian War, translation by Rex Warner (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), pp. 35-45.

It appears, for example, that the country now called Hellas¹ had no settled population in ancient times; instead there was a series of migrations, as the various tribes, being under the constant pressure of invaders who were stronger than they were, were always prepared to abandon their own territory. There was no commerce, and no safe communication either by land or sea; the use they made of their land was limited to the production of necessities; they had no surplus left over for capital, and no regular system of agriculture, since they lacked the protection of fortifications and at any

moment an invader might appear to take their land away from them. Thus, in the belief that the day-to-day necessities of life could be secured just as well in one place as in another, they showed no reluctance in moving from their homes, and therefore built no cities of any size or strength, nor acquired any important resources. Where the soil was most fertile there were the most frequent changes of population, as in what is now called Thessaly, in Boeotia, in most of the Peloponnese (except Arcadia), and in others of the richest parts of Hellas. For in these fertile districts it was easier for individuals to secure greater powers than their neighbours: this led to disunity, which often caused the collapse of these states, which in any case were more likely than others to attract the attention of foreign invaders.

It is interesting to observe that Attica, which, because of the poverty of her soil, was remarkably free from political disunity, has always been inhabited by the same race of people. Indeed, this is an important example of my theory that it was because of migrations that there was uneven development elsewhere; for when people were driven out from other parts of Greece by war or by disturbances, the most powerful of them took refuge in Athens, as being a stable society; then they became citizens, and soon made the city even more populous than it had been before, with the result that later Attica became too small for her inhabitants and colonies were sent out to Ionia.

¹In the Greek language, ancient as well as modern, the name of the country is 'Hellas', of the people 'Hellenes'. 'Hellas' included all Greek communities, wherever they were established, but here Thucydides is referring more narrowly to the Greek peninsula.