PART TWO

SECOND-WAVE CIVILIZATIONS IN WORLD HISTORY
500 B.C.E.–500 C.E.

Chapter 3—State and Empire in Eurasia/North Africa, 500 B.C.E.–500 C.E.
Chapter 4—Culture and Religion in Eurasia/North Africa, 500 B.C.E.–500 C.E.
Chapter 5—Society and Inequality in Eurasia/North Africa, 500 B.C.E.–500 C.E.
Chapter 6—Commonalities and Variations: Africa and the Americas, 500 B.C.E.–1200 C.E.

OUTLINE: THE BIG PICTURE:
AFTER THE FIRST CIVILIZATIONS: WHAT CHANGED AND WHAT DIDN’T?

I. This is a good point at which to pull back and look broadly at the age of agricultural civilizations (ca. 3500 B.C.E.–ca. 1750 C.E.)
   A. The most prominent large-scale trend in this phase of human history was the globalization of civilization.
      1. the first wave—the First Civilizations—was already global (see Chapter 2)
      2. First Civilizations proved to be fragile and vulnerable
   a. Mesopotamian city-states were absorbed into larger empires
   b. Indus Valley, Central Asian, and Norte Chico civilizations faded away by the second millennium B.C.E.
   d. Egypt fell victim to foreign invaders in the first millennium B.C.E.
   e. the Olmecs apparently razed and abandoned their major cities around 400 B.C.E.
   f. China fragmented into warring states
   B. There was no going back from the civilization model of human society.
      1. new urban-centered and state-based societies emerged to replace the First Civilizations
      2. smaller civilizations emerged elsewhere
3. “second-wave” civilizations were followed by a “third wave” in roughly 500–1500 C.E. (see Part Three)

C. Sometimes historians focus on civilizations and neglect other cultures, but societies that were not state- or city-centered remained important.

II. Continuities in Civilization
A. The second and third waves of civilization didn’t differ much from the first ones, if regarded from a panoramic view.
   1. little fundamental change from one to the next
   2. no technological or economic breakthrough that would allow new kinds of human societies to emerge
B. The age of agricultural civilizations was marked by fluctuation, repetitive cycles, and minor changes, not by fundamental transformations.

III. Changes in Civilization
A. A closer look at the second and third waves of civilization indicates many important occurrences.
   1. more rapid population growth (with important fluctuations)
   2. states and empires grew in size, dwarfing the First Civilizations
      a. brought together many diverse peoples in a single political system
      b. in the seventeenth century C.E., only a third of the world’s land area (but a majority of the world’s population) was controlled by a state-based system
   3. the rise and fall of empires had an enormous impact on their peoples
B. Second- and third-wave civilizations saw innovations in many spheres.
   1. enduring cultural and religious systems, including Confucianism, Daoism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Greek rationalism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and Islam
   2. no fundamental technological breakthrough, but innovations still increased human ability to manipulate the environment
   3. spread of technologies, such as sugar production
C. Social hierarchies also evolved
   1. India’s caste system became far more elaborate
   2. Roman slaves and Chinese peasants rebelled on occasion
   3. Buddhist and Christian women found new opportunities in monastic communities
   4. patriarchy became more limiting for women, although this varied by time and place
D. More elaborate, widespread, and dense communications and exchange networks emerged after the end of the First Civilizations.
   1. long-distance networks of connection developed
   2. facilitated the exchange of goods and the spread technologies, religions, cultures, and disease

IV. Second-Wave Civilizations
A. The first three chapters of Part Two focus on the major second-wave civilizations of the period 500 B.C.E.–500 C.E.
   1. based in Eurasia and North Africa
   2. host 80 percent of the world’s population
   3. Chapter 3 examines political frameworks and especially empires
   4. Chapter 4 examines the cultural and religious traditions that Second Wave civilizations generated
   5. Chapter 5 compares the social life of these civilizations.
   6. Chapter 6 focuses on inner Africa and the Americas during the Second Wave era
CHAPTER 3

State and Empire in Eurasia/North Africa
500 B.C.E.–500 C.E.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

• To consider the nature of imperial systems in the era of Second Wave civilizations
• To explore why empires developed in some regions but not in others
• To show the important similarities and differences between imperial systems and the reasons behind them
• To reflect on the significance that Second Wave empires have for us today

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Opening Vignette
   A. The 2007 book Are We Rome? asked if the United States has become the new Roman Empire.
      1. collapse of the Soviet Union
      2. overextension of the United States
      3. sense of unique, global mission
      4. commitment to military dominance
      5. reminder of continuing relevance of a long-dead empire

   B. Modern fascination with empires
      1. earliest empires developed in era of First Civilizations
         a. Akkadian Empire
         b. Babylonian Empire
         c. Assyrian Empire
      2. empires have been central to world history for 4,000 years

   C. What is an empire?
      1. simple answer: empires are political systems with coercive power
      2. more typical: larger, more aggressive states
         a. conquer other states
         b. use their resources
         c. usually include multiple peoples and cultures under a single political system
      3. no clear line between empires and small multiethnic states

   D. Eurasian/North African empires of the period include:
      1. Persian Empire
      2. Greek empire of Alexander the Great
      3. Roman Empire
      4. Chinese empire (Qin and Han dynasties)
      5. India (Mauryan and Gupta empires)
E. Why have empires always been so fascinating?
   1. size was imposing
   2. blood and violence of conquest
   3. satisfaction in witnessing the fall of the mighty when they collapse
   4. contrast to nonimperial civilizations
   5. empires were important
      a. majority of humans before twentieth century lived in empires
      b. stimulated exchange of ideas, cultures, and values
      c. peace and security encouraged development, commerce, and cultural mixing

II. Empires and Civilizations in Collision: The Persians and the Greeks
A. Second Wave civilizations did not usually encounter each other directly
   1. Mediterranean world and Middle East were the important exceptions
      a. Persians and Greeks were neighbors
      b. very important cultural encounter
B. The Persian Empire
   1. in 500 B.C.E., it was the largest and most impressive empire
      a. Persians were Indo-Europeans, homeland on the Iranian plateau
      b. imperial system drew on Mesopotamian prototypes
      c. much larger and more splendid
      d. Cyrus (r. 557–530 B.C.E.) and Darius (r. 522–486 B.C.E.) expanded empire from Egypt to India
      e. diverse empire with population of around 35 to 50 million people
   2. elaborate cult of kingship
      a. rule by will of the god Ahura Mazda
      b. absolute monarchy
      c. willing to crush rebellious regions or officials
   3. holding the empire together
      a. effective administrative system
      b. respect for non-Persian cultural traditions
      c. standardized coinage, predictable taxes
      d. encouragement of communication and commerce
      e. elaborate underground irrigation system sustained agriculture throughout the Middle East and beyond.
   4. immense wealth and power
C. The Greeks
   1. Indo-Europeans
   2. classical Greece emerged ca. 750 B.C.E., flourished for about 400 years
   3. distinctiveness of Hellenistic civilization
      a. population of Greece and the Aegean basin was 2 million to 3 million people
      b. geography of mountains, valleys encouraged development of hundreds of city-states and small settlements
      c. shared common language and common gods
   4. between 750 and 500 B.C.E., colonization around Mediterranean basin and Black Sea
   5. most distinctive feature: popular participation in political life of city-states
      a. equality of all citizens before the law
      b. active regular participation in politics by some of the population
      c. extent of citizenship varied depending on time and city
      d. tyrants (dictators) emerged in many areas, supported by the poorer classes against the rich
      e. Sparta gave most political authority to Council of Elders
      f. Athens: most distinctive expression of political participation
      g. differences between Athenian and modern democracy
D. Collision: The Greco-Persian Wars
   1. point of collision was Ionia (Greek settlements on Anatolian seacoast)
      a. in 499 B.C.E., some Ionian Greeks revolted against Persia
      b. were supported by Athens
   2. Persia responded with expeditions against Greeks in 490 and 480 B.C.E.
CHAPTER 3 • STATE AND EMPIRE IN EURASIA/NORTH AFRICA

53

a. Greeks astonishingly defeated Persians on land and sea
b. Greeks believed they won Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.E.) because they were motivated by Greek freedoms

3. notion of East/West divide as dominant theme in European thought
   a. Greece = Europe, freedom
   b. Persia = Asia, despotism

4. victory radicalized Athenian democracy:
   a. fifty-year Golden Age of Greek culture after Persian Wars
   b. beginnings of imperialism
   c. Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.E.)

E. Collision: Alexander and the Hellenistic Era

1. Philip II of Macedon completed conquest of Greece by 338 B.C.E.
   a. political unification of Greece by force
   b. plan for great Greek expedition against Persia

2. Alexander’s expedition against Persia (333–323 B.C.E.)
   a. created a massive Greek empire that reached from Egypt and Anatolia to Afghanistan and India
   b. defeat of Persian Empire, destruction of Persepolis
   c. Alexander anointed as pharaoh of Egypt, declared to be “son of the gods”

3. Alexander died in 323 B.C.E.; empire divided into three kingdoms, ruled by Macedonian generals

4. Alexander’s conquests were most important in world history for creation of the Hellenistic era (323–30 B.C.E.)
   a. dissemination of Greek culture through much of Asia and Egypt
   b. role of cities in spread of Greek culture
   c. library of 700,000 volumes
   d. the Museum: sponsorship of scholars

5. Greek became the language of power and elite culture from Mediterranean to India
   a. Indian monarch Ashoka published some of his decrees in Greek
   b. many Jews were attracted to Greek culture; Pharisees developed their own school system to counter the influence of Hellenism

6. Hellenistic cities were much more culturally diverse than original Greek city-states
   a. were not independent, but part of conquest states
   b. Macedonians and Greeks formed the elite
   c. cultural interaction and blending were still possible

7. Roman rule replaced that of Greeks in western part of Hellenistic world

III. Comparing Empires: Roman and Chinese

A. The Roman and Chinese empires had little direct contact but interesting similarities.
   1. both flourished ca. 200 B.C.E.–200 C.E.
   2. were of similar size (about 1.5 million square miles)
   3. both had 50 million to 60 million people
   4. between them, they controlled nearly half the world’s population
   5. interesting variations on imperial theme

B. Rome: From City-State to Empire
   1. started as small, unimportant city-state in central Italy in eighth century B.C.E.
   2. overthrew monarchy and established a republic ca. 509 B.C.E.
   3. conflict with plebeians (poorer classes)
   4. pride in republican values: rule of law, citizens’ rights, lack of pretension, morality—“the way of the ancestors”
   5. creation of the empire
      a. began in 490s B.C.E. with wars to control Italian peninsula
      b. 264–146 B.C.E.: Punic Wars with Carthage
      c. conquest of Greece, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and present-day France and Britain
      d. gradual, unplanned pursuit of opportunities
      e. skill and brutality of Roman army
      f. usually generous treatment of conquered peoples
6. Empire building changed Roman society
   a. Rome became a warrior society
   b. upper-class men in part defined as soldiers and landowners
   c. absolute control over wife, children, and slaves
   d. women confined to producing warrior sons
   e. by early centuries C.E. elite women experience less restriction
   f. women found protection in the law in areas of marriage and property rights
   g. no improvement for growing number of slaves
7. the empire’s impact on republican government and values
   a. some grew wealthy, but slaves undermined position of common citizens
   b. rise of military leaders (Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Julius Caesar) brought civil war in first century B.C.E.
   c. decline of republican values
   d. under Caesar Augustus an imperial system established (r. 27 B.C.E.–14 C.E.)
8. establishment of pax Romana (Roman peace)
   a. security
   b. relative prosperity
C. China: From Warring States to Empire
1. creation of empire regarded as a restoration
   a. Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties had created a Chinese state
   b. system fell apart by 500 B.C.E.
   c. age of warring states: seven competing kingdoms
   d. multiple states were regarded as unnatural
2. unification by Shihuangdi, ruler of Qin (r. 221–210 B.C.E.)
   a. adopted Legalism as political philosophy: clear rules and harsh punishments to enforce state authority
   b. Shihuangdi means “first emperor”
3. expansion of empire into northern Vietnam and Korea and into steppes to northwest
4. empire formation far quicker than Rome
5. no less dependent on military force
   a. brutality included execution of scholars, book burning
   b. hundreds of thousands of laborers built Great Wall
   c. erected Shihuangdi’s monumental tomb
   d. standardized weights, measures, currency, written Chinese, and even axle lengths for carts
6. Qin dynasty collapsed in 206 B.C.E.; followed by Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.)
   a. kept Qin centralization
   b. less harsh
D. Consolidating the Roman and Chinese Empires
1. both empires defined themselves in universal terms
2. both invested heavily in public works
3. both claimed supernatural sanctions
   a. deceased Roman emperors as gods
   b. Chinese emperor as Son of Heaven
4. both absorbed a foreign religious tradition
   a. development of Christianity in Roman Empire
   b. introduction of Buddhism into China by traders
5. relationship with societies they governed
   a. Romans were always a minority in empire
   b. ethnic Chinese had much larger cultural heartland
   c. China actively assimilated non-Chinese people
   d. Roman assimilation more gradual
6. Roman empire more culturally fragmented
   a. cultural influence of Greece and Rome
   b. religious traditions from the east
7. role of language differed in the two empires
a. Latin (alphabetic language) gave rise to Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, Romanian, helping to maintain separate identities
b. Chinese characters (represented words or ideas) could be read by all literate people facilitating assimilation
8. Roman Empire’s peoples maintained separate cultural identities far more than in China
9. bureaucracy was much more elaborate in China than in Roman Empire
   a. Chinese emperor Wudi (r. 141–87 B.C.E.) established an academy to train officials based on works of Confucius
   b. Roman administration relied on regional elites and army
10. both empires had marked effects on the environment
    a. Roman Empire experienced extensive deforestation and unprecedented levels of lead in the air
    b. China had substantial urban air pollution and soil erosion in the countryside

E. The Collapse of Empires
1. why do they fall?
   a. Han dynasty ended in 220 C.E.
   b. traditional date for fall of western Roman Empire is 476 C.E.; eastern half survived as Byzantine Empire
2. common factors
   a. excessive size, overextension, too expensive for available resources
   b. no great technological breakthrough to enlarge resources
   c. tax evasion by large landowning families
   d. tax burden fell heavily onto the poor
   e. rivalry between elite factions created instability
   f. epidemic disease
   g. threat from nomadic or semi-agricultural peoples on frontier
   h. China more successful in assimilating invaders than Romans
   a. decline of urban life
   b. population decline
   c. reduction of international trade
   d. vast insecurity
4. most important difference between collapse of Han and Roman Empires: what happened next
   a. China: about 350 years of disorder, then creation of a similar imperial state (Sui, Tang, and Song dynasties)
   b. Europe: no large-scale imperial system has ever been successfully established in western Europe since Romans
5. why was China more successful in restoration?
   a. greater homogeneity
   b. stronger bureaucratic tradition
   c. Confucianism placed strong value on political matters
   d. agriculture more productive
   e. metallurgy more advanced

IV. Intermittent Empire: The Case of India
A. The idea of empire was much less prominent in India than in Persia, the Mediterranean, or China.
   1. fall of Indus Valley civilization by 1500 B.C.E.
   2. creation of new civilization along Ganges River
   3. establishment in northern India of classic civilization of South Asia by 600 B.C.E.
      a. enormous political, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity
      b. Indian civilization as a whole shaped by political fragmentation and cultural diversity
      c. identity provided by distinctive religious tradition and social organization
B. Mauryan Empire (326–184 B.C.E.)
   1. stimulated by Persian and Greek penetration of northwest
   2. ruled all but southern tip of India
   3. population of around 50 million
   4. large military and civilian bureaucracy
5. state-operated industries
6. Ashoka (r. 268–232 B.C.E.) is best-known emperor, thanks to edicts
7. Mauryan Empire broke apart after Ashoka’s death
C. Gupta Empire (320–550 C.E.) and other short-lived empires followed
D. Why couldn’t India maintain an empire?
   1. states failed to command loyalty
   2. great cultural diversity
   3. frequent invasions from Central Asia
   4. caste system encouraged local loyalties
E. Indian trade flourished despite the lack of unity.
   1. merchants and artisans patronized public buildings and festivals
   2. Hinduism and Buddhism spread through much of Asia
   3. Indian mathematics and astronomy flourished
V. Reflections: Enduring Legacies of Second-Wave Empires
A. Second-Wave empires continue to be used as models and inspirations.
   1. Mao Zedong compared himself to Shihuangdi
   2. modern Indians pride themselves on Ashoka’s nonviolence and tolerance
   3. Great Britain celebrated its empire as a modern Roman Empire
   4. Mussolini regarded Italian expansion as the creation of a new Roman Empire
   5. recent question: are Americans the new Romans?
B. Misusing historical analogies is dangerous, but history is vital to understanding the complexities of contemporary life.

CHAPTER QUESTIONS

Following are answer guidelines for the Big Picture Questions, Seeking the Main Point question, Margin Review Questions, Portrait Question, and Documents and Visual Sources Feature Questions that appear in the textbook chapter. For your convenience, the questions and answer guidelines are also available in the Computerized Test Bank.

Big Picture Questions

1. What common features can you identify in the empires described in this chapter? In what ways did they differ from one another? What accounts for those differences?
   • In terms of common features, all empires controlled large areas and populations.
   • All empires were brought together by conquest and were funded in part by extracting wealth from conquered peoples.
   • All empires stimulated the exchange of ideas, cultures, and values among the peoples they conquered.
   • All empires sought to foster an imperial identity that transcended more local identities and loyalties.
   • All empires ultimately collapsed.
   • In terms of differences, some empires sought to rule through local elites; other empires sought to rule with a more centralized power structure.
   • Some empires were new; others drew on older traditions.
   • Some empires lasted for considerably longer periods than others.
   • Some empires assimilated conquered peoples more quickly and completely than others.
   • These differences can be accounted for by comparing the relative sophistication of governments;
   • efforts at assimilation;
   • tolerance of local customs and traditions.

2. Are you more impressed with the “greatness” of empires or with their destructive and oppressive features? Why?

This question can reasonably be answered either way:

• Empires were impressive because of the impact they had on regions that they conquered; their sheer size and the number of subjects over which they ruled; their military conquests; and their monumental architecture, often associated with the promotion of political authority.
• Their use of force in the creation of empires and their use of coercion to extract resources, particularly from conquered peoples, offer a strong argument that they were destructive and oppressive.
3. Do you think that these second-wave empires hold “lessons” for the present, or are contemporary circumstances sufficiently unique as to render the distant past irrelevant?

- This question can be answered successfully from several perspectives, although in order to argue that the second-wave empires are irrelevant a student would have to address the arguments made in the Reflections section of the text.
  - A student might focus on the cultural memory of empires being used in the modern world. The Reflections section offers examples of Mao Zedong, the modern Indian nonviolence movement, the British imperial education system, and Mussolini all using the examples of previous empires as models for their own societies.
  - As prompted by the opening and closing sections of the chapter, a student might draw potential lessons for the United States today, especially from the model of Rome, whose conquests led to a political shift from a republican to an imperial political system.
  - A student could also argue that basic problems of second-wave empires, such as overextension and the creation of a unified identity that redefines conquered peoples, are timeless issues still relevant today.

4. **Looking Back:** How do these empires of the second-wave civilizations differ from the political systems of the First Civilizations?

- The empires were much larger, requiring more sophisticated governments.
- They ruled over much larger populations.
- They were able to raise larger resources and maintain larger armies.
- The Greeks experimented with direct democracy while the Romans created a republican government.
- They fostered economic and artistic development and cultural mixing.
- The most impressive technological breakthroughs occurred in second-wave empires.
- From a negative perspective, empires frequently engaged in large-scale warfare with destructive consequences.
  - They used coercion to extract resources, particularly from conquered peoples.
  - They created environments where slavery and increasingly restrictive patriarchal systems thrived.

**Margin Review Questions**

Q. How did Persian and Greek civilizations differ in their political organization and values?

- The Persians built an imperial political system that drew upon previous Mesopotamian polities, including the Babylonian and Assyrian empires. The Persian Empire was far larger than its predecessors, stretching from Egypt to India, and ruled over some 35 to 50 million subjects.
  - The Persian system was centered on an elaborate cult of kingship in which the emperor was secluded in royal magnificence and was approachable only through an elaborate ritual.
  - Persian emperors were considered absolute in their power and possessed a divine right to rule by the will of the Persian god Ahura Mazda.
  - The Persian Empire was ruled through an effective administrative system that placed Persian governors, called satraps, in each of twenty-three provinces, while lower-level officials were drawn from local authorities. This system was monitored by imperial spies.
  - Persia’s rule of its many conquered peoples was strengthened by a policy of respect for the empire’s non-Persian cultural traditions.
    - In contrast, Greek political organization was based on hundreds of independent city-states or small settlements of between 500 and 5,000 male citizens.
    - The Greeks did not build an empire but did expand through the establishment of colonies around the Mediterranean and Black seas.
    - The most distinctive feature of Greek political culture lay in the extent of popular participation in political life that occurred within the city-states. This participation was based on the unique ideas of “citizenship,” of free people running the affairs of state, and of equality for all citizens before the law.
Political participation in Greek city-states was much wider than in Persia, but it varied considerably between city-states and over time. Early in Greek history, only the wealthy and wellborn had the rights of full citizenship, but middle- and lower-class men gradually obtained these rights in some city-states.

- Nowhere was participation universal. The widest participation occurred in Athens beginning in 594 B.C.E., when the reforming leader Solon took Athenian politics in a more democratic direction, breaking the hold of a small group of aristocratic families. Debt slavery was abolished, access to public office was opened to a wider group of men, and all citizens were allowed to take part in the Assembly. Later, all holders of public office were chosen by lot and were paid, so that even the poorest could serve. Athenian democracy was direct rather than representative. Even at its height, it was far from universal, with well over half the population, including women, slaves, and foreigners, excluded from participation.

Q. How did semidemocratic governments emerge in some of the Greek city-states?

- Growing numbers of men purchased armor and weapons that allowed them to serve in the armies of the city-states.
- In many places, dictators known as tyrants emerged for a time, usually with the support of the poorer classes, to challenge the prerogatives of the wealthy. One example is the Athenian leader Solon, who emerged in 594 B.C.E. During his rule, he broke the hold on power of a small group of aristocratic families in Athens. At the same time, he abolished debt slavery, increased access to public office to a wider group of men, and allowed all citizens to take part in the Assembly.

Q. What were the consequences for both sides of the encounter between the Persians and the Greeks?

- While no doubt embarrassing, the failure of the Persian invasions of Greece had very little impact on the Persian Empire.
- Defeat of the Persian armies was a source of enormous pride for Greece. For the Greeks (especially the Athenians), it confirmed their view that Greek freedoms strengthened their will to fight, while Persia came to represent despotism. This view persisted into the twentieth century in European thinking in the notion of an East/West divide in which Europe (the West) represented freedom and Asia (the East) represented despotism.

- Greek victory radicalized Athenian democracy, because service by poorer Athenians as rowers in the navy placed them in a position to insist on full citizenship.
- The fifty years following the Greco-Persian Wars were the high point for participation in Athenian democracy.
- The fifty years following the defeat of the Persians also witnessed the Golden Age of Greek (and especially Athenian) culture, a period when monumental buildings like the Parthenon in Athens were built, Greek theater was born, and Socrates was beginning his career as a philosopher.
- But the Greco-Persian Wars also led to an era of incipient empire. After the war, Athens tried to solidify its dominant position among the Greeks who had allied against Persia, and this led to intense resentment and finally to a bitter civil war known as the Peloponnesian War. Athens was defeated, while the Greeks exhausted themselves and magnified their distrust of one another. This infighting ultimately opened the way for Macedonia to conquer the Greek city-states.

Q. What changes did Alexander’s conquests bring in their wake?

- Alexander’s conquests led to the widespread dissemination of Greek culture into Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India. The major avenue for this spread lay in the many cities established by the Greeks throughout the Hellenistic world.

Q. How did Rome grow from a single city to the center of a huge empire?

- The values of the Roman republic, including rule of law, the rights of citizens, absence of pretension, upright moral behavior, and keeping one’s word—along with a political system that offered some protection to the lower classes—provided a basis for Rome’s empire-building enterprise.
- Victory in the Punic Wars with Carthage (264–146 B.C.E.) extended Roman control over the western Mediterranean and made Rome a naval power.
- As the empire grew, each addition of territory created new vulnerabilities that drove further conquests.
- Poor soldiers hoped for land, loot, or salaries.
- The well-to-do or well-connected gained great estates, earned promotion, and sometimes achieved public acclaim and high political office by participating in empire building.
• The wealth of long-established societies in the eastern Mediterranean spurred Roman conquests, as did the resources and food supplies of the less developed western Mediterranean.
• Rome’s central location in the Mediterranean basin made empire building easier.
• Rome’s army was a key to its success. It was drawn from the growing population of Italy and was renowned for being well trained, well fed, and well rewarded.
• As the empire grew, so did political support in Rome for its continued expansion. This ensured that the necessary manpower and resources were committed to empire building.

Q. Why was the Chinese empire able to take shape so quickly, while that of the Romans took centuries?
• Unlike the Roman Empire (which was new), the Chinese empire represented an effort to revive an imperial tradition that already existed under the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties. Because of the preexisting imperial tradition in China, the process of creating the empire was quicker, though it was no less reliant on military force and no less brutal than the centuries-long Roman effort.
• The state of Qin had already developed an effective bureaucracy, subordinated its aristocracy, built a strong military, and enjoyed rising agricultural output using legalist principles. It was able to apply this model to the empire once it succeeded in overcoming the other states.
• Unlike Rome’s transition from republic to empire, the creation of the Chinese empire had only brief and superficial domestic repercussions.

Q. Why were the Roman and Chinese empires able to enjoy long periods of relative stability and prosperity?
• Both relied on powerful armies to sustain their empires.
• Both also created effective systems of government. The Chinese developed a very sophisticated bureaucracy while the Romans developed an elaborate system of law applicable to all subjects of the empire.
• Both invested heavily in public works to integrate their empires militarily and commercially.
• Both built up cults of empire that legitimated their rule.

Q. What internal and external factors contributed to the collapse of the Roman and Chinese empires?
• In terms of internal factors, both empires became too overextended and too expensive for available resources;
• neither fostered a great technological breakthrough to enlarge resources;
• both suffered from tax evasion by large landowning families leaving the tax burden to fall heavily onto the poor;
• both suffered from rivalry between elite factions which created instability;
• both suffered from epidemics.
• In terms of external factors, nomadic or semi-agricultural peoples occupying the frontier regions of both empires became growing threats that ultimately conquered portions of both empires.

Q. Summing Up So Far: In comparing the Roman and Chinese empires, which do you find more striking—their similarities or their differences?
• The Roman and Chinese empires shared many common features, though they did also differ in important ways. In general, the Chinese empire was able to foster greater cultural homogeneity and more centralized political control than did its Roman counterpart.
• Both defined themselves in universal terms.
• Both invested heavily in public works designed to integrate their respective domains militarily and commercially.
• Both invoked supernatural sanctions to support their rule.
• Both absorbed foreign religious traditions, though the process unfolded somewhat differently. In the case of Rome, Christianity was born as a small sect of a small province in a remote corner of the empire. From there, it spread slowly for several centuries, mostly among the poor and lower classes, suffering from intermittent persecution. In the fourth century C.E., it obtained state support from the emperors and thereafter spread quite rapidly, becoming the dominant religious tradition throughout Europe in the centuries after the fall of Rome. In the case of China, Buddhism came from India, far beyond the Chinese world. It was introduced by Central Asian traders and received little support from Chinese rulers until the Sui dynasty emperor Wendi (589–618 C.E.). Even then it became only one of several religious strands in a complex Chinese mix.
• The Roman and Chinese empires also had a different relationship to the societies that they governed.
• The Romans ruled as a distinct minority within the empire. Over time, the empire did assimilate conquered peoples by granting them Roman citizenship for service to the empire or in recognition of their adoption of Roman culture. In 212 C.E., Roman citizenship was bestowed on all free people of the empire. The Chinese empire, by contrast, grew out of a much larger cultural heartland that was already ethnically Chinese.
  • Moreover, as the Chinese empire expanded to the south, it actively assimilated non-Chinese people.
  • The Roman Empire assimilated more cultural traditions, with Roman and Greek culture freely mixing and other non-Roman cultural traditions—including the cult of the Persian god Mithra, the cult of the Egyptian goddess Isis, and the Judaism-derived religion of Christianity—spreading throughout the empire. In China, with the exception of Buddhism, Chinese culture was widely recognized as the model to which others should conform. It experienced little competition from an older, venerated, or foreign tradition.
  • Language served the two empires in important but contrasting ways. Latin, an alphabetic language depicting sounds, gave rise to distinctive languages—Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, Romanian. Chinese did not, in part because Chinese written characters, which represented words or ideas more than sounds, were not easily transferable to other languages. But written Chinese could be understood by all literate people no matter which spoken dialect of the language they used. So Chinese, more than Latin, served as an instrument of elite assimilation.
  • Politically, both empires established effective centralized control over vast regions and huge populations.
  • But the Chinese, far more than the Romans, developed an elaborate bureaucracy to hold the empire together.
  • The Chinese relied on a civil service system, complete with examinations and selection by merit; the Romans relied more on regional elites and the army to provide cohesion. The Romans, though, unlike the Chinese, developed an elaborate body of law applicable equally to all people of the realm.

Q. Why were centralized empires so much less prominent in India than in China?
• Indian’s unparalleled cultural diversity made a centralized empire less easy to construct than in more culturally united China.
• The frequency of invasions from Central Asia in comparison to China also made centralized empire less likely, because Indian states, which otherwise might have provided the nucleus for an all-India empire, were repeatedly smashed by invaders.
• In contrast to the situation in China, India’s social structure, embodied in a caste system linked to occupational groups, made for intensely local loyalties at the expense of wider identities that might have fostered empires.

Portrait Question

1. How might you imagine the reactions to the Trung sisters’ revolt from Chinese officials, Vietnamese aristocrats, Vietnamese peasants both male and female, and later generations of Vietnamese men and women?
  • Chinese officials were likely first and foremost to see the Trung sisters’ revolt as a threat to Chinese political rule;
  • given their Confucian training they would also find women leading a military rebellion as a perversion of the social order;
  • given Chinese norms they would have been shocked by elite women participating in public affairs usually reserved for men.
  • Vietnamese aristocrats likely viewed their revolt with some sympathy, especially because one of their aims was to restore the authority of Vietnamese aristocrats.
  • Male and female Vietnamese peasants would likely have found elements of the Trung sisters’ agenda appealing, especially their defense of Vietnamese identity and their efforts to eliminate tribute taxes and the authority of corrupt Chinese bureaucrats. While male peasants may have found the idea of female military and political leadership problematic, it likely encouraged many female peasants to participate directly in the revolt.
  • Later generations of Vietnamese men and women likely looked back on the rebellion for inspiration when resisting other foreign invaders; women in particular likely looked to the Trung sisters as role models as is reflected in the yearly celebration of the sisters in Vietnam that coincides with International Women’s Day.
Using the Documents and Visual Sources Features

Following are answer guidelines for the headnote questions and Using the Evidence questions that appear in the documents and visual sources essays located at the end of the textbook chapter.

Headnote Questions

**Document 3.1: In Praise of Athenian Democracy**

Q. How does Pericles describe Athenian democracy?

- Pericles describes Athenian democracy as open and non-exclusive, saying that citizens are distinguished through merit and public service not through privilege. Poverty is not a barrier and those who do not engage in public service are considered “useless.”
- He further describes that Athenians are motivated by respect for authority and the law.
- He also describes an open society which has no secrets.
- Finally, he avers that discussion is a necessary precursor to action.

Q. Does his argument for democracy derive from fundamental principles, such as human equality, or from the practical benefits that derive from such a system of government?

- Pericles makes no explicit reference to fundamental principles such as human equality.
- Instead he emphasizes the practical benefits of the Athenian system of government, including laws that secure equal justice to all in their private disputes.
- He also advocates rewarding individuals with positions of authority not because of privilege but because of merit.
- He argues for freedom for citizens in their private affairs.
- He wants discussion that leads to the knowledge needed to make good decisions for the state.

Q. What kind of citizens does he believe democracy produces? Keep in mind that not everyone shared this idealized view of Athenian democracy. How might critics have responded to Pericles’ arguments?

- Pericles believes democracy produces citizens who are active participants in public life; who stay out of one another’s private business; and who are respectful of the authorities and the laws.
- He believes the citizens have a strong motivation to fight for their city; are well educated and brave; are lovers of beauty and enjoyers of the pleasures of life; and have an interest in public affairs and participate in debate and discussion.
- A critic might note that the individuality and freedom that Pericles extolled also potentially weakened the state. This was the view of the Spartans, who advocated the promotion of communal rather than individual identities as the surest means of securing loyalty to the state.
- A critic might question the idealized notions of society in Athens by asking Pericles whether women, non-citizens, and slaves experienced Athens as Pericles describes it.

Q. Although Pericles praised Athenian military prowess, his city lost the Peloponnesian War. In what ways does this affect your assessment of his arguments?

**Possible answers:**

- It undermines Pericles’ credibility and judgment.
- It casts doubt on his assertions that Athenian military training was superior; that not expelling foreigners from the city was a sound policy; and that Athenian rejection of trickery and reliance strictly on their own hearts and hands was a sensible policy.

**Document 3.2: In Praise of the Roman Empire**

Q. What did Aristides identify as the unique features of the Roman Empire? Which of these features in particular may have given the empire a measure of legitimacy in the eyes of its many subject peoples? What other factors, unmentioned by Aristides, may have contributed to the maintenance of Roman authority?

- Aristides notes the Roman Empire’s huge size; its access to the crops, manufactured products, and arts of its many conquered peoples; its good order and lack of rivalries within the imperial administration; and its ability to rule without governors through local elites.
- He notes the Roman Empire’s policy of making the more accomplished, rich, and powerful citizens of the empire, while making the less
accomplished, powerful, or rich subjects of the empire.

- Aristides especially identifies what he sees as the Roman Empire’s ability to rule over free men because the Romans do not seek to be the masters of their subjects but rather to protect and care for them.
- He notes its form of government, which takes the best of democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy and combines them into a single system.
- Those features that may have given the empire a measure of legitimacy in the eyes of its subjects include its ability to keep order; its granting of citizenship to the most prominent of conquered subjects; and its use of local elites to rule.
- Also included is the empire’s building of gymnasiums, fountains, gateways, temples, and schools; and its success in making long-distance travel safe.
- Another factor that may have contributed to the maintenance of Roman authority included the Roman conquest of these regions.
- Potentially, Rome might have, in the form of its army, also made it in the best interest of many conquered peoples to work within the imperial system rather than revolt against it.

Q. What does Aristides mean by referring to the empire as a “common democracy of the world”?

- Aristides is referring to the Roman policy of making citizens out of a portion of the population (for him the most accomplished, noble, and powerful subjects).
- This impacts on the way that the empire is governed—that is, through local elites rather than outside governors and garrisons.
- While not a democracy in the technical sense, Aristides argues that “whenever one considers the power of the people and how easily they attain all their wishes and requests, he will believe that it is a democracy.”

Q. Why might Aristides, a Greek-speaking resident of a land well outside the Roman heartland, be so enamored of the empire?

- He came from an elite family that was granted Roman citizenship, and so was a member of the subject peoples who were granted a privileged position in the empire.
- Coming from a major city, he was able to enjoy the public infrastructure that the Romans built.
- He traveled widely and so could appreciate the protection and stability that the Roman Empire offered to travelers.

- He would also have been in a position to experience and appreciate the 
  pax Romana.

Q. To what extent does Aristides’ oration provide evidence for the development of a composite Greco-Roman culture and sensibility within the Roman Empire?

- Aristides’ oration provides several pieces of evidence. The most explicit of his assertions are that the Romans have brought the arts of the Greeks to their homeland, and have surpassed the Greeks in knowledge and moderation.
- More indirectly, Aristides’ assertion that “Everything is full of gymnasiums, fountains, gateways, temples, handicrafts, and schools...and a boundless number of games” may indirectly refer to aspects of Greek urban culture that the Romans have promoted in their empire.

Q. How does this speech compare, in both style and content, with that of Pericles in Document 3.1?

Possible answers:

- There are some similarities in style and content between the two in that both espouse the strengths of their political systems and emphasize community and a sense of belonging.
- Both are orations; focus on the interests and values of elites; are written by members of their respective societies; and describe their societies as democratic.
- Differences include the very different systems of government and citizenship that they describe, and the very different senses of how one participates in the polity.

Document 3.3: Governing a Chinese Empire

Q. Why is Han Fei’s approach to governing China referred to as Legalism? According to him, what is required for effective government?

- Han Fei’s approach focuses on the clear definition and strict enforcement of laws.
- According to Han Fei, the strength of a kingdom is directly related to the extent to which everyone in the state conforms to the law.
- The ruler is able to eliminate “private crookedness,” which interferes with the upholding of public law.
- The right officials are chosen to implement the law, and the law is enforced equally on all social groups including the elites.
• The ruler controls his ministers using the two handles of chastisement and commendation, as appropriate.

Q. What are the “two handles”?  
• The two handles are the means by which the ruler controls his ministers: chastisement and commendation.

Q. To whom does Han Fei believe his measures should apply?  
• His measures should apply to everyone in society without distinction. In particular, the law should be enforced on all subjects regardless of status; the strength and the stability of the state are absolutely dependent on this.

Q. What view of human nature underpins Han Fei’s argument?  
• Han Fei implicitly assumes that humans are basically selfish and if left to their own devices will look out for their own interests at the expense of society and the state’s interests.
• He also argues that the reality of human selfishness can be harnessed for the good of the state if the ruler consistently punishes those who do things to the detriment of the state and rewards those who take actions that advance the state.

Document 3.4: Governing an Indian Empire

Q. How would you describe Ashoka’s philosophy of state?  
• Ashoka’s philosophy of state is defined by religious principles that emphasize non-injury, restraint, and forgiveness.
• These religious principles drive efforts to improve the lives of his subjects and promote nonviolence toward animals, moderation in all behaviors, and kindness toward others.

Q. How might Han Fei have responded to Ashoka’s ideas?  
Possible answers:  
• Han Fei would have objected to Ashoka’s effort to avoid inflicting harsh punishments, and his use of divine principles rather than human law to govern his country.
• Han Fei may have approved of Ashoka’s effort to teach his people rules to govern their lives (even if they are not the harsh laws that he would advocate), and his efforts with the forest peoples to reward good behavior (though Han Fei would likely have wanted Ashoka to more forcefully threaten the alternative of harsh punishment).

Q. What specific changes did Ashoka make in state policies and practices?  
• Ashoka banned the slaughtering for sacrifice of living beings, and dramatically reduced the numbers of animals slaughtered for consumption at the royal court.
• He promoted restraint in the killing and harming of living beings and proper behavior toward relatives and holy men.
• Ashoka instituted regular inspection tours for the purpose of Dhamma instruction, and to conduct other business; created officers of the Dhamma; he also ended imperial pleasure tours and replaced them with Dhamma tours.
• He sought to improve medicine, and implemented policies designed to make travel more easy and pleasant.
• He instituted religious freedom, encouraging contact between religions and discouraging sectarianism.

Q. Can you think of practical reasons why he might have adopted these policies? Did he entirely abandon the use of harsher measures?  
• Having already conquered a large kingdom, Ashoka may have promoted nonviolence within his empire to discourage rebellion and also make him a more acceptable ruler to his subjects.
• Embracing a popular religious tradition that many of his subjects adhered to may have strengthened his legitimacy.
• More speculatively, embracing Dhamma and establishing officers of the Dhamma may have been part of an effort to co-opt religious figures or institutions into his government.
• Ashoka did not entirely abandon the use of harsher measures, as he makes clear when he notes in reference to his efforts to convince the forest peoples to act properly: “That they are told that despite his remorse Beloved-of-the-Gods has the power to punish them if necessary.”

Q. How might this outcome affect your assessment of Ashoka?  
• An argument could be made that the fall of Ashoka’s empire should not affect an assessment of his rule and policies because he was able to maintain his authority throughout his reign. Empires were
never stable in India and other circumstances beyond his ruling principles may account for the collapse of the empire.

- On the other hand, an argument could be made that the collapse of the Mauryan Empire implies the failure of Ashoka’s efforts to inculcate his subjects with Dhamma principles.

Q. What does this suggest about the relationship between political philosophies and the success or longevity of political systems?

- It suggests that neither a Dhamma- nor Legalist-based political philosophy ensures the success or longevity of a political system.
- The failure of both of these systems indicates that well-articulated political philosophies do not ensure success or longevity.
- Little is suggested by these two examples because so many other circumstances also impact the success and longevity of empires.

**Visual Source 3.1: Behistun Inscription**

Q. What message did Darius seek to convey in commissioning this work?

- His success in war;
- His status as a powerful ruler;
- His relationship with Ahuramazda.

Q. How does it present the source of political authority in the Persian Empire?

- It associates it with the god Ahuramazda;
- the emperor’s success in battle;
- and his military power.

Q. What role does the Faravahar play in this image?

- Faravahar hovers above the scene implying that the military victory is divinely sanctioned.
- It reminds the viewer of the source of Darius’s legitimacy.

Q. How might Athenian Greeks respond to this representation of political authority? Consider the possible reaction of Pericles (Document 3.1).

- Athenians may view it with reference to Persian efforts to conquer their city-state, noting the role of force in this image;
- they might interpret the picture through prevailing ideas of eastern “barbarians” current in Greek culture.
- Given his views on the role of citizens in the governance of Athens, Pericles would undoubtedly respond critically to this representation of political authority. It runs counter to ideas of self governance and implies through the Faravahar sovereignty derived from a god.
- He might also contrast the war captive subjects of Darius with the free citizens of Athens.

**Visual Source 3.2: Harmodius and Aristogeiton**

Q. How does the message of these statues differ from that of Visual Source 3.1? What elements of these statues might convey the values of Athenian democracy?

- The figures in the Visual Source 3.1, The Behistun Inscription, are less naturalistic than Visual Source 3.2, conveying different messages about power. Darius is idealized in the presence of the divinity, while Harmodius and Aristogeitan are portrayed as real human actors.
- Visual Source 3.1 leaves less to the imagination offering a very clear narrative for the viewer.
- Visual Source 3.1 portrays political authority as divinely sanctioned, wielded by an all conquering emperor. Visual Source 3.2 portrays political authority in human action without divine sanction.

Q. It was common in Athenian sculpture of the time to portray males in the nude. What does their nudity add to the message of the statue?

- The Greeks associated the nude male figure with triumph, glory and moral excellence, so at the time their nudity cast them as noble heroes.
- Even today their nude forms emphasize their humanity.

Q. What does the willingness to celebrate two male lovers suggest about the sexual attitudes of Athenians at the time?

- That homosexual relationships were accepted in Greek society.

Q. How might you understand the willingness of Athenians to transform a purely personal quarrel into a political statement?
• It may indicate that Athenians valued heroic human figures and sought to create such heroes to personify a significant shift in their political system.
• That later political calculation inspired a reinterpretation of the quarrel.

**Visual Source 3.3: Qin Shihuangdi Funerary Complex**

Q. How do you suppose Qin Shihuangdi thought about the function of this “army” and the carriage in the larger context of his tomb complex? What might it add to his ability to exercise power and project authority?

**Possible answers:**

• The introduction to the image indicates that the entire tomb complex was meant to symbolize the ongoing power of Qin Shihuangdi as he continued to be part of a single Chinese community made up of the living and the dead. The army could therefore symbolize Qin Shihuangdi’s ongoing role in protecting his empire even after death.
• The presence of the terra-cotta army also reveals Qin Shihuangdi’s belief that he would continue to be a military commander in the afterlife.
• The terra-cotta army was undoubtedly designed to impress visitors with the power and authority of the emperor during his lifetime as well.
• The carriage replicates a form of transport used by emperors and officials in everyday life implying that he would continue to rule from beyond the grave.
• The overall size (some 56 square kilometers) and organization of the site indicates that the emperor would have a practical need for the carriage in order to tour his tomb site in the afterlife.
• This site enhanced the emperor’s authority during his reign by displaying the resources that he had at his disposal to build on a monumental scale.
• The wondrous features of the site must have impressed those who worked on the site and rumors undoubtedly spread further afield.
• The preparation of such a sight must have strengthened in the eyes of his subjects the possibility that he would rule from beyond the grave.

Q. How does the fact that this funerary complex was largely invisible to the general public affect your understanding of its function? How might ordinary Chinese have viewed the construction of this complex even before it was completed?

• That the wondrous creations like the terra cotta warriors were not meant to be seen but to be remembered;
• that it was meant to physically represent the inaccessible realm of the dead from which the emperor would rule after his death;
• even before its completion, this extraordinary tomb would have contributed to the emperor’s reputation as a powerful ruler;
• it may have reinforced the impression of ordinary citizens that Qin Shihuangdi was the inheritor of the Mandate from Heaven.

Q. To what extent is the conception of political authority reflected in this funerary complex in keeping with the ideas of Han Fei in Document 3.3? How might it challenge those ideas?

• The tomb complex lays out a well-ordered imperial compound complete with administrators and soldiers in line with Han Fei’s vision;
• the complex bolsters perceptions of the power and authority of the emperor;
• through its layout it reinforces the idea that the emperor is the center of the government.
• It may challenge Han Fei’s ideas in that it is built for the next life whereas the Legalist Han Fei focuses exclusively on world of the living.

Q. How do you understand the religious or cosmic dimension of Chinese political thinking as reflected in this tomb complex?

• This complex reflects the central idea underpinning the Mandate of Heaven: that the living and the dead formed a single community and that the dead could choose to help the living.
• That deceased emperors continued to look after their kingdom.

**Visual Source 3.4: Augustus and Breastplate**

Q. What does the statue suggest about the bases of Augustus’s legitimacy as a ruler? What kind of future for the Empire does the statue evoke?

• That his military prowess and position as leader of the army, represented in his pose and breastplate, underpinned his legitimacy;
• the numerous gods, and especially Cupid next to his right leg who evokes Venus, often said to be an ancestor of Augustus, imply divine legitimacy for his rule.
• The figures on his breastplate represent an ordered cosmos;
the earth goddess at the bottom of the breast plate with her overflowing cornucopia represents a prosperous empire;
• his confident pose exudes strong leadership for the empire.

Q. Although Augustus resisted being portrayed as divine, the statue is laced with religious imagery. What does that imagery suggest about the way Augustus was coming to be viewed?
• It suggests that imperial artists were inclined to view Augustus as possessing a divine right to rule.
• Cupid next to his right leg evokes Venus, often said to be an ancestor of Augustus. Cupid’s presence may indicate that the artist intended to remind his viewer of Augustus’s divine lineage, albeit indirectly.

Q. What elements of the statue suggest a realistic portrayal of Augustus and which show an idealized image of him? Notice particularly his face and posture? What sensibility is the artist seeking to convey?
• Augustus stands in a realistic pose arm outstretched as if making a gesture and left leg as if in motion;
• his facial features are also realistic.
• The drapery around his waist adds to a sense of motion.
• In terms of more idealized elements, the narrative of order and prosperity using images of the gods on his breastplate is idealized.

Q. How might Aelius Aristides (Document 3.2, pp. 150–152) respond to this statue?
• Aristides would undoubtedly have liked this statue as it personifies the powerful empire that he describes;
• the world of plenty depicted at the bottom of Augustus’s breast plate matches Aristides’ description of the empire’s wealth.

Using the Evidence Questions

Documents: Political Authority in Second-Wave Civilizations

1. Making comparisons: How would you describe the range of political thinking and practice expressed in these documents? What, if any, common elements do these writings share? Another approach to such a comparison is to take the ideas of one writer and ask how they might be viewed by several of the others. For example, how might Pericles, Aristides, and Han Fei have responded to Ashoka?

A wide range of political thinking and practice is represented in these documents:
• Pericles, as recorded by Thucydides, describes a democratic system in a small state defined by participation of, at a minimum, free adult males and a respect for personal freedom in private affairs.
• Aristides describes the administration of a large, multiethnic empire using a system of governance based in part on the granting of citizenship to a portion of subject peoples, and participation by local subject elites in governance of their regions.
• Han Fei focuses on the role of law in securing a stable, strong government.
• Ashoka draws on religious principles associated with Dhamma to rule his empire.

All the documents share some general common elements:
• All see a role for government in society.
• All define a successful government as one that secures stability.
• All implicitly view strong government associated with civilizations as good government.

2. Comparing ancient and modern politics: What enduring issues of political life do these documents raise? What elements of political thinking and practice during the second-wave era differ most sharply from those of the modern world of the last century or two? What are the points of similarity?

• Enduring issues of political life include the role of democracy in political systems; the role of the law and its enforcement in stable government; the equal application of the law to all members of society; the importance of limiting corruption among officials for stable government; the role of government in securing the happiness of the people; the role of religion in government; and the idea of religious freedom.
• The issues that differ most sharply from the modern world include the legitimacy of empires and the complete lack of references to women playing an active role in government.
• Points of similarity include debates over the role of religion in government; freedom of religion; the role of government in improving medicine, infrastructure, and improving the happiness of the
people; equality under the law; and the role of democracy in creating a legitimate government.

3. Distinguishing “power” and “authority”: “Power” refers to the ability of rulers to coerce their subjects into some required behavior, while “authority” denotes the ability of those rulers to persuade their subjects to obey voluntarily by convincing them that it is proper, right, or natural to do so. What appeals to “power” and “authority” can you find in these documents? How does the balance between them differ among these documents?

- Han Fei’s focus on law and the enforcement of law relies primarily on power, although the authority of the law is also a theme. The other documents emphasize authority, even if power is implied in structures like the Roman Empire.
- For Pericles, authority is emphasized through collective sovereignty.
- Aristides makes two cases for Roman authority: one based on the peace, stability, and prosperity that the empire delivered, the second on the “common democracy of the world” that the Roman Empire fostered—by which he means the granting of citizenship to local elites who are able to participate in local government.
- Ashoka asserts authority through both adherence to religious principles and a reluctance to use coercion and especially violence to govern.

4. Noticing point of view: From what position and with what motivation did these writers compose their documents? How did this affect what they had to say?

- Pericles gave his oration (recorded by Thucydides) as a member of Athenian society and intended it to extol the virtues of this society. His position and the purpose of his oration ensured that his assessment of Athenian society was positive; any faults in Athenian society were not addressed.
- Aristides gave his oration before the Roman Emperor as a citizen of the Roman Empire and intended it as a panegyric. Again, his position and the purpose of the oration ensured that his assessment of the Roman imperial system was positive and that faults in the system were not addressed.
- Han Fei wrote his tract during the Warring States period of political disorder and intended it as a practical piece of political philosophy that provided a means to reestablish political stability. It provides a practical road map to the establishment of a stable political system rather than extolling the virtues of the current political system.
- Ashoka was the ruler of an empire and wrote his piece to explain to his subjects the principles by which he governed. The Rock Edicts address practical issues of government, but also contain passages designed to justify and legitimize the approach.

Visual Sources: Representing Political Authority

1. Comparing the foundations of political authority: Based on both the documents and the visual sources, write an essay comparing the sources of political legitimacy for the states or empires of the second-wave civilizations of Eurasia.

While there is no one correct answer to this question, a strong essay will consider most of the following:

- Divine right to rule: Visual Source 3.1, Visual Source 3.3, and Visual Source 3.4
- Coercive power, especially military prowess: Visual Source 3.1 and Visual Source 3.4
- Enforcer of the law: Document 3.3 and Document 3.4
- Popular sovereignty in the form of democracy: Document 3.1 and Visual Source 3.2
- Maintenance of peace and order: Document 3.2 and Visual Source 3.4
- Monumental architecture: Visual Source 3.1 and Visual Source 3.3

2. Imagining cross-cultural perceptions: How might Augustus, Darius, or Athenian leaders respond to the funerary complex of Qin Shihuangdi and the political ideology that it represented?

- Augustus and Darius would likely have been impressed by the scale and grandeur of the tomb, both having built impressive buildings (and tombs) themselves.
- Darius, and to a lesser extent Augustus, ruled using similar political ideologies as Qin Shihuangdi. While the Mandate of Heaven has elements that would be foreign, both would have recognized the divine right to rule, the military power represented by the terra cotta soldiers, and the sheer grandeur of the tomb complex.
- Athenian leaders would likely have seen the complex in a less positive light. It would be reasonable to assume that they would associate it with the “barbarian” east and Persian imperial traditions.
• They would have understood the political ideology that the tomb complex represented, but would have rejected it given their own attachment to popular participation in government.

3. Considering religion and political life: To what extent and in what ways did religion underlay political authority in the civilizations of the second-wave era?

• Working strictly from the visual evidence provided, a student would reasonably conclude that religion underlay the political authority of several, but not all civilizations. Religion could also take many forms.
  • In Persia, religion played a central role as depicted in Visual Source 3.1 where Ahuramazda appears over the scene legitimating Darius’s victory and, by implication, his rule.
  • Visual Source 3.2, on the other hand, does not possess any religious imagery, focusing instead on the natural depiction of two mortal men.
  • The burial complex in Visual Source 3.3 could be seen as a physical recreation of the world of the dead where the ancestors existed.
  • The gods on Augustus’s breastplate in Visual Source 3.4 represent an orderly universe and the abundant resources of the empire, reaffirming Augustus’s reign. Moreover, Cupid next to Augustus’s right leg reminds the viewer of Augustus’s ancestor, the goddess Venus.

4. Considering patriarchy and power: What can we learn about patriarchy and its relationship to power from these sources? What role, if any, do female images play in these expressions of political power?

• These visual sources can tell us a great deal about patriarchy through the absence of female imagery.
  • Except for three goddesses (Luna, Aurora, and the earth goddess) on Augustus’s breastplate women are absent from these depictions of political power. These goddesses personify an ordered universe and a plentiful earth. They do not represent female political power. Women are not even indirectly alluded to in these images, except for Cupid’s appearance next to Augustus. In this case a Roman audience would likely make the connection between Cupid’s mother, the goddess Venus, Augustus’s ancestor.

LECTURE STRATEGIES

Lecture 1: The shadow of the Parthenon

The objectives of this lecture strategy are:

• to explore in greater depth the legacy of ancient Greece
• to drive home the lesson of the political diversity of classical Greece
• to consider why the golden age of Athens has been so important to all subsequent western civilization

This lecture strategy requires access to PowerPoint or to another sort of image projection system.

Begin with the Athenian historian Thucydides’ claim that in later years people would never believe, looking at the physical remains, that Sparta was as important as it was—but that they would think that Athens was twice as great. Show images of the physical impact of the two cities, such as:

• a general view of the ruins of ancient Sparta
• the Athenian Acropolis
• the Parthenon
• the Parthenon Frieze
• the Theatre of Dionysus (rebuilt in stone in the fourth century B.C.E. but on the site of an earlier wooden structure)

Move from these images to a discussion of why democracies (by contrast with empires) would indulge in monumental art. Be sure to consider the problem of survival (the Parthenon itself only survived because it became a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, but then it was nearly destroyed when gunpowder stored in it exploded). Clearly, buildings alone are not enough to explain greatness, but they are an expression of Athens’s cultural pride in the fifth century B.C.E.

The end of Athenian political greatness was its defeat in the Peloponnesian War and again by Philip II of Macedon in 338 B.C.E. Yet the physical remains of Athens after that time suggest a different story—for example:

• the Temple of Olympian Zeus (major construction by Hellenistic king Antiochus IV Epiphanes; completion by Roman emperor Hadrian)
• Stoa of Attalos (built by King Attalos II of Pergamon)
CHAPTER 3 • STATE AND EMPIRE IN EURASIA/NORTH AFRICA

• Odeon of Herodes Atticus (built in 161 C.E.)
• Parliament House in Syntagma Square (built in the nineteenth century C.E.)

Consider the lessons of these images: that foreign rulers patronized Athens heavily for centuries; that Athens continued to be regarded as a center of culture; and that, when Greece won its independence from Turkey in the nineteenth century, Athens was the natural capital of the new state.

Discuss cultural transmission: how the Macedonians admired Athenian learning (even hiring the Athenian-trained Aristotle to tutor Alexander the Great) and carried it with them, and how Athenian works were preserved by Hellenistic education and libraries. It might be a good opportunity to look ahead, too, at how Boethius in the sixth century C.E. translated some of the works of Aristotle, and how most of the other works of the Aristotelian corpus were rediscovered in the Middle Ages.

It’s also important to recognize that much Greek culture did not emanate directly from Athens—for example:

• The historian Herodotus was from Halicarnassus in Ionia.
• The historian Thucydides spent much of his life in exile from Athens.
• Aristotle was from Stagira, not Athens, and never headed a school in Athens.
• Euripides spent the last years of his life in Macedonia.

Lecture 2: The conquests of Alexander the Great

Many students have an interest in military history and have already heard of Alexander the Great. Thus it makes sense to use Alexander as a convenient hook to draw your students’ interest to the exploration of Greek military history, Persian political organization, and both Greek and Persian culture. There are many ways to approach such a lecture. Possible points to include are:

• the development of Greek hoplite armies, and their further evolution in Macedon (with special attention to cavalry and the phalanx)
• the big question of whether Alexander won because the Persians were really “barbarians, fit only to be slaves” (as Aristotle would have it)
• Darius III’s slow response to Alexander’s invasion, and possible reasons for it (Darius’s shaky claim to the throne, contempt for Greeks, and impediments caused by the sheer scale of Darius’s empire)
• Alexander as founder of cities (it’s important to note that Persia had major cities, such as Susa, Persepolis, Babylon, and the cities of the eastern Mediterranean, before Alexander came along) and the role those cities played
• Alexander’s military genius (perhaps best seen in sieges such as that of Tyre, rather than the pitched battles at Granicus or Issus)
• why the Persians doubtless thought that the Greeks were a bunch of barbarians (lack of personal modesty, lack of court etiquette, the burning of Persepolis)
• why the Greeks doubtless thought that the Persians were a bunch of barbarians (inability to speak Greek, servile fawning toward rulers, large numbers of eunuchs, the wearing of trousers and long sleeves)
• how willing Persian subject peoples were to accept Greek rule and the reasons why attitudes varied in different parts of the empire

Lecture 3: Tying it all together: Identity and governance in second-wave empires

The primary objectives of this lecture strategy are:

• to reinforce the chapter’s points about the nature of empires, both good and ill
• to consider the modern notion of nationalism and whether it has any place in a discussion of second-wave empires

A fun way to begin the lecture is with a video clip from Monty Python’s Life of Brian, that wonderful spoof of Judean resistance against Roman oppression. I’d recommend the scene in which members of the People’s Front of Judea raise the question “What have the Romans ever done for us?”—only to come up with a lengthy list of benefits ranging from sanitation to peace. That would provide a natural introduction to a presentation of the tangible benefits that major empires provided to their subjects. You might include:

• Roman aqueducts (the Pont du Gard is a great illustration)
• Roman roads
• the Persian royal road (maps of the route are readily available)
• an excerpt or two from Ashoka’s “Rock Edicts” or “Pillar Edicts,” in which he orders the planting of shade trees for travelers or legislates other benefits
• the influence of the Library and Museum of Alexandria
• the Great Wall of China and governmental defense against the Xiongnu
• the Roman limes (fortification system against the Germans) or Hadrian’s Wall in northern England (defense against the Scots and Picts)
• the general issue of how an imperial system encourages commerce, thanks to peace, standardized coinage and weights, and so on

Yet it cannot be denied that imperial governance was frequently resented. Choose two to three examples of revolt from different empires, describing them briefly to the class. Then ask, How did each empire fail its subject population? Could the same sort of revolt have occurred in one of the other empires? Possible revolts to consider:

• In the Roman Empire: the revolt of Boudica in Britain; the assassination of Nero; the Bar Kochba rebellion
• In the Chinese empire: the Yellow Turban Rebellion; Liu Bang’s revolt against the Qin in 206 the Roman limes
• In the Persian Empire: noble revolts against Darius I; Egypt’s willing acceptance of Alexander the Great
• In the Hellenistic empire: the Maccabee revolt against Antiochus IV Epiphanes

Finally, work out a definition of “nationalism” with the class, and consider whether a nationalist sentiment was an important factor in these subjects’ relations with their conquerors.

During your lecture, it may be useful to reference the Documents Feature in this chapter, particularly Documents 1 and 2.

THINGS TO DO IN THE CLASSROOM

Discussion Topics

1. Contextualization (large or small group). “What makes second-wave empires different from First Civilizations?”

This is an opportunity to review what Chapter 2 had to say about First Civilizations while reinforcing the lessons of Chapter 3.

2. Comparison (large or small group). “Government of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

This chapter includes two major examples of popular government: Roman republicanism and Greek democracy. They provide an excellent opportunity for students to consider the meaning of the terms, the strengths and weaknesses of the two systems, and lessons that could be applied to the present-day United States. Encourage students to discuss the following questions:

• What is the difference between a republic (Roman) and a democracy (Greek)?
• What are the important strengths of each form of government?
• What are the weaknesses?
• Is the present-day United States a republic or a democracy? (Be sure that referendums and recall elections are mentioned.)
• Why did Greek democracy fail? Does the United States have safeguards against a similar failure?
• Why did the Roman republic fall, giving place to an imperial system? Does the United States have safeguards against a similar fall?

3. Misconception/Difficult Topic (large or small group). “The Persians were a bunch of barbarian savages.”

The recent movie 300 presented Persians as an odd cross between orcs and demented ninjas; the purpose of this discussion is to allow the students to weigh the evidence on the subject. Ample evidence in the chapter provides for a comparison of Greek and Persian civilizations. Possible approaches include the following:

• Divide the class into two camps, Persian and Greek. Each side should prepare debating points on why they should be regarded as the
most civilized. (Be sure to put some strong students on the Persian side, because the evidence is more difficult to extract.)

• Divide students into small groups to discuss whether they think democracy is inherently superior to monarchy, and if so, why.
• Project or distribute images of two examples of Persian monumental architecture (such as the tomb of Cyrus or the ruins of Persepolis), and ask the students, in small groups, to come up with points that the images can teach them about the Persian Empire.

Classroom Activities

1. Role-playing exercise (small group).
   You are Chinese officials in the service of Wangdi, sent on a diplomatic trip to Rome.
   • What do you think would most surprise you about the Roman Empire?
   • What would seem most familiar?
   • How would your visit be different from a visit to India?

2. Map analysis (large or small group).
   Ask the students to examine the maps provided in Chapter 3 and then to discuss the following questions:
   • Which second-wave empire had a geographical setting that was most conducive to empire?
   • Can geography explain the failure of the Mauryan empire in India?
   • Do geographical reasons explain why democracy evolved in Greece but not in the areas where second-wave empires developed?

3. Clicker question.
   On the whole, did second-wave empires do more good or more harm?

Class Discussion for the Documents and Visual Sources Features

Comparison (large or small group): Living in Second-Wave Empires

Ask the class to review the four political systems explored in this feature and decide under which of the second-wave political systems they would prefer to live. Would their position as an elite or commoner, man or woman change their choice? The purpose of this discussion is comparison, so make sure that the students identify the specific advantages and disadvantages for each system before making their decision. This can be done by asking small groups to make the case for or against a particular system or simply by asking the class as a whole to identify advantages and disadvantages. Conclude by asking students to identify the advantages and disadvantages of living in these second-wave civilizations as compared to gathering and hunting and agricultural societies.

The Legalists, Shihuangdi, the Mandate of Heaven . . . and an introduction to Confucius (large or small group)

Take this opportunity to explore Chinese political culture in class and introduce Confucian thought, which will be an important topic in Chapter 4. Draw on the passages concerning Shihuangdi in the chapter, in Document 3.3, and in the Visual Sources to ask students to discuss the logic and effectiveness of Legalism in practice. Then introduce the concept of “government by morality” as advanced by the Mandate of Heaven and Confucius, either through a brief lecture or by asking students to read a selection of extracts from such sources as the Instructions of Yi and the Analects. Can Shihuangdi’s tomb complex be justified in terms of government by morality? How might a follower of Shihuangdi justify the tomb in terms of the Mandate of Heaven? Why might a Confucian scholar criticize such an elaborate tomb?

Classroom Activities for the Documents and Visual Sources Features

Role-Playing (small group): Debating Political Philosophies

Expand on Using the Evidence question 1 by splitting students into groups and asking each group to take on the persona of a different author (Pericles, Aristides, Han Fei, or Ashoka). Then ask each group to look at the writings of the other authors in this feature through the eyes of the author they chose. What would their author agree with in the other
CHAPTER 3 • STATE AND EMPIRE IN EURASIA/NORTH AFRICA

writings? What would he find problematic? What can these comparisons tell us about the similarities and differences between the political traditions represented?

Comparing Tombs

Drawing on Using the Evidence question 3, ask students (either individually or in groups) to compare the tomb of Shihuangdi with an Egyptian First Civilization tomb complex. This activity will require either classroom access to the Internet or the ability to project images. Many good images of such complexes are available on the Internet to use, or create a short PowerPoint tour. Ask students to consider the following and produce two lists:

• What features do these tombs share?
• What differences can you identify between these tombs?

Then ask students to analyze their lists by addressing the following questions:

• What can the similarities between the sites tell us about the similar sources of legitimacy drawn on by rulers in the ancient world?
• How can we account for the differences? Do the specific beliefs about rulers and the afterlife explain them?

WHAT’S THE SIGNIFICANCE?

Alexander the Great: Alexander III of Macedon (356–323 B.C.E.), conqueror of the Persian Empire and part of northwest India.

Ashoka: The most famous ruler of the Mauryan empire (r. 268–232 B.C.E.), who converted to Buddhism and tried to rule peacefully and with tolerance. (pron. ah-SHOKE-uh)

Athenian democracy: A radical form of direct democracy in which much of the free male population of Athens had the franchise and officeholders were chosen by lot.

Caesar Augustus: The great-nephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar who emerged as sole ruler of the Roman state at the end of an extended period of civil war (r. 31 B.C.E.–14 C.E.).

Greco-Persian Wars: Two major Persian invasions of Greece, in 490 B.C.E. and 480 B.C.E., in which the Persians were defeated on both land and sea.

Han dynasty: Dynasty that ruled China from 206 B.C.E. to 220 C.E., creating a durable state based on Shihuangdi’s state-building achievement. (pron. hahn)

Hellenistic era: The period from 323 to 30 B.C.E. in which Greek culture spread widely in Eurasia and North Africa in the kingdoms ruled by Alexander’s political successors.

Mauryan Empire: A major empire (322–185 B.C.E.) that encompassed most of India.

pax Romana: The “Roman peace,” a term typically used to denote the stability and prosperity of the early Roman Empire, especially in the first and second centuries C.E. (pron. pox roh-MAHN-uh)

Persian Empire: A major empire that expanded from the Iranian plateau to incorporate the Middle East from Egypt to India; flourished from around 550 to 330 B.C.E.

Qin Shihuangdi: Literally “first emperor from the Qin”; Shihuangdi (r. 221–210 B.C.E.) forcibly reunited China and established a strong and repressive state. (pron. chihn shee-HWANG-dee)

Trung Trac: Vietnamese woman from an aristocratic military family who led an ultimately unsuccessful revolt against China around 40 C.E. following the execution of her husband.

FURTHER READING

• East & Southeast Asia: An Annotated Directory of Internet Resources, http://newton.uor.edu/Departments&Programs/AsianStudiesDept/. A useful page providing links to most anything one would want to know about China and the states of Southeast Asia.

- India: Internet Resources, http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/INDINRES.HTM. Includes a large number of links to information on Indian history and culture.

**LITERATURE**

A large assortment of ancient Greek and Roman literature is available in translation and published in inexpensive editions by Penguin and Oxford World Classics. The following list includes only a few suggestions.

- Crump, James, ed. and trans. Legends of the Warring States: Persuasions, Romances, and Stories from Chan-kuo Ts’e. Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Chinese Studies, 1998. These selections brilliantly demonstrate China’s longing for unity and political order during the Warring States period.
- Plutarch. Fall of the Roman Republic. Trans. Rex Warner. Middlesex: Penguin, 1958. Biographies of great figures of the first century B.C.E., such as Julius Caesar and Cicero, that tend to work well with classes.

**FILM**

- Empire: The Romans. Four-part series. Discovery Channel, 2003. 46–52 minutes each. Focuses on all aspects of the Roman Empire, from high politics to the everyday life of soldiers and citizens.
- The Immortal Emperor: Shihuangdi. BBC, 1996. 50 minutes. Uses Shihuangdi’s famous tomb to examine the political, philosophical,
and religious structure of Chinese society during the Qin dynasty.

- **Maurya.** Insight Media, 1998. 26 minutes. Explores the Mauryan Empire with particular emphasis on its army.
- **The Search for Alexander the Great.** Four-part series. Time-Life Video, 1981. 60 minutes each. Explores the life of Alexander the Great and the creation of the Hellenistic Empire.

### ADDITIONAL BEDFORD/ST. MARTIN’S RESOURCES FOR CHAPTER 3

**PowerPoint Maps, Images, Lecture Outlines, and i>clicker Content**

These presentation materials are downloadable from the Media and Supplements tab at [bedfordstmartins.com/strayer/catalog](http://bedfordstmartins.com/strayer/catalog), and they are available on an Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM. They include ready-made and fully customizable PowerPoint multimedia presentations built around lecture outlines that are embedded with maps, figures, and selected images from the textbook and are supplemented by more detailed instructor notes on key points. Also available are maps and selected images in JPEG and PowerPoint format; content for i>clicker, a classroom response system, in Microsoft Word and PowerPoint formats; the Instructor’s Resource Manual in Microsoft Word format; and outline maps in PDF format for quizzing or handouts. All files are suitable for copying onto transparency acetates.

**Documents and Essays from Worlds of History: A Comparative Reader, Fifth Edition**

The following documents, essays, and illustrations to accompany Chapter 3 are available in the following chapters of this reader by Kevin Reilly:

**Chapter 3:**

- William H. McNeill, *Greek and Indian Civilization*
- Aristotle, *The Athenian Constitution: Territorial Sovereignty*
- Thucydides, *The Funeral Oration of Pericles*
- Plato, *The Republic*

**Chapter 4:**

- Michael Loewe, *The Government of the Qin and Han Empires*
- Sima Qian, *The First Emperor*
- Nicholas Purcell, *Rome: The Arts of Government*
- Cicero, *Letter to His Brother Quintus*, 60 B.C.E.
- *Correspondence between Pliny and Trajan*, c. 112 C.E.
- Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, c. 167 C.E.

**Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/strayer**

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. Each chapter contains specific testing exercises, including a multiple-choice self-test that focuses on important conceptual ideas; a flashcard activity that tests students on their knowledge of key terms; and two interactive map activities intended to strengthen students’ geographic skills. Instructors can monitor students’ progress through an online Quiz Gradebook or receive email updates.

**Computerized Test Bank**

This test bank provides over fifty exercises per chapter, including multiple-choice, fill-in-the-blank, short-answer, and full-length essay questions. Instructors can customize quizzes, add or edit both questions and answers, and export questions and answers to a variety of formats, including WebCT and Blackboard. The disc includes correct answers and essay outlines.