

**Tracing the Roots of Modernity:
Ancient Greece, the Golden Age of Islam
and Renaissance Italy**

by

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for any award or any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. It is affirmed by the candidate that, to the best of her knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

The concept of modernity has been prolifically discussed and analyzed in multiple disciplines, yet the research potential of modernity and its attributes in the area of International Relations have not been well emphasized. This thesis aims to direct attention to the roots of modernity while understanding it, in other words, to identify which attribute brought about rest of the phenomena. The various descriptions of modernity from the vast literature reveal three main characteristics of modernity as potential main independent variables causing the rest of the attributes to come about; rise of capitalism, science and technology, and democratic values. Besides these three variables that embody diverse descriptions from the literature in a single term, the study also includes the indigenous culture variable that denies the existence of an exogenous common characteristic in modern societies. The cases chosen to search for the roots of modernity are Ancient Greece between 7th and 5th centuries B.C., the Golden Age of Islam between 8th and 12th centuries and Renaissance Italy between 14th and 16th centuries. The research on the cases concludes that the concept of modernity is not bound by time or space but characteristics that make the society modern and that capitalism is the variable that chronologically precedes all of the other characteristics and therefore is the main independent variable.

Keywords:

Modernity, Ancient Greece, Renaissance Italy, Golden Age of Islam

ÖZET

Modernite kavramı çeşitli alanda yoğun olarak tartışılmış ve analiz edilmiş bir konu olmasına rağmen bu konunun ve özelliklerinin Uluslararası İlişkiler alanı için potansiyeli yüksek bir araştırma konusu olduğunun yeterince altı çizilmemiştir. Bu tezin amacı modernite olgusunu anlarken onun köklerini araştırmaktır, başka bir deyişle, modernite dediğimiz karmaşık deneyimi oluşturan özelliklerden hangisinin olgunun geri kalan özelliklerini beraberinde getirdiğini saptamaktır. Geniş literatürünün çeşitli tanımları modernitenin şu üç ana özelliğinin diğer özelliklerin oluşmasına ön ayak olan olası ana bağımsız değişken olabileceğini gösteriyor: kapitalizmin, bilim ve teknolojinin ve demokratik değerlerin gelişimi. Literatürdeki geniş ve çeşitli tanımları bir terimin şemsiyesi altında toplamaya çalışan bu üç değişkenin yani sıra, bu çalışma, modern toplumların dışsal ortak özelliği olmadığını savunan yerli kültür değişkenini de bu araştırmada kullanmaktadır. Modernitenin köklerini araştırmak için seçilen konular İ.Ö. 7. ve 5. yüzyıl arası Antik Yunan, 8. ve 12. yüzyıllar arası İslam'ın Altın Çağı ve 14. ve 16. yüzyıllar arası Rönesans İtalyası'dır. Araştırmanın sonuçları modernitenin zaman veya yer bağlantılı değil özellik bağlantılı bir kavram olduğunu ve kapitalizmin kronolojik olarak diğer özelliklerden önce geldiği ve ana bağımsız değişken olduğunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler:

Modernite, Antik Yunan, Rönesans İtalyası, İslam'ın Altın Çağı

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

The concept of “modernity” has been immensely prolific in terms of yielding remarkable works in the areas of political science, philosophy, and above all, sociology. Modernity is the very phenomenon we are currently living in and experiencing; its importance in terms of research and scrutiny is thus undeniable. Modernity has been defined with the symptoms observed in contemporary societies. The word “modern” bears its roots in the 5th century. The Latin word “modernus” was first used by Romans to distinguish their Christianity from their Pagan past (Smart, 1990: 17). This idea of change towards new and recent from old and traditional has always been inherent within the word “modern” ever since.

History was broadly classified into three periods, the Ancient, the Medieval and the Modern, and certain qualities has been attributed to the concept of modernity through observing the society of the times classified as “the Modern” due to their novel nature in basic aspects. However, it has been defined as or identified with so many concepts and events over the years it has been studied that it has become harder to get into the core of the idea because of the surrounding layers of concepts that has been attached. Therefore, the first task of this thesis was to identify the main concepts that

define modernity and contain and cause other concepts linked with modernity through closely examining and recognizing a common denominator of crucial studies that relate to the core of the matter. These main attributes that this thesis pinpoints as modernity's main ingredients are the rise of capitalism, rise of democratic values and acceleration of science and technology (Ritzer, 1996; Smart, 1990; Waters, 1994; Waters, 1999). "The most important of these [modern] institutions are the democratic polity, the market economy and the autonomous pursuit of truth, called science" (Wagner, 1994: xii).

These main and fundamental attributes are diverse enough to branch out into further qualities. Rationality, bureaucracy, rise of the nation state, urbanization, division of labor and secularization has also been linked with the concept of modernity (Ritzer, 1996; Waters, 1994; Waters, 1999). Yet, these attributes are linked with the main attributes of modernity, or can be named as the sub-categories of modernity, observed through and as a result of the main attributes. Literature suggests that rationality and secularization are concepts directly related with scientific thought, whereas bureaucracy is the adaptation of rationality into daily use in an organization (Ritzer, 1996; Weber, 1992). Rise of the nation state coincides and is related with the rise of democratic values (Ritzer, 1996; Russett and O'Neal, 2001) whereas division of labor and urbanization are stated as attributes of capitalism by many political thinkers and historians (Berman, 1994; Braudel, 1993; Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000; Marx, 1999).

The vast literature entailed vast terminology. It was a painstaking task to put similar definitions and concepts mentioned by different theories and theorists under the umbrella of one term to be named as one variable. Therefore, I find it critical and necessary to explain what I denote when I use each term. The term "capitalism"

indicates a developed market exchange system independent from the governing body. The term “science and technology” indicates accumulation of innovative and progressive knowledge. The term “democratic values” indicates the opportunity for the citizens to elect their governors and become an active part of civil society. Finally, the use of the term “indigenous culture” indicates the progress of a certain culture to become inherently modern, and opposes the propositions of the attributes of modernity by asserting that modernity is not triggered by a common attribute but by cultures *sui generis*.

1.2 PURPOSES

This social and cultural phenomenon or experience that we call modernity has been defined, researched, dissected, yet lingering on the question of what it is, the question of how it came about, in other words, what caused the concept has often been pushed to periphery. This thesis aims to direct attention to two gaps in the rich literature of modernity. The first is to search for the roots of modernity. In another words, the first and foremost question is simply, “what came first”. What caused the phenomenon of modernity to come about among all these concepts attributed to it; what is the root of modernity that enabled all the other branches to flourish? Through researching “capitalism”, “democratic values”, “science and technology” and “indigenous culture” within these cases and determining how each one came about and affected modernity in the course of history, this thesis will seek to identify which of these appeared first in society and triggered the rest of the phenomena. In short, this thesis will identify the main independent variable that affects the dependent variable of modernity. “Temporal

direction can be a good indicator of causal direction whether or not the former is reducible to the latter” (Williamson, 2004: 24). Thus, while trying to avoid any *post hoc* fallacies, this thesis will trace the leading element in the causal line of modernity, following Russell’s footsteps, who asserts that, “when two events belong to one causal line the earlier may be said to ‘cause’ the later” (Russell, 1948: 334). If none of three attributes emerge as the leading factor modernity, then, by default, the conclusion will be that societies progress towards modernity by and through the unique qualities in their culture.

1.3 JUSTIFICATION

1.3.1 Justification of Topic Selection

Selecting modernity concept as a thesis topic stems from the observation that modernity contains several crucial elements of International Relations such as capitalism, development of market economy, democratic values, secularization and rise of the nation state. Therefore, through understanding modernity by comparing different historical periods, this thesis will not only relate to the current experience of society, but also will be able to reveal vital issues on International Relations, especially on Conflict Resolution area. Recent studies on Conflict Resolution underline the lack of conflict between modern economically developed and democratic dyads and look for the reasons beneath this observation. “If the less developed state in a dyad has a per capita GDP below 1400USD, joint democracy is not a significant force for peace” (Mousseau et al., 2003: 277), “...democratic peace requires a minimum level of development to be efficient” (Hegre, 2000: 5), and “...dyads with similar political and economic

institutions are less likely to experience conflict” (Souva, 2004: 263) are only some of these ideas relating democratic values, nation state, market economy development, which for the sake of simplification is embodied within capitalism in this thesis, and conflict. Mousseau (2003; forthcoming) looks at the relationship of modern society and conflict through his Microeconomic Exchange theory, Rosecrance (1996) from the angle of trade and interdependence, Russett and O’Neal (2003) from the angle of liberal peace and Souva (2001) from the angle of institutionalism. Yet, all of these works and many others are closely interrelated with modern democratic and developed dyads and the reality beneath their peacefulness among themselves. This thesis, through observing and examining the concept of “modern”, and the three cases, aims to contribute to this ongoing search. The cases can also contribute to the conflict literature, since the conflicts in Ancient Greece (see Russett and Antholis, 1993; Weart, 1998) and Renaissance Italy (see Sobek, 2003; Sobek, 2005; Weart, 1998) have been study areas for some conflict scholars.

1.3.2 Justification of Case Selection

“Modernity is a qualitative, not a chronological, category” Theodor Adorno.

The case selections of this thesis are mere reflections of this opinion of Adorno. Since it is certain attributes that define and create modernity, and since this thesis seeks to analyze these attributes and which of them came first to drag the other symptoms along, causing a modern era, it is the qualities of the era that make it modern, and these qualities are not specific to any time or space. Significant thinkers like Marx, Braudel and Bacon assert that the transition from the Medieval to the Modern Period is the

Renaissance Era, and that the Early Modern is the Renaissance (Burckhardt, 1995; Spybey, 1992; Starn, 2002). That is why, while searching for the roots of modernity, while scrutinizing the history of a case to identify the independent variable, Renaissance seemed to be the natural and an indispensable choice. Renaissance, translating into English as rebirth, saw the revival of economy, science, arts as well as Ancient Greek and Roman thought after the stagnation of the Medieval Era. Renaissance flourished in Italy between the 14th century and the 16th century; therefore the thesis focuses on Renaissance Italy between these periods as its third case (Burke, 2002; Starn, 2002).

Agreeing with and keeping in mind Adorno's thought for reasons listed, the thesis looks for the roots of modernity through analyzing other specific cases of history. Taking Renaissance Italy as the guidance for selection, the era which the Early Modern looked up to in many ways including philosophy, science, art and even economy, the era that Renaissance was the very rebirth of, Ancient Greece, was another pertinent case choice for this study. The thesis searches for the roots modernity all the way back in Ancient Greece between 630 B.C. and 404 B.C., which is often mentioned as the starting point of Modern Western Civilization (Braudel, 2001; Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000).

The second case of this thesis was selected based on similar concerns; frequent observation of attributes of modernity and guidance of the Renaissance Italy. There was another era that Renaissance was highly inspired and transferred and developed many aspects of, an era that permitted me to avoid Eurocentrism in my case selections, the Golden Age of Islam. Golden Age of Islam was called Renaissance of Islam by some thinkers led by Ahmad Mez because of its similarities with the Renaissance in development of economy, science, arts and the importance given to the Ancient Greece

(Braudel, 1993: 76). Golden Age of the Islamic Empire between middle of the 8th century to the end of the 12th century not only bear resemblances to the Renaissance Italy, but also was a crucial example to the Early Renaissance Italians with their innovations in economy, medicine and science which the Italians adopted and developed (Abu-Lughod, 1989; Braudel, 1993; Darling, 2002; Spybey, 1992). Among these qualities of the Golden Age of Islam that signal that the case is worthwhile to examine in this thesis as exemplary for modernity, it is also a useful choice because of its non-Western quality, to serve as a litmus test about the variable of indigenous culture, by having a non-Western cultural background. These three cases from diverse places and times in history will be analyzed to trace the roots of modernity and to be able to reveal insights as to which variable forms the backbone of the phenomenon.

1.4 LITERATURE ON MODERNITY

Literature on modernity is prolific, diverse and multidisciplinary, embracing sociology, philosophy and political science; pro-modernists, anti-modernists and post-modernists. Therefore, it was crucial to pinpoint which theories and theorists were useful in revealing the main independent variable of modernity, and to be able to comprehend the central or the main independent variable in the theory or the argument of the thinker. In the literature review chapter, I tried to organize the vast literature based on these principles, and therefore divided the theories or thinkers according to their central arguments about modernity or the main independent variables they thought was causing modernity. These were, as I mentioned previously, “capitalism”, “science and technology”, “democratic values” and “indigenous culture”.

Marx's ideas, Modernization Theory, Dependency Theory and Michael Mousseau's Microeconomic Exchange Theory fall under the category of theories considering capitalism as the main causal mechanism or the independent variable. Marx believes that modernity has been constructed by the bourgeoisie through capitalism and is highly critical of it (Berman, 1994; Marx, 1999). Modernization theory, first proposed by Lipset (1959), basically defended that capitalism paved the way to what he called "the economic development complex", which was characterized by industrialization, urbanization, mass education, accumulation of individual wealth and welfare and the existence of a large middle class, a series of symptoms that match with modernity. Dependency theory, which rose as a rival to Modernization theory, was basically Marxist and an economically nationalist theory (Spybey, 1992). Mousseau's Microeconomic Exchange Theory essentially argues that "the extent to which the majority in a society regularly engage in, and thus primarily benefit from, contractual exchange on the market" directly affects its conformity with modern norms such as free choice, bargaining and law abiding (Mousseau, 2003: 489).

Anthony Giddens and Michel Foucault find science and technology as the main causal element of modernity. Giddens (1990) locates accumulation of knowledge, scientific and technological development as the main engine of the "juggernaut" of modernity in his structuration theory whereas Foucault (1977) identifies knowledge as the main source of power in modern societies.

Alexis de Tocqueville in his famous *Democracy in America* (1969) considers democracy as the central element of modernity in the newly arising American society (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000). Putnam (2002), Warren (1999) and Uslaner (1999)

emphasize the importance of civil society and trust embedded in democratic values in the progress of modern society.

Finally, the proposition of the indigenous culture of a society progressing towards modernity is supported by some of the leading thinkers of modernity, Weber, Parsons, Habermas, Huntington and Fukuyama. Weber is without doubt one of the most important thinkers of modernity that has written considerable amount of work dwelling space on the issue. Besides his central ideas on rationality and bureaucracy in modern society in his other works, his *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* talks about the culture of Protestantism as the main causal agent of capitalism and modernity (Ritzer, 1996; Weber, 1992). Parsons claims an evolutionary path in modernity, stating that the Western culture evolved into a modern culture (Ritzer, 1996). Habermas sees the importance of communication of a culture towards the path of modernity (Ritzer, 1996). Huntington, in his famous article *The Clash of Civilizations* (1993), talks about the fundamental differences between civilizations and imply that some civilizations are inherently modern and some fundamentally different from these modern civilizations. Finally, Fukuyama, in his book *the End of History and the Last Man* (1992), claims the end of history with the end of the Cold War where differences and clashes between cultures will end since all modern Western culture will diffuse to other cultures throughout the world.

1.5 ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is composed of six chapters. The second chapter is dedicated to the literature review of modernity, which I have briefly summarized in the previous section. The third

chapter will analyze the Ancient Greece. The chapter starts with the Archaic Period of the Ancient Greece between 630 B.C. and 494 B.C. which coincides with the rise of the Ionian settlements in the Asian Minor on the Aegean Coast led by the city-state of Miletus and the formation of the city-state of Athens. With the Persian Wars starting in 494 B.C. which weakens the Ionian power and strengthens the power of Athens, starts the Classical Greek Period, which ends with the defeat of Athens to Sparta in 404 B.C. in the Peloponnesian War (Braudel, 2001; Freeman, 1996; Orrieux and Pantel, 1999). The Classical Greek Period is the next section of this chapter. The third chapter ends with the Peloponnesian War and the concluding remarks on observations about modernity and its independent variables based on the knowledge gained from studying the Ancient Greece.

The fourth chapter dwells on the Golden Age of Islam. The chapter begins with giving a brief history of the origins of Islam by touching upon the life of Prophet Mohammad. The next sections briefly talk about the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs and Ummayyad Caliphate, moving on to the Abbasid Caliphate during the time which the Golden Age of Islam began. The Golden Age of Islam is scrutinized in the following sections starting with the fourth Abbasid Caliph Al-Rashid (reigned between 789 and 809) and moving on with Al-Mamun, Al-Mutasim and Al-Wathiq. Finally, the downfall of the Abbasid Caliphate and the rising powers of Buwayhids, Fatimids, Seljuq Turks and Spanish Ummayyads during the Golden Age are studied, ending with concluding remarks on the observations from the Golden Age of Islam on modernity and its independent variables (Braudel, 1993; Lewis, 2002; Egger, 2004).

The fifth chapter analyzes the Renaissance Italy. The chapter starts with Pre-Renaissance developments paving the way for Early Renaissance. Then, Early Renaissance starting with the 14th century is examined, focusing on Venice, Florence and the Early Humanists. Afterwards, the Plague of 1348 and its outcomes are discussed. Then, the High Renaissance after the recovery of the Plague and the three crucial inventions of printing press, gunpowder and the compass are studied. The reign of Medici household in Florence during the High Renaissance and the art and science of the High Renaissance are explored next. Finally, the Italian Wars which ended the city-states of Renaissance as well as the Era of Renaissance and the concluding remarks close the last chapter of case study. The sixth and final chapter reports and wraps up all conclusions and findings about modernity.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Modernity is the phenomena and era we are currently living in, benefiting from and suffering of; it is our present as well as our future. Although it is difficult to describe, analyze or diagnose anything that we can not gain a bird's-eye view of, some sociologists and political thinkers have done a successful job in this painstaking task to help our understanding on the complex phenomenon or set of experiences called modernity. This chapter aims to study and analyze these ideas as to what modernity is and what its causal mechanisms are.

Literature on modernity is large, diverse, contradictory and multidisciplinary. Therefore, it was essential both to be able to identify which theories and theorists were valuable for this study's purposes of revealing the main independent variable of modernity and to be able to recognize what the theory or theorist emphasizes as the main constructing feature of modernity. I organized and reviewed the vast literature based on these principles, and categorized the selected literature under four major titles according to which variable is central in the certain theory. These, as mentioned in the introduction chapter, were "capitalism", "science and technology", "democratic values" and "indigenous culture" (Ritzer, 1996; Smart, 1990; Waters, 1994).

Large literature entails multiple terminologies. For convenience of organization and better grasp of the literature, I put similar definitions and concepts mentioned by different theories under the umbrella of one term. Before analyzing the literature, I would like to repeat what each term denotes as a clarification. The term “capitalism” indicates a developed market exchange system independent from the governing body. The term “science and technology” indicates accumulation of innovative and progressive knowledge. The term “democratic values” indicates the opportunity for the citizens to elect their governors and become an active part of civil society. Finally, the term “indigenous culture” indicates the progress of a certain culture to become inherently modern. The final variable opposes the other hypotheses that one of the three main qualities attributed to modernity is the main and common independent variable in any modern society that causes modernity by indicating that a modern society’s culture is inherently and endogenously modern with no other attribute triggering and causing the process.

I will analyze Marx, Modernization Theory, its rival Dependency Theory and Michael Mousseau’s Microeconomic Exchange Theory under the section of theories chiefly considering capitalism. I will then examine ideas of Anthony Giddens and Michel Foucault under the section of thoughts chiefly relating to science and technology. Next, I will study Alexis de Tocqueville to search for the traces of democratic values and modern USA, continuing with the brief look towards the civil society, democracy and social capital relationship from the outlook of Putnam and Uslaner. I will next dwell on the relationship between modernity and indigenous culture of a state through the

ideas of Max Weber, Talcott Parsons, Jurgen Habermas, Samuel Huntington and Francis Fukuyama.

2.2 CAPITALISM

2.2.1 Karl Marx

The literature review will begin with modernity's most critical thinker, Karl Marx, born in Germany, 1818. Before getting into Marxist ideas in detail, I will dwell some space on his idea of dialectic materialism. It is the idea that nothing can be understood apart from its opposite, that it is the merge of the opposites into a new creation that takes history forward towards a better condition. Thesis and anti-thesis are in a continuous contradiction, and from the friction of this contradiction becomes a synthesis, the merge of these two contradictory ideas, and syntheses move human history forward. If we realize the fact that human beings can perceive the world through dichotomies, happiness and sadness, war and peace, it is easy to notice that syntheses of these theses and anti-theses are the very essence of life itself. So, in Marxist ideology, proletariat and bourgeoisie, the exploited and the exploiter, are two contradicting classes, and from their friction, the spark of revolution is bound to arise, kindling the flame of the synthesis: a classless society, i.e. communism. Marx thought that every friction in history between two classes; "freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, the oppressor and oppressed" ended with a revolution and was marching towards a communist future (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000: 663).

The dialectic march towards communism is caused by the means of production in every society, from hunter and gatherer to feudalism, from feudalism to capitalism and

finally from capitalist to communist. The French Revolution—one of the events that is said to have started the modern epoch—done by the bourgeoisie to overthrow feudalism ended with their victory and they came to be the powerful class holding the political superstructure in their hands with their new economic substructure of capitalism. But this was also a system of injustice, so it was also bound to be replaced by a better system, i.e. communism (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000; Marx and Engels, 1967; Marx, 1988). Understanding the concept of dialectics is very important for especially grasping how Marx conceives of modernity, since modernity is, especially if one is to deeply interpret Marx, is a concept made up of conflicting phenomena, a synthesis yielded from combination of opposites.

When *The Communist Manifesto* is thoroughly analyzed, passages where Marx praises bourgeoisie, the class that “has played a most revolutionary role in history”, for bringing about the modern world with all its science, technology and, although limited, freedom can be noticed (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000: 664). “The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of nature’s forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railway....” (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000: 664-5).

Marx does not reject the benefits that modernity brings; he wants manhood to enjoy these benefits equally without being destroyed, hurt, exploited, and alienated; without suffering from poverty and misery. On contrary to these developments and improvements, there is a continuous turbulence that shakes the modern world: “Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions,

everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch....All that is solid melts into air..." (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000: 665). Modernity is the synthesis of two opposite poles, one production the other destruction, and what Marx desires is nothing but a new synthesis that is enkindled from the friction of proletariat and bourgeoisie (Marx and Engels, 1967).

Marx raises to discussion one of the biggest criticisms to as well as one of the most fundamental outcomes of the modern epoch, the concept of alienation. In the capitalist world, worker is alienated from his product, from his labor, from his species being as a human and from his fellow beings. "...through his alienation from his work and from his species-being worker sinks to the level of a commodity...the misery of the worker increases with the power and volume of his production...servitude to the object, and appropriation as alienation" (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000: 659). He wants the abolishment of alienation, exploitation and suppression of proletariat. He cannot accept a world where "capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality" (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000: 671) and desires a world where "physical and spiritual energies can freely flourish" (Berman, 1994: 177).

The main injustice of capitalism lies in the very concept of accumulation of capital according to Marx. Driving from the idea that labor creates added value, he points out to a dilemma, if the laborer earned the wage he deserved, how would accumulation of capital driven from the surplus value be created? If the wage that the worker gets is worth eight hours of his work every day and if he instead works for ten hours, the extra two hours that he works for becomes the surplus value of the bourgeoisie. Therefore he concludes that the wealth of the bourgeoisie owes to the

misery and poverty of the worker. The kind of a society that he envisions instead, a communist society where the state withered away, seems to have abolished the negative and developed the positive characteristics of the modern era; a society where division of labor sinking the worker to the work he is doing gave its place to a society where everyone fully develops his skills. “If we take away the tight bourgeoisie forms, what is welfare but production of universal of productive forces, individual needs, capacities and joy?” (Berman, 1994: 140). Marshall Berman, in his book *All That is Solid Melts into Air* asserts that Marx hopes to heal the wounds of modernity with fuller and deeper modernity.

Marx, despite his despise of capitalism, sees it as a necessary causal stage towards modernity on the path to communism. He thought that India “needed” the British exploitation in order to become modern, gain the necessary rationality and secular thinking to be ready for the further step of communism. He believed that the historically evolutionary stages of class struggle could not be skipped, that is, a pre-modern, pre-capitalist country should not skip the capitalist modern stage (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000).

2.2.2 Modernization Theory

Martin Seymour Lipset with his article “Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy” lay the foundations of the Modernization Theory in 1959. However, because of the heavily polarized political nature of the time, the theory was distorted and manipulated against communism. What Lipset proposed in the article was that the strength of a democracy depended on the

strength of the economic development complex in the country and the legitimacy of the regime. What he termed as the “economic development complex” was the observations of industrialization, urbanization, mass education, accumulation of individual wealth and welfare and the existence of a large middle class in a society, a phenomenon that explains a modern existence by definition. Burkehart and Lewis-Beck (1994) tested Lipset’s hypothesis that economic development is a requisite for democracy for 131 countries and found vast support for it, and did not find support for the opposite version of the hypothesis that democracy is a requisite for economic development.

After Lipset, there were several attempts to equate modernization theory to Western style modernization and argue that underdeveloped countries should model it to modernize where the modernization will diffuse from West to the rest. This was especially supported by Walt Rostow in his work *Stages of Economic Growth* in 1960 where he models British Industrial Revolution to explain the stages of modernization a country needs to go through. The subtitle in the work “A Non-Communist Manifesto” is self-explanatory. He explains five stages of growth of modernization. The first stage is traditional; the second prepares the pre-conditions for economic take-off such as improvement of education, entrepreneurship and commercial infrastructure; the third is the stage of take-off where the technology develops and modern institutions are formed; the fourth is the stage of maturity where there is high technology and investment and finally the fifth is the stage of high consumption (Spybey, 1992: 21-30).

To challenge and lay contradictory evidence for the modernization theory, mainly the secondary politically charged version of it, *Dependency Theory* was founded. Dependency theory is a basically Marxist as well as economically nationalist theory. It

was originally founded by the Latin American economists of United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) led by the Argentinean Economist Raoul Prebisch, though it was an American Economist named Andre Gunder Frank with his article *the Development of Underdevelopment* (1966) who made the dependency theory become widely known outside Latin America. Dependency theory underlines that the reason the underdeveloped countries are the way they are is because the developed Western countries exploited them and forced the underdeveloped countries to become and remain dependent on them. The ultimate goal of the dependency theorists is an independent self-reliant socialist nation contrary to the claims of the modernization theory that suggests the path for development is to follow the same methods that European countries have used. Dependency theorists criticize the role of multinational corporations in the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries because of several reasons such as dependent industrialization, distortion of local labor market, overdependence upon raw materials with fluctuating prices that are subject to substitution causing instability. All of these damages finally cause maldistribution of income in national economy (Gilpin, 1987; Spybey, 1992: 21-40).

2.2.3 Microeconomic Exchange Theory

The last selected theory that relates to modernity and capitalism is Microeconomic Exchange Theory of Michael Mousseau. The theory starts with assuming the cultural materialist ontology that states that a society's economy influences both its institutions and its culture which in turn, in the longer run, continuously influence and sustain each other in a loop after they are firmly established. Moving on from this ontological

assumption, Mousseau pinpoints the contractual norms of developed market exchange economies and how these contractual norms of bargaining and equality become internalized by the societies through their culture and institutions. Societies which become used to solving their problems through contractual norms of bargaining based on self-interest prefer to solve international disputes through bargaining rather than war. On the other hand, societies, where clientalist in-group favoring relationship has to continue in the absence of market exchange contractual norms for survival, engage in conflict towards the “other” out-group society (Mousseau, 2003; Mousseau, forthcoming). “The key exogenous variable is very simple and unambiguous: the extent to which the majority in a society regularly engage in, and thus primarily benefit from, contractual exchange on the market” (Mousseau, 2003: 489). The society ruled by contractual norms is an economically developed market exchange society where deeply engrained norms of contract spreads to all levels of societal interaction facilitating trust among strangers, respect to law and rational pursuit of self-interest, a society characteristically modern (Mousseau, 2000; Mousseau, 2003; Mousseau; forthcoming).

2.3 SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

2.3.1 Anthony Giddens

Anthony Giddens explains modernity through his *structuration theory*. Structure is defined as “the structuring properties (rules and resources)...which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space” (Giddens, 1984: 17). Giddens underlines that “structure only exists in and through the activities of human agents” (Giddens, 1989: 256). Thus the duality of structure, in other

words the inseparability of structure and the agent, or, the institution and the individual, is similar to the dialectical understanding of Marx. In modern societies, structures are simultaneously both enabling and constraining human behavior. Therefore he describes modernity as a “juggernaut”:

a runaway engine of enormous power which, collectively as human beings, we can drive to some extent but which also threatens to rush out of our control....The juggernaut crushes those who resist it, and while it sometimes seems to have a steady path, there are times when it veers away erratically in directions we cannot foresee. The ride is by no means wholly unpleasant or unrewarding....so long as the institutions of modernity endure, we shall never be able to control completely either the path or the pace of the journey. In turn, we shall never be able to feel entirely secure (Giddens, 1990: 139).

Giddens’ analogy of modernity as “juggernaut” or a “runaway world” is very similar to Marx and his analogy of “all that is solid melts into air”. They both have this sense of uncontrollability of the modern world with a life of its own and it being a synthesis of the clashing of opposites, comfort, technology and welfare on one hand and insecurity and misery on the other. Modern order is inherently transformational and malleable according to Giddens, just as Marx feels “the atmosphere we live in pushes our shoulders with 40,000 tons” (Berman, 1994: 33).

Collection of information and the developments of technology to further enable accumulation of the information are the causal mechanisms for the formation, direction and pace of the “juggernaut of modernity” according to Giddens. Collection of information and its reflection as development in science and technology is the main pushing engine of the juggernaut, that is, the main independent variable causing modernity. He believes that modernity begins with the founding of the printing machine during the Renaissance which is the first instance for collection and accumulation of

information. The second stage of modernity is collection of official statistics of a nation state according to him which enables the concentration of power to be accumulated in the hands of the modern state. Finally, the last era of modernity that we are currently in is the electronic communication era (O'Brian et al., 1999).

Giddens defines modernity through four institutions: capitalism, industrialism, surveillance capabilities and military power. The first two institutions, characterized by commodity production, private ownership of capital, wage labor, and machinery are a continuum of Marx's and Weber's ideas. Surveillance capabilities, that is, power of the state to monitor activities of individuals, are an effective precaution for the prevention of internal conflicts and violence. But on the other hand, nation-state controls of the means of violence, including the industrialization of war, an argument similar to Weber's, and also a dangerous one since as we have discussed in the section of Weber, this may lead to power in the hands of a government which may lead to undesired conflicts (Ritzer, 1996).

2.3.2 Michel Foucault

French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault defines modernity as the “permanent critique of our historical era in the pursuit of enlightenment” (Kelly, 1994: 3). He has dwelled on the concepts of enlightenment and modernity while reflecting on Kant's “What is Enlightenment”. While he praises Kant's description of enlightenment, as “daring to know”, he opposes Kant's perspective of modernity as a period and says, “I wonder whether we may not envisage modernity rather as an attitude than as a period of history”, in similar line with Adorno's comment (Foucault, 1984: 33). He links

knowledge, power and surveillance systems of the modern world in his work *Power and Knowledge*. He sees accumulation of knowledge towards development of science and technology as the key to both “enlightening” bright side of modernity and to the crushing power of the state as the dark side of modernity (Foucault, 1984).

2.4 DEMOCRACY

2.4.1 Alexis de Tocqueville

Regime of democracy which favors equality by giving equal chance of representation of interests to all, and a civil society arising from democratic institutions that give citizens chance to express and seek after their common purposes and interests have been going hand in democracy literature as well as in literatures of modernity and modernization since the man who lay its foundations, Tocqueville (1805-1859) and his classic *Democracy in America*. Tocqueville left his home country France to go to USA and study the democratic system in 1830. He was amazed by the newly found democracy in US and the modern culture that arose with it, such as the freedom of expression, liberty, equality and respect for rights. However, he was also critical of some aspects of it, such as the possibility for tyranny of majority over minority, and a possibility of aristocracy of manufacturers, what we can call capitalism. Yet, a modern culture of rational, secular, liberal thinking with respects for rights was enough for Tocqueville to have his respect for democracy. He was also the first thinker to divide between three realms of society in a democracy, the state, political society and the civil society that triggers the vehicle of democratic institutions towards political culture (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000; Tocqueville, 1969).

2.4.2 Democracy, Civil Society and Social Capital

Robert Putnam's recent works that interlink democracy, civil society, and social capital which can be generalized as positive social interaction to make realms of society work more efficiently, suggest a more efficient democracy, more economic development and a more modern culture by their interaction.

...recent work on social capital has echoed the thesis of classic political theorists from Alexis de Tocqueville to John Stuart Mill that democracy itself depends on active engagement by citizens in community affairs....Dense networks of social interaction appear to foster sturdy norms of generalized reciprocity....A society characterized by generalized reciprocity is more efficient than a distrustful society, for the same reason that money is more efficient than barter (Putnam, 2002: 7-10).

This quotation reflects that what Putnam and Mousseau argues to be working efficiently in modern culture is similar, yet their explanation for this positive norm is different, the former's is democracy and civil society, and the latter's is norms of market exchange.

In the same vein, Mark Warren and Eric Uslaner call for the need for generalized trust in modern societies, that is, trust between strangers within a society, in *Democracy and Trust*. Warren explains Uslaner's ideas about differentiation between two kinds of trust and their particular effects on society as; "Particularized trust tends to be attached to the kinds of group identities that are solidified against outsiders, which in turn increases factionalization and decreases chances that conflicts can be negotiated by democratic means. Generalized trust, on the other hand, helps to build.....interdependent social networks" (Warren, 1999: 9). These social networks, be economic in nature or as part of civil society, facilitate democracy according to the authors. On the same

relationship, in the same book, Inglehart underlines the perspective similar to Mousseau's as he mentions the trust among strangers and its importance to economic organizations. "Interpersonal trust is essential to the cooperation with strangers that is a prerequisite for large-scale economic organizations, on which modern industrial economies are based" (Inglehart, 1999: 89) Generalized trust as a norm enables people to trust that others will be following the same rules that one does, thus lowering the incentive for violent or unlawful actions as well as increasing cost of engaging in such acts; in other words, enhancing the normative meaning of democratic institutions (Uslaner, 1999).

2.5 CULTURE

2.5.1 Max Weber

Max Weber has dominated the field of modernity with his ideas to the extent that it is not possible to talk about modernity without reference to him. Weber, born in Germany in 1864, received his doctorate degree in law, and served as a professor of economics. His father was a bureaucrat and his mother was a religious Protestant, or to be more precise, a Calvinist, and these two concepts of bureaucracy and Protestantism also took the leading roles in his works.

Weber saw rationalization of societies as the main causal agent or the main independent variable in their modernization. Despite his emphasis on rationalization, he did not give a clear-cut definition of the concept. "It is difficult to extract a clear definition of rationalization from Weber's work. In fact, he operated with a number of different definitions of the term, and he often failed to specify which definition he was

using in a particular discussion” (Ritzer, 1996: 135). He did, however, define and differentiate between means-ends rationality and value rationality although these only referred to types of individual action whereas rationalization referred to larger scale “patterns of action within civilizations, institutions” (Ritzer, 1996: 135). He defined means-ends rationality as action “determined by expectations as to the behavior of objects in the environment and of other human beings; these expectations are used as conditions or means for the attainment of the actor’s own rationally pursued and calculated ends,” and value rationality as action that is “determined by a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious or other form of behavior, independently of its prospects for success” (Ritzer, 1996: 125). Stephen Kalberg makes a useful distinction of the different types of rationalizations Weber uses in his work; practical, theoretical, substantive (normative), and formal rationalization (Ritzer, 1996). Practical rationalization involves “practical” means-ends calculation based on pragmatic self-interest. Formal rationalization is the calculation of means and ends “with reference to universally applied rules, laws and regulations” (Ritzer, 1996: 136). Theoretical rationalization is a cognitive process to grasp abstract concepts through methods such as causality, induction and deduction to master important attributes of modernity; science and technology. Finally, substantive rationalization is patterns of action following a value system (Ritzer, 1996).

Weber especially focused on the rise of formal rationalization in the West. He described formal rationalization as having the attributes of calculability, efficiency, predictability, non-human technology and control, attributes which also characterize the modern epoch. Weber saw bureaucracy as the perfect example of formal rationalization.

“From a purely technical point of view, bureaucracy is capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency, and is in this sense formally the most rational known means of exercising authority over human beings” (Ritzer, 1996: 128). An ideal-type bureaucracy had modern qualities such as hierarchy of authority, impersonal relations, written rules, division of labor and efficiency. Weber believed that an organized, rational and legitimate administration in a nation-state is a requisite which can not function unless it becomes bureaucratized. However, bureaucracy, while on one hand increases efficiency and predictability, thus making life easier, expands its formal rationalization on the other hand at the expense of other types of rationalization and thus permeates into the whole life of individuals, trapping them into an “iron cage”, where they are forced to be stripped off from their most human characteristics (Ritzer, 1996; Turner, 1992). “No machinery in the world functions so precisely as this apparatus of men and, moreover, so cheaply....Rational calculation....reduces every worker to a cog in this bureaucratic machine and, seeing himself in this light, he will merely ask how to transform himself into a somewhat bigger cog...”(Ritzer, 1996: 129). Weber feared that the substantive rationalization that depends on values will become less and less significant as modernity rose, and therefore argued that formal rationality had its irrational consequences (Ritzer, 1996: 136) but he still thought that the iron cage of bureaucracy to be “escape proof” and “practically unshatterable” (Ritzer, 1996: 129).

Weber described capitalism and bureaucracy as the “two great rationalizing forces” of the modern era which reinforce and complete each other. He defines “the spirit of capitalism” as “the ideas and habits that favor the rational pursuit of economic gain”, and sees the market as a rational organization or a mechanism that helps the

pursuit (Ritzer, 1996: 137). Weber believes that separation of the household and rational organization of productive enterprise attuned to a regular market is an important step for the modern era to take hold in the West. Western world came up with a totally different mechanism of a regular market based on free laborers of wage. Of course, the development of cities as the base of urban life with market economy and wage earners was very important in for this rational organization (Ritzer, 1996; Weber, 1992).

In the past, feudalism required a system of immobile rural workers or serfs dependent on the soil and on the owners of the soil. Market mobility gave people the mobility to take their labor anywhere they can earn their wage and were not obliged with any relationship other than within the boundaries of their work hours based on self-interest (Von Martin, 1998; Weber, 1992). Although such a relationship also has its side effects on the wage earners, as we discussed while analyzing Marx, it is an irrefutable fact that this enables people with great mobility. Weber linked capitalism with its rational and efficient market and a regular bookkeeping system to other things he saw as the components of modernity, such as science, law and politics, in the sense that all these included “rationalization” in themselves. “The capitalistic economy of the present day is an immense cosmos which the individual is born, and which presents itself to him,....as an unalterable order of things in which he must live” (Weber, 1992: 54).

Weber in his work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* concluded that Protestantism was the main causal mechanism for the eventual appearance of capitalism and the victory of the bourgeoisie class in the West as well as the emergence of modern culture because certain beliefs of the religion such as the sanctity of work in Protestantism as opposed to the sanctity of the other-worldly qualities in other religions

led the way to the spirit of capitalism. It was the Protestant values that legitimized pursuit of self-interest that led the way for the spirit of capitalism to flourish. “Man is dominated by the making of money, by acquisition as the ultimate purpose of his life,” says Weber to describe the objectives of the average modern bourgeoisie (Weber, 1992: 53).

Weber’s ideas on Westphalian modern nation-state also deserve emphasis. He described the nation-state as “the entity which possesses a monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force” (Waters, 1995: 35). Nation-state is the only authority to use legitimate physical violence within a territory and to protect the security of her citizens within and outside the territory and this authority she has is a rational authority described by Weber as “belief in the legality of rules and right of elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands” (Ritzer, 1996: 128). So, these attributes of the nation-state delegitimize and prohibit the use of violence among individuals which may become part of the value and norm system in the modern countries. Thus, the state may become “a polity whose rules everybody had contributed and in which, thus, violence was no longer legitimate means of action” if the authority is seen as the bearer of the legal rules (Wagner, 1994: 22).

To sum up, Weber described the modern era to be in the following characteristics:

1. *Spirit of capitalism* taking hold of people by the establishment of a market economy through the development of cities, availability of wage earner labor force, separation of household from rational productive organizational enterprise, bookkeeping and the Protestant Ethic.

2. Rationalization in all the areas of life including *science, technology, arts* and finally *law* and *administration* and therefore a system of

3. Bureaucracy, enabling efficiency but becoming so regularized and losing its meaning to become an iron cage for the modern men who is administered by

4. Nation-state as “the entity which possesses a *monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force*”.

As also put forward in the paragraphs above, Weber sees a religious culture, the ethics of Protestantism as embedding the causal mechanisms for the emergence of modernity and capitalism. In his article *Trust, Well-Being and Democracy*, Inglehart (1999) tests the relationship between religious cultures, economic development, democracy and subjective well-being and finds that countries that are predominantly Protestant and Confucian have high levels of economic development, trust, well-being and democracy than countries that are predominantly Muslim and Catholic, and seeks to show that these religious cultures have ethical and normative understandings which are inherently more modern than the latter two, following the same vein with Weber. Inglehart, in his book *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies* puts forward his main argument as in modern societies “economic, cultural and political change go together in coherent patterns that are changing the world in predictable ways” (Inglehart, 1997: 7).

2.5.2 Talcott Parsons

Talcott Parsons, his paradigm structural functionalism and his evolutionary theory of modernity were the dominant theories in the two decades following World War II,

which we may say have traces of Durkheim and Weber in his thought. He especially focused on the functions of the structures in society and believed that there were four functional imperatives of societal systems that came to be known as the AGIL scheme:

1. Adaptation: A system should have a behavioral organism that adjusts to the external world by adapting to changes. In modern societies, the economy performs this adaptation by adjusting to environmental changes by its labor, production and market.

2. Goal Attainment: A system should have a personality system that attains and achieves certain goals. In modern societies, the polity or the nation state achieves the goals of the society.

3. Integration: A system should have a societal system that regulates the integration of its other imperatives. In modern societies, societal community or civil society allows for integration.

4. Latency (maintenance): A system should have a cultural system to maintain the system. In modern and democratic societies, the fiduciary system, or in other words, the judicial system of law performs this function of maintenance.

L		I
Cultural System		Social System
Fiduciary System		Societal Community
Behavioral Organism		Personality System
Economy		Polity
A		G

Table 2.1: Parson's AGIL Scheme (Ritzer, 1996: 240, 244).

Cultural and societal adaptation is his main causal mechanism in explaining modernity, since he believes that societies will adapt to the changing conditions and therefore evolve into becoming societies which are able cope better with their problems. He distinguishes between three broad evolutionary stages a society will go through; primitive, intermediate and modern (Ritzer, 1996: 240-244). Some societies would evolve by adapting positively to changes whereas some societies can deteriorate because of conflicts; yet he does not mention ways to solve this problem. Parsons characterizes the modern era with its four unique evolutionary universals, bureaucracy, money and markets, legal system and democratic association and with his choice of focus in these particular concepts follows Weber and his focus on rational bureaucracy, market and law. He describes the transition from intermediate epoch to modern by two developments, employment contracts and occupational specialization, similar to the emphasis of division of labor by Durkheim (Waters, 1995).

2.5.3 Jurgen Habermas

Jurgen Habermas belongs to the Frankfurt School, a school of neo-Marxist critical theorists who utilize the ideas of Freud, Kant, Hegel and Weber to further develop neo-Marxist critical thinking. Thinkers belonging to the Frankfurt School give importance and emphasis to rationality similar to Weber and they utilize Freudian ideas of psychoanalysis for trying to understand the behavior of individuals. Their understanding of the world is dialectical, and they give importance to social democracy dwelling on Kantian thought (Ritzer, 1996).

Habermas, as a member of the Frankfurt School, gives high importance to rationality and rational, critical, universal thinking called science which characterizes the modern world. His emphasis on rationality resembles Weber whereas his idolizing of goals of Enlightenment owes its traces to Kant. Habermas is supportive of what he calls as the “*project of modernity*”. He is insistent on completing the unfinished project of modernity which he broadly defines by the goals of Enlightenment. He characterizes a modern rational society as a society where both the “system” and the “life-world” rationalize and develop within their own paths and flourish. When the system dominates and colonizes the life-world, the life-world and its creativity and beauty is trapped in an “iron-cage”. The domination of the life-world which is the pathology of the modern era is rooted in the distorted communication of individuals. Just as Marx gives emphasis to labor and its distortion, alienation and exploitation, Habermas gives emphasis to communication and its distortion and alienation and sees communication criticizes Marx for giving emphasis to work only whereas he believes that emancipating both purposive-rational action (work) and communicative action (communication) are equally important for a better modern society. “Truth is part of all communication, and its full expression is the goal of Habermas’ evolution theory” (Ritzer, 1996: 295). Habermas’ project of modernity is evolutionary, but it is evolutionary when the goal is an enlightened, rational and free society (Ashley, 1992). The ideal modern world that he pictures and seeks to attain is very similar to Marx’s classless, borderless society where people utilize their capacities to the fullest but their ways to attain it are different; one being evolutionary, the other revolutionary.

Habermas's major contribution is the development of a comprehensive theory of societal evolution and modernization focusing on the difference between communicative rationality on one hand and strategic/instrumental rationality on the other. Habermas believes communicative competence has developed through the course of evolution, but in contemporary society it is suppressed or weakened by the way in which major domains of social life, such as the market, the state, and organizations, have been given over to or taken over by strategic/instrumental rationality, so that the logic of the system supplants that of the lifeworld. He believes that communication of people is the main key to the proper completion of the “project of modernity” (Ashley, 1992).

2.5.4 Huntington and the Clash of Civilizations

Samuel Huntington’s article *The Clash of Civilizations* (1993) was given wide notice after the 9/11 incident because of his suggestion that the Western world would clash with the Islamic world in a dispute between the West and the rest. He says that “a civilization is a cultural entity” (Huntington, 1993: 22). “It is far more meaningful now to group countries not in terms of their political or economic systems....but rather in terms of their culture and civilization,” he asserts and that a clash between the modern western world and the traditional “other” world is bound to clash (Huntington, 1993: 22). He divides the world into nine civilizations, Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and African. He sees cultural differences between civilizations as real, basic and fundamental differences that would divide them in a smaller global world where identities matter and will inevitably clash them.

2.5.5 Fukuyama and the End of History

Francis Fukuyama in his End of History thesis claims that with the end of the Cold War, history has ended because the class distinctions and frictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has come to an end, not with communism and one's overthrow by another but the peaceful coexistence of the two classes. "What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War.....but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government" (Fukuyama, 1989: 1) He shows the predominance of democracies after the Cold War as the evidence for his claim, since he claims that democracy is the peaceful coexistence of the two classes. His idea of End of History is like an anti-thesis of Marxian ideas, where the end of friction between two classes is not ended by communism but liberalism. Therefore, he recommends a diffusion of Western culture to other parts of the world which he claims to be democratic, modern and civilized, and thus modernity, democracy will be diffused overall (Fukuyama, 1992).

2.6 CONCLUSION

Although this review is focusing on what seems to be the most fundamental, most clear and most useful theories of modernity, the literature is still complex, diverse and contradictory. However, upon the selected literature about ideas on modernity, the characteristics of a modern society agreed upon by the theories were *capitalism, science and technology, rise democratic values*; and *rise of state* together with rise of democratic values, *rationality* and *secularization* as a result of scientific thinking, *bureaucracy* as

rationality for efficiency in organizations and political entities, and *division of labor* and *urbanization* coming about with and as a result of capitalism. Some thinkers see modernity as an epoch, some see it as an attitude; some see it as a project to be completed others as a phenomenon restricting the individual. Therefore, it is not the characteristics but how the thinkers perceive these characteristics that set the difference of tone in their approach. Upon all these attributes, I will examine the selected cases, search for the roots of modernity and see if they fit the descriptions.

CHAPTER 3

ANCIENT GREECE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

“Surely the place that ‘the Greek miracle’ holds in our modern western world results from the need of every civilization or human group to choose its origins, to invent forefathers of whom it can be proud” (Braudel, 2001: 259).

The first case of this thesis traces the roots of modernity all the way back to Ancient Greece, a period which the modern western world is proud to name as its forefathers as Braudel also suggests. This eagerness and desire to see the Ancient Greece as a starting point or the root of the modern world is not without significant reason. Economic development, direct democracy and scientific and philosophical advancements in the Ancient Greek world place a fascinating picture of history to the modern world.

Yet, Ancient Greece is rather a broad terminology that embodies 1600 years and six periods. This chapter will dwell on two periods among them, the Classical Age between 480 B.C. and 404 B.C. which is the peak of the Ancient Greek civilization, and the period before it that set the stage for the development, the Archaic Age between 630 B.C. and 480 B.C. Before the Archaic Age, there was the Mycenaean Civilization that lived in Greece between 1600 B.C. and 1100 B.C. and marked history with the Trojan

Wars, the Dark Period between 1100 B.C. and 800 B.C. from which almost no trace survived, and the Orientalizing Period between 730 B.C. and 630 B.C. when the Greeks were influenced by the Eastern civilizations. After the Classical Greek Age ended with the fall of Athens in the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C., the Greek civilization entered the Hellenistic Age in 356 B.C. under the influence and hegemony of Macedonia which ended with 146 B.C. when Greece began to be conquered by Rome (Freeman, 1996; Orrieux and Pantel, 1999).

I will first talk about the economic, scientific and political developments during the Archaic Period which set the stage for the Classical Greece which is peak of Ancient Greek civilization. I will especially focus on two city-states during this period, Miletus and Athens. Miletus is the most developed city-state of the Archaic Period and Athens is the most developed city-state of the Classical Period, therefore, these two settlements deserve attention which is supported by the availability of information on these two important ancient settlements. I will briefly mention the importance of the Persian War between Persia and Greek city-states and then move forward to the Classical Period. I will focus on the economic, scientific and political developments of the Golden Age of Athens during this period, and then end with the Peloponnesian War between the city-states of Classical Greece.

3.2 ARCHAIC AGE

3.2.1 Ionian Settlements on Western Coast of Turkey: Rise of Miletus

After the Ancient Greek civilization emerged from the Dark Age following the fall of the Mycenaean civilization, the first Greek settlements that began to develop were the

Ionians on the Western coasts of the Asia Minor within modern Turkey's territories in the 800s B.C. (Braudel, 2001; Freeman, 1996). Arrival of literacy to the Ionian polis, i.e. city-state, was during the 750s B.C. The first uses of the alphabet, as excavated by archeologists, are found to be of economic use, such as the marking of possessions with name, recording of commercial transactions and lists of goods (Freeman, 1996: 86). *The Illiad* and *the Odyssey* are among the first literature pieces to be written by the Greeks in the 700s B.C. (Freeman, 1996: 87).

The most important Ionian polis during the peak of the Ionian civilization was Miletus, a prosperous sea port and trade center, "the first bourgeois civilization in the West" (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000:8). Ancient Greeks had two major veins of trade routes, one coming from Italy and the other from East. The grain, when imported from Sicily was distributed in Corinth, and when imported from East following the Black Sea was distributed in Miletus (Braudel, 2001: 260-277). Another important substance of trade for Miletus was timber which the Greeks constantly used for their ships. Rather expensive materials like copper, olive, olive oil and wine were exported from the Ionian settlements of Asia Minor to East and Italy (Braudel, 2001: 260-277). Meanwhile, in the Greek lands, the tradition of tyranny as a political system began with Cyselus becoming tyrant in Corinth in 657, tyrannies continued to be a frequently seen political system of the Ionian and the mainland Greeks for the next hundred years (Freeman, 1996: 590).

Money was invented in Lydia in 685 B.C. and was officially adopted by the Ionians in 620s B.C. The Greeks used silver coins with official stamps. At first the coins were worth their own value as objects, but then they slowly began to adopt the nature of

money that embodies value because of their official state as the representative of value in that city-state (Braudel, 2001: 260-277).

Ebenstein and Ebenstein (2000: 8) assert that “6th century B.C. Ionian thought marks the beginning of Western Science”. The first university known was the Milesian school founded by Thales, Anaximander and his pupil Anaximenes. Only approximations can be mentioned about their birth and death dates since they did not leave any written documents, but it is known that during the 585 B.C. eclipse of the Sun which Thales had guessed beforehand, the Milesian school existed. Thales and Anaximander are known to be born during the 600s B.C. Thales was a mathematician who found many rules of geometry, dealt with astronomy and philosophy. Anaximander and Anaximenes are likewise mathematicians and astronomers. “The literary fate of these early giants of Greek science and philosophy illustrates....why pre-Socratic thought is sometimes falsely seen as merely a prelude to Plato and Aristotle rather than as the greatest period of Greek originality, compared with which Plato and Aristotle mark the beginning of the end, rather than the peak, of Greek creative genius” (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000:8). Although Plato, Aristotle and through their works, Socrates, are better known today because of their lasting literature, the scientific value of the works of the Milesian scientists are no less, if not more, important. The following generation, Pythagoras of Samos born in 582 B.C., mathematician who is famous for his axiom of triangles and claimed by some as the first person to claim earth is a sphere and Heraclitus of Ephesus who is the founder of the idea of dialectics, are also very important in terms of science and philosophy. Heraclitus also valued observation which he expressed by saying, “all can be learnt by seeing and hearing, this I value highest”

(Freeman, 1996: 142). The word phil-o-sophy has a Greek origin meaning love of knowledge, and the philosophers were lovers and developers of any knowledge including physical and social sciences or philosophy in the way that we understand it today without any specialization—all the scientists of Ancient Greece were also philosophers. Aside from all these, we can cite the greatest scientific heritage of these pre-Socratic thinkers as the secular rational search for understanding nature without relating it to any god or mystic power but to a causal relationship observed by experimenting with nature, a modern and rational empirical positivism (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000).

3.2.2 Rise of Athens in the Archaic Age

3.2.2.1 Leadership of Solon

Athens went back and forth between aristocracy and tyranny in the Archaic Age and witnessed several reforms before she became ripe for direct democracy in the Classical Age. In the aristocracy, there were several archons, i.e. magistrates, who were responsible for the administration of the polis. In 594, Solon became the main archon and established several reforms in government and law (Freeman, 1996: 125-140).

Salon said that he was trying to rule guided by dike, i.e. justice. He first abolished the concept of debt slavery. The debt slavery was a practice which meant that if a person could not pay his debt to another person, he became that person's slave as a punishment. By abolishing this practice, no citizen of Athens would be the slave of another's. He also opened up citizenship to metics, i.e. foreign settlers of Athens, who usually dealt with trade. Salon was aiming for the ease of trade (Freeman, 1996: 125-140).

Athens became a center for the distribution of grain that came from the Black Sea during the Archaic Age, along with Corinth and Miletus (Braudel, 2001: 260-277). Athens lacked self-sufficiency on grain and it was the item that was most needed and imported by the city-state. Because of this high importance of grain for the city because of its lack, Solon forbade the export of grain. In 570s B.C., Athens was the center of pottery making, both the industry and the trade of pottery was advanced. Athens adopted her own coin with her official stamp in 575 B.C., during the leadership of Solon. The coins were silver and extracted from the mines of Laurium (Freeman, 1996: 125-140).

Solon opened up government to a wider class of citizens. He gave the right to rule to a Council of four hundred named Ekklesia with nine archons having the uppermost authority. Solon divided the citizens of Athens into four classes based on land yields and determined their military and political representation accordingly. The richest class was those whose owned land yielding 500 or more measures of grain, oil or wine, the next yielding 300, next 200 and finally those owning none or very small. The richest two classes, who were also wealthy enough to acquire their own horse in case of war and therefore were obliged to serve as cavalymen in case of war, had the right of participation in the assembly. The poorest two classes of the city-state, however, had the right to vote (Freeman, 1996: 125-140).

3.2.2.2 Leadership of Cleisthenes

Peisistratid, who was a military leader at first, became the tyrant of Athens in 546 B.C. After him, his sons Hippias and Hipparchus became tyrants. In 514 B.C. Hipparchus was assassinated, and in 510 B.C., Cleisthenes and his supporters overthrew Hippias with the

help of Sparta. He first reestablished the Council and abolished Salon's four classes, changing them with ten equal tribes of Athens, where each tribe would nominate some people and certain people among them would be elected. He then formed the Boule, a council composed of forty people, who would do the actual governing and execution of the city-state, giving the decisions, elected by the Council of four hundred, Eklesia. He also founded the strategos (thus the word strategy) in 501 B.C., ten military leaders of the city-state, also elected by Eklesia, who would be the most important leaders of Athens (Freeman, 1996: 150-176).

3.2.2.3 Persian Wars

Persia attacked the Ionian settlements in the Asia Minor and the Ionians, led by Miletus, revolted against the Persian attacks in 494 B.C. Athens and Eritria, the city-states of mainland Greece of Ionian origin, sent some troops for help to the Ionians but the Ionians were defeated by the Persians. Persia then went on to attack the mainland Greece including Athens and Sparta, with the support of the overthrown tyrant Hippias in 490 B.C. The forces of city-states of the mainland Greece joined together to defeat Persia in the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. The myth is that a soldier of Athens was sent to announce to victory and he ran from Marathon to Athens without stop, and therefore the contests are called marathon. Persians continued their attacks, especially on Athens, during the 480s B.C. but were defeated every time. We owe the details of the Persian Wars to the historian Herodotus, born in Halicarnassus or with the modern Turkish name of Bodrum in 480 B.C. (Freeman, 1996: 150-176; Braudel, 2001).

3.3 CLASSICAL AGE

3.3.1 Delian League

Themistocles, who was the main strategos, or the military leader of Athens, proposed the formation of a state navy of Athens with the surplus of Laurion silver mine which was usually distributed among the citizens to strengthen defense towards Persia in 482 B.C. and the Athenian navy was formed (Freeman, 1996: 137). In 480 B.C., the practice of ostracism was established in Athens. Ostracism was the exile of citizens who are thought to have committed crimes against state by the vote of the Eklesia, and the votes were written on pieces of stone called ostraka, thus the name ostracism (Braudel, 2001; Freeman, 1996: 137). In 477 B.C. Athens formed the Delian League with the Ionian origin city-states that emerged as an alliance against the Persian threat. The treasure of the league was kept in the island of Delos, which gave the league its name. When the island of Naxos wanted to leave the league in 470 B.C., the island was forced to come back by Athenian stratagos Cimon and lost its independence to Athens. This was the first time that the constitution of the league was broken, but not the last. Athens also seized the gold mines of the Thasos island when it wanted to get out of the league in 463 and exploited the timbers in Eion in the 460s B.C. (Freeman, 1996: 130-140).

3.3.2 Athenian Relations with Sparta

In 464 B.C., there was a major earthquake in Sparta. The earthquake stricken economy took another blow when the helot slaves revolted the same year. The helot slaves were used in agriculture and were usually Spartans and Greeks who were slaves because of debt, a practice which was abolished in Athens as mentioned in the previous sections.

The slaves in Athens were chattel slaves, non-Greeks taken as war captives or bought who worked in houses as servants. Athens forces led by Cimon came to Sparta for help of ending the revolt but were sent back. Sparta probably feared that the Athens forces would help the slaves. This was considered a disgrace by Athenians and relations were severed with Sparta (Freeman, 1996: 130-140; O'Neil, 1995).

Sparta was different from Athens in many aspects. Ethnically Sparta was Dorian and as Athens and the Delian League acquired more strength and wealth, Sparta formed the Peloponnesian League with other Dorian city-states. Ionians and Dorians also spoke different dialects of Greek. Sparta remained to be land based as Athens became more involved with trade and industry. Sparta was oligarchic all through the Classical Age. Sparta was in fact very similar to the ideal Republic of Plato. Young boys were taken from their families at the age of seven to be trained as officials and soldiers and lived and got educated together until the age of twenty when they were ready for the position they were given. Men were not allowed to live with their wives until they became thirty years old if they got married before that age. This arrangement is very similar to the one Plato pictures in his *Republic*. Plato who admired the strength of Sparta probably thought that the failure of Athens in the Peloponnesian War was her difference from Sparta (Freeman, 1996: 130-140; Paine, 2002).

3.3.3 Age of Pericles: The Golden Age of Athens

In 461 B.C., a democratic revolution was made in Athens by Ephialtes and Pericles. Ephialtes died during the civil strife and Pericles became the main strategos who would serve as the leader of Athens through her golden age by getting elected every year. In

451 B.C., he offered the citizenship law that restricted metics and those with metic parents to be named as citizen. Therefore in Athenian democracy, only male citizens had the right to speak in the council “Ekklesia”; metics, slaves, and women were excluded. Thus, in 431 B.C., among 315 thousand people, only 40 thousand men had the right to participate in the democratic procedures (Braudel, 2002). The city paid for jury duty and committee duty to poor citizens so that they could take part in the system. He took some other social measures for protecting the poor citizens, including public assistance to find work or land for the poor or orphan citizens (O’Neil, 1995).

The wool industry and the metallurgy industry were becoming middle scale in the 460s and 450s B.C. High technology dyeing techniques were found and the artisans became a stronger class in the city-state, supporting the direct democracy. There was high division of labor within the market among different industries as well as within the industries with each artisan specializing in a different stage of the industrial work; for example working on wool or a shoe was divided into different stages, specialized by different artisans (Toutain, 1996: 65-77). The concept of division of labor was so inherent that Plato, in his *Republic* talks about how each artisan should only do a single work in his ideal utopist Republic (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000; Toutain, 1996). Even traders were specialized in doing business on a certain good (Toutain, 1996: 65-77).

Covered markets were firmly established in Athens with their own magistrates to resolve any problem that might occur where any exchange of goods is easy and safe. Bankers emerged in Athens during the Golden Age for the first time in world history. Bankers lent money, helped clients to draw up contracts with third parties, opened accounts and issued letters of credit. The trade relations were contractual and

institutionalized with customs duty and maritime laws. Bill of exchange and varieties of contracts were common practice. Commerce, financial innovations, market exchange, gold and silver mines and taxes taken from states under the hegemony of Athens led to a significant capital accumulation in Athens (Toutain, 1996: 65-77). “This manipulation and transmission of movable wealth, this hiring out of money....are surely nothing else than the first historical manifestations of capitalism” (Toutain, 1996: 75).

In 448 B.C., the Delian League’s treasury was moved from Delos to Athens and the reason was stated as security concerns. Yet, Athens was strongly encouraging democracy in the League, getting tax from the citizens of the members of League and was sometimes signing the treaties in the name of the league as Athens, which distorted the equality within the League (Braudel, 2001; Freeman, 1996).

Democritus, who lived during the Golden Age of Athens born around 450s B.C., is among those whom we can cite among the first empiricist scientist-philosophers for his belief that observation and experimenting is central to knowledge. He was the first scientist to claim that objects were made up of indivisible particles which he called atoms (Braudel, 2001).

Sophists who traveled in Greece and taught their science and philosophy around 450-350 B.C. were empirical scientists and first founders of the idea of social contract, the most known figure being Protagoras, since Plato included him in his works, to talk about his anti-sophist ideas. Socrates (469-399 B.C), who was executed by the tight regime because of his unorthodox independent thoughts after the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War, is still influential with his method of teaching and his ideas like “Unexamined life is not worth living” although he did not leave any written documents

and was only reflected through the works of his pupils Plato and Xenophanes (Braudel, 2001).

Plato (427-347 B.C.), founder of the Athenian university Academy, was a mathematician and an idealist philosopher. His idealist philosophy rejected empiricism. He was mainly interested in ideas as he explained in his allegory of the cave and therefore despised engineers for using pure and immaterial science for real life and descending it from its high beauty. He also did not believe in experiments but revelations. However, scientific knowledge was used in Athens frequently for technology, engineering and daily life like ship building, architecture, and weather forecast. “Athens love innovation,” was a sentence frequently used by the Corinthians in the *History of the Peloponnesian War*. His political ideas in the Republic reflect the defeat of the Peloponnesian War since his ideal republic is similar to Sparta (Braudel, 2001; Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000). Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) was a pupil of Plato, and was the founder of the University Lyceum in Athens. Aristotle was a philosopher who made discoveries in diverse fields of mathematics, physics, medicine, biology and zoology. During the Golden Age of Islam, he was named as the first master, being the Greek most widely known and respected in that era. Aristotle is also the first philosopher to dwell on active citizenship and an organic bond within a society which can be interpreted as civil society (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000).

3.4 PELOPONNESIAN WAR

After the defeat of the Persian threat, Athens and Sparta signed a thirty years peace agreement in 446 B.C. to be ended by the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C. The war

ended in 404 B.C. with the defeat of Athens, and was documented by the Athenian general Thucydides who served for the Athenian army as stratagos. The immediate causes of the war were three Athenian actions; her siege of Potidaea, her helping Corcyra to defend herself against Corinth which colonized her, and her decree to citizens restricting trade with Megara in order to punish the city-state. Potidaea was a former Corinthian colony, but in 432 B.C. Athens invaded her; she was a timber and gold source and therefore valuable piece of land. Corinth was the aggressor to Corcyra and Athens was her ally. Megara was angry because Athenian markets were closed to her and sought help from Corinth. Corinth tried to convince Peloponnesian League led by Sparta into a war with Athens. However, Thucydides verbalizes his true belief about the war at the very beginning of the book, “I believe the truest reason for quarrel, though least evident in what was said at the times, was the growth of Athenian power which put fear into Lacedaemonians [Peloponnesians] and compelled them into war” (Thucydides, 1993: 15).

In addition to power, Thucydides also emphasizes the economic differences between Sparta and Athens, and how Athens’ economic and scientific and technological superiority differ her from the Peloponnesians and how this is perceived as a threat by them. “Athens love innovation, quick to invent a plan and carry out, you never invent anything....Your customs are old fashioned, new ways prevail over old in politics and technology,” said the representatives of Corinth in the *History of the Peloponnesian War* and warned the Spartans about the Athenian danger to encourage them to attack (Thucydides, 1993: 20). Thucydides values justice and stability in a city-state above all and believes these are the virtues to be found in a peaceful and developed city-state. The

first half of the war known as the Archidamian War after the Spartan king that begun with Sparta's attack for Athen's not obeying Sparta's mandate for the three reasons cited above ends with Peace of Nicias in 421 B.C. In 430 B.C., Athens is struck by a disastrous plague. Pericle's funeral speech for soldiers who died in war and died in plague in the *History of the Peloponnesian War* is famous for its effective appraisal of their city-state for its democracy, culture, virtues of innovativeness and courage. The Peace of Nicias ends in 414 B.C. when Syracuse attacks Athens' ally and trade partner Sicily and Athens helps Sicily with thoughts of adding this rich city to the league. Athens is defeated by Syracuse in the Sicilian Expedition and is finally defeated in 404 B.C. in Hellespont by the Spartan navy built by the help of the gold of Persians (Thucydides, 1993).

Classical Greece is known for its military advancement as documented by the *History of the Peloponnesian War*. According to Hanson (1999) this advancement is due to their advanced technology, ingenuity and innovation, discipline, quick and decisive battling, their systemic application of capital into war making, dominance of infantry and the participation of civilians into wars.

3.5 CONCLUSION

As I tried to explain and document in the previous sections, Classical Greece was an immensely modern society 2500 years ago, with its emergence of capitalism and market economy, occupational specializations, advancement in physical sciences, mathematics, philosophy, politics, art and technology in warfare, architecture and navy, its three universities and many philosophers, its direct democracy and right of speech. "They

surely were the absolute moderns of their day,” affirm Ebenstein and Ebenstein (2000: 8) and yet their modernity is exemplary to 20th century modernity as well as to Renaissance Italy and to the Golden Age of Islam.

CHAPTER 4

THE GOLDEN AGE OF ISLAM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

“Seek learning, though it be in China” Prophet Mohammad.

The second case of this thesis is outside the realm of the Western world, however, when closely examined one indeed in close relationship with it, the Golden Age of Islam. The Islamic Empire during the Abbasid Caliphate was an era of supreme economic and cultural florescence that affected the forthcoming Renaissance Era through peaceful and violent ways of interaction like trade and the crusades. Scholars assert “the splendid apogee” of the Islamic World to begin in the midst of 8th century which is the beginning of the Abbasid Caliphate and the end of 12th century, when the Caliphate became a total puppet for foreign regimes (Braudel, 1993). Yet, to give a precise date of start and finish on which most scholars would agree, it would be to the point to take from the prosperous reign of the 5th Abbasid Caliph Al-Rashid beginning in 789 and end it with the 3rd Crusade in 1188 (Egger, 2004; Lewis, 2002). According to Braudel (1993: 73) “for four or five centuries, Islam was the most brilliant civilization in the Old World” which Egger (2004) agrees by calling the era Pax Islamica.

This chapter will begin with the rise of the Islamic Empire by touching upon the era of Prophet Mohammad, the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs and the Umayyad

Caliphate. Then, I will pass to the Abbasid Caliphate and talk about how and why this Pax Islamica came about, what was modern and developed about it and briefly touch upon its connections with the Renaissance Italy.

4.2 BEGINNING OF ISLAM

4.2.1 Prophet Mohammad and the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs

Prophet Mohammad was born in 571 in the trading town of Mecca, raised by his merchant uncle after his death and married with a merchant widow older than him, following the same occupation with his uncle and his wife. After he talked about revelations from God by His Angel and faced violent reactions from his fellow citizens, he and his fellow Believers of Islam fled to Medina in 622. This important revolutionary flee that converted Mohammad from a heretic into a leader in Medina is called Hijra and marks the beginning of the Islamic Calendar. After three major wars of the Muslims with Meccans, Mecca was conquered by the Muslims in 630s and Mohammad died in 632 without a son to designate after him (Egger, 2004; Lewis, 2002).

After his death, four individuals served as his Caliph or his deputy as the leader of the Muslim Umma or the Muslim people; Abu Bekir, Omar, Othman and Ali, the period called the Era of the Rightly Guided Caliphs. First Abu Bekir, the father in law of Mohammad, and then Omar served as powerful leaders enabling political unity and conquering land including the whole Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Mesopotamia, Damascus, Alexandria, Syria and Egypt. When Omar was wounded in 644, he designated a council to elect the next caliph to avoid a civil strife. The Council selected Othman, yet his incompetence as a leader is claimed to have triggered the civil tensions, and a civil war

began between the authority and the nomad Muslims in Egypt seeking independency, resulting with the murder of Othman in 656. Mohammad's cousin and son in law Ali became the new Caliph, yet he was opposed by a triumvirate of Aisha, Mohammad's widow, and Talha and Zubeyr who wanted to be Caliph themselves. This triumvirate, who might also have a role in the murder of Othman, led a civil war against Ali and were defeated the same year Ali began to reign. Afterwards, Muawiya, the governor of Syria and member of the Umayyad family which Othman was also a member of, blamed Ali for the death of Othman and attacked him in 657, ending with a truce. When Ali was murdered in 661, Ali's son Hasan backed away to let the Caliphate be taken by Muawiya and the Umayyad Dynasty (Egger, 2004; Lewis, 2002).

4.2.2 Umayyad Dynasty

Muawiya conquered parts of Central Asia and North Africa. He was replaced by his son Yazid, who massacred Ali's son Huseyin and his relatives in 680 in the battle of Karbala. Ali's murder and his son's murder are very important events in the course of Muslim history since these events caused the Muslims to be divided into two sects; Sunnis, who follow the caliphates, and the Shiites, coming from the phrase "Shi'atu Ali" meaning the party of Ali, who defend the right of Ali's family's caliphate and sacredness, and these two events triggering conflicts between these two sects. Both the Umayyad and the Abbasid Dynasties were highly affected from these conflicts. The continuous internal conflict reached its peak in 750 when Ibrahim and his Brother Abu Al-Abbas' group, supported by an extremist Shiite group of Hashimites won the battle against the last Umayyad Caliph Marwan II in Khurasan (Egger, 2004; Lewis, 2002).

The civil strife was not only a result of the conflict between sects but also a result of the discontent from the Umayyad Reign as well as the friction between Arabs. Arabs were divided into large tribes and there was usually tribal friction within the society. In addition, although the dynasty was growing geographically into Central Asia and North Africa, the Arabs were the superior nation against non-Arab Muslims. These discontents increased the support against the Umayyad Reign. However, Umayyad Reign also helped the forthcoming prosperous Empire by centralizing the state and introducing Islamic coin in 696 (Egger, 2004; Endress, 1988).

4.3 ABBASIC DYNASTY

4.3.1 Earlier Days

Abbasid Abu Al-Abbas acquired the title al-Saffah and became first Caliph of the Abbasid Reign. “The replacement of the Umayyads by the Abbasids....was a revolution in the history of Islam, as important a turning point as the French and Russian revolutions in the history of the West”(Lewis, 2002: 84). The Abbasid Caliphate came to power because of the discontent that aroused by Umayyads’ favoring the Arab Sunnis against people from different nationalities and different sects. Therefore Abbasids tried to disregard favoring of nations and sects by suppressing the extremist Shiite wing that helped them to come to power. The elimination included persecution of some extremist leaders, reflected in the title of the first Caliph Al-Saffah meaning “blood-shedder”. Still, Abbasids were welcomed by most Muslims because of this equity policy (Egger, 2004: 86).

In 751, Abbasids won the Battle of Talas against the Chinese. It is known that the Chinese had been using paper since the 2nd century B.C., therefore, it is thought that the Islamic Empire learned the making of paper through the war prisoners of Talas since it was the 9th century when usage of paper and paper industry was widespread in the Islamic Empire. The first paper factory of the Empire was found in Baghdad in 800. It became an important industry in most of the central cities of the Empire like Samarqand, Damascus and Cairo, and industry which the state had its monopoly on. After regularization of the usage of paper, shops in the bazaars began to sell books as luxurious items. Record keeping on paper in commerce, banking and state administration in the Islamic Empire can also be traced back to the beginning of the 9th century (Lewis, 2002: 93-94).

While the Abbasid Caliphate was developing in the Middle East, Abd Al-Raman established the Spanish Umayyad Dynasty of Andalus in 756 by seizing Cordoba. Spanish Umayyad Dynasty would flourish an Islamic Empire in Europe and would be a contemporary with the Golden Age of Islam in the Middle East until 1031 (Lewis, 2002: 125-141).

The second Caliph Al-Mansur founded the city of Baghdad in 762 and moved the capital from Khurasan to Baghdad. Baghdad would be the center of the glory days of the Islamic civilization with its central location in Mesopotamia, in the intersection of trade routes (Lewis, 2002: 94; Egger, 2004: 87). According to Egger (2004: 87), with half a million population at the beginning of the 9th century, Baghdad “was certainly one of the two or three greatest cities in the world”. Both Baghdad and the towns founded by the later caliphs like Samara and Cairo had a certain organization within them. The centers

of the city were round, with the major mosque at the center of the city and the closed market called bazaar right next to it in the center of the city. Warehouses and trading centers for long distance trade and wholesale were in the periphery, at the outskirts of the city. Within the bazaar, the arrangement of the shops was based on prestige of the items sold, with the most prestigious items near the main door of the mosque. The prestigious items of the time like leather, books and perfume were near the main door, and next to these would be the money changers called sarraf, who also served as bankers. The non-Muslim money-changers' shops' doors did not face the mosque, yet, since in some sects dealing with interest in business and trade, if it is not usury, was not forbidden, some of these money changers were Muslim. Money was controlled by the state, coins examined by official examiners and money changers and traders in the bazaar were controlled by an official of the bazaar. In the main street of the bazaar, essential household items were located (Endress, 198: 84-92). These bazaars also had restaurants and coffee shops comparable to a modern shopping center with very similar functions (Endress, 1988: 84-92; Robinson, 1996: 216-230).

Administration was expanded and transformed during Al-Mansur's reign. Ministries or divans of several areas like Finance, Military, Posts, Intelligence, etc. were led by the Wazir as a prime minister. Regional administrators called Amirs were to report to divans (Lewis, 2002: 98-100). Industries were both regulated and encouraged by the state. State had monopoly on some critical industries like weapons and later on paper. Money was also regulated by the state, coins examined by official examiners and money chargers were examined by the officials in the bazaars (Endress, 1988: 84-92).



Map 4.1: Abbasid Caliphate during Harun Al-Rashid's Reign (Maps of the Middle East, 2006).

4.3.2 The Golden Age

Before the Golden Age, the Empire had already reached its widest borders, illustrated in the map above. The fourth caliph Al-Rashid (reigned between 789 and 809) and the subsequent Caliphs reigning after him, Al-Mamun (reigned between 813 and 833, who had to fight with his brother before becoming Caliph), Al-Mutasim (reigned between 833 and 842) and Al-Wathiq (reigned between 842 and 847) were the strongest Caliphs who accelerated and maintained development in economic, intellectual and political areas during their reign. The forthcoming Caliphs were less successful in maintaining political unity within the Empire among different nations and sects, an inability which

would eventually turn the Caliphate into a puppet government in the hands of other powers (Egger, 2004; Lewis, 2002).

The rivers of Indus, Tigris, Euphrates and Nile as well as other smaller rivers within the Empire maintained fertile lands that grew varieties of products like cotton, wheat, sugar cane and all kinds of fruits. The Islamic Empire was very advanced in irrigation techniques, underground canals and basins to water their fields. Towards the middle of the 9th century when some river channels in Iraq shifted, leaving irrigation works without access to water and leaving some of them with too much water, it was a major blow to agriculture, and thousands of slaves were brought from Africa to change and further develop the irrigation techniques and the canals (Egger, 2004: 89-93).

The land was subject to political administration. When the Empire acquired any land, she took taxes from the owner if the land was not the prior state's land. If the owner was Muslim, she took tax of tithe called ushr; if the owner was non-Muslim, she took a greater amount of tithe called jizya. The Empire did not interfere with the internal religious or civil administration of the conquered land. Because of they were allowed to practice their religion freely and had equal property and working rights with Muslims except the difference of taxes, which was also administered more justly by Islamic reign, most Jews were known to prefer Islamic administration to their previous Byzantine administration in the places that used to be Byzantine land (Lewis, 2002: 101-102).

Agriculture supplied raw materials for manufacture. Textile industry was one of the most developed and important industries. Egyptian cottons and linens were famous as well as fabrics from Mosul and Demascus known as muslin and damask (Egger, 2004). The dying of these textiles was also advanced. Carpets of the Islam world were also very

famous. Glass making was a very advanced industry in Baghdad with its artistic and technical sophistication (Egger, 2004: 104-111). Metal industry and pottery making were also very advanced and sought for as well as perfume and soap making (Braudel, 1993: 71-75).

These raw materials and manufactured goods would then become part of the international trade. Most developed cities of the Islamic World in its Golden Age lay on trade roads that connected Mediterranean to India and China, like Baghdad, Samara, Basra, Damascus, Cairo, Tunis, Alexandria and Antioch (Braudel, 1993; Lewis, 2002). Luxurious goods like porcelain, silk, spice, perfume and precious stones as well as region's important needs like timber and tin were imported from India and China with the gold and silver extracted from the mines in Africa. These goods also passed from these centers to be imported to the Mediterranean and Europe, mostly by maritime trade through the Persian Gulf, and sometimes by caravans made of camels. Textiles, carpets, iron, steel, flour and fruits were exported from the Islamic World to the Mediterranean and Europe (Braudel, 1993; Egger, 2004). According to Braudel (1993: 75) "this establishment of market economy, money economy, and a progressive commercialization of agricultural goods" was a crucial element of the Islamic World "where huge fortunes were made under a capitalistic trade system, well ahead of its time, that extended as far as China and India, Persian gulf, Ethiopia, Red Sea and Andalusia" (1993: 71). Hundreds of ships took off from every city every day carrying thousands of goods in the Islamic World. Trade was also backed up by the religion; there were several Hadiths, meaning sayings of the Prophet where he praises a righteous merchant. After all, his uncle, his wife and most probably he himself was a merchant,

too. Trade associations and guilds were commonly found during the Golden Age (Lewis, 2002). Islamic State took tax and customs duty from the international trade (Egger, 2004).

Translation projects of the Ancient Greek texts were started during Al-Rashid's reign (789-809) by the translation of some texts of Hippocrates and Galen, but it was expanded and systemized by the next Caliph Al-Mamun. Al-Mamun became the Caliph after fighting with his brother over Caliphate for four years. He opened an academy of translation and science with a library in Baghdad named Bayt-ul Hikma meaning House of Wisdom. Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen and many other Ancient Greek scientists, mathematicians and physicians as well as Syrian, Hindu and Chinese mathematicians, scientists and physicians were translated into Arabic. Al-Khwarizmi (780-850) was the first among the long line of scientist/philosopher Islamic intellectuals whose book containing the word Al-Jabr is the foundation of algebra of today. Al-Khwarizmi solved linear and quadratic equations in this book whose title contained Al-Jabr. Again, the word algorismi he used in another book's title is nothing other than algorithm of today which the Europeans also borrowed (Braudel, 1993: 73; Egger, 2004: 105-110). It was in Golden Age when Arabic numbers which the Arabs partially borrowed from Indians instead of Roman numerals began to be used universally (Lewis, 2002: 94).

By the time of the next Caliph Al-Mutasim, the Islamic army was mostly composed of foreign slave soldiers called Memluk meaning owned. Most of the memluks were Turkish, and despite their slavery, they were actually in a strong and superior position because of their military power and the economic advantages this

brings. When there were riots among Turkish Memluks, Al-Mutasim separated them from rest of the troops and population by founding Samara in 836 and moving the capital here. However, this would not put an end to the strength nor the disobedience of Turks (Egger, 2004).

Al-Kindi (800-873) was born in Mesopotamia and is known as the philosopher of the Arabs. He was fascinated with Aristotle's works and claimed that there was no contradiction between philosophy and revelation of religion since the revelations were metaphysical knowledge (Egger, 2004). Arabic, by the middle of the 9th century was not only the lingua franca in all Middle East and even in parts of Mediterranean, but also became the language of science and philosophy (Braudel, 1993; Egger, 2004).

Golden Age was economically very advanced with the income from agriculture, industry and international trade and the financial developments followed the economical take-off. By the middle of the 9th century, money changers or sarrafs were also bankers and they began to expand by the end of the century into head offices and branches in several different cities (Braudel, 1993; Lewis, 2002). Although most bankers were Jewish, some were Muslim, too, since some sects believed interest does not equate usury that religion bans (Egger, 2004). Bank accounts, cheques and letters of credit allowed the merchants not to feel the danger and burden of carrying large amounts of money, and the system was in safety by the existence of notaries (Braudel, 1993; Spybey, 1992).

After Caliph Al-Wathiq, political unity was no longer possible without intense conflict. The next Caliph Al-Mutawakkil punished a Turkish soldier by seizing his property and was murdered by a group of Turkish soldiers in return in 861. In 868, Turkish administrator of Egypt Ibn Tulun stopped sending taxes to the state and became

autonomous. In 869, the African slaves who were brought for irrigation also revolted. This was so dangerous that commerce of the Persian Gulf had to be directed to the Red Sea. In 892, in order to revive the days of political power in Baghdad, the capital was moved back to Baghdad (Egger, 2004).

Al-Razi (865-932), known as Rhazes in Europe, was born in Iranian city of Ray and was a physician and head of a hospital in Ray. He was one of the most important medical minds who had written medical encyclopedias and his translations of Greek, Syrian and Indian medical works. He was known for his cure against small pox and measles. He was also a modern scientist because he stressed the superiority of reason above all including revelation (Egger, 2004).

Al-Farabi (870-950) was born in Aleppo and grew in Damascus and Baghdad, and was a philosopher of Turkish origin. He was named as the second master, the first being Aristotle, yet he was Neo-Platonist rather than Aristotelian. He also stressed the importance of human reason, yet devoted most of his energy towards figuring out the best ordering of state inspired by the Republic. Al-Farabi's Islamic Empire was in political turmoil just like Plato's Athens. Similar to the Republic, he stressed the importance of intelligence, knowledge, justice and moderation in a ruler (Egger, 2004).

In 936, the Caliph gave a Turkish general responsibility of civil and military administration in a desperate position because of the riots in the army. However, this made the military elites more ambitious for political power and this conflict within the military enabled the Shiite Buwayhids to attack from outside and take the control of the Caliphate (Egger, 2004; Lewis, 2002).

4.4 DOWNFALL OF THE ABBASID DYNASTY: MULTIPLE CALIPHATES

In 932, a Shiite soldier named Ali ibn Buya from Daylam ventured into Fars with his infantrymen. Soon, the family took over the whole Persia and in 945, Baghdad was seized. Ali's brother Ahmad negotiated with the Caliph to take over Baghdad administration. Until 1055 when Turkish Seljuks defeated the Buwayhids and took over Baghdad administration, Buwayhids were successful in maintaining economic and intellectual development especially in Persia, with the Caliph only a figurehead from then on (Egger, 2004).

Two most important scientists of the Golden Age lived in the Buwayhid regime. One of them is Al-Biruni (973-1048) born in Khwarazm who was truly a polymath. He worked on mathematics, medicine, physics, astronomy, chemistry and history. He correctly estimated the radius of the earth and is the translator of Euclid. The other one is Ibn Sina (980-1037) known in Europe as Avicenna born in Bukhara. He was a physician and a philosopher. His books remained as the most influential and most widely used books in medicine throughout the world until the 17th century (Braudel, 1993; Egger, 2004). He was also a philosopher following Al-Farabi's neo-Platonism, while combining thoughts of Plato and Aristotle (Egger, 2004).

On the other hand, another group of Shiites called Fatimids because they claim their descent from the children of Ali and his wife Fatima who was Mohammad's daughter. In 910, Fatimids conquered North Africa and Sicily which was already taken over by a group of Arabs in 878. In 968, they lost Sicily back to Byzantine but in 969, the fourth Caliph of the Fatimids Al-Muizz and his general Jawhar conquered Egypt,

founded Cairo and made it his capital. Jawhar also founded the mosque of Al-Azhar and the academy of Al-Azhar in Cairo. When Fatimids conquered Egypt, they also conquered the trade route passing from the Red Sea. They had intense trade relations with Pisa, Venice, Spain, India and their own land of Sicily. They introduced into Sicily irrigation techniques, new crops, different fruits, rice, paper, Arabic and their science (Egger, 2004). Fatimid reign continued to be a very prosperous one until 1076 when they lost Syria. In 1099, their reign ended with the 1st Crusade (Lewis, 2002).

The most important scientist of the Fatimids was Al-Haytham (975-1039) known as Alhazen in Europe. He worked on geometry, astronomy and optics. His theories on light, mirrors, optics, rainbow and the size of the moon were well-known (Egger, 2004).

When the Abbasid Caliph became a figure in the hands of other powers, Abd Al-Rahman III, who reigned between 921 and 961 as the leader of the Spanish Umayyad Dynasty, assumed the title of Caliph for himself. His reign was a time of prosperity and Arabic was the lingua franca in Spain meanwhile. Spanish Umayyad reign ended in 1031 (Lewis, 2002).

Seljuk Empire leaders Togril and Cagri Beys took over the Abbasid Caliphate in 1055 from Buwayhids. Afterwards, the following sultan Alp Arslan and his wazir Nizam Al-Mulk led the Middle East in prosperity, founded a law school called Nizamiya in Baghdad and defeated Byzantine in 1071. In 1091 during the next sultan Melikshah's reign, Baghdad became the capital of the Seljuk Empire. On the other hand, the first Crusade began in 1096, slowly weakening the Islamic reigns in the Middle East region (Lewis, 2002).

Al-Ghazali (1058-1111) who was known as Algazel in Europe was born in Khorasan and served in the Nizamiya law school appointed by Nizam Al-Mulk himself, where he taught jurisprudence and theology. He defended the superiority of religious revelation against reason (Braudel, 1993; Egger, 2004). Omar Khayyam (1048-1133) who is widely known as a poet, the author of Rubayat, was also a very important mathematician and astronomer. He worked on mathematics, algebra, music and astronomy and he had found the solar year to be 365.24219 days (Braudel, 1993; Egger, 2004). The final scientist/philosopher of the Golden Age was Ibn Rushd (1126-1198), known as Averroes in Europe. He was a judge called qadi, a court physician and a philosopher. He was an advocate of Aristotelianism and defended that revelation and reason were in harmony with each other (Egger, 2004). The Golden Age of Islam was a time when algebra and trigonometry was invented, a period of whose medical knowledge was unrivaled, a period when the radius of the earth was found, new knowledge of astronomy, pharmacy and chemistry was discovered. It was a time of scientific and innovative heyday (Braudel, 1993; Egger, 2004).

4.5 CONCLUSION

Two important issues relating to this thesis can be concluded from the findings about the Golden Age of Islam. First of all, many qualities of the Golden Age of Islam, including its advancement and innovations in economy and science, look intensely modern. All the innovations and knowledge the Golden Age of Islam found or developed, in agriculture, industry, in banking and finance, in administration, in medicine, in mathematics, geometry, algebra, trigonometry, astronomy and optics were important steps towards

modernity not only within the Empire but throughout the World. Although some social traditions in Islam seem against modern thinking, it is doubtful that most of the traditions were practiced during the Golden Age of Islam. For example, veiling is thought to be a practice only for the wives and daughters of the Prophet so that they would not be recognized and would be protected against the attention or the dangers that being related to the Prophet would cause. It is thought that it took centuries until the veil became adopted as a common practice (Egger, 2004: 103).

Finally, it is essential to mention that the period is closely related with the other two cases of this thesis, Classical Greece and Renaissance Italy. Golden Age of Islam was a period when most important works of the Ancient Greece were translated into Arabic. Because the Golden Age of Islam was a period when the Ancient Greek works and ideas were rediscovered and revived and because it was a period of economic and intellectual development, Adam Mez calls the period Islamic Renaissance (Braudel, 1993: 76). The Golden Age of Islam was not only similar to Renaissance in many ways but had many connections with it because of the trade relations between the Islamic World and the Italian city-states like Venice, Genoa and Pisa, the Islamic reigns in Sicily and Spain and the Crusades from Europe to the Islamic World. Much new and important knowledge during the transition from Medieval to the Modern age like the important medical and mathematical knowledge, agricultural knowledge like irrigation techniques, financial knowledge like banking, notaries, cheque and letters of credit and the knowledge of paper, compass and gunpowder was known in the Islamic world before it was known by the Western world (Braudel, 1993; Spybey, 1992; Lewis, 2002, Darling,

2002). The next chapter of Renaissance Italy will further dwell on these interconnections.

CHAPTER 5

RENAISSANCE ITALY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the large division of history into Ancient, Medieval and Modern Periods, most historians and thinkers including Braudel, Marx and Bacon agree that the Renaissance falls into Early Modern and marks the beginning of the modern period (Braudel, 1993; Starn, 2002; Spybey, 1992). The term Renaissance, which means rebirth in French, was a term that French Enlightenment thinkers gave to the advanced period flourished in Northern Italy and affected Europe from 14th century to 16th century. The term rebirth symbolizes two important developments that mark the period, the rebirth of the ancient Greek and Roman works, and the rebirth of critical thinking that gives way to progress after a long time of stagnation in the Medieval Period (Ruggeiero, 2002).

The last case of this thesis, Renaissance Italy, is also the binder case in this thesis because of its connection with Classical Greece and the Golden Age of Islam. These two cases both have their contributions to the Renaissance, Ancient Greece being a major inspiration, guidance and source for the Renaissance together with Ancient Rome, and the Golden Age of Islam being one of the major sources of knowledge of the Renaissance in science and in innovations as well as being the major collector of the Ancient Greek texts through the interaction in trading routes (Braudel, 1992;

Burckhardt, 1995; Darling, 2002; Spybey, 1992). To summarize briefly, an advancement of economy and economic methods with the rise of the bourgeoisie and the urban city-state, deep interest in Ancient Greek and Ancient Roman art, literature, philosophy and scientific knowledge, intertwining relationship between the bourgeoisie, the politician and the artist and new inventions and discoveries shaking old structures of the Medieval Era reveals the nature of the Italian Renaissance.

This chapter will begin with Pre-Renaissance developments that paved the way towards Early Renaissance, including economic developments, population boom and the importance of trade routes. Then I will talk about the Early Renaissance and the development of the major republics Venice and Florence. I will next mention the first humanists Ptolemy, Dante and Marsilio of Padua and the importance of Golden Age of Islam in humanism. Afterwards I will talk about the development of economy before the Plague in 1348 and the downfall of the economy with the Plague and the rise of High Renaissance after the Plague. I will then mention the inventions of printing, gunpowder and compass and the importance of the Medici household of Florence. Moving on with the artists of the High Renaissance, I will end with the Italian Wars that ended the Renaissance.

5.2 PRE-RENAISSANCE DEVELOPMENTS

The first city-state, or commune, to gain economic take off among the northern city-states of Italy was Venice. Venice was the only independent city-state in the Middle Ages whereas the other northern Italy city-states were subject to the Great Roman Empire ruled by the Hohenstaufen Dynasty of Germany until the collapse of the Dynasty

with the death of Frederick II in 1250 (Thompson, 1996). The economic take off was initiated in Venice towards the end of 10th century when Venice began trade of slaves and timber to Muslims. Timber was especially eagerly sought by the Muslims and brought large amounts of gold and silver to Venice in return. Utilizing especially the gold and silver from the trade with the Muslims, Venice used its surplus of trade on both further trade and their shipbuilding industry which would be the back bone of the city-state next to trade during the Renaissance (Braudel, 1993; Spybey, 1992; Thompson, 1996).

Trade of Venice and the Muslim World expanded in the 13th century. Crusades introduced the European World to the luxuries and innovations in the Muslim World, which stimulated demand especially for spice, Muslim drugs and silk, which Venice supplied to Europe and the Mediterranean by her trade with the Muslim World (Braudel, 1993; Marino, 2002). Silk, spices, drugs, ivory, gems, precious stones and dyes coming from China, India or the Islamic Empire were brought from the commercial centers of Baghdad, Cairo or Alexandria to the Italian terminals on the Black Sea and Istanbul, and fetched to Italy by Venetian ships (Marino, 2002).

The 13th century also witnessed a population boom in all Italy. According to official statistics of city-states owing to tax figures of the time, the population of Italy rose from 7.3 million in 1150 to 11 million in 1300 (Hey and Law, 1989: 14). When the northern city-states gained their independency in the middle of the 13th century, Genoa rose as a commercial marine city and as a rival to Venice for being the center of East-West trade (Abu-Lughod, 1989; Marino, 2002). Venice and Genoa engaged in conflicts for the hegemony of the overseas trade beginning from 1257 and ending in 1384 with

Venetian victory and Genoa, with its eastern trade declining 20-25% of Venice's, began to shift to banking and finance (Marino, 2002). "Behind the audacity and power of those who fought kings....stretched a world alive with economic energies, a swarming population, and social change without precedent" (Martines, 1980: 9).

The South of Italy, Kingdom of Naples and Sicily was also controlled by the Holy Roman Empire. In the middle of Italy, between the Empire's lands were the Papal States. Italy witnessed the struggle between Papacy and the Empire all through the Mediaeval Ages. Those states supporting the Papacy were called Guelphic, and tended to be economies of trade and industry, urban and republican, like Florence and Venice. The states supporting the Empire were called Ghibelline, and tended to be aristocratic cities like Milan, Pisa and Siena (Thompson, 1996). Independent Florence Republic was declared in 1250 right after the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II died. When the Ghibelline states of Pisa and Siena defeated the Guelphic Florence in 1266 with the help of the Empire, Papacy called the French for help. France and Florence ended the Ghibelline power in Italy in 1289 (Thompson 1996; Zophy, 1997).

5.3 EARLIER RENAISSANCE

5.3.1 Development of Major Republics: Venice and Florence

After the victory of the Guelphs, the strongest and longest lasting Republics of Northern Italy, Venice and Florence, were fully established. In 1293, constitution of Florence called the Ordinances of Justice was declared, which was a bourgeoisie supporter and an anti-aristocratic set of laws, ensuring the right of the major guilds to hold office in the governing bodies of the city-state (Von Martin, 1998; Thompson, 1996). There were

seven most major guilds, *arti maggiore*, which are guilds of lawyers and notaries, woolen cloth makers, importers of unfinished woolen cloth, silk merchants, bankers, doctors and pharmacists and dealers of fur, from which the nine rulers of the government, the *priori*, were selected. The names of the eligible candidates for the job of *priori* were put in a purse and selected randomly to serve. One of the *priori* was the head called the “Standard Bearer of Justice”. In addition to the nine *priori*, there was also Twelve Good Men, the Council of the People made up of three hundred guildsmen and Council of the Commune made up of two hundred guildsmen from which the *Priori* also gained approval for law and security related matters (Thompson, 1996: 161-2; Zophy, 1997: 60).

Following the Ordinances of Justice, in 1297, Venice Republic was declared. Venice was ruled by the Ducal Council and the Doge who was at the top of the government and held office for life. The Great Council and the General Assembly of three hundred made up the electoral body and gave approval to the decisions of Doge and the Ducal Council (Zophy, 1997: 57). The people who were eligible to serve in these governing bodies were from the strong families of Venice whereas in Florence people eligible for these offices were from the strong guilds of Florence. This was the main difference of the nature of the two republics, one more bourgeoisie and the other more aristocratic in its government, yet both having a small oligarchic body entitled to rule the state (Thompson, 1996: 118).

5.3.2 First Humanists

Rebirth that gave Renaissance its name was above all that of the Ancient Greek and Roman thought. The Renaissance humanists most highly valued the work of Ancient Greek and Roman philosopher/scientists. The Golden Age of Islam's assistance and impact is undeniable in the collecting and translating of Ancient Greek works. As mentioned in the previous chapter in detail, many Ancient Greek thinkers' works were found, collected in libraries and translated into Arabic. Italian humanists greatly utilized these libraries and Arabic translations when they were making their own collections (Braudel, 1993; Lewis, 2002). Books were among the most precious items that came along the trade routes from East to Venice. Besides trade routes, another source of Eastern knowledge was Spain. Andalus Ummayyads left their mark of innovations on Spain which the Spanish transferred to Italian cities through Kingdom of Naples and Sicily under the control of Spain (Braudel, 1993; Spybey, 1992).

Ptolemy (1236-1327), Dante (1265-1321) and Marsilio of Padua (1275-1343) are the most important thinkers of this early stage of the Renaissance marked by population boom and economic development, and are counted among the first and most important humanists that facilitated the interest and search for Ancient Greek and Roman texts. According to Ptolemy who looked up to the Ancient Roman Republic and collected its works, a ruler must be bound by laws, and collective wills and virtues of the people must be taken into consideration in a polity and therefore republic is the best form of governing (Najemy, 2002).

Dante Alighieri of Florence, best known for his masterpiece *The Divine Comedy*, was among the White Guelphs of Florence, who, after the victory of Guelphs in Florence, became a faction that began to oppose the Pope, contrary to the Black

Guelphs, who continued to support the Pope. In his political work *On Monarchy*, he defends secular ideas by differentiating between philosophy and religion and talks about the “need for settlement of disputes between states without war”, while defending a worldwide monarchy bound by institutions (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000: 247). Marsilio of Padua, a physician who collected Ancient texts and looked up to Aristotle, emphasizes in his *Defender of Peace* that “election and consent should be the foundation of all governments” and that “involuntary subjects....are the genus of diseased governments” (Najemy, 2002: 387). When one follows the pattern in the arguments, he can see that the political ideas of the humanists are rather moral instead of purely political or legal because it is the ideal position for the individual rather than rights or duties that are emphasized and the arguments usually reflect Roman Republican or Platonist or Aristotelian flavor. Even the 1293 constitution of the Florence includes an Ancient Roman law maxim “that which touches all must be approved by all” regarding the representation of guilds (Najemy, 2002: 386).

5.3.3 14th Century before the Plague

Thompson says (1996: 159) “Everywhere the revival produced the same characteristics: an emerging class of merchants who formed protective associations called guilds, craftsmen who formed craft guilds of their own, and the formation of rudimentary town governments—communes...” while describing the revival from the Middle Ages into the Renaissance. In the first half of the 14th century, two most prosperous city-states of the Renaissance Italy followed a similar path. Venice was an important commerce port, leader in the industry of ships and glasses and also important in the textile, metal and

soap industry. Meanwhile Florence was the leader in textile industry, with a highly advanced and innovative technology, such as new dying techniques. There was high division of labor especially within the guilds of the textile industry (Appuhn, 2002).

“...Renaissance trade routes relied on Italian techniques of banking, credit, accounting and contracting” (Appuhn, 2002: 271). Financial practices like the bill of exchange, check, insurance, notaries, bookkeeping and accounting, and contracting began to be used quite regularly by the 14th century in the developed cities of Italy. The cities learned about these practices from Muslims while trading with them in the Middle Eastern Peninsula or in Spain and further developed these techniques in time (Appuhn, 2002; Marino, 2002; Spybey, 1992: 60).

Florence also had the two most important banks of Europe, Bardi and Peruizzi (Thompson, 1996; Zophy, 1997). Yet, collapse of the Bardi Bank because of an unreturned loan given to the English King in 1339, and the accumulation of public debts because of the war with Lucca, led to the economic downfall of the city. In 1342, Florence resorted to the path that every economically weakened city followed during the Renaissance, finding a duke to take over the rule of the city. Yet, it took only one year for Florence to figure out this was not the regime they preferred and overthrow the duke. The economic depression reached its bottom score with the Plague of 1348 (Thompson, 1996; Zophy, 1997).



Map 5.1: Italy in 1494 (Percy and Dickenson, 1997).

5.4 HIGH RENAISSANCE

The plague known as the Black Death that spread throughout Europe in 1348 was a total disaster for the Renaissance Era. The population decreased by 35 to 65 per cent in Italy depending on the exact region (Martines, 1980). The eleven million population of Italy in 1300 shrunk to 8 million in 1400 (Hey and Law, 1989: 14).

Petrarch (1304-1374) was among the most famous humanists of Florence that lived through both the rising glory of Early Renaissance and the agony of the Plague. The interest and collection of the Ancient texts before the printing press were at its peak during Petrarch's time. He was lucky enough to have access to the Ancient sources from early on in his life because of his father's job in Papacy in Avignon as notary. A distinguished poet and humanist, Petrarch's interest in Ancient philosophers went as far

as writing letters to Cicero. Petrarch's political thoughts reflected the oligarchic republican Florence, who advocated that a ruler must be like a father to his subjects, treating them equally (Burckhardt, 1995: 6; Najemy, 2002: 391).

In 1378, proletariat working in the textile industry known as Ciompi revolted in Florence, demanding a more popular form of government that would consider their rights. Salvestro de Medici, one of the first members of the famous Medici family owning textile factories and banks, was in the administration as a prior and supported these demands of the Ciompi. The Florence Council decided to select nine priors instead of six, three from major guilds, three from less powerful guilds and three from new guilds that demanded rights to be represented. However, in 1382, this new administration collapsed with civil strife and the three new guilds were repressed (Thompson, 1996: 164; Zophy, 1997: 61).

It did not take long for the major trading and industrial cities of the Italian Renaissance like Venice, Florence and Genoa to rise from their ashes. The guild workforce and the eastern trade networks began to rejuvenate as demand rose once again and the impetus of economy recollected itself (Martines, 1980). The first victory of the Late Renaissance belonged to Venice, finally winning over her rival Genoa militarily in 1381 and consequently winning over her economically by the shrinkage of Genoa trade. Genoa, giving up the leadership of Eastern trade to Venice, developed expertise in the banking sector (Appuhn, 2002).

Florence, on the other hand, was becoming the leader both in the wool industry and in the banking sector. Usually the bourgeoisie families leading in the wool industry with their middle size factories also entered the banking sector as the next step. Bardi

and Peruizzi Banks that collapsed just before the plague, and Albizzi Bank and finally the famous Medici Bank that rose after the Plague can be counted among important examples (Appuhn, 2002; Thompson, 1996; Zophy, 1997).

There were three types of banks in Renaissance Italy; merchant banks, local deposit banks and public banks. Merchant banks issued credit, transferred funds between branches in different cities by bills of exchange, negotiated exchange rates between currencies and developed even more in the 15th century investing in insurance, tax farming and currency speculation and spread liability by setting up each branch as an independent entity like the banks of the famous Medici family of Florence. Venice, being the leader in Eastern trade, was also the leader in local deposit banks. She had great contributions to economy by the invention of bank money right before the Plague, which is using most of the money put in the bank for business, a key feature of banking sector. There were also public banks that managed public debt, consolidated tax surpluses and also accepted deposits from private citizens which emerged beginning of the 15th century (Appuhn, 2002). "...its spirit seems to belong to the modern age...Development and diffusion of rational mechanisms of exchange, including banking and contracting mechanisms, were crucial to the development of both the European and world economies, because such mechanisms offered reasonably secure channels for individuals to invest....without being actively involved in commerce....contributed significantly to volume of trade" (Appuhn, 2002: 274).

Joint stock companies were formed, stock exchanges were realized, and commercial agents were hired, all possible with and based upon the guarantee of contracts. Three types of contracts were used in Renaissance Italy, sea loans, sea

exchanges and profit sharing. The first two contract types offered the investor fixed return, regardless of the success or failure of the investment or trade voyage, making them risk free. The difference was sea exchange contract payments were paid in a different currency. In the profit sharing type of contracts, both the gains and losses were shared among the investor and the agent. More secure business usually required this type. Contracts enabled people to invest money in commerce safely without personally getting involved in the commercial enterprise because now accurate reporting was encouraged and realized and the security of the transaction was maintained and thus contracts triggered more capital inflow to the system and a more lively economy (Appuhn, 2002: 274). “Reliable contracting mechanisms became crucial to the success of any venture” (Appuhn, 2002: 273). According to Von Martin (1998: 17), contracting was beginning to be established inherently as a norm in Renaissance Italian society; “Honoring contracts is the highest virtue in the code of the honest merchant”.

Venice, Florence, Siena and Lucca were the major republics of the Renaissance. In the most developed cities of the Renaissance Italy, bourgeoisie and nobility are intermixed and holding onto republican power. Intermarriages and business partnerships virtually molded these two classes into one in the Late Renaissance of the 15th century (Martines, 1980; Von Martin, 1998). It is a profitable deal for the both classes; nobility engages into commercial enterprise and tries to regain its economic power lost with the emergence of capitalism and slow disappearance of feudalism and the bourgeoisie benefits from the political power that the nobility still enjoys.

It is one of the traits of the early capitalist civilization of the renaissance that business and politics became so thoroughly interdependent that it is impossible to

separate the interests they represented.....Business methods served political ends, political means served economic ends (Von Martin, 1998: 10).

It is to the benefit of the bourgeoisie to mold the institutions and laws of the city-state to their favor as much as possible. Martines (1980: 255) claims that “Wealth endures most when combined with politics” in the city-states.

In cities where bourgeoisie and nobility are intermixed, there was strong resistance towards signori and intense support for constitutional oligarchy, with an exception of Genoa, which switched back and forth between republican regime and despotism. Usually destructive wars, fiscal distress, instability or alliance of foreign signore with strong nobility inside where bourgeoisie is still developing called for a despot, however, the same despot that was called for previously in case of instability also held the danger of being overthrown afterwards if the bourgeoisie was growing in the state, like it had been the case in Florence just before the Plague (Martines, 1980). According to Martines (1980), only 2 to 3% of the population in average were included in the decision making process of the republics of the Renaissance Italy. This percentage only went as high as 10% at some points in Florence history according to the author.

5.5 THREE INVENTIONS: PRINTING PRESS, COMPASS AND GUNPOWDER

In the 15th century, three fundamental inventions began to affect Europe, printing press, gunpowder and compass. In 1620, Francis Bacon stated,

printing, gunpowder and compass have changed the whole face and state of things throughout the world. First in literature, second in warfare and third in navigation, whence have followed innumerable changes, insomuch that no empire, no sect, no state seems to have exerted greater power and influence in human affairs than these mechanical discoveries”(Eamon, 2002: 421).

Johannes Gutenberg invented the printing press based on the simpler Chinese invention of press in wood blocks at the start of the 15th century in Rhineland. It took half a century for the invention to become common in Europe. Venice was the leader in printing. Aldine Press established in 1494 owns 28 first editions of Ancient classics. Printing enabled easier access to and exchange, dissemination and preservation of books. The compass, again a Chinese origin idea that transferred to Venetians through Arabs and developed, was a major tool in the Age of Discovery (Thompson, 1996).

5.6 HIGH RENAISSANCE'S MEDICI ERA IN FLORENCE

Florence was involved in many conflicts with other city-states in the beginning of the 15th century. In 1402, Milan, the strongest despotism of Renaissance Italy, attacked Florence. The fate of Florence did not seem bright if it had not been for the sudden death of the Signori of Milan. In 1406, Florence captured Republican Pisa. Between 1409 and 1411, Florence fought with Kingdom of Naples and once again with Milan in 1421, while capturing Livorno the same year. In 1420s, Florence was in war with the important silk production republic of Lucca trying to capture the republic. This dragged Florence and her ally Venice into war with the Republic of Siena. Florence finally captured Lucca in 1433 (Thompson, 1996).

However, Florence citizens were displeased and war weary. Florence Republic was more oligarchic than ever with the preponderance of the power of Albizzi family in the administration. In 1434, the civil strife led to the ostracism of the Albizzi family priors and their replacement with Medici family supported priors, led by Cosimo de

Medici, grandson of Salvestro. From this point onwards, Florence political, economical and social life would be dominated by Medici Family (Thompson, 1996).

Cosimo de Medici served as the major prior of Florence until his death. Besides his political duties, he kept enhancing Medici family's strength in textile industry and banking. One third of Florence population earned their income from the textile industry during his lifetime (Thompson, 1996: 92). He was also the leading example of a Renaissance patron. Late Renaissance frequently witnessed patronage of art, men of economic and political strength who provided the artists with means, space and money to work on their art. Cosimo was one of the first and most important of these patrons. He was friends with and patron of the famous sculptor Donatello (1386-1466). Donatello made sculptures for him in the Florentine Cathedral including the well known marble and bronze sculptures of David. He also opened the Platonic Academy in Florence with his philosopher friend Marsilio Ficino (Thompson, 1996: 93). Brunni (1370-1444), among the well known humanists, was the language tutor in Cosimo de Medici's household, teaching Greek and Latin. Brunni made important contributions to Renaissance humanism by translating Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics* as well as many works of Plato into Latin. He is also an indirect yet important source for this thesis due to his book *History of the Florentine People* (Zophy, 1997).

Cosimo de Medici, along with his broad influence in arts and platonic philosophy and economic development of Florence, also made some influential decisions in the politics of Florence. The long continued enmity between Milan and Florence ended with him. He was a friend of the Signori of Milan, and seeing the threats of France, Spain and

Ottomans on Italian lands, the two men signed Peace of Lodi in 1454, which started Florence Milan alliance (Thompson, 1996: 93).

Lorenzo de Medici named as Lorenzo the Magnificent replaced Cosimo de Medici after his death. Pazzi family, a rival family in economic and political issues, with their support from the Papacy, attempted an assassination to Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano in 1478 and killed Giuliano. However, Lorenzo learned about the plot and killed the people involved with the assassination. Pope and Kingdom of Naples attacked Florence afterwards. Lorenzo replaced the republic with a council of seventy of which he was a permanent member and ostracized pro-republic thinkers and artists the most well-known being Machiavelli (Thompson, 1996; Zophy, 1997).

Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), born in Florence, is considered as the first modern political thinker and the forefather of realism (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000; Masters, 1996; Najemy, 2002). He was a public servant in the Florentine Republic until Lorenzo de Medici ostracized him. *The Prince* which he is known for is like a guidance to Lorenzo de Medici which he dedicated the book to and similar to a description of Cesare Borgia, the prince of Papal States. He actually believes in republicanism in its real sense, he thinks that economic and political power of the ruling class of the republic should be balanced by giving people share of power in the government like it was in Rome where plebs could have high ranks in the army and therefore have a say in the ruling process (Najemy, 2002). However, the despotism, the wars and the tortures had made him pessimist and politically a realist, writing for what the situation demands. Therefore, he advocated, “the end justifies the means” (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000: 285). Even in *the Prince*, he suggests the prince to have the support of the people in

some way or the other, either love or fear or both since it was the people's support that the prince should first rely his power on (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000; Najemy, 2002).

5.7 ARTS AND SCIENCE OF THE HIGH RENAISSANCE

Lorenzo de Medici was the patron of the most well known and well praised artists of the High Renaissance, including Botticelli, Raphael, Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci. Botticelli (1444-1510), a neo-platonic and widely acknowledged artist, was also the favorite painter of Lorenzo de Medici (Zophy, 1997). Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) was the ideal all-sided Renaissance man, a polymath, artist, painter, sculptor, anatomist, scientist, mathematician, engineer, architect and inventor. He was very interested in human anatomy and was the first person to so accurately draw sketches of human body, skeleton, muscles, brain, skull and fetus. He designed a robot, a helicopter, a hang glider, bridges, machine guns, tanks, bombs, a parachute and a submarine. His important modern combination theory and practice, the science and the engineer, makes him a true empirical scientist, which he proves by his own words; "it seems to me that sciences are vein and full of error that have not been tested by experience" (Brucker, 2002: 34). He always sought to "learn the causes of things" (Thompson, 1996: 91). In the beginning of one writing of his he wrote, "let no one read me who is not a mathematician" (Thompson, 1996: 95).

Michelangelo (1475-1564) was also a many-sided artist just like his contemporary Leonardo da Vinci. He was a painter, sculptor, poet, architect and engineer. Yet, while Leonardo da Vinci was an empiricist, Michelangelo was a neo-

Platonist. Michelangelo was the favorite sculptor of the Medici household. They asked him to decorate the Sistine Chapel, the Medici Chapel and the Medici tombs and the Laurentian library (Thompson, 1996; Zophy, 1997). Raphael (1483-1520) was an artist, younger than Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci and affected by them. In his famous School of Athens painting almost all of the Ancient Greek philosophers, he painted Plato after the appearance of Leonardo and Heraclitus after the appearance of Michelangelo. This not only shows Raphael's admiration to the Ancient Greeks and his contemporary artists, but also the desire of the Renaissance artists to identify themselves with the Ancient Greek philosophers (Thompson, 1996; Zophy, 1997).

The study of the Ancient Greek texts as well as borrowing from the scientists of the Golden Age of Islam contributed to the scientific and artistic knowledge in Renaissance Italy. Studies of Archimedes, Euclid, Aristotle, Hippocrates and Galen as well as Islamic scientists like Aleppo and Averroes were revitalized by the Renaissance scientists and mathematics including limit and calculus, geometry, physics and medicine were learned from these scientists (Braudel, 1993). Without these advancements, the Scientific Revolution would not have taken place. The discovery of the heliocentric model of the universe which asserts that the Sun is in the center of the planets which include the Earth was first proposed by Polish Copernicus (1473-1542), later to be developed by German Kepler (1571-1630) and finally Galileo (1564-1642) from Pisa, also mark the end of the Renaissance Period as well as the beginning of the Scientific Revolution (Braudel, 1993; Eamon, 2002).

5.8 ITALIAN WARS

Italian Wars that prevailed between 1494 and 1559 were the wars of the attacks towards the Italian city-states by the newly emerging nation-states, especially France and Spain that struggled for hegemony. End of the Italian Wars also mark the end of the Renaissance and brought destruction and foreign occupation to the unique Italian city-states. The wars began when France invaded Naples, but she had to retreat by the alliance of Spain, Holy Roman Emperor, Venice, Milan and Pope. In 1499, the new French king this time invaded Milan and Genoa moving again to Naples, but after a war against Spain that began in 1502, she again had to retreat Naples in 1504. Venice and the Pope formed the Holy League in 1510 against France that was supported by the Swiss states, which was resolved by the Peace of Nasyon in 1516 where Naples was conquered by Spain and Milan by France. French were once again defeated by Spain and the Holy Roman Emperor at the Battle of Pavia (1525) and forced to sign Treaty of Madrid (1526) where he renounced her claims on Italy. Three more wars happened between Spain and France, which ended with ultimate retreat of France from Italy and Spain domination in Italy (Taylor, 1973; Zophy, 1997).

5.9 CONCLUSION

My concluding remarks will be on several veins. The first remark will be about capitalism and Weber's ideas linking the spirit of capitalism to the Protestant values. Renaissance Italy, with its international trade, diverse and developed banking and contracting systems, innovative financial tools and complicated and complex industry, is not only mentioned as the start of modernity but also the beginning of capitalistic world

economy. Marx, Wallerstein, Braudel and Marino propose that the first stage of the world economy began around 1450s continuing to 1650s where Italian city-states served as the focus and bridge between Europe and the Eastern trade (Braudel, 1993; Marino, 2002; Spybey, 1992). On the other hand, the Reformation Period, which was manifested with Luther's 95 Theses in 1517 and marks the beginning of Protestantism, was after the High Renaissance when advancements of economy that reflects modern economy not in quantity maybe but in quality have already taken place in the Catholic Northern Italy. This is evidence against Weber's thesis that the Protestant work ethics fostered capitalistic development.

My second comment will be to direct attention to the relationship between the rise of capitalism, and the rise of bourgeoisie and towns in Renaissance Italy. In the Medieval Period, the rural land was the main source of wealth as well as the main source of employment. The feudal lord granted land to the peasant serf, which he tilled paying his rent by sharecropping and the lord granted protection to the serf. Feudality was thus a static system based on land as well as based on dependency, patronage and favor, a society "based on relations between man and man, a chain of dependencies" (Braudel, 1993: 314). However, in the guilds of Renaissance Italy, relation between employer and employed was based upon a free contract, and gave mobility to the employed to take his work wherever he wanted and gave surplus to build on his industry to the employers like the Medicis. These guilds of the textile seem to be the beginning of the bourgeoisie proletariat relationship of capitalism just as Marx argues (Berman, 1994; Marino, 2002). The cities of Renaissance Italy are essential in this relationship since they are the places

where employer and employee meet. “Modern and ahead of their time, they signaled future” (Braudel, 1993: 319).

While talking about Renaissance, it would be a grave mistake to overlook the three fundamental innovations of Renaissance, gunpowder. Gunpowder expanded the mortality rates and the scales of wars. From its innovation onwards, it was usually used against the feudal powers (Arnold, 2002; Braudel, 1993; Starn, 2002). The other two fundamental innovations, the printing press and the compass, accelerated developments. The compass was the most useful device of the sailors of the Age of Explorations (Eamon, 2002). The printing press accelerated the access to knowledge and exchange of knowledge as well as made preservation of knowledge more secure (Eamon, 2002). Before printing press, books were rare and expensive luxury items (Braudel, 1993; Eamon, 2002). The printing press made books cheaper and more abundant, therefore more reachable, easier to access and exchange with higher chance of preservation of multiple copies.

My final concluding remark will be about tracing a pattern of development of the Renaissance Italy and point out its similarities with the previous cases, which will be further scrutinized in the conclusion chapter. Renaissance Italy as well as Ancient Greece and the Golden Age of Islam begin flourishing with trade relations. Growth of industries and their internal division of labor follow; market transactions begin to take hold facilitating modern economic instruments. As a result, a bourgeoisie class forms and gets stronger. At this point, Renaissance Italy and Ancient Greece differ from the Golden Age of Islam because the rising class of bourgeoisie demands a more popular democratic form of government in these two cases. With the accumulation of resources

to lead way to research and exchange of knowledge by interactions with or learning from other cultures, innovations in science and technology and arts follow. The unique developments of all three cases are brought down by wars. While in Ancient Greece and Renaissance Italy, cases end with specific wars, the Peloponnesian War and the Italian Wars, in the Golden Age of Islam, continuous wars bring down the Empire gradually. This pattern observed will be closely examined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 DEFINING MODERNITY

“Rather than seeking to distinguish the ‘modern era’ from the ‘premodern’ or ‘postmodern’, I think it would be more useful to try to find out how the attitude of modernity, ever since its formation, has found itself struggling with attitudes of ‘countermodernity’ ” Michel Foucault.

Set out with the aims of understanding and conceptualizing the phenomenon of modernity, scrutinizing the causal mechanisms of modernity with an underlying motive of examining its relationship with conflict and peace, this thesis traced the roots of modernity in three historical cases. Despite the prolonged dichotomous understanding concerning the modern and the traditional as concepts as well as epochs, the modern qualities observed in the selected cases provided evidence for the independency of modern attributes from both time and place.

After summing up the selected literature about ideas on modernity, the characteristics of a modern society agreed upon by all thinkers were *capitalism, science and technology, rise democratic values*; and *rise of state* together with democratic values, *rationality* and *secularization* through scientific thought, *bureaucracy* as rationality for efficiency, and *division of labor* and *urbanization* coming about with and

as a result of capitalism. Marx saw capitalism as the main element for modernity and envisioned a class of proletariat that would seize tolerating the pressure resulting from capitalism, to end with a communist world. Modernization theory proposed that capitalism increases the economic development index which in turn would pave the way for modernity. Mousseau in his Microeconomic Exchange theory theorized how transaction norms in a market economy became inherent in the society's reactions towards other incidents like conflicts. Giddens and Foucault saw science and technology as the main pushing force towards modernity, whereas Tocqueville, Putnam, Warren and Uslaner saw democratic values of elections, civil society and social capital as the main engines towards modernity. Finally, Weber saw protestant culture as the modernizing attribute of the West, Parsons and Habermas seeing an evolution towards modernity, and Huntington and Fukuyama seeing some Western values as inherently modern. The characteristics within modernity pointed out by these scholars were sought for in the three cases of Ancient Greece, Golden Age of Islam and Renaissance Italy.

6.2 ANCIENT GREECE

Ancient Greece never lost its charm to the contemporary over 2500 years. It has been closely studied as a superb example of a period not only by the Golden Age of Islam and Renaissance Italy but also by thinkers of the 20th century. Rising with Miletus and reaching its peak with Athens, the developed world of Ancient Greece seems to show almost all of the characteristics of modernity. The developed overseas *trade* through the routes to Middle East, China and Italy, mining, metallurgy and the *industry* led by textile marked by *division of labor* facilitated the rise of the *market economy*. The dependence

of closed markets at the center of the city-state led to the rise of *urbanization*. The developing economy of trade and industry called for financial developments of innovations of *banking, contracts, customs duty*, all signaling “the first historical manifestations of *capitalism*” (Toutain, 1996: 75), some calling “the first bourgeois civilization in the West” (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000:8).

Milesian School in Miletus and Academy and Lyceum in Athens are the first universities of history. Out of these schools came out the most well known scientist/mathematician/ philosophers of not only the Ancient World but also of whole history, Thales, Anaximander, Anaximedes, and Plato, and Aristotle. Thales, Plato and Aristotle contributed to mathematical and geometrical axioms which are still used. Heraclitus with his empiricism and dialectic thought and Democritus with his discovery of the idea of atoms also contributed to science and philosophy. Sophists with their discovery of the concept of social contract, and Socrates, Plato and Aristotle with their original ideas are the milestones of philosophy. Apart from all this progress, their ability of *secular and scientific thinking* is praiseworthy all by itself. Besides science, math and philosophy, Ancient Greece is also renowned with its invention of and advancement in the *art* of theatre, with world’s still some of most famous playwrights like Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes (Orrieux and Pantel, 1999).

Democracy is also an Ancient Greek invention. With slow but sound steps over the years, Athens and her allies finally established direct democracy in their city-states. Although the existence of slaves and the exclusion of women and metics make the Athenian democracy more distant from our understanding today, being the civilization that invented the concept of democracy, improvising the democracy for the exclusion of

non-slave poorer men citizens, and its direct democracy having strong civil societal bonds, there was certainly a *rise of democratic values* in Athens.

6.3 THE GOLDEN AGE OF ISLAM

The Golden Age of Islam was a time of Pax Islamica during the Medieval Period before the rise of the Western Civilization. The backbone of its rich economy was *trade* and leading *industry* of textile, similar to the other cases, and mining. The trade routes starting with China and India, passing through Islamic centers of Baghdad, Samara, Basra, Damascus, Cairo, Tunis, Alexandria and Antioch to the Mediterranean and Europe were central to the whole world. The developed cities of Islam with their covered markets right at the center were the most important *urban centers* of the World. Islamic World invented financial tools like banks with multiple branches in different cities, *bank accounts*, *cheques*, *letters of credit* and *notaries*, developed *different types of contracts* and kept money lenders in each market. They also organized their *bureaucratic administration* centering in the city the Caliph resides in, usually Baghdad.

The Golden Age of Islam also left remarkable legacy in *science and technology*. Beyt-ul Hikma, meaning the House of Wisdom, was a significant *university*, translation center, observation center and library. Al-Azhar University and library in Cairo that still exists today is the oldest university in the world (Spybey, 1992: 54-60). Islamist scientists looked up to the Ancient Greek philosophers, especially Aristotle who they called the master, searched, collected and translated their works into Arabic. The numbers we use today are called *Arabic numbers* because Western world learned these symbols from Arabs, who had learned them from the Indians. Al-Khwarizmi invented

algebra (al-jabr) and *algorithm* (al-gorismi). Arabs also invented *trigonometry* besides algebra. Al-Biruni correctly estimated the radius of the earth. Ibn Sina or Avicenna was the most renowned physician of the Medieval Period whose books remained as the most influential and most widely used books in *medicine* throughout the world until the 17th century. Omar Khayyam, the poet of *Rubaiyat*, was a mathematician who discovered the *solar year* to be 365.24219 days. These scientists or mathematicians were also philosophers like it was the case in the Ancient World and translated and built upon the Ancient Greeks they looked up to. The medical and mathematical knowledge of the Islamic World was unrivaled for several centuries. The Islamic world knew the usage of paper, printing press, compass and gunpowder long before Europe and transferred the knowledge to the Europeans.

Yet, the Golden Age of Islam was ruled by the Caliphate, with wars and bloodshed, much more frequent than the other two cases. The possibility of controlling such a prosperous and powerful empire and the head of the religion by becoming Caliph in case of winning a war, and the continuous strife between the two sects of Islam might have triggered this violence. Although the Islamic Empire was not based on democratic system of elections, some elements of democracy like “shura”, consultation to leaders while selecting the Caliph, or “mujtahid”s, scholars of Islam discussing justice and law like Al-Ghazali, existed within the Golden Age (Mazrui, 1990).

6.4 RENAISSANCE ITALY

The scrutiny of the modernity in Renaissance Italy, the backbone case of this thesis because of its role as the beginner of the Modern Epoch, starts with a similar story,

trade. Venice is the chief port of European-Eastern trade. The goods coming from China, India and the Islamic World, passing from the Mediterranean, arrive at Venice to be distributed to Europe. Trade with Muslims was the first reason for the economic take off of Venice. After emancipated from the rule of the Great Roman Empire, the economic take off also began in other communes, mainly in Florence and Genoa. Florence became the leader of the textile industry in Europe while Venice and Genoa were the main trade ports of Europe. The surplus led to development of *the banking sector* by the *textile industry* patrons or traders, surpassing the European Kingdom's wealth. *Guilds*, especially those of the textile industry, were composed of high *technology* and high *division of labor*. The innovations in banking, contracts, and letters of credits would soon surpass the Islamic World, leading to a *capitalist* Italy. The *republican* city-states were mainly under the influence of the rich bourgeoisie families in businesses of textile and banking through the power guilds attained in the republican administrations.

Renaissance Italy was highly influenced by the Ancient Greek and Roman thought. They attained the books of Ancient Greeks mostly from the Islamic World. Humanists, philosophers valuing the individual and the ancient thought, dominated the philosophy of the Renaissance. Machiavelli, with his realist ideas and republican thoughts is often named as the first modern political thinker.

The rich bourgeoisie families would become patrons of humanists and artists and finance them for their art and thought. Neo-platonic Academy, Laurentian Library, as well as the most famous *artists* of the Renaissance and today's world, *Donatello*, *Boticelli*, *Raphael*, *Michelangelo* and *Leonardo da Vinci* were sponsored by the Medici

family. Leonardo da Vinci was not only an artist but also a mathematician, a scientist, and an engineer. He was the first person to so accurately draw sketches of human body, skeleton, muscles, brain, skull and fetus. He designed a robot, a helicopter, a hang glider, bridges, machine guns, tanks, bombs, a parachute and a submarine and combined in his abilities theory and practice, the science and the engineer.

The Renaissance was also the period when three of world's most important inventions became widely known and developed, *the printing press, the compass and the gunpowder*. Printing press, an invention of China developed by Gutenberg, positively influenced accumulation of knowledge by allowing the making of books more rapid and permanent. The compass helped the voyages of the Age of Discovery that coincides with the end of the Renaissance. The gunpowder, on the other hand, had an impact on conflict, increasing the scale of wars. The end of the Renaissance also witnessed *Copernicus proposing the heliocentric model of the universe*.

Although only not the majority of the people were represented, the *republics* of the Renaissance Italy saw rise of some democratic values, especially in Florence where the percentage of the voters among all people were higher going up to 10 to 15 % (Martines, 1980). The six major guilds were represented in Florence until Lorenzo de Medici abolished the republic. The Renaissance Era came to an end with the Italian Wars just like Ancient Greek Period ended with the Peloponnesian War.

6.5 SELECTIONS JUSTIFIED: HOW SELECTED CASES OF MODERNITY RESPONDED TO CONFLICT

I have analyzed thoroughly the cases I selected as models of modernity, including their conflict behavior. Since this thesis aims to reveal insights about International Relations and Conflict Resolution through examining modernity and modern cases, it is also important to find out how warlike the cases selected behaved and why they behaved in this manner. Russett and Antholis (1993) see no clear pattern of either peace or war between and among democracies and oligarchies in Ancient Greek Period. They listed thirty wars between clear and doubtful democracies, nine of them involved Syracuse and ten of them Athens. Weart (1998: 24-37) tried to prove that in a war between two democracies, at least one of the sides are either not fully democratic or not stable; and tries to disprove the strongest evidence against the theory, the war between Syracuse and Athens during the Peloponnesian War. He claimed that Syracuse was not fully democratic during the time since Aristotle calls it a polity but not a democracy.

Thus, there is no clear finding that proves economically developed, capitalist, democratic or scientifically advanced city-state tends not to fight in Ancient Greek period. The only clear finding that can be reported is that democracies do tend to ally with democracies and oligarchies do tend to ally with oligarchies, an obvious pattern in the Peloponnesian War. This can indeed be about the nature of the regime, or it can be that Athens first ally with the city-states it has commercial interactions with and support the democratic regime in that place, and Sparta follows the same tactic against Athens to have allies on her side. However, Ionian Dorian dichotomy is also an Athens Sparta dichotomy, where a weaker city-state may be inclined to ally with the state she speaks the same dialect with and share the same regime with.

There are two important studies about the relationship between the republican regimes of the Renaissance and the conflicts of the era. David Sobek (2003) and Stephen Weart (1998: 38-74) use the republics of Renaissance as evidence for democratic peace. Although the republics of the time with their low percentage of representation is far from being examples for the democratic peace theory of today, Sobek argues that the differences would make the study more valuable. Sobek, with his data set between 1250 and 1494 for the conflicts of the seven city-states Florence, Venice, Genoa, Milan, Pisa, Sienna and the Papal States, finds that joint republicanism, preference similarity and power preponderance negatively correlate with conflict, and that the correlation is significant between joint republicanism and conflict even when one controls for the other two. Likewise, Weart argues that after the last war between Venice and Genoa in 1380 ending in Venetian victory, republics engaged in alliance until the Italian Wars in 1494. Once more, similar to Ancient Greece, there is a clear pattern of alliance between the two major republics of the Renaissance, Venice and Florence Republics against Milan of despotic regime.

6.6 OBSERVATIONS FROM THE RESEARCH

After pointing out the modern qualities of the three cases, I would like to identify a common pattern in this development of modernity. All three cases have significant trade relations with other developed regions of the time through trade routes in the beginning of the period. Then, there appears several industries, the major being textile industry in all three periods. The importance of textile might lie in the fact that textile is both a good that is always sought for and is a good that has a raw material that does not need any

technology, that is based on agriculture and that is quite abundant, cotton. As the industries grow producing more material and as the trade becomes more frequent, markets become both the center of economy and the center of the city, urbanizing the city. The transactions in the market produce full time, prosperous traders or manufacture owners, a bourgeoisie class. At this point, Renaissance Italy and Ancient Greece differ from the Golden Age of Islam because the rising prospering class of bourgeoisie demands a more popular democratic form of government to protect their rights as opposed to the aristocracy that does not take into consideration the public in these two cases. The fact that the ruler is also a religious figure might have an affect on this difference, or the wars between sects might have a revolutionary flavor in them after all, this is beyond the aims of this research.

The patterns of conflict are, however, within the concerns of this research. All three cases of this thesis went through several conflicts during their life time. Persian War between Greeks and Persians, and Peloponnesian War between the Delian League led by Athens and the Peloponnesians led by Sparta are important milestones in Ancient Greek History. These two wars are respectively the beginning and ending events of the most prosperous and most modern era in Ancient Greece, the Classical Period. The Classical Period, slightly shorter than a century, also includes the Golden Age of Athens and is the time that Athens developed direct democracy. Renaissance Italy also follows a similar path. The city-states of Italy are emancipated from the Holy Roman Empire, to begin the Renaissance Period, right before the turn of the 14th century, through a war they allied with France and Papacy against the Empire. The end of the Renaissance Period is with the Italian Wars, a war between the city-states, France and Spain for

dominance of Italy. Between these two wars that mark the beginning and end of the period, city-states of Italy also have wars among themselves. In both of the cases, the city-states with more democratic values tend to ally against non-democratic city-states. In the Peloponnesian War, Athens allies with city-states of direct democracy against Sparta and her non-democratic allies (except an Syracuse in which the regime is ambiguous), and in Renaissance, the republican Florence and Venice ally against despot Milan. The Golden Age of Islam, however, bears no similarity in these matters, where the rift is between two sects of Islam.

The developments in science and technology, philosophy and art follow the developments in economy and the rise of democratic values. The wars strike at the peak of the scientific and artistic developments to bring down the modern period. While in Ancient Greece and Renaissance Italy, cases end with specific wars, in the Golden Age of Islam, continuous wars bring down the Empire gradually.

This is the historical order of all three cases. From this pattern, “capitalism” comes out to be the preliminary variable, dragging along rest of symptoms of modernity, urbanization, rationality, division of labor, rise of democratic values with the exception of the Islamic World, scientific, philosophic and artistic developments and some rise in secularization with the rise of scientific thought. The outcome of the examination and observation of three cases, which bear the roots of modernity, identify “capitalism” as the main independent variable. “Capitalism” which denotes economic progress free of political entity based on developed market exchange system is the main independent variable of this study that chose modernity as its main dependent variable.

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