Miroslav Bárta, Charles University in Prague, is an Egyptologist and archaeologist working in Egypt since 1991 and, since 2011, the head of Czech excavations at the Abusir pyramid field. He led many archaeological expeditions in the Egyptian Western Desert and in Sudan. He is specialized in the archaeology and history of the third millennium B.C., the comparative study of complex civilisations and their dynamics in multidisciplinary perspectives and the history of water use. Bárta is the author or co-author of more than twenty monographs and collective volumes and more than one hundred scientific papers. His last monograph, Analyzing Collapse: The Rise and Fall of the Old Kingdom, was published by the American University in Cairo in 2019. He is a member of the Learned Society of the Czech Republic and several outstanding international scientific organisations including American Schools of Oriental Research and American Research Center in Egypt.

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In these days of hyper-specialization, Civilisations: Collapse and Regeneration is a volume delightful in its breadth. Spanning topics from farthest prehistory to 20th century developments and the establishment of Czechoslovakia, covering archaeology, history, and natural sciences, the compilation has something for everyone. If your interests concern the distant past, the present, or anything in between, Civilisations will reward the time you spend with it.

> Prof. Joseph A. Tainter **Utah State University** Author of The Collapse of Complex Societies

Bárta and Kovář have brought together the best and brightest of Czech minds in the historical sciences to contemplate the age old question of why do civilizations collapse and how do they respond to such trauma. Situated at the cross-roads of Europe with few natural defences, the geography of the Czech Republic has dictated the country's own socio-economic evolutionary history and this resonates in how these twenty-eight researchers view their own prehistory and history from the Upper Palaeolithic to World War II to the Soviet invasion of August, 1968. However, these researchers go further and address issues of civilizational collapse well beyond their borders in ancient Egypt and China, the Middle Ages, and up to the present in post-September 11 USA. Together, these chapters bring fresh insights into civilization collapse and response that will be of interest not only to scholars, but to policy makers who are looking into the future and its wide range of possibilities.

> **Thomas E. Levy Distinguished Professor, UC San Diego**

> > Miroslav Bárta and Martin Kovář (eds.)





AND REGENERATION ATIONS COLLAPSE CIVILIS

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ISBN 978-80-200-2907-

## ACADEMIA

# **CIVILISATIONS:** COLLAPSE AND REGENERATION



# Addressing the Nature of Change and Transformation in History

The present volume is dedicated to the phenomenon of collapse as reflected through different kinds of historical and environmental evidence. A total of twenty-eight in-depth studies provides a heterogenous analyses of the collapse and regeneration processes in societies and civilisations separated in space and in time. The individual chapters vary in their locations, characteristics and age. They contribute invaluable observations, both general and specific, concerning the fluctuation of complexity within human history and its consequences for respective societies developing in different contexts - focusing on their inner processes or their ability (or failure) to adapt to environmental dynamics. The outcome may be surprising to some readers as most contributions clearly demonstrate many universal features that connect mankind regardless of its variables such as attained technological stage, degree of complexity or external factors such as climate change. It is hoped that the present book may serve not only as a textbook about our common past but also as a source of inspiration for how we view the world and its possible futures.

Miroslav Bárta and Martin Kovář (eds.)

# Civilisations: Collapse and Regeneration Addressing the Nature of Change and Transformation in History

Miroslav Bárta and Martin Kovář (eds.)

Academia Praha 2019

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# 

Celtic colonisation of our territory spanned almost the last five centuries BCE. During this period several phases of stability alternated with times of great change that transformed the whole society. The Celts were unable to withstand the last of these changes, which occurred after the middle of the first century BCE when the vacated area was swiftly filled in by Germanic tribes. The search for the causes of the decline of the Celtic civilisation in our part of the world involves an attempt to introduce the reader to available sources from various angles: historical, archaeological, palaeoeconomic, and the relation of human society to the natural environment. The discussion of these issues suggests that one perspective is often not enough.

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the European Great Powers. In the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire entered the second phase of the crisis, which it tried to overcome by modernisation modelled on the European example. However, the pressure applied by the European Great Powers under the diplomacy of the Eastern Question impeded the modernisation process; the involvement of the Turks on the side of Imperial Germany during the Great War led to the definite demise of the Ottoman Empire.

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the state socialist system were weakening and gradually falling apart during the later phase of Communism: the Communist ideological rhetoric, the homogeneity of society, and the ability to reach economic effectiveness and political unification. The unsolved problems culminated in the mid-eighties: Gorbachev made an attempt at systemic change with perestroika and glasnost; however, this attempt did not lead to the revival that Gorbachev had hoped for, but instead to the collapse of the entire system.

#### 22. Jiří Ellinger

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#### MAN AND THE ENVIRONMENT

#### 23. Jan Kozák

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# 25. Karel Černý

presents three frameworks for historical research about epidemics: paleopathological, cultural, and bio-medical. Each has its own specifics and leads to a different understanding of epidemic crises. The final section is based upon the selection of several prominent microbiological agents (plague, leprosy, TB, syphilis, smallpox, HIV, flu) in order to comment on the specific aspects of their interaction with society. Although societal collapse, or fear of it, is an important theme throughout this chapter, we also suggest that "plagues" have often had a rather heterogeneous impact because the threat which they posed was sometimes eagerly answered, leading to progressive cultural, social or scientific changes.

#### 26. Lenka Lisá

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#### 27. Václav Cílek

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## 28. Vladimír Brůna, Kateřina Křováková, Peter Chrastina

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# Acknowledgements

Miroslav Bárta and Martin Kovář

It is always a pleasure to see a book one has worked on for a considerable time finally going to press. This volume presents the critical essays of several dozens of scientists from social, technical and natural sciences about a topic of great importance to our various studies. These scholars have provided in-depth probes into the fascinating problem of what causes a civilisation to collapse.

The different chapters cover studies diverse in time and in human and environmental history: they vary in their topography, their data and their dates, yet they all address two specific questions: What is a collapse and what are the indicators that led to it? These strikingly different analyses within subject matter and style contribute invaluable observations, both general and specific, concerning the fluctuation of complexity within human history and its consequences for the respective societies under different circumstances – be it centred on their inner dynamics or from external factors such as climate change (Zhang et al. 2007). In such an analysis we can see the warning flags of impending decay and, hopefully, set measures in place to divert future disasters.

The principal incentive for this project, which was originally (and in a different form) published in Czech in 2011, was a multidisciplinary seminar organised at the Academy of Sciences in Prague back in 2007. That seminar was initiated together with the natural scientist, Petr Pokorný, and medieval archaeologist, Martin Tomášek. The one-day meeting focused on the discussion of the collapse phenomenon as reflected in different spheres of academic research. Despite the disparity in the subject matter, the consequent publication (Pokorný and Bárta 2008) proved to be a success and the subsequent discourse provided the inspiration for this present project. For the most productive discussion which ensued on that day, I am indebted to my co-organisers of and contributors to that original conference.

In the wake of the 2007 meeting, one of our desires was to enquire whether the same or comparative degree of similarity and commonality could be reached when studying collapse in different historical periods, and in societies of variable complexity in different parts of the world. This was why we decided to invite people whose chapters you may find in the following pages. This project was started without any preconceived idea and it is fair to admit that we had but a single goal: to ask each scientific community to offer its own specific perception of the collapse phenomenon as based on the analysis and interpretation of its own scientific records. It is in the achievement of this goal where we see the most important results of this endeavour. However different the individual studies may appear in their style, content and methodology, quite surprisingly, they all tell a similar story.

To all the authors who were willing to submit their texts to us: we wholeheartedly thank you for your remarkable contributions on such a monumental task. The results speak for themselves. We also thank you for the trust and patience you have extended to us during the lengthy period of production.

We wish to express our gratitude for the support and expertise given by the entire team of the Academia publishing house and Michaela Procházková who never lost her faith in the book. Jolana Malátková was spiritus agens during all stages of the manuscript preparation and Ivana Vlková compiled the indexes. Vivienne G. Callender, Naďa Abdallaová, Jan Starý, Jaromir Soukup and Jaroslav Valkoun were of great help during various stages of the project too.

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# Introduction

Why to deal with a collapse? Considerations on Seven Laws underlying dynamics of civilisations

## Miroslav Bárta

I have often wondered about the nature of collapses that occur within the vast majority of human societies. By training an archaeologist and Egyptologist, the question often crossed my mind: *How and why did these cultures, these societies collapse*?<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the history of ancient Egypt, for instance, a co-called collapse took place on several occasions: eg. separating the Old from the Middle, Middle from the New Kingdom and the New Kingdom from the Late period (Bárta 2019), and so on. And yet, despite its manifold modifications and transformations over time, ancient Egyptian civilisation and its culture – the language, religion and society in general remained in its essence the very same. This inner contradiction within Egyptian society was most likely the principal trigger which initiated this present project.

The broad and growing interest in the phenomenon of collapse is quite understandable today. The world is becoming more and more unstable and unpredictable: economic markets are sensitive to minute factors that are unforeseeable, the value of money is subject to volatility, the feeling of safety has disappeared together with the predictability of the climate and the increasing migrations due to civil wars, military conflicts and environmental changes. The meaning of the word 'stability' is itself variable and it is often difficult to keep up with the rapidly occurring changes in our world. In contrast to recent past, de-globalisation seems to be taking place in many parts of the world as indicated by recent developments (Bauman 2000; O'Sullivan 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I tender my thanks to V. G. Callender for many critical remarks and discussion of this text.

Severe crisis may be striking without a preliminary call, approaching unnoticed yet with a force, magnitude and consequences we could hardly predict (Kindleberg 2005). However, matters were different just a few years ago. The world seemed to function well, the climate appeared more or less stable and there seemed no reasons for worries. Only a few opinion makers and experts were able to raise their voices in apparent discontent anticipating things looming behind the horizon (Soros 1997). All these phenomena make the study of the so-called *collapse* attractive again (for instance McAnany and N. Yoffee 2009; Yoffee ed. 2019).

In order to better understand the general nature of the term *collapse*, its different definitions, nature, causes and consequences, in the late fall of 2007 I had an opportunity to initiate, in collaboration with the natural scientist and palaeobotanist, Petr Pokorný, and medieval archaeologist, Martin Tomášek, a one-day symposium dealing with the various issues linked to the phenomenon of collapse in different spheres of academic research. In the course of a few days, it was possible to put together a list of experts whom we supposed would have something essential to say on the subject. At that time nobody could foresee that such a conference would engender so much interest, despite the fact that J. Tainter's on collapse among several societies had been out for almost two decades (Tainter 1988).

Tainter took into account most of the major civilizations that have existed on our planet and came to the conclusion that an anthropogenic collapse has these main causes:

- 1. Depletion and destruction of resources, predominantly non-renewable resources vital for life (such as water, arable land, crude oil, etc.);
- 2. Transition to a new resource (for example, from wood to coal, from coal to crude oil);
- 3. Occurrence or appearance of an overwhelming catastrophe (cataclysm, volcanic eruption, tsunami, etc.);
- 4. An inadequate reaction to prevailing conditions;
- 5. Other complex societies (i.e. an encounter with, and a following assimilation by, another technologically more advanced society);
- 6. Intruders;
- 7. Class conflict, social discrepancies, poor governance on the part of the elite or ill treatment of a section of society;
- 8. Social malfunction, when a state discontinues fulfilment of its role to care for its inhabitants;
- 9. Mystical factors;
- 10. Economic factors (such as the collapse in monetary currency, state bankruptcy, etc.) and the casual concatenation of events, including the above-mentioned ones.

With the help of other colleagues, we convened a meeting of a number of disparate scientists from the disciplines of archaeology, Egyptology, history, ecology, evolutionary biology, geology, mathematics, philosophy and the history of arts. The meeting was held in the Czech Academy of Science in Prague (see remarks in the Acknowledgement section). While there were serious hesitations concerning the benefits of having such a mixed group, by the end of the day we were surprised to find that each of the outcomes – and especially their implications – had found an undeniable harmony with each other (Bárta and Pokorný 2008). What transpired above all was the fact that, despite the different nature and definitions of collapse in these separate fields of human experience and enquiry, there were also many characteristics they all had in common.



**Fig. 1.** Metaphor of a collapse. Huge stone sarcophagus chest resting in a corridor in the sacred animal cemetery of Serapeum, Saqqara, Egypt (about 3rd cent. BC). The sarcophagus, which was to contain the body of the sacred Apis bull, never reached its final destination in one of the underground burial chambers. The legitimacy of those who commissioned this work disapeared literally overnight; all workers and officials taking part in this endeavour dropped their tools and gave up their commitments on a single day. This is what means a collapse – sudden loss of complexity, lack of economic means, lost legitimacy, and erosion of commonly shared values compromising the social contract. (M. Bárta)

We have been convinced that it is in the best interest of the study of collapses to fashion an approach through an inter-disciplinary study and cooperation, as collapses have always been the result of the interplay between several internal and external process of different nature. Thus, we have chosen to have the same question addressed by leading experts from different, very often separate fields of science with the hope that a consequent synthesis might be discovered – not only for the purpose of theoretical study, but also for possible lessons regarding our present and future in the handling these crises.

The consensus of our conference was that, in reference to society, a *collapse* is a major and sudden loss of complexity in all major aspects that characterise a given society. This may be due to several causes, such as a failure of the social contract and the loss of eligible and easily available forms of energy – every civilisation is limited by its natural resources (Smil 2017). Our individual authors have studied how the collapse came to happen, in what ways it made itself observable and what was the nature of the course that it followed. The result of this endeavour was, among others, a monograph, consisting of some thirty authors, one which originally appeared in Czech in 2011 (Bárta and Kovář eds. 2011).

The present volume is an off-shoot of that original project. Its main aim was to clarify the basic features of critical moments in the developments of various cultures and civilizations of the past, covering mainly the period of the Holocene. For this enquiry, we sought to include not only the viewpoint of the historian or archaeologist, but also that of the natural scientists and economists. From their combined results, it is quite evident that there are numerous and obvious parallels between different peoples and different historical epochs, despite the fact that these are often separated by large spans of time and space. This publication has also unanimously shown that the triumvirate of archaeology, history and natural sciences represents a powerful tool for the study of the long-term processes at work within all complex societies.

The basic question is how can we track the inevitability of collapse? Or, how can we even anticipate it? Collapse is unwanted, but it manifests itself as a sudden and disruptive change within the overall structure of a given social entity. This book will suggest that it can be anticipated with the help of long term processes governing any kind (in terms of size, complexity and date) of society.

Most societies heading toward or already experiencing collapse processes do not even realize that something may be seriously in disarray. In the same tempting way, we ourselves may also be unaware that the phenomena which usually lead toward a collapse may already be present in our own world. The only considerable difference is that our society has, at least theoretically, and all the necessary knowledge and technologies at its disposal to use for its advantage. Maybe now is the right time to employ this knowledge, given that our Western society may also be confronted with factors so well-known from the past that have the potential to induce a fundamental stage of transformation with a significant loss (or rise) of complexity (Oslon 1982; for the most recent overview of different aspects of a collapse in human history see Middleton 2017, 1–50 with references).

In an earlier publication (Bárta and Kovář, eds., 2011), it was demonstrated with dozens of examples that collapse can be seen as a deep transformation necessary for the regeneration of a malfunctioning system. One of the key outcomes of the book was the conclusion that collapse is not the final point of development, nor is it a dead-end in itself. In most cases, a collapse can be synonymous with expressions such as "transformation" or "renewal", characterised by a severe loss in complexity, a total restructuring and transformation of the system. Complexity is, in this context, seen chiefly in the number of components in the system and the intricacies of the relationships among them. The collapse of cultures and civilizations can be perceived along these lines in several significant characteristics briefly summarized below vet, in contrast to the natural sciences, collapse does not automatically lead to the extinction or disappearance of the system. Thus, in human societies there are a small number of characteristics that can be identified within each collapse. These general characteristics are summarised below (see also: Tainter 1988; Bárta 2011 and Middleton 2017):

#### Definition and Indices of Collapse:

- Collapse means a sudden and substantial loss in complexity.
- Collapse is generally unpredictable and therefore not expectable;
- Collapse is only a result of a protracted crisis of the social system due to inner, long-term processes (Fukuyama 2015 or Lofgren 2016), often in combination with external issues – typically environmental change;
- The actual initiation of the collapse process often necessitates a trigger - an event of no major historical relevance *per se* (take the start of the Czech Velvet Revolution - a peaceful students' gathering in Prague - or the Arab Spring and the self - immolation of the desperate M. Buazizi)
- In the time period preceding a collapse, there is a sudden decrease in economic profitability;
- During a collapse, the existing principal structures, necessary for the operation of the given system, are largely dysfunctional or cease to exist;

- The major consequences of a collapse include decentralization, de-specialization, a decrease in the level of organization and social division;
- Civilizations usually come to a critical stage because of their inner dynamics, but the initiation of the collapse itself is often caused by an external impulse, typically an abrupt climate change (on cyclical climate changes see Bond et al. 1997 and on the role of climate changes in different civilisations compare Weiss ed. 2017);
- The process of a collapse is not linear or evolutionary but happens in major leaps (Bárta 2015, 2016, 2018 and 2019);
- The process of a collapse can also be marked by a substantial loss or transformation in the population and/or ethnicity of a given area, the hierarchical structure, the disappearance of its original spiritual substrate;
- The general population and the malfunctioning elites generally realize that a collapse is occurring only in its final stage, when it is inevitable;
- What really matters is that collapse is usually caused by the same factors that originally, at the beginning of the systems' evolution, instigated its rise (the so-called Heraclitus principle, see Bárta 2016b);
- A traditional decline in arts, architecture, literature or education and knowledge obviously associated with collapse is only a consequence of the loss of complexity (Ward-Perkins 2005).

As it transpires, there is no need to have all the above factors present simultaneously. Before moving on to further considerations, it is important to stress at this point that the following lines are related to collapses that we can observe in the course of "undisturbed" development cycles. Therefore, the following considerations do not apply, for instance, to the collapse of the Mayan and Incan civilizations, which were caused by the external colonization of a society by a technologically and therefore also militarily superior culture, the devastation of Easter Island, the Santorini catastrophe or the explosion of the Krakatoa volcano, etc. (on volcanic explosions and their impact on civilisations see Gunn 2000 or McGuire, Griffiths, Hancock and Stewart 2000).

As has been indicated in our earlier publication (Bárta and Kovář eds. 2011), when it comes to collapse, a significant number of past civilisations have shown common symptoms and, therefore, offer considerable relevance for forewarnings in the future. The history and archaeology can observe the long-term processes at work in the development of civilizations, as well as the subsequent processes of their transformations into collapse and regeneration. This is a perspective that may be offered by archaeology and history. From the previous pages it should result that there is a high scientific relevance in the study of past social processes. Thus, the following factors that lead to the rise and collapse of a given civilisation may be summarised as the following Seven Laws (of civilisations):

#### Law One

Every civilisation is defined in time and space. It is not endless or eternal. Archaeology and history are two of the disciplines which may analyse their rise, maintenance, decline, transformations and/or resurgence (see Morris 2010).

#### Law Two

As a rule, every civilisation consists of more elements which come into being, develop, rise, peak, decline and eventually vanish and on their ruins grow others. Major changes in their development happen by means of leaps (hence *punctuated equilibria theory*) following the longer period of stasis – saturated and seemingly uneventful development.

#### Law Three

Every civilisation uses a universally understood language for communication and commonly accepted system of values and symbols. Every civilisation is (as a rule) characterised by: major centres with a concentration of population, monumental architecture, writing system, sophisticated systems of communication, sharing and storing data - knowledge, hierarchically arranged society, arts and division of labour and the ability to redistribute and share main sources of energy including money (social contract) (comp. Fuller 1969).

#### Law Four

If the prevalent tendency of the civilisation favours consumption of energy over production (negative Energy return on investment, EROI) it won't long be able to sustain the current complexity nor to expand it (Hall, Lambert and Balogh 2014). Eventually it will lose the attained complexity and implode. This is what is traditionally called *collapse*. This collapse is an inherent part of any social development. It is a transformation stage which is unavoidable for the next stage of regeneration. Collapse is not always a dead end in itself.

#### Law Five

Individual components of any given civilisation rise and fall through internal mechanisms inherent in the society (changing bureaucracy, quality of institutions, role of the elites and technologies, ideology and religion, mandatory expenses, social system, etc.) and through the degree of adaptation to external factors - such as climate change. These are the internal and external frameworks of the dynamics of a given civilisations. They are in permanent interaction and under the influence of various cycles within different periods. Therefore, to understand a diachronic development of any society requires a complex and multidisciplinary approach.

#### Law Six

The so-called Heraclitus Principle (called after the Greek philosopher Heraclitus who was one of the early thinkers who probably addressed this issue) has a major impact on all civilisations: those factors that instigate the rise of the system are more often than not identical with those that usher in its collapse.

#### Law Seven

Civilisations dissolve when their system of values, symbols and communication tools disappear. Yet, the collapse does not necessary imply extinction: in most cases, civilisations that consumed their potential give way to a new one, usually carried on by the same or modified genetic substrate (population).

There is every reason to believe that from the study of long-term processes which governed societies in the past we may gather solid information and build a theory that would help us to understand our current world (comp. Ferguson 2010 and 2012). This might in turn help us to discuss possible trajectories for our future. If nothing else, the seven laws may be considered a strategic plan for reducing our future susceptibility for the collapse of our own society and design new strategies how to diminish its impact and consequences.

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