

Western Civilization

Ideas, Politics & Society

PERRY

CHASE

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JACOB

VON LAUE

Volume II: From the 1600s



ixth
ition

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Western Civilization

Ideas, Politics & Society

Sixth Edition

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Preface

Western civilization is a grand but tragic drama. The West has forged the instruments of reason that make possible a rational comprehension of physical nature and human culture, conceived the idea of political liberty, and recognized the intrinsic worth of the individual. But the modern West, though it has unraveled nature's mysteries, has been less successful at finding rational solutions to social ills and conflicts between nations. Science, the great achievement of the Western intellect, while improving conditions of life, has also produced weapons of mass destruction. Though the West has pioneered in the protection of human rights, it has also produced totalitarian regimes that have trampled on individual freedom and human dignity. And although the West has demonstrated a commitment to human equality, it has also practiced brutal racism.

Despite the value that westerners have given to reason and freedom, they have shown a frightening capacity for irrational behavior and a fascination for violence and irrational ideologies, and they have willingly sacrificed liberty for security or national grandeur. The world wars and totalitarian movements of the twentieth century have demonstrated that Western civilization, despite its extraordinary achievements, is fragile and perishable.

Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics, and Society examines the Western tradition—those unique patterns of thought and systems of values that constitute the Western heritage. While focusing on key ideas and broad themes, the text also provides a balanced treatment of economic, political, and social history for students in Western civilization courses.

The text is written with the conviction that history is not a meaningless tale. Without a knowledge of history, men and women cannot fully know themselves, for all human beings have been shaped by institutions and values inherited from the past. Without an awareness of the historical evolution of reason and freedom, the dominant ideals of Western civilization, commitment to these ideals will diminish. Without a knowledge of history, the West cannot fully comprehend or adequately cope with the problems that burden its civilization and the world.

In attempting to make sense out of the past, the authors have been careful to avoid superficial generalizations that oversimplify historical events and forces and arrange history into too neat a structure. But we have striven to interpret and to synthesize in order to provide students with a frame of reference with which to comprehend the principal events and eras in Western history.

CHANGES IN THE SIXTH EDITION

For the sixth edition every chapter has been reworked to some extent. The hundreds of carefully selected modifications and additions significantly enhance the text. Some changes deepen the book's conceptual character; others provide useful and illustrative historical details. The concluding essays in several chapters have been enlarged and improved. Chapters treating intellectual history have been expanded and additional quotations from original sources have been inserted. In the last edition, to help students focus on a chapter's key ideas, we reduced the number of review

questions and rewrote others. This practice has been continued in this edition. The biographical feature has been retained for this edition: each chapter contains a profile, set off in a box, of a significant historical figure. Among the new personalities featured are Hatshepsut, Christine de Pisan, Elizabeth I, Thomas Hobbes, Josephine Butler, and Margaret Thatcher.

Specific changes in Chapter 1, "The Ancient Near East," include expanded treatments of Hammurabi's Code, Assyrian militarism, and Egyptian science, technology, and religion, and a revision of the end piece, "The Religious Orientation of the Near East." The section on individualism in Chapter 2, "The Hebrews," has been broadened. In Chapter 3, "The Greek City-State," we deepened the analysis of Greek politics. We added more on Aristotle's thought in Chapter 4, "Greek Thought." A new section "Hellenism and the Jews" has been inserted in Chapter 5, "The Hellenistic Age." The section "Roman Culture and Law," in Chapter 7, "The Roman Empire," contains new material. In Chapter 8, "Early Christianity," we expanded the discussion of Judaism at the time of Jesus, the relationship between Christianity and Greek philosophy, and the influence of Saint Augustine. The most significant changes in the chapters on the Middle Ages are broader discussions of Islamic society, Christian-Jewish relations, and medieval attitudes toward women. In Chapter 13, "The Renaissance," new material has been added about the impact of the printing press. In Chapter 14, "The Reformation: Shattering of Christendom," more material on women has been added. In Chapter 16, "The Rise of Sovereignty: Transition to the Modern State," more information on the life of Elizabeth I has been included. Chapter 18, "The Age of Enlightenment: Reason and Reform," has also been revised. It offers a socially focused reading of the origins of the Enlightenment and incorporates material on the lives of lay men and women who embraced Protestantism.

In recent years, historians have rethought the question: was the French Revolution a bourgeois revolution? In Chapter 19, "The French Revolution," we have retained from the previous edition our expanded discussion of this issue and have upgraded the concluding essay, "The Meaning of

the French Revolution." Also upgraded are the treatments of nationalism and liberalism in Chapter 22, "Thought and Culture in the Early Nineteenth Century" and Social Darwinism in Chapter 24, "Thought and Culture in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." Chapter 26, "The Industrial West," treats in greater depth the connection between economy and society, including the impact of industrialization on women. Added to the chapter is a section on Russia in the decades prior to the overthrow of tsarism. In Chapter 27, "Western Imperialism," greater attention has been given to the causes of imperialism and its significance for the twentieth century. In Chapter 28, "Modern Consciousness," we have sharpened the discussion of irrationalism and improved the treatment of pivotal thinkers, particularly Nietzsche and Freud. The section on the Russian Revolution has been relocated in Chapter 29, "World War I," which also includes a richer description of soldiering in the trenches. The material on the Soviet Union has been incorporated into a new Chapter 30, "An Era of Totalitarianism," which also contains an analysis of the nature and meaning of totalitarianism. Underlying reasons for the Russian victory on the Eastern front and additional material on the Holocaust have been added to Chapter 32, "World War II."

The final part, "The Contemporary World," has been restructured and rewritten. In Chapter 33, "Europe After World War II," more attention is given to the chief Western European countries since 1945 and the Cold War is treated more comprehensively. The superpower rivalry provides the framework for the chapter, which emphasizes developments in Europe and the Soviet bloc. It also includes a section on decolonization around the world. In Chapter 34, "The Troubled Present," the section on post-communist Russia has been completely rewritten and the section on Eastern Europe revised to include the admission of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic into NATO and outbreaks of ethnic warfare, particularly in Bosnia and Kosovo. The chapter also includes an entirely new section on contemporary Western Europe. Finally, an "Epilogue," which focuses on the meaning of the Western tradition for our own time, has been inserted after the last chapter.

Many of the illustrations are new for this edition. The four-color art inserts and revised art essays provide a comprehensive treatment of the evolution of Western art styles and are closely linked to the text.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

The text contains several innovative pedagogical features. Chapter outlines and introductions provide comprehensive overviews of key themes and give a sense of direction and coherence to the flow of history. Many chapters contain concluding essays that treat the larger meaning of the material. Facts have been carefully selected to illustrate key relationships and concepts and to avoid overwhelming students with unrelated and disconnected data. Appropriate quotations, many not commonly found in texts, have been integrated into the discussion. Each chapter contains notes, an annotated bibliography, and review questions that refer students to principal points and elicit thought.

Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics, and Society is available in both one- and two-volume editions, and in a third edition, *From the 1400s*. *From the 1400s* (22 chapters) has been prepared for those instructors whose courses begin with the Renaissance or the Reformation.

Volume I of the two-volume edition treats the period from the first civilizations in the Near East through the Age of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century (18 chapters). Volume II covers the period from the growth of national-states in the seventeenth century to the contemporary age (19 chapters). Because some instructors start the second half of their course with the period prior to the French Revolution, Volume II incorporates the last three chapters of Volume I: "The Rise of Sovereignty," "The Scientific Revolution," and "The Age of Enlightenment." Volume II also contains a comprehensive introduction that surveys the ancient world, the Middle Ages, and the opening centuries of the modern era; the introduction is designed particularly for students who did not take the first half of the course. *From the 1400s* also contains an introduction that covers the ancient world and the Middle Ages.

ANCILLARIES

These learning and teaching ancillaries also contribute to the text's usefulness.

ACE, on-line student testing service
 Instructor's Resource Manual
 Test Items
 Computerized Test Items
 Map Transparencies
 GeoQuest: CD-ROM interactive maps of Western Civilization

In lieu of a printed Study Guide, we offer a free interactive, on-line student testing service called ACE (A Cyber Evaluation), which contains self-correcting quizzes.

The *Instructor's Resource Manual* has been revised by Professor Diane Moczar of Northern Virginia Community College. The *Manual* contains learning objectives, chapter outlines, suggested lecture topics, topics for classroom discussion, ideas for student projects, and a film and multimedia bibliography. Professor Moczar has added new teaching suggestions throughout the *Manual* and has updated the bibliography. The accompanying *Test Items*, by Professor Dorothy Vogel of Indiana University of Pennsylvania, offers new and revised multiple-choice questions, identification terms, map questions, and essay questions for the sixth edition. The test questions are also available on computer disk for Windows. In addition, a complete set of map transparencies is available on adoption.

To add an exciting multimedia component to lectures and learning laboratories, we have created GeoQuest, a CD-ROM of interactive maps of Western Civilization. GeoQuest shows students the link between history and geography, and it actively engages users. There are sixty maps in GeoQuest: thirty are interactive, thirty are presentation maps. Each of the interactive maps uses one of four types of interactivity, and each contains questions pertaining to the map as well as essay questions relating to both the map and the textbook. These maps cover a variety of topics and places; they span the time period that

begins with ancient Mesopotamia and ends with the fall of the Iron Curtain.

Please contact your local Houghton Mifflin representative for more information about this innovative and exciting multimedia program.

The text represents the efforts of several authors. Marvin Perry, general editor of the project, wrote Chapters 1–12, 19–20, 22–25, 28–32, the Epilogue, and the section on the American Revolution in Chapter 18. James R. Jacob is the author of Chapters 13 and 15. Margaret C. Jacob provided Chapters 14 and 16–18. Myrna Chase wrote Chapters 21, 26–27, and contributed to the section on reform in Britain in Chapter 23. Theodore H. Von Laue wrote Chapters 33 and 34 and contributed the sections on tsarist Russia to Chapter 26, on the Russian Revolution to Chapter 29, and on Communist Russia to Chapter 30. Marvin Perry and George W. Bock edited the manuscript for clarity and continuity.

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M.P.

Introduction

The Foundations of Western Civilization

Western Civilization is a blending of two traditions that emerged in the ancient world: the Judeo-Christian and the Greco-Roman. Before these traditions took shape, the drama of civilization was well advanced, having begun some five thousand years ago in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Religion was the central force in these first civilizations in the Near East. Religion explained the operations of nature, justified traditional rules of morality, and helped people to deal with their fear of death. Law was considered sacred, a commandment of the gods. Religion united people in the common enterprises needed for survival, such as the construction of irrigation works. Religion also promoted creative achievements in art, literature, and science. In addition, the power of rulers, who were regarded as gods or as agents of the gods, derived from the religious outlook. The many achievements of the Egyptians and the Mesopotamians were inherited and assimilated by both the Greeks and the Hebrews, the spiritual ancestors of Western civilization. But Greeks and Hebrews also rejected and transformed elements of the older Near Eastern traditions and conceived a new view of God, nature, and the individual.

THE HEBREWS

By asserting that God was one, sovereign, transcendent, and good, the Hebrews effected a religious revolution that separated them forever from the world-views of the Mesopotamians and Egyptians. This new conception of God led to a

new awareness of the individual. In confronting God, the Hebrews developed an awareness of *self*, or I. The individual became conscious of his or her moral autonomy and personal worth. The Hebrews believed that God had bestowed on his people the capacity for moral freedom—they could choose between good and evil. Fundamental to Hebrew belief was the insistence that God had created human beings to be free moral agents. God did not want people to grovel before him, but to fulfill their moral potential by freely making the choice to follow, or not to follow, God's law. Thus, the Hebrews conceived the idea of moral freedom—that each individual is responsible for his or her own actions. Inherited by Christianity, this idea of moral autonomy is central to the Western tradition.

The Hebrew conception of ethical monotheism, with its stress on human dignity, is one source of the Western tradition. The other source derives from the ancient Greeks; they originated scientific and philosophical thought and conceived both the idea and the practice of political freedom.

THE GREEKS

In the Near East, religion dominated political activity, and following the mandates of the gods was a ruler's first responsibility. What made Greek political life different from that of earlier civilizations—and gives it enduring significance—was the Greeks' gradual realization that community problems were caused by human beings and

required human solutions. The Greeks came to understand law as an achievement of the rational mind, rather than as an edict imposed by the gods. In the process, they also originated the idea of political freedom and created democratic institutions.

Greece comprised small, independent city-states. In the fifth century B.C., the city-state (*polis*) was in its maturity. A self-governing community, it expressed the will of free citizens, not the desires of gods, hereditary kings, or priests. The democratic orientation of the city-states was best exemplified by Athens, which was also the leading cultural center of Greece. In the Assembly, which was open to all adult male citizens, Athenians debated and voted on key issues of state.

Besides the idea of political freedom, the Greeks conceived a new way of viewing nature and human society. The first speculative philosophers emerged during the sixth century B.C. in Greek cities located in Ionia, in Asia Minor. Curious about the basic composition of nature and dissatisfied with earlier legends about creation, the Ionians sought physical, rather than mythoreligious, explanations for natural occurrences.

During this search, these philosophers arrived at a new concept of nature and a new method of inquiry. They maintained that nature was not manipulated by arbitrary and willful gods and that it was not governed by blind chance. The Ionians said that underlying the seeming chaos of nature were principles of order, that is, general rules that could be ascertained by human minds. The discovery marks the beginning of scientific thought. It made possible theoretical thinking and the systematization of knowledge. This is distinct from the mere observation and collection of data. Greek mathematicians, for example, organized the Egyptians' practical experience with land measurements into the logical and coherent science of geometry. The Greeks also used the data collected by Babylonian priests, who observed the heavens because they believed that the stars revealed their gods' wishes. However, the Greeks' purpose was not religious—they sought to discover the geometric laws underlying the motion of heavenly bodies. At the same time, Greek physicians drew a distinction between medicine and magic and began to examine human illness in

an empirical and rational way. By the fifth century, the Greek mind had applied reason to the physical world and to all human activities. This emphasis on reason marks a turning point for human civilization.

In their effort to understand the external world, early Greek thinkers had created the tools of reason. Greek thinkers now began a rational investigation of the human being and the human community. The key figure in this development was Socrates.

Socrates' central concern was the perfection of individual human character and the achievement of moral excellence. Excellence of character was achieved, said Socrates, when individuals regulated their lives according to objective standards arrived at through rational reflection, that is, when reason became the formative, guiding, and ruling agency of the soul. Socrates wanted to subject all human beliefs and behavior to the clear light of reason and in this way to remove ethics from the realm of authority, tradition, dogma, superstition, and myth. He believed that reason was the only proper guide to the most crucial problem of human existence—the question of good and evil.

Plato, Socrates' most important disciple, used his master's teachings to create a comprehensive system of philosophy, which embraced the world of nature and the social world. Socrates had taught that there were universal standards of right and justice and that these were arrived at through thought. Building on the insights of his teacher, Plato insisted on the existence of a higher world of reality, independent of the world of things experienced every day. This higher reality, he said, is the realm of Ideas, or Forms—unchanging, eternal, absolute, and universal standards of beauty, goodness, justice, and so forth. Truth resides in this world of Forms and not in the world revealed through the human senses.

Aristotle, Plato's student, was the leading expert of this time in every field of knowledge, with the possible exception of mathematics. Aristotle objected to Plato's devaluing of the material world. Possessing a scientist's curiosity to understand the facts of nature, Aristotle appreciated the world of phenomena, of concrete things, and respected knowledge obtained through the senses. Like Plato, Aristotle believed that understanding

universal principles is the ultimate aim of knowledge. But unlike Plato, Aristotle held that to obtain such knowledge the individual must study the world of facts and objects revealed through sight, hearing, and touch. Aristotle adapted Plato's stress on universal principles to the requirements of natural science.

By discovering theoretical reason, by defining political freedom, and by affirming the worth and potential of human personality, the Greeks broke with the past and founded the rational and humanist tradition of the West. "Had Greek civilization never existed," said poet W. H. Auden, "we would never have become fully conscious, which is to say that we would never have become, for better or worse, fully human."¹

THE HELLENISTIC AGE

By 338 B.C., Philip of Macedonia (a kingdom to the north of Greece) had extended his dominion over the Greek city-states. After the assassination of Philip in 336 B.C., his twenty-year-old son Alexander succeeded to the throne. Fiery, proud, and ambitious, Alexander sought to conquer the vast Persian Empire. Winning every battle, Alexander's army carved out an empire that stretched from Greece to India. In 323 B.C., Alexander, not yet thirty-three years of age, died of a fever. His generals engaged in a long and bitter struggle to succeed him. As none of the generals or their heirs could predominate, Alexander's empire was fractured into separate states.

The period from the early city-states that emerged in 800 B.C. until the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. is called the *Hellenic Age*. The next stage in the evolution of Greek civilization (*Hellenism*) is called the *Hellenistic Age*. It ended in 30 B.C., when Egypt, the last major Hellenistic state, fell to Rome.

Although the Hellenistic Age had absorbed the heritage of classical (Hellenic) Greece, its style of civilization changed. During the first phase of Hellenism, the polis had given the individual identity, and it was believed that only within the polis could a Greek live a good and civilized life. During the Hellenistic Age, this situation changed. Kingdoms eclipsed the city-states in power and importance. Although cities retained a

large measure of autonomy in domestic affairs, they had lost their freedom of action in foreign affairs. No longer were they the self-sufficient and independent communities of the Hellenic period.

Hellenistic society was characterized by a mingling of peoples and an interchange of cultures. As a result of Alexander's conquests, tens of thousands of Greek soldiers, merchants, and administrators settled in eastern lands. Greek traditions spread to the Near East, and Mesopotamian, Hebrew, and Persian traditions—particularly religious beliefs—moved westward. Cities were founded in the East patterned after the city-states of Greece. The ruling class in each Hellenistic city was united by a common Hellenism, which overcame national, linguistic, and racial distinctions.

During the Hellenistic Age, Greek scientific achievement reached its height. Hellenistic scientists attempted a rational analysis of nature, engaged in research, organized knowledge in a logical fashion, devised procedures for mathematical proof, separated medicine from magic, grasped the theory of experiment, and applied scientific principles to mechanical devices. Hellenistic science, says historian Benjamin Farrington, stood "on the threshold of the modern world. When modern science began in the sixteenth century, it took up where the Greeks left off."²

Hellenistic philosophers preserved the rational tradition of Greek philosophy. Like their Hellenic predecessors, they regarded the cosmos as governed by universal principles intelligible to the rational mind. The most important philosophy in the Hellenistic world was Stoicism. By teaching that the world constituted a single society, Stoicism gave theoretical expression to the cosmopolitanism and universalism of the age. Stoicism, with its concept of a world-state, offered an answer to the problems of the loss of community and the alienation caused by the decline of the city-state. By stressing inner strength in dealing with life's misfortunes, Stoicism offered an avenue to individual happiness in a world fraught with uncertainty.

At the core of Stoicism was the belief that the universe contained a principle of order: the *Logos* (reason). This ruling principle permeated all things; it accounted for the orderliness of nature.

Because people were part of the universe, said the Stoics, they also shared in the Logos, which operated throughout the cosmos. Since reason was common to all, human beings were essentially members of the same human family and fundamentally equal.

Stoicism had an enduring impact on the Western mind. To some Roman political theorists, their Empire fulfilled the Stoic ideal of a world community in which people of different nationalities held citizenship and were governed by a worldwide law that accorded with the law of reason, or natural law that operated throughout the universe. Stoic beliefs—that all human beings are members of one family; that each person is significant; that distinctions of rank are of no account; and that human law should not conflict with natural law—were incorporated into Roman jurisprudence, Christian thought, and modern liberalism. There is continuity between Stoic thought and the principle of inalienable rights stated in the American Declaration of Independence.

ROME

Rome, conquerer of the Mediterranean world and transmitter of Hellenism, inherited the universalist tendencies of the Hellenistic Age and embodied them in its law and institutions. Roman history falls into two periods: the Republic, which began in 509 B.C. with the overthrow of the Etruscan monarchy; and the Empire, which started in 27 B.C., when Octavian became, in effect, the first Roman emperor.

The Roman Republic

The history of the Roman Republic was marked by three principal developments: the struggle between patricians and plebeians, the conquest of Italy and the Mediterranean world, and the civil wars. At the beginning of the fifth century B.C., Rome was dominated by *patricians* (the land-owning aristocrats). The *plebeians* (commoners) had many grievances; these included enslavement for debt, discrimination in the courts, prevention of intermarriage with patricians, lack of political

representation, and the absence of a written code of law.

Resentful of their inferior status, the plebeians organized and waged a struggle for political, legal, and social equality. They resisted every step of the way by the patricians, who wanted to preserve their dominance. The plebeians had one decisive weapon: their threat to secede from Rome, that is, not to pay taxes, work, or serve in the army. Realizing that Rome, which was constantly involved in warfare on the Italian peninsula, could not endure without plebeian help, the pragmatic patricians begrudgingly made concessions. Thus, the plebeians slowly gained legal equality.

Although many plebeian grievances were resolved and the plebeians obtained the right to sit in the Senate, the principal organ of government, Rome was still ruled by an upper class. Power was concentrated in a ruling oligarchy, consisting of patricians and influential plebeians, who had joined forces with the old nobility.

By 146 B.C., Rome had become the dominant power in the Mediterranean world. Roman expansion occurred in three main stages: the uniting of the Italian peninsula, which gave Rome the manpower that transformed it from a city-state into a great power; the struggle with Carthage, from which Rome emerged as ruler of the western Mediterranean; and the subjugation of the Hellenistic states of the eastern Mediterranean, which brought Romans into close contact with Greek civilization.

A crucial consequence of expansion was Roman contact with the legal experience of other peoples. Roman jurists, demonstrating the Roman virtues of pragmatism and common sense, selectively incorporated elements of the legal codes and traditions of these nations into Roman law. Thus, Roman jurists gradually and empirically fashioned the *jus gentium*, the law of nations, or peoples.

Roman jurists came to identify the *jus gentium* with the natural law (*jus naturale*) of the Stoics. The jurists said that law should accord with rational principles inherent in nature—universal norms capable of being discerned by rational people. The law of nations—Roman civil law (the law of the Roman state), combined with principles drawn from Greek and other sources—even

tually replaced much of the local law in the Empire. This evolution of a universal code of law that gave expression to the Stoic principles of common rationality and humanity was the great achievement of Roman rule.

Another consequence of expansion was increased contact with Greek culture. Gradually, the Romans acquired knowledge from Greece about scientific thought, philosophy, medicine and geography. Adopting the humanist outlook of the Greeks, the Romans came to value human intelligence and eloquent and graceful prose and oratory. Rome creatively assimilated the Greek achievement and transmitted it to others, thereby extending the orbit of Hellenism.

During Rome's march to empire, all its classes had demonstrated a magnificent civic spirit in fighting foreign wars. With Carthage and Macedonia no longer threatening Rome, this cooperation deteriorated. Rome became torn apart by internal dissension during the first century B.C.

Julius Caesar, a popular military commander, gained control of the government. Caesar believed that only strong and enlightened leadership could permanently end the civil warfare destroying Rome. Rome's ruling class feared that Caesar would destroy the Republic and turn Rome into a monarchy. Regarding themselves as defenders of republican liberties and senatorial leadership, aristocratic conspirators assassinated Caesar in 44 B.C. The murder of Caesar plunged Rome into renewed civil war. Finally, in 31 B.C., Octavian, Caesar's adopted son, defeated his rivals and emerged as master of Rome. Four years later, Octavian, now called Augustus, became, in effect, the first Roman emperor.

The Roman Empire

The rule of Augustus signified the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of the Roman Empire—the termination of aristocratic politics and the emergence of one-man rule. Under Augustus, the power of the ruler was disguised; in ensuing generations, however, emperors would wield absolute power openly.

Augustus was by no means a self-seeking tyrant, but a creative statesman. His reforms rescued a dying Roman world and inaugurated

Rome's greatest age. For the next two hundred years, the Mediterranean world enjoyed the blessings of the *Pax Romana*, the Roman peace.

The ancient world had never experienced such a long period of peace, order, efficient administration, and prosperity. The Romans called the *Pax Romana* a "Time of Happiness." It was the fulfillment of Rome's mission—the creation of a world-state that provided peace, security, ordered civilization, and the rule of law. The cities of the Roman Empire served as centers of Greco-Roman civilization, which spread to the furthest reaches of the Mediterranean. Roman citizenship, gradually granted, was finally extended to virtually all free men by an edict in A.D. 212.

In the third century, the ordered civilization of the *Pax Romana* ended. The Roman Empire was plunged into military anarchy, as generals, supported by their soldiers, fought for the throne. Germanic tribesmen broke through the deteriorating border defenses to raid, loot, and destroy. Economic problems caused cities, the centers of civilization, to decay. Increasingly, people turned away from the humanist values of the Greco-Roman civilization and embraced Near Eastern religions, which offered a sense of belonging, a promise of immortality, and relief from earthly misery.

The emperors Diocletian (285–305) and Constantine (306–337) tried to contain the forces of disintegration by tightening the reins of government and squeezing more taxes out of the citizens. In the process, they divided the Empire into eastern and western halves, and transformed Rome into a bureaucratic, regimented, and militarized state.

Diocletian and Constantine had given Rome a reprieve, but in the last part of the fourth century, the problem of guarding the frontier grew more acute. At the end of 406, the border finally collapsed; numerous German tribes overran the Empire's western provinces. In 410 and again in 455, Rome was sacked by Germanic invaders. German soldiers in the pay of Rome gained control of the government and dictated the choice of emperor. In 476, German officers overthrew the Roman emperor Romulus and placed a fellow German on the throne. The act is traditionally regarded as the end of the Roman Empire in the West.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY

When the Roman Empire was in decline, a new religion, Christianity, was sweeping across the Mediterranean world. Christianity was based on the life, death, and teachings of Jesus, a Palestinian Jew who was executed by the Roman authorities. Jesus was heir to the ethical monotheism of the Hebrew prophets. He also taught the imminent coming of the reign of God and the need for people to repent their sins—to transform themselves morally in order to enter God's kingdom. People must love God and their fellow human beings.

In the time immediately following the crucifixion of Jesus, his followers were almost exclusively Jews, who could more appropriately be called Jewish-Christians. To the first members of the Christian movement, Jesus was both a prophet, who proclaimed God's power and purpose, and the Messiah, whose coming heralded a new age. To Paul, another Jewish-Christian, Jesus was a resurrected redeemer who offered salvation to all peoples. Although Paul was not very precise about the divinity of Jesus and his prior existence, he did frequently refer to him as the Son of God and the Divine Wisdom, through whom all things were created and in whom God's purpose is revealed. He taught that the crucified Messiah had suffered and died for the sins of human beings, that through Jesus, God had shown his love of humanity and revealed himself to all people, both Jew and Gentile, and that this revelation supplanted the earlier one to the Jewish people. Increasingly Jesus' followers came to view the sacrificial Messiah as a savior-god, indeed as God incarnate.

The Christian message of a divine Savior, a concerned Father, and brotherly love inspired men and women who were dissatisfied with the world of the here-and-now, who felt no attachment to city or Empire, who derived no inspiration from philosophy, and who suffered from a profound sense of loneliness. Christianity offered the individual what the city and the Roman world-state could not: a personal relationship with God, a promise of eternal life, and membership in a community of the faithful (the church) who cared for each other.

Unable to crush Christianity by persecution,

Roman emperors decided to gain the support of the growing number of Christians within the Empire. By A.D. 392, Theodosius I had made Christianity the state religion of the Empire and declared the worship of pagan gods illegal.

The Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman traditions are the two principal components of Western civilization. Both traditions valued the individual. For classical humanism, individual worth derived from the human capacity to reason—to shape character and life according to rational standards. Christianity also places great stress on the individual. It teaches that God cares for each person and wants people to behave righteously, and that he made them morally autonomous.

Despite their common emphasis on the individual, the Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman traditions essentially have different world-views. With the victory of Christianity, the ultimate goal of life shifted from achieving excellence in this world, through the full and creative development of human talent, toward attaining salvation in a heavenly city. For Christians, a person's worldly accomplishments counted very little if he or she did not accept God and his revelation. Greek classicism held that there was no authority higher than reason; Christianity taught that without God as the starting point, knowledge is formless, purposeless, and error-prone.

But Christian thinkers did not seek to eradicate the rational tradition of Greece. Rather, they sought to fit Greek philosophy into a Christian framework. In doing so, Christians performed a task of immense historical significance—the preservation of Greek philosophy.

THE MIDDLE AGES

The triumph of Christianity and the establishment of Germanic kingdoms on once Roman lands constituted a new phase in Western history: the end of the ancient world and the beginning of the Middle Ages. In the ancient world, the locus of Greco-Roman civilization was the Mediterranean Sea. The heartland of medieval civilization shifted to the north, to regions of Europe that Greco-Roman civilization had barely penetrated.

The Early Middle Ages

During the Early Middle Ages (500–1050), a common civilization evolved, with Christianity at the center, Rome as the spiritual capital, and Latin as the language of intellectual life. The opening centuries of the Middle Ages were marked by a decline in trade, town life, central authority, and learning. The Germans were culturally unprepared to breathe new life into classical civilization. A new civilization with its own distinctive style was taking root, however. It consisted of Greco-Roman survivals, the native traditions of the Germans, and the Christian outlook.

Christianity was the integrating principle of the Middle Ages, and the church the dominant institution. People came to see themselves as participants in a great drama of salvation. There was only one truth—God’s revelation to humanity. There was only one avenue to heaven—the church. To the medieval mind, society without the church was as inconceivable as life without the Christian view of God. By teaching a higher morality, the church tamed the warrior habits of the Germanic peoples. By copying and preserving ancient texts, monks kept alive elements of the high civilization of Greece and Rome.

One German people, the Franks, built a viable kingdom, with major centers in France and the Rhine Valley of Germany. Under Charlemagne, who ruled from 768 to 814, the Frankish empire reached its height. On Christmas Day in the year 800, Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne as “Emperor of the Romans.” The title signified that the tradition of a world empire still survived, despite the demise of the Roman Empire three hundred years earlier. Because the pope crowned Charlemagne, this act meant that the emperor had a spiritual responsibility to spread and defend the faith.

The crowning of a German ruler as emperor of the Romans by the head of the church represented the merging of German, Christian, and Roman elements—the essential characteristic of medieval civilization. This blending of traditions was also evident on a cultural plane, for Charlemagne, a German warrior-king, showed respect for classical learning and Christianity, both non-Germanic traditions. During his reign, a distinct

European civilization took root, but it was centuries away from fruition.

Charlemagne’s successors could not hold the empire together, and it disintegrated. As central authority waned, large landowners began to exercise authority over their own regions. Furthering this movement toward localism and decentralization were simultaneous invasions by Muslims, Vikings from Scandinavia, and Magyars, originally from western Asia. The invaders devastated villages, destroyed ports, and killed many people. Trade was at a standstill, coins no longer circulated, and untended farms became wastelands. The European community collapsed, the political authority of kings disappeared, and cultural life and learning withered.

During these times, large landowners, or lords, wielded power formerly held by kings over their subjects, an arrangement called *feudalism*. Arising during a period of collapsing central authority, invasion, scanty public revenues, and declining commerce and town life, feudalism attempted to provide some order and security. A principal feature of feudalism was the practice of *vassalage*, in which a man in a solemn ceremony pledged loyalty to a lord. The lord received military service from his vassal, and the vassal obtained land, called a *fief*, from his lord.

Feudalism was built on an economic foundation known as manorialism. A village community (manor), consisting of serfs bound to the land, became the essential agricultural arrangement in medieval society. In return for protection and the right to cultivate fields, serfs owed obligations to their lords, and their personal freedom was restricted in a variety of ways.

Manorialism and feudalism presupposed an unchanging social order with a rigid system of estates, or orders—clergy who prayed, lords who fought, and peasants who toiled. The revival of an urban economy and the reemergence of the king’s authority in the High Middle Ages (about 1050–1270) would undermine feudal and manorial relationships.

The High Middle Ages

By the end of the eleventh century, Europe showed many signs of recovery and vitality. The

invasions of Magyars and Vikings had ended, and kings and powerful lords imposed greater order in their territories. Improvements in technology and the clearing of new lands increased agricultural production. More food, the fortunate absence of plagues, and the limited nature of feudal warfare contributed to a population increase.

Expanding agricultural production, the end of Viking attacks, greater political stability, and a larger population revived commerce. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, local, regional, and long-distance trade gained such a momentum that some historians describe the period as a commercial revolution that surpassed the commercial activity of the Roman Empire during the *Pax Romana*.

In the eleventh century, towns reemerged throughout Europe and in the next century became active centers of commerce and intellectual life. Socially, economically, and culturally, towns were a new and revolutionary force. Towns contributed to the decline of manorialism because they provided new opportunities for commoners, apart from food production.

A new class (the middle class) of merchants and artisans appeared; unlike the lords and serfs, the members of this class were not connected with the land. Townspeople possessed a value system different from that of lords, serfs, or clerics. Whereas the clergy prepared people for heaven, the feudal lords fought and hunted, and the serfs toiled in small villages, townspeople engaged in business and had money and freedom. Townspeople were freeing themselves from the prejudices of both feudal aristocrats, who considered trade and manual work degrading, and the clergy, who cursed the pursuit of riches as an obstacle to salvation. Townspeople were critical, dynamic, and progressive—a force for change.

Other signs of growing vitality in Latin Christendom (western and central Europe) were the greater order and security provided by the emergence of states. While feudalism fostered a Europe that was split into many local regions, each ruled by a lord, the church envisioned a vast Christian commonwealth, *Repubblica Christiana*, guided by the pope. During the High Middle Ages, the ideal of a universal Christian commu-

nity seemed close to fruition. Never again would Europe possess such spiritual unity.

But forces were propelling Europe in a different direction. Aided by educated and trained officials who enforced royal law, tried people in royal courts, and collected royal taxes, kings enlarged their territories and slowly fashioned strong central governments. Gradually, subjects began to transfer their prime loyalty from the church and their lords to the person of the king. In the process, the foundations of European states were laid. Not all areas followed the same pattern. England and France achieved a large measure of unity during the Middle Ages; Germany and Italy remained divided into numerous independent territories.

Along with economic recovery and political stability, the High Middle Ages experienced a growing spiritual vitality. This vigor was marked by several developments. The common people showed greater devotion to the church. Within the church, reform movements attacked clerical abuses, and the papacy grew more powerful. Holy wars against the Muslims drew the Christian community closer together. During this period, the church, with great determination, tried to make society follow divine standards, that is, to shape all institutions according to a comprehensive Christian outlook.

European economic and religious vitality was paralleled by a flowering of philosophy, literature, and the visual arts. Creative intellects achieved on a cultural level what the papacy accomplished on an institutional level—the integration of society around a Christian viewpoint. The High Middle Ages saw the restoration of some learning of the ancient world, the rise of universities, the emergence of an original form of architecture (the Gothic), and the creation of an imposing system of thought (scholasticism).

Medieval theologian-philosophers, called *scholastics*, fashioned Christian teachings into an all-embracing philosophy, which represented the spiritual essence of medieval civilization. They achieved what Christian thinkers in the Roman Empire had initiated and what learned men of the Early Middle Ages were groping for: a synthesis of Greek philosophy and Christian revelation.

The Late Middle Ages

By the fourteenth century, Latin Christendom had experienced more than 250 years of growth, but during the Late Middle Ages, roughly the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, medieval civilization declined. The fourteenth century, an age of adversity, was marked by crop failures, famine, population decline, plagues, stagnating production, unemployment, inflation, devastating warfare, abandoned villages, and violent rebellions by the poor and weak of towns and countryside, who were ruthlessly suppressed by the upper classes. This century witnessed flights into mysticism, outbreaks of mass hysteria, and massacres of Jews; it was an age of pessimism and general insecurity. Papal power declined, heresy proliferated, and the synthesis of faith and reason erected by the Christian thinkers during the High Middle Ages began to disintegrate. All these developments were signs that the stable and coherent civilization of the thirteenth century was drawing to a close.

The Middle Ages and the Modern World

But the decline of medieval civilization in the fourteenth century brought no new dark age to Europe. Its economic and political institutions and technological skills had grown too strong. Instead, the waning of the Middle Ages opened up possibilities for another stage in Western civilization—the modern age.

The modern world is linked to the Middle Ages in innumerable ways. European cities, the middle class, the state system, English common law, universities—all had their origins in the Middle Ages. During the Middle Ages, important advances were made in business practices, such as double-entry bookkeeping and the growth of credit and banking facilities. By translating and commenting on the writings of Greek philosophers and scientists, medieval scholars preserved a priceless intellectual heritage without which the modern mind could never have evolved. During the Middle Ages, Europeans began to lead the rest of the world in the development of technology.

Medieval philosophers, believing that God's law was superior to the decrees of states, provided a theoretical basis for opposing tyrannical kings who violated Christian principles. The idea that both the ruler and the ruled are bound by a higher law would become a crucial element of modern liberal thought. The Christian stress on the sacred worth of the individual and on the higher law of God has never ceased to influence Western civilization. The Christian commandment to "love thy neighbor" has permeated modern reform movements.

Feudalism contributed to the history of liberty. The idea evolved that law should not be imposed by an absolute monarch but that it required the collaboration of kings and subjects; that a king, too, should be bound by the law; and that lords should have the right to resist a monarch who violated agreements. Related to this development was the emergence of representative institutions, notably the English Parliament. The king was expected to consult its members on matters concerning the realm's affairs.

Despite these elements of continuity, the characteristic outlook of the Middle Ages was very different from that of the modern world. Religion was the integrating feature of the Middle Ages, whereas science and secularism determine the modern outlook. Medieval thought began with the existence of God and the truth of his revelation as interpreted by the church, which set the standards and defined the purposes for human endeavor.

The medieval mind rejected the fundamental principle of Greek philosophy and modern thought—the autonomy of reason. Without the guidance of revealed truth, reason was seen as feeble. Unlike either ancient or modern thinkers, medieval scholars believed that ultimately reason alone could not provide a unified view of nature or society. To understand nature, law, morality, or the state, it was necessary to know its relationship to a supernatural order, a higher world.

In the modern view, both nature and the human intellect are self-sufficient. Nature is a mathematical system that operates without miracles or any other form of divine intervention. To comprehend nature and society, the mind needs no divine assistance; it accepts no authority above

reason. The modern mind finds it unacceptable to reject conclusions of science on the basis of clerical authority and revelation or to base politics, law, and economics on religion; it rejects the medieval division of the universe into a heavenly realm of perfection and a lower earthly realm. Scientific and secular attitudes have driven Christianity and faith from their central position to the periphery of human concerns.

EARLY MODERN EUROPE

From the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century through the Age of Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, the outlook and institutions of the Middle Ages disintegrated and distinctly modern forms emerged. This radical change in European civilization could be seen on every level of society. On the economic level, commerce and industry expanded greatly, and capitalism largely replaced medieval forms of economic organization. In political life, central government grew stronger at the expense of feudalism. On the religious level, the unity of Christendom became fragmented by the rise of Protestantism. On the social level, middle-class townspeople, increasing in number and wealth, started playing a more important role in economic and cultural life. In consequence, the clergy lost its monopoly over learning, and the otherworldly orientation of the Middle Ages gave way to a secular outlook in literature and the arts. Theology, the queen of the sciences in the Middle Ages, surrendered its crown to mathematics and the study of nature.

The Renaissance

Many new tendencies manifested themselves dramatically during the Renaissance, a period beginning about 1350 and lasting two centuries. The word *renaissance* means rebirth, and it is used to refer to the attempt by artists and thinkers to recover and apply the learning and standards of ancient Greece and Rome. The Renaissance was an age of transition during which crucial elements of the medieval outlook were rejected, classical cultural forms were revived, and modern attitudes emerged. The Renaissance was not a complete

and sudden break with the Middle Ages; many medieval ways and attitudes persisted. Nevertheless, the thesis that the Renaissance represents the birth of modernity has much in its favor.

New economic, political, and social conditions presented new challenges, for which the old order of priests and feudal lords provided no answers. So the men and women of the Renaissance reached back beyond the feudal order—which they said belonged to the “Dark Ages”—to classical antiquity, where all seemed light, refinement, and civilization. They consciously modeled themselves on the standards set by ancient Greece and Rome. They ransacked monastic libraries for manuscript records of ancient wisdom and studied ancient ruins as examples of architectural and artistic perfection. They identified much more with the urban and urbane culture of antiquity than they did with the more recent, and to their minds, barbarous past.

The Renaissance began in the independent city-states of northern Italy in the late fourteenth century; during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, its ideas spread to other lands in Europe. In the developed urban centers of Italy, commercial elites enjoyed the leisure and freedom that came with the wealth procured by trade. The wealthy Italian city-states acted as magnets. They attracted men of talent in every field—the military, government, business, the arts, and education—because of the rewards available to those who succeeded. Renaissance society was marked by a growing *secular outlook*. To be sure, the people were neither nonbelievers nor atheists. Increasingly, however, religion had to compete with worldly concerns. Members of the urban upper class did not allow religion to interfere with their quest for the full life. This worldliness found concrete expression in Renaissance art and literature.

Individualism was another hallmark of Renaissance society. The competitive marketplace in which they operated taught the urban elite to assert their own personalities, to demonstrate their unique talents, and to fulfill their ambitions. Individualism also found expression in portrait art, which aspired to capture a person’s uniqueness. At the same time, explorers ventured into uncharted seas, conquerors carved out empires in the New World, and merchant-capitalists amassed fortunes.