Sources OF THE WESTERN TRADITION

SECOND EDITION

VOLUME II: FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO THE PRESENT

PERRY ▾ Peden ▾ Von Laue

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Marvin Perry
Baruch College, City University of New York

Joseph R. Peden
Baruch College, City University of New York

Theodore H. Von Laue
Clark University

George W. Bock, Editorial Associate

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P. xv: From Marvin Perry *Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics, and Society,* Third Edition, pp. 251–255. Copyright © 1989 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Chapter 1

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P. 9: "Love for Greek Literature" from Henry Osborn

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Preface

Teachers of the Western Civilization survey have long recognized the pedagogical value of primary sources, which are the raw materials of history. The second edition of *Sources of the Western Tradition* contains a wide assortment of documents — over 300 and virtually all primary sources — that have been carefully selected and edited to fit the needs of the survey and to supplement standard texts.

We have based our choice of documents for the two volumes on several criteria. In order to introduce students to those ideas and values that characterize the Western tradition, *Sources of the Western Tradition* emphasizes primarily the works of the great thinkers. While focusing on the great ideas that have shaped the Western heritage, however, the reader also provides a balanced treatment of political, economic, and social history. We have tried to select documents that capture the characteristic outlook of an age and that provide a sense of the movement and development of Western history. The readings are of sufficient length to convey their essential meaning, and we have carefully extracted those passages that focus on the documents' main ideas.

An important feature of the reader is the grouping of several documents that illuminate a single theme; such a constellation of related readings reinforces understanding of important themes and invites comparison, analysis, and interpretation. In Volume I, Chapter 5, for example, Selection 6, "Third-Century Crisis," contains three readings: "Caracalla's Extortions" (from Dio Cassius), "Petition to Emperor Philip," and "Extortions of Maximinus" (from Herodian). In Volume II, Chapter 11, Selection 7, "The Anguish of the Intellectuals," contains readings by José Ortega y Gasset, Thomas Mann, and Arthur Koestler.

An overriding concern of the editors in preparing this compilation was to make the documents accessible — to enable students to comprehend and to interpret historical documents on their own. We have provided several pedagogical features to facilitate this aim. Introductions of three types explain the historical setting, the authors' intent, and the meaning and significance of the readings. First, introductions to each of the twenty-three chapters provide comprehensive overviews to periods. Second, introductions to each numbered section or grouping treat the historical background for the reading(s) that follow(s). Third, each reading has a brief headnote that provides specific details about that reading.

Within some readings, Interlinear Notes, clearly set off from the text of the document, serve as transitions and suggest the main themes of the passages that follow. Used primarily in longer extracts of the great thinkers, these interlinear notes help to guide students through the readings.

To aid students' comprehension, brief, bracketed editorial definitions or notes that explain unfamiliar or foreign terms are inserted into the running text. When terms or concepts in the documents require fuller explanations, these appear at the bottom of pages as editors' footnotes. Where helpful, we have retained the notes of authors, translators, or editors from whose works the documents were acquired. (The latter have asterisks, daggers, etcetera, to distinguish them from our numbered explanatory notes.) The Review Questions that appear at the end of sections enable students to check

their understanding of the documents; sometimes the questions ask for comparisons with other readings, linking or contrasting key concepts.

For ancient sources, we have generally selected recent translations that are both faithful to the text and readable. For some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English documents, the archaic spelling has been retained, when this does not preclude comprehension, in order to show students how the English language has evolved over time.

The pictures that open each chapter illustrate an important theme covered in the chapter. In addition, in each volume there is a five-page section (between Chapters 5 and 6 in Volume I and between Chapters 8 and 9 in Volume II) devoted to art. In Volume I, "Elements of Classical, Medieval, and Renaissance Art" samples sculptural and architectural styles. Volume II's "Developments in Painting from Impressionism to the Abstract" samples the varied styles of painting in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

For the second edition, we have reworked all chapters. Documents that we have retained have been re-edited; in many cases we have cut extraneous passages, inserted additional notes to clarify historical events and terms, and defined technical words. Wherever possible we have extended the constellation format; many documents used in the first edition and documents added for this edition have been grouped together to illuminate significant themes.

In virtually every chapter, readings that proved to be less useful have been replaced by new ones. The second edition of Volume I contains around twenty-five new sources. For example, in Chapter 3, "The Greeks," to illustrate the theme of humanism we have provided Pindar's ode affirming the pursuit of excellence and the famous passage from *Antigone* in which Sophocles lauds human talents. An excerpt from *Lysistrata* expands the treatment of women in ancient Greece and illustrates Aristophanes' comic genius. Thucydides' reconstruction of a Spartan king's plea for moderation and caution raises fundamental questions about foreign policy, and the passages from *Politics* treat key themes in Aristotle's political philosophy. In Chapter 6, "Early Christianity," a new section, "Christian Worship and Organization," contains readings on church liturgy and the authority of the clergy by Saint Justin Martyr and Saint Ignatius of Antioch. Chapter 8, "The High and Late Middle Ages," includes a new section called "Medieval Universities," with excerpts from John of Salisbury, Chaucer, and medieval students.

Volume II has been more extensively revised. A major change is the new opening chapter, "The Rise of Modernity," which incorporates key readings from three chapters in Volume I: "The Renaissance," "The Reformation," and "Early Modern Society and Politics." This chapter and a new preceding introduction, "The Middle Ages and the Modern World," provide a good basis for approaching the complex issue of modernity, a natural beginning for the second half of the course.

More than fifty new readings appear in the second edition of Volume II. For example, in Chapter 7, "Politics and Society, 1850–1914," two new constellations have been inserted: "The Capitalist Ethic," which contains excerpts from Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help* and *Thrift*; and "The Lower Classes," which treats the problems of the poor in Germany and Britain at the end of the nineteenth century. Excerpts from Mary Wollstonecraft and Emmeline Pankhurst have been added to the section called "Equal Rights for Women." In that same section, the passage from John Stuart Mill has been lengthened. We have added three readings to the section on anti-Semitism: Edouard Drumont, *Jewish France,* Theodore Herzl, *The Jewish State,* and an account of the Kishinev Pogrom. In Chapter 10, "The Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union," a new section titled "The Revolution Denounced and Defended" includes the Proclamation of the Kronstadt Rebels, a socialist con-

demnation of the Bolshevik regime by Karl Kautsky, and a response to Kautsky by Leon Trotsky. In the last chapter, "The West in an Age of Globalism," we have introduced documents treating the ferment in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, women in third world development, and the environment and development (in excerpts from *Our Common Future* by the World Commission on Environment and Development).

Volume I, *From Ancient Times to the Enlightenment,* contains thirteen chapters that cover the period from the rise of civilizations in the ancient Near East to the philosphes of the eighteenth century. Volume II, *From the Renaissance to the Present,* incorporates the last two chapters of Volume I, "The Scientific Revolution" and "The Enlightenment," and has twelve chapters. Marvin Perry, senior editor of the project, researched both volumes. Joseph R. Peden contributed to Volume I and Theodore H. Von Laue to Volume II.

To accompany the second edition is a new *Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Items* by Professor Diane Moczar of Northern Virginia Community College. In addition to an introduction with suggestions on how to use *Sources of the Western Tradition* in class, there are chapter overviews, summaries of the sections, and, for each chapter, several questions for discussion or essay assignments and ten to twenty multiple-choice questions.

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M.P.

Introduction
The Middle Ages and the Modern World

Historians have traditionally divided Western history into three broad periods: ancient, medieval, and modern. What is meant by modernity? What has the modern world inherited from the Middle Ages? How does the modern West differ fundamentally from the Middle Ages?[1]

Medieval civilization began to decline in the fourteenth century, but no dark age comparable to the three centuries following Rome's fall descended on 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.

In innumerable ways, today's world is linked to the Middle Ages. European cities, the middle class, the state system, English common law, universities — all had their origins in the Middle Ages. During that period, important advances were made in business practices. By translating and commenting on the writings of Greek and Arabic thinkers, medieval scholars preserved a priceless intellectual heritage, without which the modern mind could never have evolved. And between the thought of the scholastics and that of early modern philosophers there are numerous connecting strands.

During the Middle Ages, Europeans began to take the lead over the Muslims, the Byzantines, the Chinese, and all the other peoples in the use of technology. Medieval technology and inventiveness stemmed in part from Christianity, which taught that God had created the world specifically for human beings to subdue and exploit. Consequently, medieval people tried to employ animal power and laborsaving machinery to relieve human drudgery. Moreover, Christianity taught that God was above nature, not within it, so for the Christian there was no spiritual obstacle to exploiting nature as there was, for example, for the Hindu. Unlike classical humanism, the Christian outlook did not consider manual work degrading — even monks combined it with study.

Believing that God's law was superior to state or national decrees, medieval philosophers 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, in a secularized form, become a principal 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. Although in modern times the various Christian churches have not often taken the lead in political and social reform, the ideals identified with the Judeo-Christian tradition have become part of the common Western heritage. As such, they have inspired social reformers who may no longer identify with their ancestral religions.

Feudal traditions lasted long after the Middle Ages. Up to the French Revolution, for instance, French aristocrats enjoyed special privileges and exercised power over local government. In England, the aristocracy controlled local government until the Industrial Revolution transformed English society in the nineteenth century. Retaining the medieval ideal of the noble warrior, aristocrats continued to dominate the officer corps of European armies through the nineteenth century and even into

[1]The following introduction was written by Marvin Perry for his textbook *Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics, and Society*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989), pp. 251–255.

the twentieth. Aristocratic notions of duty, honor, loyalty, and courtly love have also endured into the twentieth century.

Feudalism also contributed to the history of liberty. According to feudal theory the king, as a member of the feudal community, was duty-bound to honor agreements made by his vassals. Lords possessed personal rights that the king was obliged to respect. Resentful of a king who ran roughshod over customary feudal rights, lords also negotiated contracts with the crown, such as the famous Magna Carta, to define and guard their customary liberties. To protect themselves from the arbitrary behavior of a king, feudal lords initiated what came to be called *government by consent* and the *rule of law.*

Thus, in the Middle Ages there gradually emerged the ideas that law was not imposed on inferiors by an absolute monarch but required the collaboration of the king and his subjects; that the king, too, was bound by the law; and that lords had the right to resist a monarch who violated agreements. Related to these ideas, representative institutions also emerged with which the king was expected to consult on the realm's affairs. The most notable was the British Parliament, which, although it was subordinate to the king, became a permanent part of the state. Later, in the seventeenth century, Parliament would successfully challenge royal authority. Continuity, therefore, exists between the feudal tradition of a king bound by law and the modern practice of limiting the authority of the head of state.

Although the elements of continuity are clear, the characteristic outlook of the Middle Ages was as different from that of the modern age as it was from that of the ancient world. Religion was the integrating feature of the Middle Ages, whereas science and secularism determine the modern outlook. The period from the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century through the eighteenth-century Age of Enlightenment constituted a gradual breaking away from the medieval world-view — a rejection of the medieval conception of nature, society, the individual, and the purpose of life. This transition from medieval to modern was neither sudden nor complete, for there are no sharp demarcation lines separating historical periods. While many distinctively medieval ways endured in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and even eighteenth centuries, these centuries also saw the emergence of new patterns of thought and culture and of new political and economic forms that marked the emergence of modernity.

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. Medieval thinkers regarded reason without the guidance of revelation as deficient. Thus the medieval mind rejected the fundamental principle of Greek and modern philosophy — the autonomy of reason.

Scholastics reasoned closely and carefully, drew fine distinctions, and at times demonstrated a critical attitude. They engaged in genuine philosophical speculation, but they did not allow philosophy to challenge the basic premises of their faith. Unlike either ancient or modern thinkers, medieval schoolmen believed ultimately that reason alone could not provide a unified view of nature or society. A rational soul had to be guided by a divine light. For all medieval philosophers, the natural order depended on a supernatural order for its origin and purpose. To understand the natural world properly it was necessary to know its relationship to the higher world. The discoveries of reason had to conform to Scripture as interpreted by the church.

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 mentality finds it unacceptable to reject the conclusions of science on the basis of clerical authority and revelation, or to base politics, law, or econom-

ics on religion; it refuses to accept dogma uncritically and insists on scientific proof.

The medieval philosopher arranged both nature and society into a hierarchic order. God was the source of moral values, and the church was responsible for teaching and upholding these ethical norms. Kings acquired their right to rule from God. The entire social structure constituted a hierarchy: the clergy guided society according to Christian standards; lords defended Christian society from its enemies; serfs, lowest in the social order, toiled for the good of all. In the hierarchy of knowledge, a lower form of knowledge derived from the senses, and the highest type of knowledge, theology, dealt with God's revelation. To the medieval mind this hierarchic ordering of nature, society, and knowledge had a divine sanction.

Rejecting the medieval division of the universe into higher and lower realms and superior and inferior substances, the modern view came to regard the universe as one and nature as uniform; the modern thinker studies mathematical law and chemical composition, not grades of perfection. Spiritual meaning is not sought in an examination of the material world. Roger Bacon, for example, described seven coverings of the eye and then concluded that God had fashioned the eye in this manner in order to express the seven gifts of the Spirit. This way of thinking is alien to the modern outlook.

The modern West also broke with the rigid division of medieval society into three orders: clergy, nobles, and commoners. Opposing the feudal principle that an individual's obligations and rights are a function of his or her rank in society, the modern West stressed equality of opportunity and equal treatment under the law. It rejected the idea that society should be guided by clergymen who possess a special wisdom, by nobles who were entitled to special privileges, and by a king who received his power from God.

The modern West also rejected the personal and customary character of feudal law. As the modern state developed, law assumed an impersonal and objective character. For example, if the lord demanded more than the customary forty days of military service, the vassal might refuse to comply, seeing the lord's request as an unpardonable violation of custom and agreement and an infringement on his liberties. In the modern state with a constitution and a representative government, if a new law increasing the length of military service is passed, it merely replaces the old law. People do not refuse to obey it because the government has broken faith or violated custom.

In the modern world, the individual's relationship to the universe has been radically transformed. Medieval people lived in a geocentric universe that was finite in space and time. The universe was small, enclosed by a sphere of stars beyond which were the heavens. The universe, it was believed, was some five thousand years old, and in the not too distant future, human history would come to an end. To medieval thinkers, human beings ranked below angels but were superior to inanimate objects, plants, and animals. People in the Middle Ages knew why they were on earth and what was expected of them; they never doubted that heaven would be their reward for living a Christian life. J. H. Randall, Jr., a historian of philosophy, eloquently sums up the medieval worldview:

> The world was governed throughout by the omnipotent will and omniscient mind of God, whose sole interests were centered in man, his trial, his fall, his suffering and his glory. Worm of the dust as he was, man was yet the central object in the whole universe. . . . And when his destiny was completed, the heavens would be rolled up as a scroll and he would dwell with the Lord forever. Only those who rejected God's freely offered grace and with hardened hearts refused repentance would be cut off from this eternal life.[2]

[2]J. H. Randall, Jr., *The Making of the Modern Mind* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1940), p. 34.

This comforting medieval vision is alien to the modern outlook. Today, in a universe 15 billion years old in which the earth is a tiny speck floating in an endless cosmic ocean, where life evolved over tens of millions of years, many Westerners no longer are certain that human beings are special children of God; that heaven is their ultimate goal; that under their feet is hell; that God is an active agent in human history. To many intellectuals the universe seems unresponsive to the religious supplications of people, and life's purpose is sought within the limits of earthly existence. Science and secularism have driven Christianity and faith from their central position to the periphery of human concerns.

The modern outlook emerged gradually in the period from the Renaissance to the eighteenth-century Age of Enlightenment. Mathematics rendered the universe comprehensible. Economic and political thought broke free of the religious frame of reference. Science became the great hope of the future. The thinkers of the Enlightenment wanted to liberate humanity from superstition, ignorance, and traditions that could not pass the test of reason. Rejecting the Christian idea of a person's inherent sinfulness, they held that the individual was basically good and that evil resulted from faulty institutions, poor education, and bad leadership. Thus the concept of a rational and free society in which individuals could realize their potential slowly emerged.

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Part One

Early Modern Europe