

Sources
OF THE
WESTERN
TRADITION
SECOND EDITION

VOLUME I: FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT



PERRY

Peden

Von Laue

Sources

OF THE

WESTERN
TRADITION

SECOND EDITION

VOLUME I: FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT

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

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY BOSTON

DALLAS GENEVA, ILLINOIS PALO ALTO PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Copyright © 1991 by Houghton Mifflin Company. All rights reserved.

No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system without the prior written permission of the copyright owner unless such copying is expressly permitted by federal copyright law. With the exception of non-profit transcription in Braille, Houghton Mifflin is not authorized to grant permission for further uses of copyrighted selections reprinted in this text without the permission of their owners. Permission must be obtained from the individual copyright owners as identified herein. Address requests for permission to make copies of Houghton Mifflin material to College Permissions, Houghton Mifflin Company, One Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02108.

Printed in the U.S.A.
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number:
90-83043
ISBN: 0-395-47304-7

Credits

Cover: Isaac van Nickelen, *Interior of St. Bravo's in Haarlem, view to the west*. Dutch painting, 1690s. Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bruxelles. (Photo: G. Cussac)

List of Sources

Chapter 1

Section 1 P. 5: From *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, trans. N. K. Sanders (Penguin Classics, Revised edition 1964), pp. 89, 91–97, 101–102, 106–112. Copyright © N. K. Sanders, 1960, 1964. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd. **Section 2** P. 9: From *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters*, ed. C. M. W. Johns (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), pp. 44–67 passim. **Section 3** P. 12 and 13: “To Rameses IV” and

Credits continued on page 443

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 philosophes 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.

We wish to thank the following instructors for their critical reading of the manuscript and for their many valuable suggestions.

Donald B. Epstein, *Clackamas Community College*
 Laura Gellott, *University of Wisconsin, Parkside*
 Neil Heyman, *San Diego State University*
 Lyle E. Linville, *Prince George's Community College*
 Diane Moczar, *Northern Virginia Community College*
 Walter Petry, *Fairfield University*
 Jeremy D. Popkin, *University of Kentucky*
 John Sommerville, *University of Florida*
 Ira Spar, *Ramapo College of New Jersey*
 Joshua B. Stein, *Roger Williams College*
 John Turner, *C. W. Post, Long Island University*
 Eric D. Weitz, *St. Olaf College*
 Steven Werner, *University of Wisconsin Center—
 Waukesha*
 Barbara Winslow, *Baruch College*
 Ann Young, *Kearney State College*

We are also appreciative of the efforts of the Houghton Mifflin staff, who with their usual competent professionalism, guided the project from its inception. Joseph Peden wishes to thank his wife, Diana Peden, for her support. I wish to thank Angela Von Laue, who helped to research several chapters in Volume II and carefully read the galleys for that volume. I am especially grateful to George W. Bock, who worked closely with me in every phase of the reader's development, and to my wife, Phyllis Perry, for her encouragement.

M.P.

Contents

Preface xi

Part One ▼ The Ancient World I

Chapter 1: The Near East 3

1. Mesopotamian Protest Against Death 5
Epic of Gilgamesh 5
2. Mesopotamian Concepts of Justice 8
Code of Hammurabi 9
3. Divine Kingship 12
Hymns to the Pharaohs 12
Guidelines for the Ruler 13
4. Discovery of a Pharaoh's Tomb 14
Howard Carter: The Tomb of Tutankhamen 15
5. Religious Inspiration of Akhenaten 18
Hymn to Aton 19
6. The Assyrian Empire 20
Inscription of Tiglathpileser I 20
7. The Myth-making Outlook of the Ancient Near East 22
Personification of Natural Objects 22
Enuma elish: The Babylonian Genesis 23
Lament for Ur: The Gods and Human Destiny 24

Chapter 2: The Hebrews 27

1. Old Testament Faith: Ethical Monotheism 28
Lawrence Boadt: Reading the Old Testament 28
2. Hebrew Cosmogony and Anthropology 33
Genesis 33
3. God's Greatness and Human Dignity 36
Psalms 8 37
Psalms 104 37

4. The Covenant and the Ten Commandments 39
Exodus: The Covenant 39
Exodus: The Ten Commandments 39
5. Humaneness of Hebrew Law 40
Leviticus: Neighbor and Community 41
Deuteronomy: Judges, Witnesses, and Justice 41
6. The Age of Classical Prophecy 43
Isaiah: Social Justice 43
Second Isaiah: The Attack on Idolatry 44
Isaiah: Peace and Humanity 45

Chapter 3: The Greeks 47

1. Homer: The Educator of Greece 49
Homer: The Iliad 50
2. Early Greek Philosophy: The Emancipation of Thought from Myth 52
Aristotle: Thales of Miletus 52
Anaximander 53
Aristotle: Pythagoras 54
3. The Expansion of Reason 55
Hippocrates: The Separation of Medicine from Myth: The Sacred Disease 55
Thucydides: Method of Historical Inquiry 56
Critias: Religion as a Human Invention 58
4. Humanism 59
Pindar: The Pursuit of Excellence 59
Sophocles: The Wonders of Man 59
5. The Persian Wars 60
Herodotus: The Histories 60
6. Greek Drama 63
Sophocles: Antigone 63
7. Athenian Greatness 69
Thucydides: The Funeral Oration of Pericles 70

8. The Status of Women in Classical Greek Society 72
Xenophon: *Oeconomicus* 72
Aristophanes: *Lysistrata* 73
9. The Peloponnesian War 79
Thucydides: *A Spartan King's Plea for a Prudent Foreign Policy* and the *Melian Dialogue* 79
10. Socrates: The Rational Individual 83
Plato: *The Apology* 84
11. Plato: The Philosopher-King 88
Plato: *The Republic* 88
12. Aristotle: Science and Politics 94
Aristotle: *History of Animals* and *Politics* 94
13. Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic World 98
Plutarch: *The Fortune of Alexander* 98
14. Hellenistic Philosophy:
Epicureanism 101
Epicurus: *The Prudent Pursuit of Pleasure* 101

Chapter 4: The Roman Republic 105

1. Rome's March to World Empire 106
Polybius: *From City-State to World State* 106
2. Exploitation of the Provinces 109
Cicero: *Oration Against Verres* 110
3. Roman Slavery 112
Diodorus Siculus: *Slaves: Torment and Revolt* 113
4. Women in Republican Society 115
Livy: *Cato Protests Against the Demands of Roman Women* 116
Quintus Lucretius Vespillo: *A Funeral Eulogy for a Roman Wife* 118
5. Tiberius Gracchus and the Crisis in Agriculture 120
Plutarch: *Tiberius Gracchus* 120
6. The Decline of the Republic 122
Sallust: *The Conspiracy of Catiline* and *The Jugurthine War* 122
7. Reflections on Patriotism and Tyranny 126
Cicero: *A Letter to Atticus at Rome* 126
8. The Meaning of Caesar's Assassination 127
Cicero: *Justifying the Assassination* 128
Dio Cassius: *In Defense of Caesar and Monarchy* 128

Chapter 5: The Roman Empire 131

1. The Imperial Office 132
Augustus: *The Achievements of the Divine Augustus* 133
Tacitus: *The Imposition of One-Man Rule* 135
2. Imperial Culture 136
Virgil: *The Aeneid* 136
Quintilian: *The Education of an Orator* 137
Juvenal: *The Satires* 139
3. Roman Stoicism 141
Seneca: *The Epistles* 141
Marcus Aurelius: *Meditations* 143
4. Provincial Administration 145
Correspondence Between Pliny the Younger and Emperor Trajan 146
5. The Roman Peace 149
Aelius Aristides: *The Roman Oration: The Blessings of the Pax Romana* 149
Tacitus: *The Other Side of the Pax Romana* 150
Josephus: *Resistance to Roman Rule in Judea* 152
6. Third-Century Crisis 155
Dio Cassius: *Caracalla's Extortions* 155
Petition to Emperor Philip 156
Herodian: *Extortions of Maximinus* 157
7. The Demise of Rome 158
Salvian: *Political and Social Injustice* 158
Jerome: *The Fate of Rome* 160
Pope Gregory I: *The End of Roman Glory* 161
8. Rome's Legacy of Law 162
Justinian: *Corpus Iuris Civilis* 162

Chapter 6: Early Christianity 171

1. The Teachings of Jesus 172
The Gospel According to Saint Mark 173
The Gospel According to Saint Matthew 173

2. Saint Paul's View of Jesus, His Mission, and His Teaching 175
The Letter of Paul to the Ephesians 176
The First Letter of Paul to the Corinthians 176
3. Christianity and Society 177
Athenagoras: *Sexuality and Family Life* 177
4. The Persecutions 179
Persecutions at Lyons and Vienne 179
5. Christianity and Greco-Roman Learning 182
Tertullian: *What Has Jerusalem to Do with Athens?* 182
Clement of Alexandria: *In Defense of Greek Learning* 183
6. Christian Worship and Organization 184
Saint Justin Martyr: *On the Liturgy of the Church* 184
Saint Ignatius of Antioch: *On the Authority of the Clergy* 186
7. Monastic Life 187
Saint Benedict of Nursia: *The Benedictine Rule* 187
8. The Christian World-View 191
Saint Augustine: *The City of God* 192
Saint Benedict of Nursia: *The Christian Way of Life* 194
Pope Gelasius I: *Church and State* 195

Part Two ▼ The Middle Ages 199

Chapter 7: The Early Middle Ages 201

1. Converting the Germanic Peoples to Christianity 203
Bede: *History of the English Church and People* 203
Einhard: *Forcible Conversion Under Charlemagne* 206
2. The Transmission of Learning 207
Cassiodorus: *The Monk as Scribe* 207
3. The Carolingian Renaissance 209
Einhard: *Charlemagne's Appreciation of Learning* 210

- Charlemagne: *An Injunction to Monasteries to Cultivate Letters* 211
4. Vassalage 212
Galbert of Bruges: *Commendation and the Oath of Fealty* 213
Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres: *Obligations of Lords and Vassals* 214
Dhouda of Septimania: *The Ideal Relationship Between Lord and Vassal* 214
5. The Feudal Lord as Warrior 215
Bertran de Born: *In Praise of Combat* 215
6. The Burdens of Serfdom 216
The Customs of the Manor of Darnhall 217
Manorial Courts 219
7. Germanic Kingship and Law 220
Widukind of Corvey: *The Coronation of Otto I* 220
Wipo: *Trial by Ordeal* 222
Alfred the Great: *Blood Feuds* 223

Chapter 8: The High and Late Middle Ages 227

1. The Revival of Trade and the Growth of Towns 229
How to Succeed in Business 229
William Fitz-Stephen: *Description of the Most Noble City of London* 231
Ordinances of the Guild Merchant of Southampton 233
2. Theological Basis for Papal Power 235
Pope Gregory VII: *The Second Letter to Bishop Herman of Metz and the Dictatus Papae* 236
3. The First Crusade 239
Robert the Monk: *Appeal of Urban II to the Franks* 240
4. Religious Dissent 241
Bernard Gui: *The Waldensian Teachings* 242
Emperor Frederick II: *The Constitutions of Melfi* 244
5. Orthodox Spiritual Renewal 246
Saint Francis of Assisi: *The Testament* 246

6. Medieval Learning: Synthesis of Reason and Christian Faith 248
 - Adelard of Bath: *A Questioning Spirit* 248
 - Peter Abelard: *Inquiry into Divergent Views of Church Fathers* 250
 - Saint Thomas Aquinas: *Summa Theologica* and *Summa Contra Gentiles* 251
7. Medieval Universities 255
 - John of Salisbury: *On the Liberal Arts* 255
 - What Is a Scholar?* 256
 - Geoffrey Chaucer: *An Oxford Cleric* 257
 - Student Letters* 258
8. The Jews in the Middle Ages 259
 - Albert of Aix-la-Chapelle: *Massacre of the Jews of Mainz* 259
 - A Decree by Pope Innocent III* 260
 - The Libel of Ritual Murder* 261
 - Maimonides: *Jewish Learning* 262
9. The Status of Women in Medieval Society 264
 - Cercamon: *Troubadour Love Song* 265
 - Jakob Sprenger and Heinrich Kramer: *Antifemale Prejudices* 266
 - Christine de Pisan: *The City of Ladies* 268
10. Medieval Contributions to the Tradition of Liberty 270
 - John of Salisbury: *Policraticus: A Defense of Tyrannicide* 271
 - Magna Carta* 271
 - Edward I of England: *Writs of Summons to Parliament* 273
11. Late Medieval Political Theory 275
 - John of Paris: *On Kingly and Papal Power* 275
 - Marsilius of Padua: *The Defender of the Peace* 276
12. Fourteenth-Century Pestilence 278
 - Jean de Venette: *The Black Death* 278
13. Lower-Class Rebellions 281
 - Sir John Froissart: *The Peasant Revolt of 1381* 281
14. The Medieval Outlook 283
 - Lothario dei Segni (Pope Innocent III): *On the Misery of the Human Condition* 284
 - Dante Alighieri: *The Divine Comedy* 285

Part Three ▼ Early Modern Europe 291

Chapter 9: The Renaissance 293

1. The Humanists' Fascination with Antiquity 295
 - Petrarch: *The Father of Humanism* 295
 - Leonardo Bruni: *Study of Greek Literature* and *A Humanist Educational Program* 296
2. Human Dignity 299
 - Pico della Mirandola: *Oration on the Dignity of Man* 299
3. Celebration of the Worldly Life 301
 - François Rabelais: *Gargantua and Pantagruel* 301
4. Break with Medieval Political Theory 303
 - Niccolò Machiavelli: *The Prince* 304
5. Art and Science 307
 - Leonardo da Vinci: *The Notebooks* 308
6. Renaissance Florence 311
 - Francesco Guicciardini: *The Greatness of Lorenzo de Medici* 311
 - Benedetto Dei: *Florence, 1472* 312

Chapter 10: The Reformation 315

1. Late Medieval Attempts to Reform the Church 317
 - Thomas à Kempis: *The Imitation of Christ* 318
2. A Catholic Critic of the Church 320
 - Desiderius Erasmus: *In Praise of Folly* 320
3. The Lutheran Reformation 323
 - Martin Luther: *On Papal Power, Justification by Faith, and the Interpretation of the Bible* 323
4. The German Peasants' Revolt 327
 - The Twelve Articles* 328
 - Martin Luther: *Against the Peasants* 329
5. Luther and the Jews 330
 - Martin Luther: *On the Jews and Their Lies* 330

6. The Anabaptists and the Case for Religious Liberty 331
Menno Simons: *A Rejection of the Use of Force* 332
7. The Calvinist Reformation 334
John Calvin: *The Institutes, Ecclesiastical Ordinances, and the Obedience Owed Rulers* 334
8. Catholic Spiritual Renewal 338
Saint Ignatius Loyola: *The Spiritual Exercises* 339
9. The Catholic Response to Protestant Reforms 341
Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent 341
7. Constitutional Resistance to Royal Absolutism 373
Philippe du Plessis-Mornay: *Defense of Liberty Against Tyrants* 373
8. Radical Attack on Monarchy 376
The Levellers: *An Agreement of the People* 377
9. A Secular Defense of Absolutism 379
Thomas Hobbes: *Leviathan* 380
10. The Triumph of Constitutional Monarchy in England: The Glorious Revolution 383
The English Declaration of Rights 384

Chapter 11: Early Modern Society and Politics 347

1. The Age of Exploration and Conquest 349
Bernal Diaz del Castillo: *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico* 349
2. Toward the Modern Economy: The Example of Holland 353
Pieter Van Dam: *The Chartering of the Dutch East India Company* 353
John Keymer: *Dutch Trade and Commerce as a Model* 355
William Carr: *Capitalism in Amsterdam* 357
3. Mercantilism: State-directed Capitalism 360
Restricting Colonial Trade: The Hat Act 360
Jean Baptiste Colbert: *To the Magistrates and Inhabitants of Marseilles* 361
4. The Atlantic Slave Trade 363
Olaudah Equiano: *Memoirs of a Former Slave* 363
5. The Witch Craze 366
Johannes Junius: *A Confession of Witchcraft Explained* 367
Friedrich Spee: *The Judicial Trials of Witches* 368
6. Justification of Absolute Monarchy by Divine Right 371
James I: *True Law of Free Monarchies and a Speech to Parliament* 371

Chapter 12: The Scientific Revolution 387

1. The Copernican Revolution 389
Nicolaus Copernicus: *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres* 390
Cardinal Bellarmine: *Attack on the Copernican Theory* 392
2. Expanding the New Astronomy 393
Galileo Galilei: *The Starry Messenger* 393
3. Critique of Authority 396
Galileo Galilei: *Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina and Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems — Ptolemaic and Copernican* 396
4. Prophet of Modern Science 399
Francis Bacon: *Attack on Authority and Advocacy of Experimental Science* 400
5. The Autonomy of the Mind 402
René Descartes: *Discourse on Method* 403
6. The Mechanical Universe 406
Isaac Newton: *Principia Mathematica* 406

Chapter 13: The Enlightenment 411

1. The Enlightenment Outlook 413
Immanuel Kant: *What Is Enlightenment?* 413
2. Political Liberty 415
John Locke: *Second Treatise on Government* 415

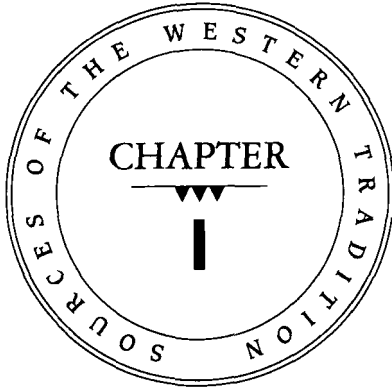
- Thomas Jefferson: *Declaration of Independence* 417
3. Attack on the Old Regime 418
 Voltaire: *A Plea for Tolerance and Reason* 419
4. Attack on Religion 422
 Thomas Paine: *The Age of Reason* 423
 Baron d'Holbach: *Good Sense* 424
5. Compendium of Knowledge 426
 Denis Diderot: *Encyclopedia* 427
6. Critique of Christian Sex Mores 430
 Denis Diderot: *The Supplement to the Voyage of Bougainville* 430
7. Rousseau: Political and Educational Reform 433
 Jean Jacques Rousseau: *The Social Contract* and *Émile* 434
8. On the Progress of Humanity 439
 Marquis de Condorcet: *Progress of the Human Mind* 439

Part One



The Ancient World





The Near East

The world's first civilizations arose some five thousand years ago in the river valleys of Mesopotamia (later Iraq) and Egypt. In these Near Eastern lands people built cities, organized states with definite boundaries, invented writing, engaged in large-scale trade, practiced specialization of labor, and erected huge monuments: all activities that historians associate with civilization. Scholars emphasize the fact that civilizations emerged in the river valleys — the Tigris and Euphrates in Mesopotamia and the Nile in Egypt. When they overflowed their banks, these rivers deposited fertile soil, which could provide a food surplus required to sustain life in cities. The early inhabitants of these valleys drained swamps and built irrigation works, enabling them to harness the rivers for human advantage. In the process they also strengthened the bonds of cooperation, a necessary ingredient of civilization.

Religion and myth were the central forces in these early civilizations. They pervaded all phases of life, providing people with satisfying explanations for the operations of nature and the mystery of death and justifying traditional rules of morality. Natural objects — the sun, the river, the mountain — were seen either as gods or as the abodes of gods. The political life of the Near East was theocratic: that is, people regarded their rulers as either divine or as representatives of the gods and believed that law originated with the gods. Near Eastern art and literature were dominated by religious themes.

The Sumerians, founders of urban life in Mesopotamia, developed twelve city-states in the region of the lower Euphrates near the Persian Gulf. Each city-state included a city and the farmland around it; each had its own government and was independent of the other city-states. In time the Sumerians were conquered, and their cities were incorporated into kingdoms and empires. However, as Akkadians, Elamites, Babylonians, and other peoples of the region adopted and built upon Sumerian religion, art, and literary forms, the Sumerian achievement became the basis of a coherent Mesopotamian civilization that lasted some three thousand years.

Early in its history Egypt became a centralized state under the rule of a pharaoh, who was viewed as both a man and a god. The pharaoh's authority was all-embracing, and all

NEFERTITI, 1360 B.C., the beautiful wife of Akhenaton, pharaoh of Egypt. Her husband sought to replace the many Egyptian gods with the worship of the sun god, Aton. (Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin [West])

Egyptians were subservient to him. Early in their history, the Egyptians developed cultural patterns that were to endure for three thousand years; the ancient Egyptians looked to the past, seeking to maintain the ways of their ancestors.

Although the cultural patterns of both civilizations were similar — the dominant role of religion and theocratic kingship — there were significant differences between the two. Whereas in Egypt the pharaoh was considered divine, rulers in Mesopotamia were regarded as exceptional human beings whom the gods had selected to act as their agents. Second, the natural environment of the Egyptians fostered a sense of security and an optimistic outlook toward life. Natural barriers — deserts, the Mediterranean Sea, and cataracts in the Nile — protected Egypt from invasion, and the overflowing of the Nile was regular and predictable, ensuring a good harvest. In contrast, Mesopotamia, without natural barriers, suffered from frequent invasions, and the Tigris and Euphrates rivers were unpredictable. Sometimes there was insufficient overflow, and the land was afflicted with drought; at other times, rampaging floods devastated the fields. These conditions promoted a pessimistic outlook, which pervaded Mesopotamian civilization.

After 1500 B.C., the Near East entered a period of empire building. In the late sixth century B.C., the Persians, the greatest of the empire builders, conquered all the lands from the Nile River to the Indus River in India. Persia united Egypt, Mesopotamia, and other Near Eastern lands into a world-state and brought together the regions' various cultural traditions. In the first half of the fifth century B.C., the Persians tried to add the city-states of Greece to their empire; the ensuing conflict was of critical importance for the history of Western civilization (see pages 60–63).

Egyptians, Mesopotamians, and other Near Eastern peoples developed a rich urban culture and made important contributions to later civilizations. They established bureaucracies, demonstrated creativity in art and literature, fashioned effective systems of mathematics, and advanced the knowledge of architecture, metallurgy, and engineering. The wheel, the plow, the phonetic alphabet, and the calendar derive from the Near East. Both the Hebrews and the Greeks, the principal sources of Western civilization, had contact with these older civilizations and adopted many of their cultural forms. But, as we shall see, even more important for the shaping of Western civilization was how the Hebrews and the Greeks broke with the essential style of Near Eastern society and conceived new outlooks, new points of departure for the human mind.

I ▼ Mesopotamian Protest Against Death

The *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the greatest work of Mesopotamian literature, was written about 2000 B.C. It utilized legends about Gilgamesh, probably a historical figure who ruled the city of Uruk about 2600 B.C. The story deals with a profound theme — the human protest against death. In the end, Gilgamesh learns to accept reality: there is no escape from death. While the *Epic of Gilgamesh* is an expression of the pessimism that pervaded Mesopotamian life, it also reveals the Mesopotamians' struggle to come to terms with reality.

« EPIC OF GILGAMESH »

The *Epic of Gilgamesh* involves the gods in human activities. Because King Gilgamesh, son of a human father and the goddess Ninsun, drives his subjects too hard, they appeal to the gods for help. The gods decide that a man of Gilgamesh's immense vigor and strength requires a rival with similar attributes with whom he would contend. The creation goddess, Aruru, is instructed to create a man worthy of Gilgamesh. From clay she fashions Enkidu in the image of Anu, the god of the heavens and father of all the gods. Enkidu is a powerful man who roams with the animals and destroys traps set by hunters, one of whom appeals to King Gilgamesh. The two of them, accompanied by a harlot, find Enkidu at a watering place frequented by animals. The harlot removes her clothes and seduces Enkidu, who spends a week with her, oblivious to everything else. After this encounter, the bond between Enkidu and the animals is broken. He now enters civilization and is befriended by Gilgamesh, with whom he slays the terrible monster Humbaba.

Returning to Uruk after the encounter with Humbaba, Gilgamesh washes away the grime of battle and dons his royal clothes; thus arrayed he attracts the goddess of love, Ishtar, patroness of Uruk, who proposes marriage, but because of Ishtar's previous marriages and infidelities, Gilgamesh refuses. Ishtar falls into a bitter rage and appeals to her father, the god Anu, to unleash the fearful Bull of Heaven on Gilgamesh. However, Gilgamesh and Enkidu together slay the beast. To avenge the deaths of Humbaba and the Bull of Heaven, the gods decide that Enkidu shall die. In the following passage, Enkidu dreams of his impending death and the House of Darkness, from which no one returns.

When the daylight came Enkidu got up and cried to Gilgamesh, "O my brother, such a dream I had last night. Anu, Enlil, Ea and heavenly Shamash took counsel together, and Anu said to Enlil, 'Because they have killed the Bull of Heaven, and because they have killed

Humbaba who guarded the Cedar Mountain one of the two must die.' . . ."

So Enkidu lay stretched out before Gilgamesh: his tears ran down in streams and he said to Gilgamesh, "O my brother, so dear as you are to me, brother, yet they will take me from