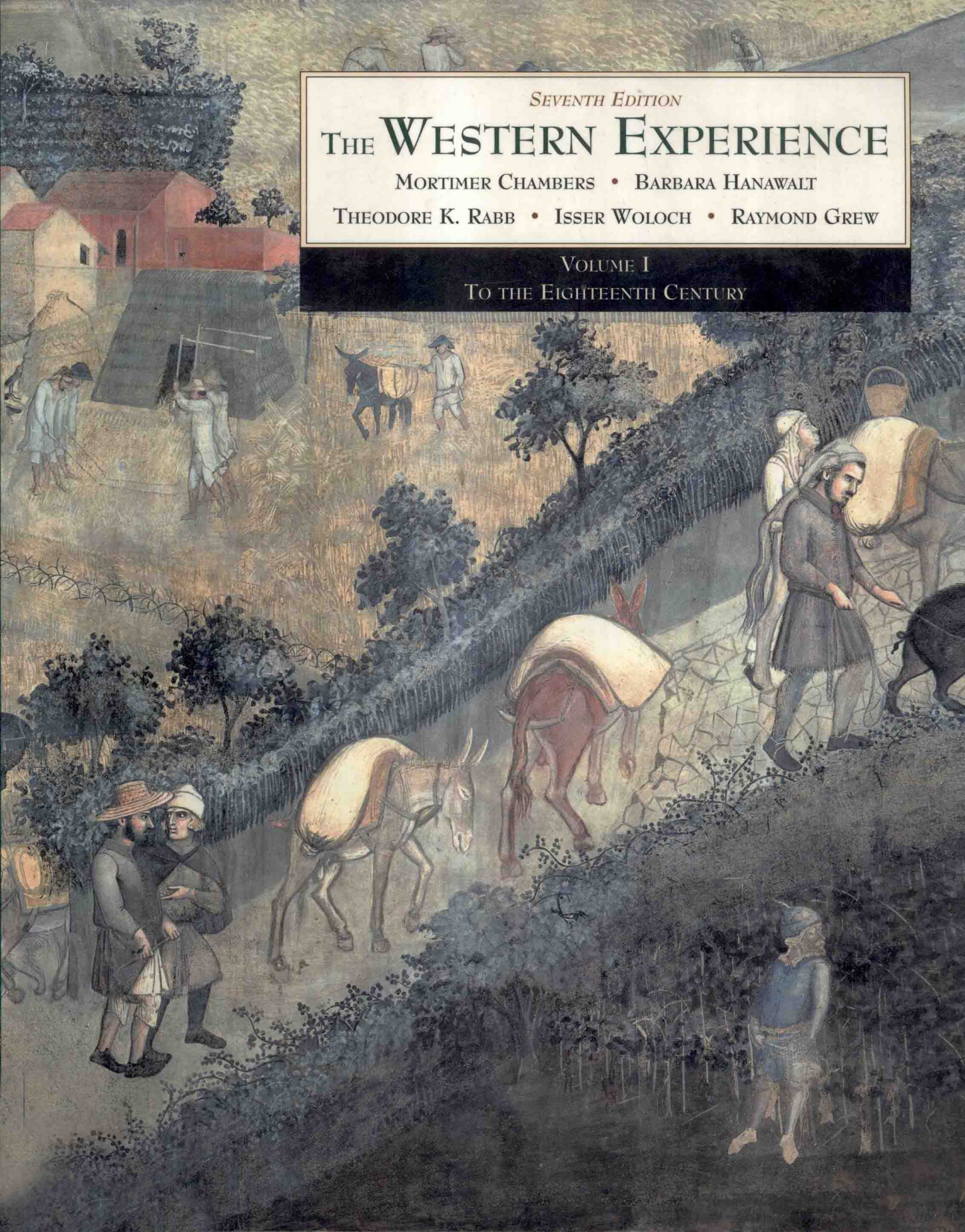




SEVENTH EDITION

THE WESTERN EXPERIENCE

MORTIMER CHAMBERS • BARBARA HANAWALT

THEODORE K. RABB • ISSER WOLOCH • RAYMOND GREW

VOLUME I

TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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THE WESTERN EXPERIENCE

SEVENTH EDITION

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THE WESTERN EXPERIENCE VOLUME I: TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, SEVENTH EDITION

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 VNH/VNH 9 3 2 1 0 9

ISBN 0-07-013065-5

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Compositor: *York Graphic Services, Inc.*
Typeface: *10/12 Palatino*
Printer: *Von Hoffmann Press, Inc.*

Cover image: *Scala/Art Resource, NY. (Detail) Lorenzetti, Ambrogio. Effects of Good Government in the Country. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, Italy.*
Photo research: *Deborah Bull/PhotoSearch, Inc.*
Revisions and new art prepared by David Lindroth.

The credits section for this book begins on page C1 and is considered an extension of the copyright page.

Library of Congress Has Cataloged the Complete Edition of This Title as Follows:

The western experience / Mortimer Chambers . . . [et al.].— 7th ed.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-07-012954-1
1. Civilization—History. 2. Civilization, Western—History.
I. Chambers, Mortimer.
CB59.W38 1999
909—dc21

About the Authors

Mortimer Chambers is Professor of History at the University of California at Los Angeles. He was a Rhodes scholar from 1949 to 1952 and received an M.A. from Wadham College, Oxford, in 1955 after obtaining his doctorate from Harvard University in 1954. He has taught at Harvard University (1954–1955) and the University of Chicago (1955–1958). He was Visiting Professor at the University of British Columbia in 1958, the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1971, the University of Freiburg (Germany) in 1974 and Vassar College in 1988. A specialist in Greek and Roman history, he is coauthor of *Aristotle's History of Athenian Democracy* (1962), editor of a series of essays entitled *The Fall of Rome* (1963), and author of *Georg Busolt: His Career in His Letters* (1990) and of *Staat der Athener*, a German translation and commentary to Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians* (1990). He has edited Greek texts of the latter work (1986) and of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (1993). He has contributed articles to the *American Historical Review* and *Classical Philology* as well as to other journals, both in America and in Europe.

Barbara Hanawalt is George III Chair of British History at The Ohio State University and the author of numerous books and articles on the social and cultural history of the Middle Ages. Her publications include 'Of Good and Ill Repute: Gender and Social Control in Medieval England' (1998), *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of*

Childhood in History (1993), *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Life in Medieval England* (1986), and *Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300–1348* (1979). She received her M.A. in 1964 and her Ph.D. in 1970, both from the University of Michigan. She has served as president of the Social Science History Association and has been on the Council of the American Historical Association and the Medieval Academy of America. As Director of the Center for Medieval Studies at the University of Minnesota (1990–1997), she edited five volumes on the intersection of history and literature. She was an NEH fellow (1997–1998), a fellow of the Guggenheim Foundation (1988–1989), an ACLS fellow (1975–1976), a fellow at the National Humanities Center (1997–1998), a fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin (1990–1991), a member of the School of Historical Research at the Institute for Advanced Study (1982–1983), and senior research fellow at the Newberry Library (1979–1980).

David Herlihy was the Mary Critchfield and Barnaby Keeney Professor of History at Brown University and the author of numerous books and studies on the social history of the Middle Ages. His most recent publications were *Opera Muliebria: Woman and Work in Medieval Europe* (1990); *Medieval Households* (1985); and, in collaboration with Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto*

of 1427 (1985). He received his M.A. from the Catholic University of America in 1952, his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1956, and an honorary Doctor of Humanities from the University of San Francisco in 1983. He was a former president of several historical associations, and in 1990 served as president of the American History Association, the largest historical society in America. He was a fellow of the Guggenheim Foundation (1961–1962), the American Council of Learned Societies (1966–1967), the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (1972–1973), and the National Endowment for the Humanities (1976). He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Philosophical Society. His articles and reviews have appeared in numerous professional journals, both here and abroad.

Theodore K. Rabb is Professor of History at Princeton University. He received his Ph.D. from Princeton, and subsequently taught at Stanford, Northwestern, Harvard, and Johns Hopkins universities. He is the author of numerous articles and reviews and has been editor of *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* since its foundation. Among his books are *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (1975) and *Renaissance Lives* (1993). Professor Rabb has held offices in various national organizations, including the American Historical Association and The National Council for Historical Education. He was the principal historian for the PBS series, *Renaissance*.

Isser Woloch is Moore Collegiate Professor of History at Columbia University. He received his Ph.D. (1965) from Princeton University in the field of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European history. He has taught at Indiana University and at the University of California at Los Angeles where, in 1967, he received a Distinguished Teaching Citation. He has been a fellow of the ACLS, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Institute for

Advanced Study at Princeton. His publications include *Jacobin Legacy: The Democratic Movement under the Directory* (1970), *The Peasantry in the Old Regime: Conditions and Protests* (1970), *The French Veteran from the Revolution to the Restoration* (1979), *Eighteenth-Century Europe: Tradition and Progress, 1715–1789* (1982), *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789–1820s* (1994), and *Revolution and the Meanings of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century* (1996).

Raymond Grew is Professor of History at the University of Michigan. He earned both his M.A. (1952) and Ph.D. (1957) from Harvard University in the field of modern European history. He was a Fulbright Fellow to Italy (1954–1955), and Fulbright Travelling Fellow to France (1976, 1990), Guggenheim Fellow (1968–1969), Director of Studies at the Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris (1976, 1987, 1990), and a Fellow of the National Endowment for the Humanities (1979). In 1962 he received the Chester Higby Prize from the American Historical Association, and in 1963 the Italian government awarded him the Unita d'Italia Prize; in 1992 he received the David Pinkney Prize of the Society for French Historical Studies. He is an active member of the A.H.A.; the Society for French Historical Studies; the Society for Italian Historical Studies, of which he has been president; and the Council for European Studies, of which he has twice served as national chair. He has authored *A Sterner Plan for Italian Unity* (1963), edited *Crises of Development in Europe and the United States* (1978), and, with Patrick J. Harrigan, authored *School, State, and Society: The Growth of Elementary Schooling in Nineteenth-Century France* (1991); he is also the editor of *Comparative Studies in Society and History* and its book series. He has written on global history and is one of the directors of the Global History Group. His articles and reviews have appeared in a number of European and American journals.

This book is dedicated
to the memory of David Herlihy
whose erudition and judgment
were central to its creation
and whose friendship and example
continue to inspire
his coauthors

Preface

The Western Experience was designed to provide an analytical and reasonably comprehensive account of the various contexts within which, and the processes by which, European society and civilization evolved. This edition is the book's seventh, evidence of a long life sustained with the help of many prior revisions. The sixth edition was more extensively rewritten and recast than any of its predecessors—our response to changes in students and in historical study—except in its treatment of the Middle Ages. That section, too, was revised; but its distinguished author was unable to redo his entire section in the way his coauthors could, often with his advice. David Herlihy lived just long enough to give his Presidential Address to the American Historical Association.

For this seventh edition, the discussion of the Middle Ages is in the hands of another distinguished scholar, Barbara Hanawalt. She has built on Dr. Herlihy's impressive work where she could, but her chapters are essentially new, the result of a different intellectual odyssey, a different experience as a teacher, and a record of research in other areas of medieval history. Some of the major changes to the medieval chapters in this edition include covering the historical concepts of feudalism and manorialism in the same chapter; describing the daily lives of medieval nobles, peasants,

and townspeople; treating popular religion and culture in great depth; discussing the Crusades chronologically in the text; and offering a more detailed discussion of Islam and the West's interaction with the East during the Middle Ages.

Features of *The Western Experience*, Seventh Edition

Each generation of students brings different experiences, interests, and training into the classroom. These changes can be exaggerated, but they are important to the process of learning; and the students we teach have taught us enough about what currently engages or confuses them, about the impression of European history that they bring to college, and about what they can be expected to take from a survey course to make us want to reconsider the way that this book presents its material. For the previous edition and now again for this edition, our experience as teachers and the helpful comments of scores of other teachers has led to a rewriting and reordering throughout the book as we have sought to make it clearer and more accessible without sacrificing our initial goal of writing a reasonably sophisticated, interpretive, and analytic history.

INCORPORATION OF RECENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

For us the greatest pleasure in a revision lies in the challenge of absorbing and then incorporating the latest developments in historical understanding. From its first edition, this book included more of the results of quantitative and social history than general textbooks of European history usually did, an obvious reflection of our own research. Each subsequent edition provided an occasion to incorporate current methods and new knowledge, a challenge that required reconsidering paragraphs, sections, and whole chapters in the light of new theories and new research, sometimes literally reconceiving part of the past. That evolution has continued with this edition.

Recent work in all aspects of history needs to be taken into account, including economic, intellectual, cultural, demographic, and diplomatic history as well as social and political history. In the last decade, new work in gender studies and cultural studies has been the most striking of all, and we have sought to incorporate these fresh perspectives and new findings in this text.

A BALANCED, INTERPRETIVE, AND FLEXIBLE APPROACH

At the same time, the professional scholar's preference for new perspectives over familiar ones makes a distinction that lay readers may not share. For them, the latest interpretations need to be integrated with established understandings and controversies, with the history of people and events that are part of our cultural lore. We recognize that a textbook should provide a coherent presentation of the basic information from which students can begin to form their historical understanding. We believe this information must be an interpretive history but also that its readers—teachers, students, and general readers—should be free to use it in many different ways and in conjunction with their own areas of special knowledge and their own interests and curiosity.

OVERARCHING THEMES

Throughout this book, from the treatment of the earliest civilizations to the discussion of the pre-

sent, certain themes are pursued. These seven themes constitute a set of categories by which societies and historical change can be analyzed.

(1) Social structure is one theme. In early chapters, social structure requires consideration of how the land was settled, divided among its inhabitants, and put to use. Later discussions of how property is held must include corporate, communal, and individual ownership, then investment banking and companies that sell shares. Similarly, we treat the division of labor in each era, noting whether workers are slave or free and when there are recognized specialists in fighting or crafts or trade. The chapters covering the Middle Ages and the early modern period explore the distinctions between nobles, commoners, and clergy; analyses of modern social classes accompany the treatment of the French Revolution and industrialization and twentieth-century societies.

(2) What used to be called the *body politic* is also followed throughout this book. Each era contains discussions of how political power is acquired and used and of the political structures that result. Students are shown the role of law from ancient codes to the present, and they learn about problems of order and the formation of the state, why its functions have increased and how the forms of political participation have changed.

(3) From cultivation in the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates to the global economy, we follow changes in the organization of production and in the impact of technology. We note how goods are distributed, and we observe patterns of trade as avenues of culture in addition to wealth. We look at the changing economic role of governments and the impact of economic theories.

(4) The evolution of the family and changing gender roles are topics fundamental to every period. Families give form to daily life and kinship structures. The history of demography, migration, and work is also a history of the family. The basis of social organization, the family has always been a central focus of religion and the principal instrument by which society assigns specific practices, roles, and values to women and men. These roles, and even more their practical impact, have changed from era to era, differing according to social class and between rural and urban societies. Observing gender roles across time, the student discovers that social, political, economic, and cultural history are

always interrelated; that the present is related to the past; and that social change brings gains and losses rather than evolution in a straight line—three lessons all history courses teach.

(5) No history of Europe could fail to pay attention to war, which, for most polities, has been their most demanding activity. Warfare has strained whatever resources were available from ancient times to the present, leading governments to invent new ways of extracting wealth and mobilizing support. War has built and undermined states, stimulated science and consumed technology, made heroes and restructured nobility, schooling, and social services. Glorified in European culture and often condemned, war in every era has affected the lives of ordinary people. This historical significance, more than specific battles, is one of the themes of *The Western Experience*.

(6) All histories of Europe attend to religion at certain well-established points, and this book does, too. We want as well to establish in the reader's mind that religion is important in all periods of history and that it affects and is affected by all the themes we address, creating community and causing conflict, shaping intellectual and daily life, providing the experiences that bind individual lives and society within a common system of meaning.

(7) For authors of a general history, no decision is more persistently difficult, chapter by chapter, than how much space to devote to cultural expression. In this respect, as elsewhere, we have consciously sought a particular kind of balance. We mean to present the most important formal ideas, philosophies, and ideologies of each era and to do so as clearly and concisely as possible. That presentation obviously requires some principle of inclusion. We emphasize concepts of recognized importance in the general history of ideas and those concepts that illuminate behavior and discourse in a given period. We pay particular attention to developments in science when we believe they are related to important intellectual, economic, and social trends. We write about popular culture in specific sections but also throughout the book, wanting its place in social history to be apparent and concerned not to exaggerate the distance between popular and high or formal culture. Finally, we write about many of the great works

of literature, art, and music, which involves formidable problems of selection; we have tried to emphasize works that are cultural expressions of their time and that have continued to create communities of experience reaching across space and time.

Attending to specific themes occasions heightened problems of organization in addition to issues of selection. It would be possible to structure this book around a series of topical essays, perhaps repeating the series of themes for each of the standard chronological divisions of European history. We have chosen instead to aim for a narrative flow that emphasizes interrelationships and historical context. From the first, we wanted each chapter to stand as an interpretive historical essay, with a beginning and conclusion; we have kept that goal in this edition. Sometimes, then, any one of these themes may reemerge within a discussion of something else—a significant event, an influential institution, an individual life, or a whole period of time. Often, several of these themes intersect in a single institution or historical trend. A reader can nevertheless follow any one of these themes across time and use that theme as a measure of change and a way to assess the differences and similarities between societies.

STRONG COVERAGE OF SOCIAL HISTORY

To discuss history in this way is to think comparatively and to employ categories of social history that in the last generation has greatly affected historical understanding. The impulse behind social history was not new. As early as the eighteenth century many historians (of whom Voltaire was one) called for a history that was more than chronology, more than an account of kings and battles. Although in the nineteenth century historical studies gave primary place to past politics, diplomacy, and war (using evidence from official documents newly accessible in state archives), there was even then important new work in economic history and in the history of ideas, culture, law, and religion. Social history, as a field of study, emerged as a further effort at broader coverage. For some it was primarily the history of the working class and of labor movements. For others it was the history of daily life—daily life in ancient

Rome or Renaissance Florence or old New York as reflected in styles of dress, housing, diet, and so on. Historical museums and popular magazines featured this “pots and pans history,” which was appealing in its concreteness but tended (like the collections of interesting objects that it resembled) to lack a theoretical basis.

Modern social history seeks to compensate for the fact that most historical writing has been about the tiny minority who were the powerful, rich, and educated (and who left behind the fullest and most accessible records of their activities) but also to place its findings within a larger interpretive framework, borrowing from the social sciences, especially anthropology, sociology, economics, and political science. Still an arena of active and significant research, social history has also expanded, strengthened by new work on the history of women. With the development of a stronger theoretical sense, these interests have grown into gender studies that have given a whole new dimension to familiar historical issues. Social history has changed in another way, too, shifting away from explanations that gave priority to social structure and material factors and toward cultural studies.

CHRONOLOGICAL/CONCEPTUAL ORGANIZATION AND PERIODIZATION

These developments, which have greatly expanded the range of evidence and issues that historians must consider, make periodization more complex. The mainstay for organizing historical knowledge has been the rise and fall of dynasties, the formation of states, and the occurrence of wars and revolutions. The periodization most appropriate for describing changes in culture and ideas, economic production, or science and technology is often quite different, and changes in everyday life and popular culture often occur on a still different scale. We have sought a compromise. *The Western Experience* maintains the tradition of the introductory course in European history in that the chapters are essentially in chronological sequence. At the same time, insofar as each chapter is an interpretive essay, the information it contains serves to illustrate arguments as well as to

describe a period of European history. Major controversies over historical interpretations are discussed so that students can see how historical understanding is constructed, and some of those are sampled in historiographical boxes to encourage students to participate in these debates and formulate their own positions. For all these reasons, chapters also have topical emphases, and sometimes a cluster of chapters is required to treat a given era.

Pedagogical Features of the Seventh Edition

The sixth edition of *The Western Experience* was more attractively produced than its predecessors, with more color, clearer maps, and a more accessible format. This new edition keeps all these changes while improving on them. The seventh edition offers more than 100 maps and 400 illustrations, each with an explanatory caption that enhances the coverage in the text. All the pedagogical devices listed here are designed to help students find their way without sacrificing subtlety of interpretation or trying to hide the fact that history is complex.

PRIMARY SOURCE BOXES

These excerpts from primary sources are designed to illustrate or supplement points made in the text, to provide some flavor of the issues under discussion, and to allow even the beginning student some of that independence of judgment that comes from a careful reading of historical sources.

HISTORICAL ISSUES BOXES

The seventh edition of *The Western Experience* has expanded the number of boxes presenting the contrasting historical interpretations that proved so popular in the sixth edition. These boxes, such as “The Debate over Feudalism” in chapter 8, and “On the Origins of the French Revolution” in chapter 20, provide samples from significant historiographical controversies.

MORE HEADING LEVELS

We have given particular attention to adding more helpful guides, such as the consistent use of the three levels of headings to give a clear outline of a chapter's argument, with much more frequent use of the third-level heading that quickly identifies specific topics.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHARTS

Nearly every chapter employs charts and chronological tables that outline the unfolding of major events and social processes and serve as a convenient reference for students.

Available Formats

In order to provide an alternative to the hardcover edition, *The Western Experience* is being made available in two-volume and three-volume paperback editions. Volume I includes chapters 1 through 17 and covers material through the eighteenth century. Volume II includes chapters 15 through 30 and the epilogue, and covers material since the sixteenth century. Volume A includes chapters 1 through 12, Antiquity and the Middle Ages; Volume B includes chapters 11 through 21, The Early Modern Era; and Volume C includes chapters 19 through 30 and the epilogue, The Modern Era. The page numbering and cross-references in these editions remain the same as in the hardcover text.

Ancillary Instructional Materials

McGraw-Hill offers instructors and students a wide variety of ancillary materials to accompany *The Western Experience*. These supplements listed here may accompany *The Western Experience*. Please contact your local McGraw-Hill representative for details concerning policies, prices, and availability, as some restrictions may apply.

FOR THE STUDENT

Student Study Guide/Workbook with Map Exercises, Volumes I and II The Student Study Guide

includes the following features for each chapter: chapter outlines, chronological diagrams, four kinds of exercises—map exercises, exercises in document analysis, exercises that reinforce the book's important overarching themes, exercises in matching important terms with significant individuals—and essay topics requiring analysis and speculation. The pages of the workbook are perforated to allow students to hand in exercises as professors may require.

New Multimedia Supplements for the Student: Student Interactive CD-ROM Study Guide This student CD incorporates the exercises included in the study guide in an augmented, more engaging interactive format.

- Chapter outlines are connected through hyperlinks to self-tests.
- Interactive “drag and drop” exercises ask students to match up significant individuals and key terms with the correct identifications.
- An audio function helps students pronounce difficult terms.
- Self-tests offer students a chance to find out in what areas they need more study.
- Essay questions are available with print capability from the CD-ROM.
- Map exercises are also included.

Web Site A fully interactive, book-specific Web site features links to chapter- and topic-appropriate sites on the World Wide Web, a guide to using the Internet, and practice midterm and final exams written by the study guide author that will be posted at the appropriate times during the semester. These quizzes will offer students content-specific feedback and will be self-scoring.

FOR THE INSTRUCTOR

An integrated instructional package is available in either print or electronic format.

Instructor's Manual/Test Bank This fully revised and expanded manual includes chapter summaries, lecture and discussion topics, and lists of additional teaching resources such as recom-

mended films, novels, and Web sites. In addition, the test bank for the seventh edition of *The Western Experience* includes more questions than ever before. Types of questions include multiple choice, identification, sentence completion, essay (both factual and interpretive), and critical thinking exercises (such as map analysis or source analysis questions).

Computerized Test Bank A computerized test bank is available in Windows or Mac formats.

Overhead Transparency Acetates This expanded full-color transparency package includes all the maps and chronological charts in the text.

New Multimedia Supplement for the Instructor: Presentation Manager CD-ROM This CD allows instructors to create their own classroom presentation using resources provided by McGraw-Hill. Instructors may also customize their presentations by adding slides or other electronic resources. In addition, this CD allows instructors access to all their instructional materials (including the test bank) in one integrated instructional package. The Presentation Manager includes the following resources: a Power Point slide show, electronic overhead transparencies (maps and chronological charts from the text), the instructor's manual (with hyperlinks to appropriate maps and timelines to help the instructor build lecture presentations), and the test bank.

Acknowledgments

Manuscript Reviewers and Consultants, seventh edition Frank Baglione, Tallahassee Community College; Paul Goodwin, University of Connecticut; Robert Herzstein, University of South Carolina;

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We would like to thank Leslye Jackson and Amy Mack of McGraw-Hill for their considerable efforts in bringing this edition to fruition.

Introduction

Everyone uses history. We use it to define who we are and to connect our personal experience to the collective memory of the groups to which we belong, including a particular region, nation, and culture. We invoke the past to explain our hopes and ambitions and to justify our fears and conflicts. The Charter of the United Nations, like the American Declaration of Independence, is based on a view of history. When workers strike or armies march, they cite the lessons of their history. Because history is so important to us psychologically and intellectually, historical understanding is always shifting and often controversial.

Some questions must be asked repeatedly, some issues arise again and again; but much of this knowledge is cumulative, for while asking new questions, historians integrate the answers that have been learned from previous studies, and historical knowledge grows. History is not merely a subjective exercise in which all opinions are equally valid. No matter what motivated a particular historical question, the answer to it stands until overturned by better evidence. We now know more about the past than ever before, and we understand it as the people we study could not. Unlike them, we know how their history came out; we can apply methods they did not have, and often we have evidence they never saw. This knowledge and the ways of interpreting it are the collective achievement of thousands of historians.

We also use history for pleasure—as a cultivated entertainment. The biographies of great men and women, dramatic accounts of important events, colorful tales of earlier times can be fascinating in themselves. Through these encounters with history, we experience the common concerns of all people; and through the study of European history, we come to appreciate the ideals and conflicts, the failures and accidents, the social needs and human choices that formed the Western world in which we live. Knowing the historical context also enriches our appreciation for the achievements of European culture, enabling us to see its art, science, ideas, and politics in relationship to real people, specific interests, and burning issues.

We think of Europe's history as the history of Western civilization, but the very concept of a Western civilization is itself the result of history. The Greeks gave the names *east* and *west* to the points on the horizon at which the sun rises and sets. Because the Persian Empire and India lay to their east, the Greeks labeled their own continent, which they called Europe, the west. The distinction between Western civilization and others—ethnocentric, often arbitrary, and frequently exaggerated—continued even as that civilization changed and expanded with the Roman Empire, Christianity, and the European conquest of the New World. The view that the Western civilization is all one, that America is tied more closely

to ancient Greece than Greece is to Egypt or Spain to Islam can be easily challenged in every respect save cultural tradition.

The Western Experience gives primary attention to a small part of the world and thus honors that cultural tradition. The concentration on Europe nevertheless includes important examples of city and of rural life; of empires and monarchies and republics; of life before and after industrialization; of societies in which labor was organized through markets, serfdom, and slavery; of cultures little concerned with science and of ones that used changing scientific knowledge; of non-Christian religions and of all the major forms of Christianity in action.

Throughout this book, from the treatment of the earliest civilizations to the discussion of the present, certain themes are pursued. These seven themes constitute a set of categories by which societies and historical change can be analyzed: social structure, the body politic, changes in the organization of production and in the impact of technology, the evolution of the family and changing gender roles, war, religion, and cultural expression.

Attending to specific themes occasions heightened problems of organization, in addition to issues of selection. It would be possible to structure this book around a series of topical essays, perhaps repeating the series of themes for each of the standard chronological divisions of European history. We have chosen instead to aim for a narrative flow that emphasizes interrelationships and historical context. From the first we wanted each chapter to stand as an interpretive historical essay, with a beginning and conclusion; we have kept that goal in this edition. Sometimes, then, any one of these themes may reemerge within a discussion of something else—a significant event, an influential institution, an individual life, or a whole period of time. Often, several of these themes intersect in a single institution or historical trend. A reader can nevertheless follow any one of these

themes across time and use them as a measure of change and a way to assess the differences and similarities between societies.

Readers of this book may thus use it as an introduction to historical method, find within it a framework to which they can attach whatever else they know about Western society, and discover here some challenges to their preconceptions—about the past, about how societies are organized, and about how people behave. Historical study is an integrative enterprise in which long-term trends and specific moments, in which social structure and individual actions, are all brought together. It gives the student training in how to analyze society and assess social issues and provides experience in decision making and argumentation.

A college course is not the only way to build a personal culture. Nor is history the only path to integrated knowledge. Western history is not the only history a person should know, nor is an introductory survey necessarily the best way to learn it. Still, as readers consider and then challenge interpretations offered in this text, they will exercise critical and analytical skills. They can begin to overcome the parochialism that thinks only the present matters. They can acknowledge the greatness of their Western heritage and its distinctiveness, which includes injustice, cruelty, and failure. To do these things is to experience the study of history as one of the vital intellectual activities by which we come to know who and where we are.

Mortimer Chambers

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Brief Contents

Chapter 1	The First Civilizations	1	Chapter 10	The Urban Economy and the Consolidation of States	318
Chapter 2	The Forming of Greek Civilization	35	Chapter 11	Breakdown and Renewal in an Age of Plague	352
Chapter 3	Classical and Hellenistic Greece	68	Chapter 12	Tradition and Change in European Culture, 1300–1500	392
Chapter 4	The Roman Republic	99	Chapter 13	Reformations in Religion	424
Chapter 5	The Empire and Christianity	130	Chapter 14	Economic Expansion and a New Politics	462
Chapter 6	The Making of Western Europe	168	Chapter 15	War and Crisis	504
Chapter 7	The Empires of the Early Middle Ages (800–1000): Creation and Erosion	200	Chapter 16	Culture and Society in the Age of the Scientific Revolution	543
Chapter 8	Restoration of an Ordered Society	238	Chapter 17	The Emergence of the European State System	579
Chapter 9	The Flowering of Medieval Civilization	278			

Contents

LIST OF MAPS	XXI
LIST OF BOXES	XXIII
PREFACE	XXV
INTRODUCTION	XXXI

Chapter 1

THE FIRST CIVILIZATIONS 1

I. The Earliest Humans 2	IV. The Early Indo-Europeans 20
Human Beings as Food Gatherers 2	The Hittite Kingdom 21
Human Beings as Food Producers 2	The Close of the Bronze Age 21
Early Near Eastern Villages 3	V. Palestine 21
II. The First Civilizations in Mesopotamia 4	Canaanites and Phoenicians 21
The Emergence of Civilization 4	Hebrew Society and the Bible 21
Sumer 6	The Jewish Legacy 26
The Babylonian Kingdom 9	VI. The Near Eastern States 26
Mesopotamian Culture 10	The Assyrian State 27
III. Egypt 11	The Chaldeans and the Medes 28
The Old and Middle Kingdoms 12	The Persian Empire 28
The New Kingdom 16	
A View of Egyptian Society 19	

Chapter 2

THE FORMING OF GREEK CIVILIZATION 35

- I. Crete and Early Greece**
(ca. 3000–1100 B.C.) 36
 - Cretan Civilization 36
 - Crete and the Greeks 39
 - Mycenaean Civilization
(ca. 1600–1100 B.C.) 40
- II. The Greek Renaissance**
(ca. 800–600 B.C.) 42
 - Greek Religion 42
 - Public Games 46
 - Colonization (ca. 750–550 B.C.) 46
 - The Alphabet 46
 - Archaic Literature 47
- III. The Polis** 50
 - Organization and Government 50
 - The Economy of the Poleis
(ca. 700–400 B.C.) 52
 - Sparta and Athens (ca. 700–500 B.C.) 53
- IV. The Challenge of Persia** 58
 - The Invasion under Darius and Marathon
(490 B.C.) 58
 - The Second Persian War (480–479 B.C.) 58
- V. The Wars of the Fifth Century**
(479–404 B.C.) 60
 - The Athenian Empire 60
 - The Age of Pericles 61
 - The Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.) 62

Chapter 3

CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC GREECE 68

- I. Classical Greek Culture**
(ca. 500–323 B.C.) 70
 - Greek Tragedy 70
 - Comedy: Aristophanes 71
 - Historical Writing 72
 - Philosophy 74
 - The Roles of Women 81
- II. The Rise of Macedonia** 83
 - The Weaknesses of the Poleis 83
 - Philip II of Macedonia 84
 - Alexander the Great 85
- III. The Hellenistic Age**
(323–30 B.C.) 89
 - The Dissolution of Alexander's Empire 89
 - Economic Life 90
 - Literature, Art, and Science 91
 - Philosophy and Religion 93