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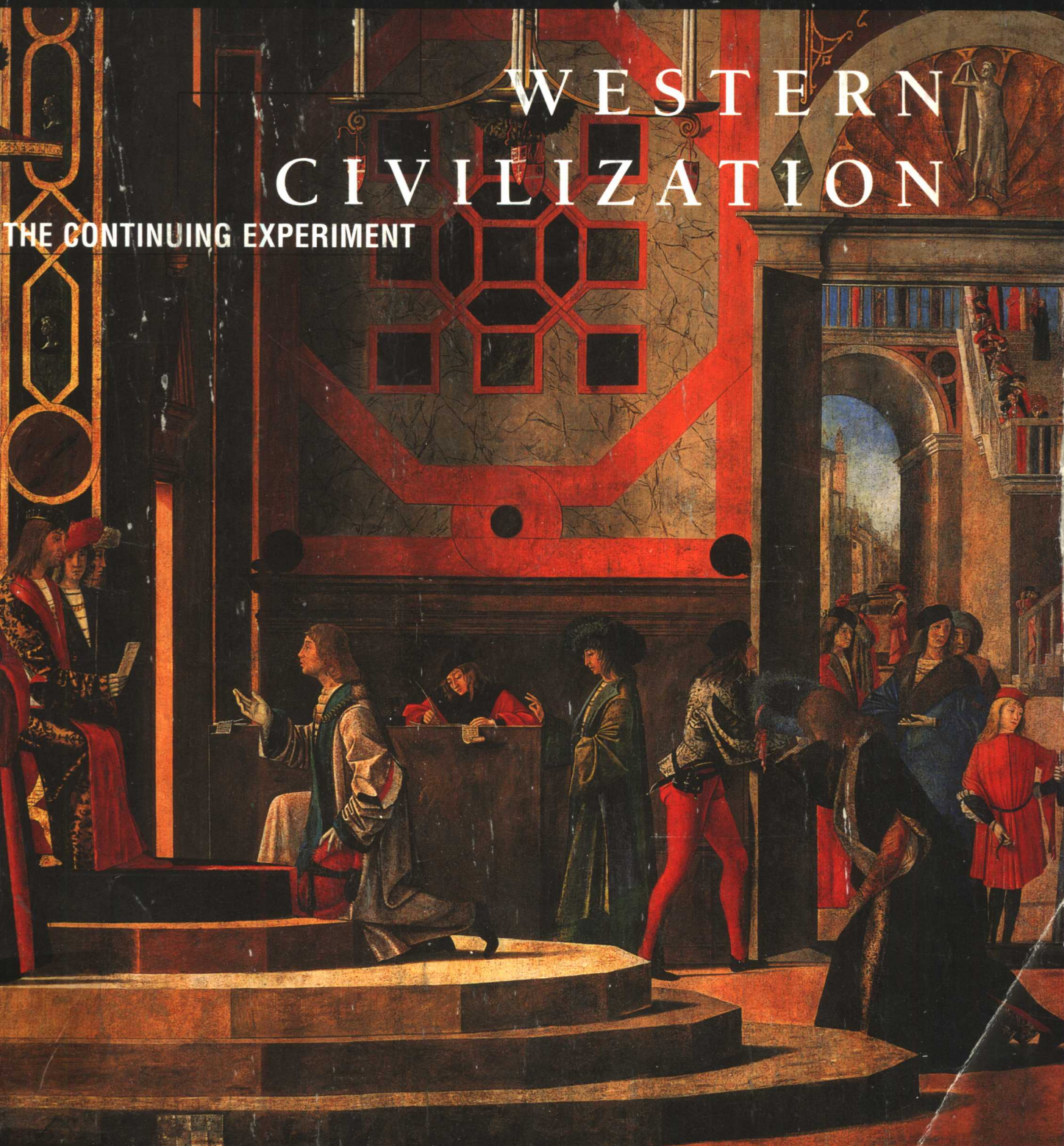
WESTERN CIVILIZATION

THE CONTINUING EXPERIMENT

SECOND EDITION

TO 1715

I



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Volume I
To 1715

WESTERN CIVILIZATION

The Continuing Experiment

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Preface

Miles Davis was once asked what he thought jazz musicians would be playing in ten years, and he said that if he knew that, he would already be playing it. The authors of this book are committed teachers who never lost the thrill of being history students. We do not claim that we have seen into the future, but we can say with real conviction that we have tried to do better, for both instructors and students, than has been done in the past. And as we look back over nearly a decade, to the time when we were planning the first edition of *Western Civilization: The Continuing Experiment*, we can say with a mixture of pride and humility that we anticipated quite well what kind of history would be “playing” in ten years.

The purpose of a Western civilization textbook is to anchor a course that aims to inform students about essential developments within a tradition that has powerfully, although not always positively, affected everyone who is alive today. Although each of us finds something to admire in all of the existing textbooks, none of us was fully happy with any of them. We were disappointed with books that claimed “balance” but actually stressed a single kind of history. We regretted that so many texts were uneven in their command of recent scholarship. Although convinced of both the inherent interest of Western civilization and the importance of teaching the subject, we were disconcerted by the celebratory tone of some books, which portray the West as resting on its laurels instead of creatively facing its future.

As we were planning this book, (momentous) changes shook the Western world. Most obviously, the Soviet Union collapsed, and the communist regimes of Eastern Europe ~~tumbled~~ one after another. Those who reflect on the West today must take account of Islamic minorities in the Slavic Balkans, Turkish workers in Germany, and African workers in France. (Unprecedented) economic prosperity—to be sure, unevenly distributed—marks all the lands from Ireland to Russia. Thus, the study of Western civilization at the dawn of a new millennium cannot focus narrowly on the peoples of Europe’s western fringe, and it cannot take its bearings from a historical landscape whose most prominent features are the Depression of the 1930s, the world wars, and a global population divided by the iron curtain.

We decided to try very hard to produce a book that is balanced and coherent; that addresses the full range of subjects that a Western civilization text needs to address; that provides the student reader with interesting, timely material; that is up-to-date in terms of scholarship and approach; and that is handsome to look at—in short, a book that helps the instructor to teach and the student to learn. We have kept our common vision fresh through frequent meetings, correspondence, E-mail, critical mutual readings, and expert editorial guidance. Six authors have come together as one, and because each of us focused on his or her own area of specialization, we believe we have attained a rare blend of competence, confidence, and enthusiasm.

CENTRAL THEMES AND APPROACH

Western civilization is a story. We therefore aimed at a strong chronological narrative line. Our experience as teachers tells us that students appreciate this clear but gentle orientation. Our experience tells us, too, that an approach that is more chronological than thematic will leave instructors plenty of room to adapt our narrative to their preferred organization.

Although we maintain the familiar, large-scale divisions of a Western civilization book, we also present some innovative adjustments in arrangement. For instance, Chapter 2 treats early Greece together with the whole eastern Mediterranean region in the period from about 1500 to 750 B.C. This approach both links kindred cultures and respects chronological flow better than customary treatments, which take western Asia to a certain point and backtrack to deal with early Greece. We focus an entire chapter on Late Antiquity, the tumultuous and fascinating period from about A.D. 300 to 600 that witnessed the transformation of the Roman Empire into three successors: Byzantine, Islamic, and European. We introduce and analyze the industrial transformation in the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was at its high point, instead of scattering its account through several chapters. Our twentieth-century chapters reflect an understanding of the century

formed in its closing years rather than in its middle decades. What is new in our organization represents adjustments grounded in the best scholarship, and what is old represents time-tested approaches.

A chronological narrative that respects the traditional divisions of ancient, medieval, early modern, and modern will inevitably reflect great people and great events. We make no apology for this, and we urge no particular ideology in doing it. Marx was surely right when he said that women and men make history without knowing they are doing so, but it is nonetheless true that Alexander, Charlemagne, Elizabeth I, Napoleon, and Hitler have had a more decisive impact on the development of the West than most ordinary individuals. That is true, but not interesting to teachers or to students until we say why it is true.

This book takes as its point of departure *power* in all its senses: public and private; economic, social, political, and cultural; symbolic and real. We continually ask who had power, and who did not. Through what public and private means was power gained, lost, and exercised in a given time and place? How did people talk about power? What kinds of rituals, ceremonies, or celebrations displayed power? What relationships existed among economic, social, political, and cultural power?

By using power, not old-fashioned high politics, as our organizing principle we believe we have achieved the kind of balance and integration that are frequently promised but seldom attained. We have deliberately avoided putting the occasional paragraph or section on women, children, families, religious minorities, eating habits, or marriage patterns in the middle of a discussion of something else entirely. We maintain a sustained interest in the history of women, often using gender as a tool of analysis and explanation, and we discuss such subjects as diet, clothing, or dwellings when Europeans themselves talked about them, or when there were important changes in these areas. Women are not relegated to a separate section in our account of the Middle Ages, for example, but instead are situated in accounts of politics, society, religion, and culture. Nineteenth-century women appear as workers, writers, or political activists and not under a single heading that would deprive them of contextual participation in their contemporary world.

Our focus on power permits a continuous, nuanced treatment of intellectual history. Major thinkers and key intellectual traditions are consistently integrated into the story rather than treated in-

dependently as if they were *the* story of Western civilization, or else a sideshow to the main event. Any understanding of Plato and Aristotle, for instance, must begin in the Greek *polis*. Renaissance humanism cannot be understood apart from its late medieval Italian, urban context. We anchor the Scientific Revolution to Renaissance and Reformation intellectual life, court societies, patronage networks, and the expanding world created by Europe's first overseas empires. We root romanticism in its urban, industrial, nationalistic, and politically restless nineteenth-century world, and we treat existentialism as one response to modern war and totalitarianism.

We thought hard about another issue that textbooks usually take for granted: What is the West? This book was conceived and written after the end of the cold war and the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Both the West's understanding of itself at any point in time and the historical understanding of the West through succeeding generations have changed in interesting and important ways, never more so than today. Thus, we continually invite our readers to think about the precise object of their study.

In fashioning our picture of the West, we took two unusual steps. First, our West is bigger than the one found in most textbooks. We treat the Celtic world, Scandinavia, and the Slavic world as integral parts of the story. We look often at the lands that border the West—Anatolia/Turkey, western Asia, North Africa, the Eurasian steppes—in order to show the to-and-fro of peoples, ideas, technologies, and products. Second, we continually situate the West in its global context. We must be clear: This is not a world history book. But just as we recognize that the West has influenced the rest of the world, so too we carefully acknowledge that the rest of the world has influenced the West. We begin this story of mutual interaction with the Greeks and Romans, carry it through the European Middle Ages, focus on it in the age of European exploration and conquest, and analyze it closely in the modern world of industry, empire, diplomacy, and questions of citizenship and identity.

We ask, finally, that you note the subtitle of the book: "The Continuing Experiment." It was carefully chosen to convey our resolve to avoid a deterministic approach. For students and teachers, an appreciation of continuity and change, of unity and diversity, can foster sympathetic participation in our often bewildering world. We try to give individual actors, moments, and movements the sense of drama, possibility, and contingency that they actually possessed.

We, with faultless hindsight, always know how things came out. Contemporaries often hadn't a clue. We respect them. Much of the fascination, and the reward, of studying Western civilization lies precisely in its richness, diversity, changeability, unpredictability.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

To make this text as accessible as possible to students, we have constantly been aware of its place in a program of teaching. Each chapter begins with a thematic introduction that engages the reader's interest while pointing clearly and in some detail to what will follow. Chronologies help to organize and review major developments. Careful chapter summaries draw together major topics and themes and link the present chapter to the one that follows. To help students strike out on their own to new historical discoveries, we provide for each chapter an annotated reading list of scholarly classics and exciting new works.

In addition to a sound pedagogical framework, and to an engaging full-color design that clarifies and animates the illustrations and text, we have thoroughly integrated all the elements of the book. Our maps, for example, support the text in both traditional and novel ways. Teachers will find "old friends" among them but will make many new acquaintances too. Our diverse array of boxed primary sources—five per chapter—are referred to and tightly anchored in the text and support their surrounding discussion. Here again, classic documents are blended with fresh newcomers. Our photographs, many of which have not previously appeared in textbooks, are never merely decorative, and their captions seek to extend the discussions that they complement.

An example may help to illustrate this integration. The central theme of Chapter 9, which treats Europe from 900 to 1150, is "expansion." Thus the chapter explores population growth, economic development, and foreign military adventures—chiefly the Crusades. But this theme of expansion is developed to reinforce the book's central, unifying themes—power and the West within the wider world. For example, the text discusses the kinds of social and institutional structures that were created or refined to accommodate the expansion of territorial power and responsibility. The maps provide clear evidence of the territorial expansion of both old

states (England, France, Germany) and new ones (in Celtic, Scandinavian, and Slavic areas). The pictures illustrate power in several ways. Kings are depicted on thrones, wearing crowns, holding orbs and scepters, and receiving gifts and obeisance. In other words, their symbolic and ceremonial manifestations of power are displayed. Castles, one of the great military and political technologies of the time, appear in Welsh, French, and Polish forms. A woman of immense power in central Italy is shown receiving the earnest entreaties for help of a German emperor. Boxed documents illustrate personal bonds of homage and fealty, key issues in the period's clashes between secular and ecclesiastical officials, and, on a lesser scale, the division of goods in Welsh law between men and women after a divorce. The various components of this chapter, as of all the chapters, continually reinforce one another, for a careful integration that promotes discussion and enhances learning.

Another important component of this book is the two-page feature "Weighing the Evidence," presented at the end of each chapter. These features introduce students to the fascinating variety of sources that historians use and invite them to think critically about the nature of historical information and inquiry. Each opens with a description of the evidence reproduced in the feature—sources ranging from images of Cleopatra, the Ravenna mosaics, Reformation woodcuts, eighteenth-century political symbols, the layout of the British Museum, and the poetry of World War I—and then discusses how the professional historian examines this evidence to reconstruct the past. When Samuel Butler said that God cannot change history but that historians can and often do, he meant that history itself arises from new or different acts of interpretation. With "Weighing the Evidence," students look over the shoulder of the historian to become active participants in this interpretive process. The sources examined are interesting and instructive in their own right, but the "Weighing the Evidence" features also contribute to the teaching program of the book. As always, they are carefully integrated into the text: There are references to them at appropriate points in the narrative; they themselves contain cross-references where appropriate to other sections or illustrations; and they support ongoing discussions.

This book is also flexible in format as well as substantive organization. Because schools use different academic calendars, organize Western civilization courses according to different chronologies, and require or recommend different parts of the course,

we issue this book in four formats, three of which embrace the complete work:

- One-volume hardcover edition (Chapters 1–30)
- Two-volume paperback, Volume I: To 1715 (Chapters 1–17), Volume II: Since 1560 (Chapters 15–30)
- Three-volume paperback, Volume A: To 1500 (Chapters 1–12), Volume B: 1300–1715 (Chapters 11–19), Volume C: Since 1789 (Chapters 19–30)
- And new to this edition, Since 1300 (Chapters 11–30)

Volume II opens with a comprehensive introduction that situates the student reader in the late sixteenth century and surveys the course of Western civilization from ancient times to the early centuries of the modern era. This introduction is designed particularly for students who did not take the first semester of the course, or who are new to this book.

CHANGES IN THE NEW EDITION

In preparing our second edition we thought hard about our own experiences in using the book, and we paid strict attention to the advice given us by many instructors, including those who used the book and those who did not. Five main lines of revision guided our changes:

Organizational Changes

The most obvious change here is that we shrank our book from thirty-two to thirty chapters. The first-edition chapter on “The Frontiers of Latin Europe” was deleted, and its most important conceptual perspectives and substantive material were redistributed among Chapters 8, 9, and 10. Two chapters on later medieval Europe were tightened in focus and organization and turned into one new chapter (11). By cutting out two first-edition chapters in Volume I, it became possible to include Chapter 17 on the Scientific Revolution in both Volumes I and II, a change that accommodates many syllabuses.

Many other organizational changes are less visible but still significant. The revolution from the Gracchi to Caesar in Republican Rome has been moved to Chapter 5, which permits Chapter 6 to have a sharper focus on the crisis of the late Republic and the emergence of the Roman Empire. Some material on medieval church-state controversies that was earlier distributed over several chapters is now

consolidated in Chapter 10. Discussions of the late medieval economy are now sharply focused in Chapter 11, and former sections on late medieval and Renaissance art are now found together in Chapter 12. Sections treating the English Revolution, the French Revolution, and the revolutions of 1848 have undergone significant reorganization and revision. The book’s final chapters have been rearranged and revised in light of shifting perspectives on postcommunist Eastern Europe.

Thematic Integration

Users and reviewers praised our book’s two major themes—power and the shape of the West within the wider world—but in preparing this edition we felt we could do even better. Specifically, we saw opportunities to treat the second theme in more detail and to sharpen our use of gender as a means of explanation. Accordingly, we began at the beginning, so to speak, and incorporated material on Neolithic and Copper Age Europe to complement our treatment of the Mesopotamian and Mediterranean worlds. We paid more attention to the shifting frontiers of medieval Europe. In revising our account of the immensely important political and diplomatic history of the period from about 1500 to 1800, we included more extensive coverage of both Europe’s immediate frontiers and the wider world. Our nineteenth-century chapters contain an expanded account of the growing power of the United States and the global significance of European emigration. Our nineteenth- and twentieth-century chapters now contain additional coverage of the mutual relations between Europe and its colonies. The Depression of the 1930s is anchored more firmly in a global context, and the multicultural implications of vast population movements in the late twentieth century are carefully considered.

From the start, our book paid serious attention to the experiences of women and to the exciting possibilities of using gender as a tool of analysis. We were very pleased that users and reviewers affirmed our intentions and achievements. Still, in revising we believed that we could improve our coverage. Readers of the first edition will detect many changes, as in the sections on the Roman Empire, Late Antiquity, the High Middle Ages, exploration and discovery, the Scientific Revolution, nineteenth-century ideologies and social movements, the welfare state, and the problems of identity politics in the very recent past.

New Primary-Source Chapter Feature

To help us achieve our goal of thematic integration, in this edition we have added the primary-source feature "Encounters with the West." Every chapter contains one readily identifiable document that portrays other people commenting on westerners or westerners commenting on the world around them. In these documents, students meet Egyptians and Romans reacting to foreigners, a Franciscan missionary telling about the Mongols, an Inca nobleman describing his civilization, the wife of a wealthy plantation owner stating her views on Haiti's slave revolt, a Moroccan commenting on French press freedoms, Gandhi talking about nonviolence, and the controversial, influential Edward Said discussing "Orientalism."

Improved Chapter Features

We have also revised our existing pedagogical framework to take every opportunity to tighten the book's integration and to enhance its teachability. Every chapter now opens with an arresting full-color illustration that is specifically referenced in the introduction on the facing page. This visual and textual device expresses the main themes and issues raised in that chapter and captures the interest and provokes the imagination of the student reader. To continue our book's close integration of text and artwork, we have replaced about one-third of the in-text illustrations. Each new picture and drawing was chosen specifically to enhance the book's pedagogical force. All maps were scrutinized for accuracy and pedagogical value, and many were revised in subtle ways. We incorporated a number of new boxed documents that work to illustrate or extend our themes. Most chapters, moreover, now contain at least one document that lends itself to a "gendered" reading to help students familiarize themselves with gender as a tool of analysis. About one-third of the "Weighing the Evidence" features are new in this edition. Some of the newcomers are attributable to exciting discoveries, such as "The Ice Man's World." Others, on topics ranging from the invention of modern cartography to the Crystal Palace and pop art, serve to bolster our themes and to provoke discussion.

Incorporation of Recent Scholarship

One important advantage of a six-person author team is that we can keep track of the latest publications across the whole course of Western civilization. Natu-

rally, few periods or problems have been the subject of massive reinterpretation since our first edition, but many small changes in perspective have turned up all over. In line with the most recent, sound work, we have especially revised sections on the Greek phalanx and polis, the Etruscans and early Rome, Jesus and early Christianity, Late Antiquity, the Slavic world, vernacular culture in the Renaissance, the origins of the Reformation, the English Revolution, Napoleon, many aspects of the nineteenth century, the cold war, and the fall of Soviet communism. To incorporate recent findings and perspectives, we have updated all the lists of suggested readings.

SUPPLEMENTS

We have thoroughly revised our array of text supplements provided to aid students in learning and instructors in teaching. These supplements, including a *Study Guide*, a *Computerized Study Guide*, an *Instructor's Resource Manual*, *Test Items*, *Computerized Test Items*, *Map Transparencies*, a *Videodisc and Videodisc Guide*, and two new multimedia supplements: a *Power Presentation Manager* and a CD-ROM of interactive maps, are tied closely to the text and to one another, to provide a tightly integrated program of teaching and learning.

The *Study Guide*, written by Miriam Shadis of Ohio University, includes an introductory essay on how to make the best use of your Western Civilization course. For each chapter it gives learning objectives, an annotated outline of the chapter, multiple-choice questions keyed to the text, essay questions with guidelines, analytical questions, and map exercises. The *Study Guide* is published in two volumes, to correspond with Volumes I and II of the text: Volume I contains Chapters 1–17 and Volume II contains Chapters 15–30. The *Study Guide* is also available in a computerized version for use with IBM® PC or compatible computers. This *Computerized Study Guide* contains text page references for all questions and rejoinders to each multiple-choice question that explain why the student's response is or is not correct.

The *Instructor's Resource Manual*, prepared by Janice Liedl of Laurentian University, contains useful teaching strategies and tips for getting the most out of the text. Each chapter includes a summary and outline, learning objectives, lecture suggestions, discussion questions, recommended outside reading, and writing assignment and paper topics. For the new edition we have expanded the *Instructor's Resource Manual* to include recommended film,

video, and multimedia resources, as well as collaborative learning activities for students.

Each chapter of the *Test Items*, written by Diane Moczar of Northern Virginia Community College, offers a list of 20 to 30 key terms, 10 to 15 short-answer and essay questions, 2 to 3 map questions, and 40 to 50 multiple-choice questions. Answers to the multiple-choice questions are located at the end of the *Test Items*. We also offer a computerized version of the *Test Items* for use with IBM® PC or compatible computers, to enable teachers to alter, replace, or add questions. Each item in the computerized test item file is numbered according to the printed test item file to ease the creation of customized tests.

An exciting addition to our map program is a CD-ROM of thirty interactive maps, available to both instructors and students. We also offer *The Western Civilization Videodisc/Videotape/Slide* program, a multimedia collection of visual images, as well as a set of full-color *Transparencies* of all the maps in the text.

In addition, we are pleased to provide the *Power Presentation Manager*, a software tool that enables teachers to prepare visual aids for lectures electronically, using both textual and visual materials. Instructors can customize their lectures by incorporating their own material onto the PPM and combining it with the electronic resources provided, including adaptable chapter outlines, tables, illustrations, and maps from the text.

Finally, we are proud to announce the creation of our on-line primary-source collection, *BiblioBase™: Custom Coursepacks in Western Civilization*. This resource will allow instructors to select from over 600 primary-source documents to create their own customized reader.

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From the first draft to the last, the authors have benefited from repeated critical readings by many colleagues. We have tried very hard to profit from the vast fund of experience and knowledge that has been placed generously at our disposal. Our thanks to the following instructors: **Lawrence Backlund**, Montgomery County Community College; **John Battick**, University of Maine—Orono; **F. E. Beemon**, Middle Tennessee State University; **Christopher M. Bellitto**, St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie; **Wayne Bledsoe**, University of Missouri—Rolla; **Donna Bohanan**, Auburn University; **RaGena De Aragon**, Gonzaga University; **Peter Diehl**, Western Wash-

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Thomas F. X. Noble

The authors (left to right): Kristen Neuschel, Bill Cohen, David Roberts, Tom Noble (in back), Duane Osheim, Barry Strauss.



About the Authors

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After receiving his Ph.D. from Michigan State University, Thomas Noble has taught at Albion College, Michigan State University, Texas Tech University, and since 1980 at the University of Virginia. He is the author of *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825*, *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages*, and *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Noble's articles and reviews have appeared in many leading journals, including the *American Historical Review*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, *Catholic Historical Review*, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, *Speculum*, and *Studi medievali*. He has also contributed chapters to several books and articles to three encyclopedias. Noble, who was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study in 1994, has been awarded fellowships by the National Endowment for the Humanities (twice) and by the American Philosophical Society.

Barry S. Strauss

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William B. Cohen

After receiving his Ph.D. at Stanford University, William Cohen has taught at Northwestern University and Indiana University, where he is now professor of history. At Indiana, he served as chairman of the West European Studies and History departments. A previous president of the Society for French Historical Studies, Cohen has received several academic fellowships, among them a National Endowment for the Humanities and a Fulbright fellowship. Among his many publications are *Rulers of Empire*, *The French Encounter with Africans*, *European Empire Building*, *Robert Delavignette and the French Empire*, *The Transformation of Modern France*, and *Urban Government and the Rise of the City*.

David D. Roberts

After taking his Ph.D. in modern European history at the University of California, Berkeley, David Roberts taught at the Universities of Virginia and Rochester before becoming professor of history at the University of Georgia in 1988. At Rochester he chaired the Humanities Department of the Eastman School of Music, and he has chaired the History Department at Georgia since 1993. A recipient of Woodrow Wilson and Rockefeller Foundation fellowships, he is the author of *The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism*, *Benedetto Croce and the Uses of Historicism*, and *Nothing but History: Reconstruction and Extremity after Metaphysics*, as well as numerous articles and reviews.

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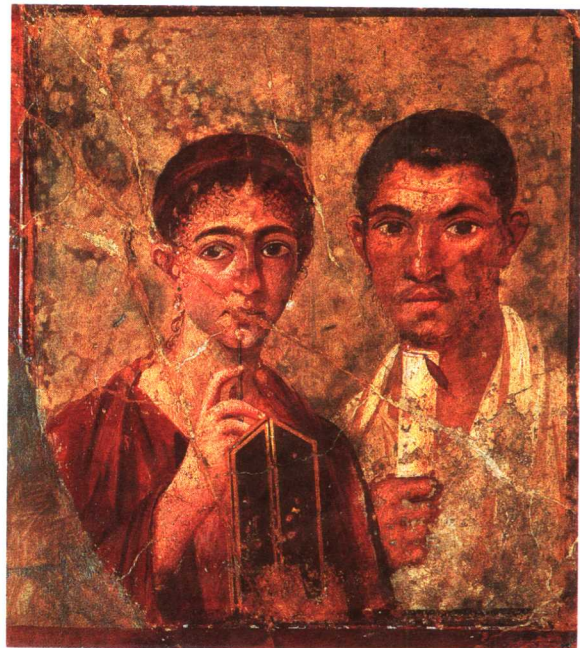
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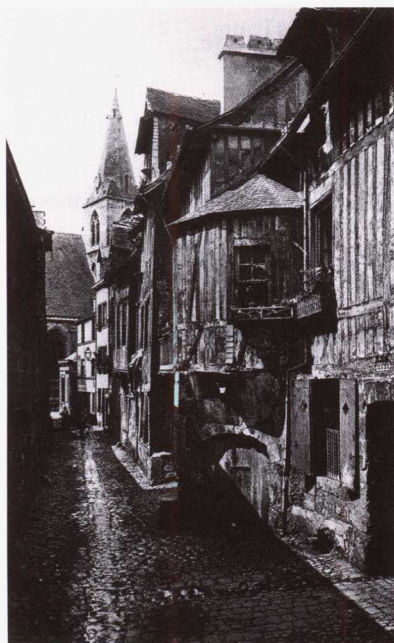
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