second edition

THE WESTERN HERITAGE

from the earliest times to the present

STEWART C. EASTON

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Second Edition

HOLT, RINEHART AND WINSTON, INC.
New York · Chicago · San Francisco · Toronto · London

Binding

Gold bow case found in Scythia (South Russia). THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART.

Page ii

A sphere depicting the signs of the zodiac, the earth, the deferent and equant circles in which the sun and moon's epicycles move, and the epicycles of the planets. THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY. Ms. 722, folio 18.

Page vii

Ship from the Bayeux Tapestry.

Library of Congress

Catalog Card Number: 66–10212

22039–0816

Printed in the

United States of America

August, 1966

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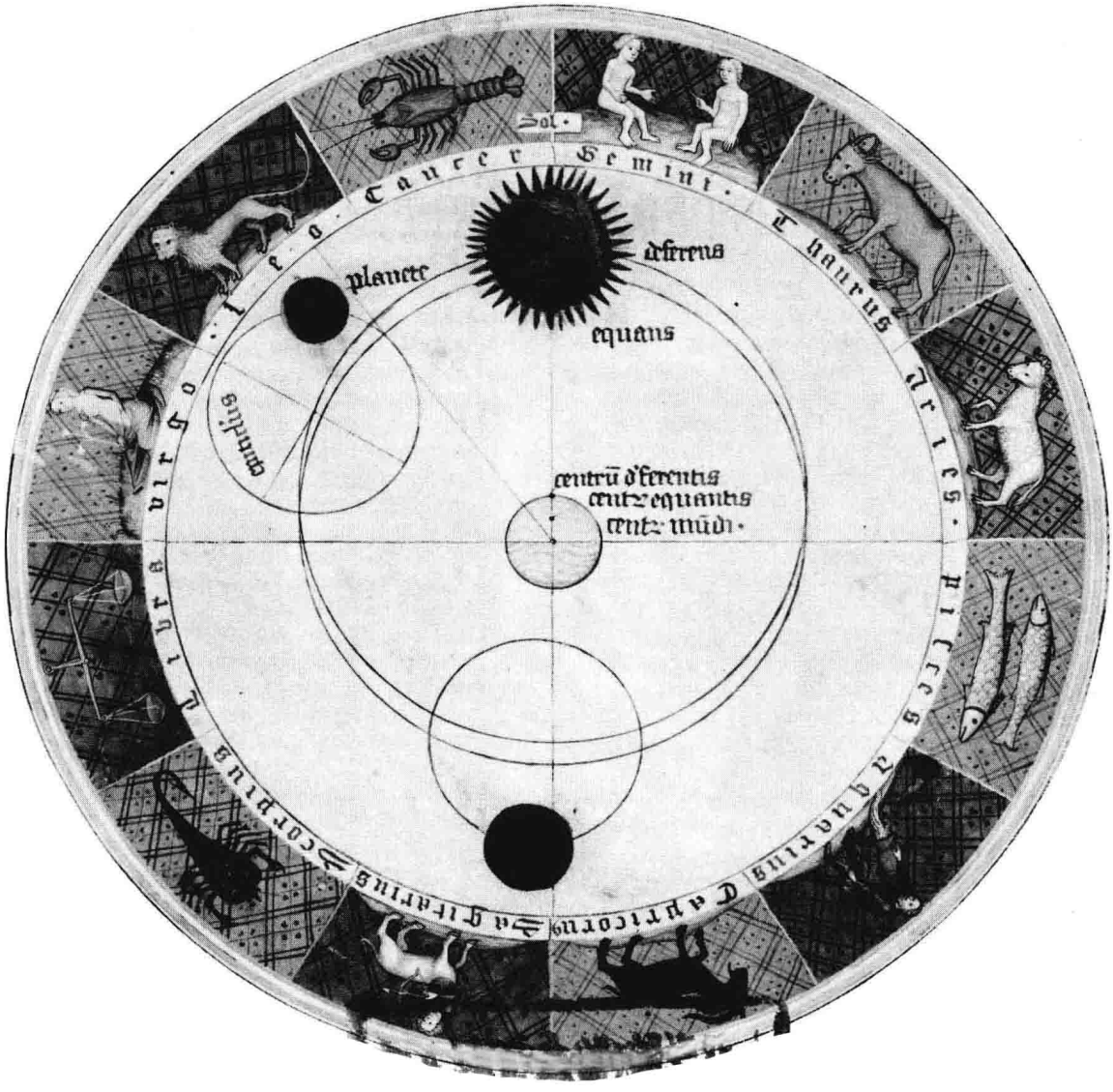

PREFACE

This volume is the third in a series of books by the present author, the first, published in 1955, being *The Heritage of the Past to 1500* and the second, published in 1957, *The Heritage of the Past to 1715*. The first edition of the present book appeared in 1961; now its second edition brings the history of Western man up to date as of 1965. It is necessarily less full in coverage than the two earlier works, since it is not significantly longer than either of them. It is designed either for a one-semester course or for those teachers who desire a single text for a two-semester course. In the second type of course the text usually is supplemented by outside readings or collections of documents at the wish of the instructor; for this reason an unusually long list of suggested readings is given at the end of each chapter, with emphasis on the paperbacks that are available to the student at minimum cost. A few remarks are appended to almost all the books mentioned, for the purpose of giving the student and teacher some guidance on their scope and contents.

The book has been designed on a rather rigorously topical basis, and, as in the earlier works, there is more interpretation than is customary in textbooks. It is, of course, much easier to give merely a compendium of facts and to leave all the interpretation to the instructor. It must be admitted that some instructors prefer this kind of text. Obviously not all teachers will agree with all the author's interpretations. But where the teacher disagrees he is free to take up the issue with his students in the knowledge that they will already have one suggested interpretation at their disposal. This will make for a livelier class discussion than if the student had only the bare facts and was compelled to rely upon the instructor for the only interpretation available to him. On the other hand, when the instructor agrees with the author's interpretation, he does not have to start from the beginning and interpret all the facts, but is given the opportunity to add from his own store of knowledge the details that were necessarily omitted from the book for reasons of space.

The history of Western man does not fall naturally into a topical framework, and many important events have to be omitted when they do not, in the author's opinion, have any special bearing upon the topic discussed. The alternative is to present the student with an array of facts in strict chronological order, and attempt to tie them together by brief pauses for synthesis. Synthesis will also, of course, be provided by the instructor. But it has been my experience that in the survey courses for which this book is designed the synthesizing task is almost a superhuman one. In this book therefore I have provided the essential topical framework, allowing the instructor to develop those subjects and periods which lend themselves best to his particular expertise.

Nevertheless, it remains true that difficulties arise from the topical treatment. In dealing with such a topic, for example, as the rise and decline of

the medieval Church, a fairly long time span has to be covered within a single chapter. The events handled in such a chapter necessarily require information that is covered in another chapter, perhaps even a later one, and so has not yet been mastered by the student. The chronological charts that appear in all the historical chapters are supplemented by charts at the beginning of each Part prior to the twentieth century. The use of these charts should help the student to orientate himself in time, and thus to overcome some of the difficulties that arise from the topical treatment. But, whenever feasible in the curriculum, I suggest that the whole Part devoted to a major period be read over lightly by the student before he undertakes the detailed study of each chapter. Then the events will be seen to fall into their proper place in the historical framework, and it will be possible to discuss more fully in class the interrelations among the events handled in different chapters, of which the instructor is aware but which the student cannot be expected to grasp without guidance.

I myself naturally am not a full-blown expert on all the subjects and periods covered in the book. I have tried to use the best sources and the best interpreters of the material that I could find, and to make my work as free as possible from egregious error. I therefore have thought it best not to mention the names of any of those who have contributed to the writing and production of this work, but merely to express my general gratitude for their assistance, and to draw attention once more to the excellent scale maps drawn by Vincent Kotschar, which have contributed so much to the success of earlier *Heritages*.

A study guide to accompany *The Western Heritage*, second edition, has been prepared by Professor Malcolm Moule of the University of the Pacific, Stockton, California.

I am indebted to many persons and organizations for help in finding appropriate illustrations, as is indicated in the credit lines. Special thanks are due to Dr. E. Gunter Troche, Director, and Mr. Dennis Beall, Curator, of the Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco; Professor Richard M. Brace, of Northwestern University, author of *The Making of the Modern World;* Miss Mary M. Kenway, of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Miss Elizabeth E. Roth, of the Prints Division, New York Public Library; and the staffs of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, and the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, all in New York.

But the contribution made to the book by my wife, both by way of suggestions, encouragement, and criticism, and in the typing of much of the manuscript, deserves a special and unique acknowledgment. Though it is formally acknowledged here in the printed page, it can add little to what I have said to her many times over in private.

STEWART C. EASTON

Tucson, Arizona
November, 1965

CONTENTS

MAPS

Maps in Color

Chronological Chart

AGES OF PREHISTORY

Type of Man	*Cultural Epoch*	*Geological Epoch*	*Approx. Date (B.C.)**
Pithecanthropus (Java man)	Lower Paleolithic (Food gathering)	Pleistocene Age	500,000
Sinanthropus (Peking man)	Lower Paleolithic (Food gathering)	Pleistocene Age	500,000
Neanderthal	Lower Paleolithic (Food gathering)	Pleistocene Age	150,000
Neanderthaloid	Lower Paleolithic (Food gathering)	Pleistocene Age	150,000
Homo-Sapiens (Cro-Magnon, etc.)	Upper Paleolithic	Pleistocene Age	50,000
	Mesolithic	Holocene (recent age)	8,000
	Neolithic Revolution (Food growing —Middle East and Europe)	Holocene (recent age)	5500 or later
	Followed by: Copper Age		*ca.* 4500
	Bronze Age		*ca.* 3500
	Iron Age		*ca.* 1800

* All the dates above are in dispute, and no consensus is to be found among archaeologists. All that the chart gives is a relative time scale, which will certainly be modified by further research.

❖ ONE

The Foundations of an Organized Society

❖ The economic and political foundations of a society

ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS

In all ages and in all societies the human being has had certain fundamental needs. These arise from the very fact that he is a human being, living in a society. No man can live for more than a limited period by himself; even if he could survive alone for his own lifetime, he could not reproduce his kind. He must therefore have some relations with his fellow men, and these relations are necessarily regulated by custom and usually by law. As a producer and consumer, he has an economic part to play in the life of his society. Lastly, he has certain nonmaterial needs, which he pursues with greater or lesser intensity in accordance with the opportunities provided by his society and the dictates of his own personal individuality.

The basic economic requirements of human beings are food, shelter, and clothing. In prehistoric societies their pursuit must have consumed such an enormous proportion of available human energies that there was little left for other activities. Food could be obtained from animals and wild plants, which were hunted or harvested in accordance with the skills and techniques available to the society. Such an economy may be termed a natural one—man was dependent entirely upon what was provided for him by nature, especially if he clothed himself in animal skins and lived in caves. When nature failed him, he moved on to a more favorable location, where he continued to live in a natural economy.

At the next stage of development, called the Neolithic Revolution, man ceased to be totally dependent upon nature and began in some degree to control it. He learned to breed and tend animals, so that they were always available to him for food when he needed them, and he taught them to work for him and supplement his own labor. He learned to plant crops and harvest them, laying down seeds in some spot cleared for the purpose and in which such plants did not grow by nature. He learned to build himself a home where none had been provided by nature, and he even discovered how to grow special crops such as flax from which he could make himself clothing.

Having learned in some degree to control and harness nature, man at last found himself both with leisure to produce luxuries that made life more pleasant and comfortable, and with a surplus of crops beyond the consuming needs of his society. He was able to offer these surpluses of manufactured luxuries and of crops for human consumption in exchange for goods produced by other men outside his immediate group. This *trade*, evidences of which have been found as early as the Neolithic age, was ultimately supplemented and fed by the products of *industry*. Industrial production is characterized by a more extensive division of labor under which some members of the society, freed from direct agricultural work, specialize in manufacturing a varied assortment of articles to be consumed at home or to be traded in exchange

for foreign products. An economically advanced society is characterized by the diversity of products manufactured and by effective organization of production to take advantage of specialized skills and minimize the waste of human energies in unnecessary labor.

POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS

Protection through government and law It used to be thought that man in a state of nature was forced to compete with all other human beings for his very subsistence, or, in the famous words of Thomas Hobbes, that his life was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." We have no record of such a way of life, either in early times, or among present-day "primitive" men. And it no longer seems as probable to us as it did in the nineteenth century, under the influence of the biological ideas of Darwin, that human survival was a matter of success in the constant struggle for existence, if this struggle is conceived of as a struggle between human beings. It now seems much more probable that survival has always been due to successful cooperation between human beings to resist the always dangerous forces of nature.

This cooperation must necessarily have involved banding together for the purposes of mutual protection, still the primary purpose of all government. If a social unit, even one as small as a family, is unable to evolve an acceptable system, under which the authority to maintain internal order and resist external aggression is vested in one or more of its members, it will soon disintegrate. The first requirement therefore of any government is that it should possess power to enforce its will upon individuals. This coercive power inherent in all governments may be backed by police forces for domestic use and military forces to repel external aggression. Whatever the form of government it must also possess some moral authority and be acceptable either to a majority of the people or to a minority that commands enough moral or material resources to enable it to coerce the majority. No government, whether by one man or by many, can survive without some support and acceptance.

A government, to be accepted by even a minority of the people, cannot behave in an arbitrary and unpredictable manner. It must make clear what its policy is in matters of daily concern to the people. This need for certainty is satisfied by the establishment of law, which explains to the people what is expected of them and decrees penalties for the behavior it defines as unacceptable. Law is essentially the regulation of the public behavior of human beings in an organized society, and it is enforced by the power of the government, as long as the government is able to maintain its authority.

From very early times men have considered that laws should be made in accordance with an abstraction called justice. But, as there has never been any agreed conception of justice at any time in history, individuals in each society have arrived at their own conceptions of justice by their own thought and have tried to modify the law accordingly. Justice has remained a valuable ideal, but in fact it has been the enforceable law that has prevailed rather than the abstract and unenforceable ideal. Most lawgivers in early societies claimed that they received the law from the gods and that their laws were therefore just; hence they decreed severe penalties for anyone who should attempt, from his feeble human thinking, to change them. In ancient Egypt there was no written law until a very late date. The Pharaoh who, as a god, was supposed to "know the hearts of men," could judge cases in the light of his intuitive and immediate perception of justice.

Evolution of political institutions—From clans and tribes to the national state It is possible that in some far-off age the self-sufficient family may also have been the political unit, with one member exercising an authority recognized and accepted by the other members. This state of affairs, however, presupposes the self-sufficiency of the one family, and such self-sufficiency is unlikely at any time or in any place. The clan, or union of a small number of families, sometimes closely connected by blood relationship, perhaps through a recent common ancestor, is known as a historical social unit. A larger unit is the tribe, composed of several clans. Still larger units of government are city-states; empires, which sometimes rule over wide

areas subdued by warfare; and in our own times, national states.

When the tribal units emerge into the light of history, there is usually a chieftain occupying the position of the head of the tribal government, advised by other minor chiefs or heads of families, and sometimes by the whole body of adults, who form an assembly whose advice is called for on special occasions and whose consent is necessary for important decisions. Such a government is a primitive democracy, of which we find evidence in Mesopotamia at an early date, and traces of which are found among other peoples, such as the primitive Greeks, Romans, and Germans of the West. In other societies we find at an early time the institution of kingship, in which the ruler has already been granted the power to govern without the formality of consultation with his subjects. In some Greek city-states kingship gave place to democracy; while in Rome after the expulsion of the kings, rule was exercised by elected consuls advised by a senate.

Common to all these forms of government are systems of law and officials who carry out the policies of the government. From the very primitive to the most advanced and modern forms of government the most important function is always the provision of protection to the governed; and though modern governments have undertaken multifarious subsidiary tasks, essentially they perform these tasks instead of the people themselves because the people have requested or allowed them to do so—tasks supposedly for their benefit which, in their view, can best be performed by common rather than private effort and under direction from above. The modern political and economic theory known as socialism emphasizes the importance of the role of the government in providing for the people what they are unable to provide for themselves.

Historical forms of government—Monarchy, oligarchy, democracy The essential requirement of government is, then, that it be effective and that its authority in the area entrusted to it should be accepted. Many forms of government may fulfill these criteria, and many forms are known to history; human inventiveness may yet devise new combinations. The Greek philosopher Aristotle recognized three types of what he thought of as good governments: monarchy, aristocracy (rule by "the best"), and constitutional government. These could degenerate into tyranny, oligarchy (rule by the few, not necessarily the best), and democracy (rule by the propertyless many). Whether or not we accept his judgment of good and bad governments, the classification itself is useful and fairly comprehensive.

Each of the governments may exist in pure or mixed forms. Monarchy may consist of rule by a king or a single ruler under some other title and his chosen advisers, with the responsibility ultimately resting with the ruler, or it may be a rule limited by the legal or moral necessity for him to consult his advisers, by whom he may be overruled. The latter is a limited or constitutional monarchy, and within this classification there are many degrees of limitation, down to the point where the "advisers" rule, and the king is merely a respected figurehead and symbol of unity, as in England. An oligarchy may be elected, or it may be entitled to rule by hereditary right; and it may have to consult the people in certain matters and submit to being overruled on occasion. A democracy may be direct, as in Athens, or representative as in modern states, the representatives subject to re-election or recall. The form of government, then, is always subject to change and modification in accordance with the needs of the time and the wishes of the people governed, but whatever the form and whatever the label—some modern labels are devised purely with the aim of confusing—a government's first task is to govern. If it cannot do this, it will inevitably be replaced by one that can.

THE "CULTURE" OF A SOCIETY

The common elements of all cultures—The accumulated heritage from the past Together the social organization, political institutions, economic activities, law, science, art, religion, and thought are called the culture of a society. The cave paintings of the Old Stone age and the mass-production techniques of the twentieth century are equally an expression of the cul-

tural creativeness of these particular societies. They are the work of men living in the society, making use of the physical environment provided for them by nature. Their creativeness is limited by the natural conditions, but not determined by them. The men of the Old Stone age could hardly have progressed at a single leap to the mass-production technique of the twentieth century or to its representative political government, since cultural inventiveness had first to traverse all the intermediate stages, and the institutions of society had to be modified with each innovation. Men had first to live in settled communities and develop institutions fit for such communities; they had to make the necessary technical inventions for communication, transportation, and production, and again slowly develop social institutions that could release and take advantage of natural human inventiveness.

But it is not necessary for each society to start again from scratch, inventing its techniques from the beginning. It can take advantage of the achievements of its predecessors. Once the Neolithic Revolution had taken place and agriculture was seen to be an improvement over the earlier food gathering, this fundamental invention became a part of the permanent possession of mankind, and any new society could build on the foundations laid by Neolithic man. Cultural change, therefore, is cumulative. The thoughts of mankind have been, as it were, built into the world—and the world has been changed by them, forever. Only if all knowledge of human deeds in the last seven thousand years were lost, would it be necessary for mankind to return to the conditions of the Old Stone age and start again.

The uniqueness of each culture Although each society does build on the foundations laid by its predecessors and exploits its cultural heritage, it is also, in a sense, unique. The men of ancient Egypt developed a political institution, the divine kingship, that they were unwilling to abandon, yet which was not successfully copied by other societies; they developed an art that had little influence on subsequent art in other countries and yet has been considered by many to be a fitting expression of the Egyptian attitude toward life. This attitude toward life seems to be the unique element in every society, which gives it its characteristic form. While the ancient Egyptians denied the fact of change, regarding it as illusory, and had therefore no interest in progress, we in the twentieth century not only recognize the fact of change but try to take advantage of it and help it on by our efforts. We set ourselves goals that we try to achieve; then, having achieved them, we set ourselves ever more distant goals and strive toward them. To the Egyptians the moon was a goddess, not an area for potential human colonization.

But no society before ours had any conception of progress such as we have. Many societies looked back to a golden age in the past that they longed to recapture, and even the Greeks, whose ideas were in so many ways similar to ours, lacked that sense of the importance of building for the future that is characteristic of modern Western civilization. It is necessary, therefore, in studying civilization as it was manifested in a particular society, to try to discover its own characteristic attitude toward life and to view its cultural achievements in the light of this attitude, while at the same time noting those cultural advances that it made and passed on to its successors as part of the total cultural heritage of mankind.

The diffusion of culture Cultural advances first made within a particular society may be taken up by other societies and spread throughout the entire world. But they must be able to find their proper place in the receiving society; they must find a fertile ground for reception and propagation. The divine kingship of Egypt would not have fitted into the existing contemporary society in Mesopotamia, and even if the Mesopotamian peoples had known of it, they would hardly have tried to graft it onto their existing native institutions. On the other hand, the Christian and other religions have been diffused through many countries where they supplied answers to the problems that the inhabitants of those countries had been trying to solve and where they fitted in with the psychological predisposition of the peoples. The system of parliamentary government whose

origins are to be found in medieval England was gradually diffused throughout Europe and, especially since World War I, has spread into many countries of the world that desired to accept a form of government that had apparently proved itself to be effective in the war itself. But in other places it has so far failed to take root because of the tenacity of existing institutions.

Technical inventions do not, as a rule, meet with the same opposition as religious or political innovations and can be passed from one society to another with less disturbance. There are thousands of examples of such diffusion of inventions from the earliest times to the present. Probably the idea of food growing and the domestication of animals spread throughout the world from some center in the Near East, though the possibility of the separate invention of such a fundamental idea cannot be ruled out. The invention of writing was probably diffused from the ancient land of Sumer, though the earliest receivers, the Egyptians, modified and improved upon the Sumerian practice, using their own pictures and symbols, and developing new writing materials available to them but not to the Sumerians. It is not known by how many millenniums the use of language preceded the written symbols, but the languages of peoples in historic times have many resemblances to each other that prove their diffusion from one people to another. Other inventions such as printing, gunpowder, and the cultivation of the silkworm can be traced in some detail by the historian from their first use in one country to their full development in another.

Each society, then, receives by diffusion some of its cultural heritage, to which it adds the products of its own genius. A society may even invent unnecessarily for itself things that have already been developed elsewhere, unknown to it, which it could have received by diffusion if it had had wider cultural contacts. On the other hand, not all knowledge available to any one people has been preserved or transmitted to others. The ancient Sumerians knew all the basic forms of architecture, but the Egyptians and Greeks did not make use of them; medieval European technical knowledge—as, for instance, of the rotation of crops—was in many ways markedly inferior to that of several earlier peoples. The Renaissance Italians had to reinvent many commercial aids known to the Hellenistic world. Each civilization does not accept the entire cultural heritage of its predecessors and build on it; it accepts only what fits its own environment and its own way of living. Even our immense technical achievements, valuable as we may think them—and likely to bring great material benefits if adopted by the peoples we consider backward—may not be universally acceptable. History has yet to show to what extent Western technology will be accepted by a people like, say, the Hindus whose religion teaches a different view of the relation between the material and the spiritual and the relative importance to be assigned to this world and the hereafter. To receive and use what we are willing to transmit to them, perhaps their whole scheme of values must be altered, and their civilization may fall into decay rather than adopt such an alien scheme of values as ours.

❖ The rise and fall of civilizations

THEORIES OF HISTORY—SPENGLER AND TOYNBEE

In recent centuries the attention of the historian has been especially concentrated on the rise and fall of the many civilizations that have been known in the past. Why, he asks, has a civilization or a society known some sudden period of great creativeness, and why, then, does life seem to have gone from it and the cultural leadership of mankind, which it held for a brief season, to have passed from it into other hands? Many have been the answers propounded, but none has gained universal assent. It may indeed be that no answer can ever be given in material terms and that no explanation will ever be satisfactory because in fact there *is* no explanation of universal validity.

Two philosopher-historians of the twentieth century, Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee, have especially concerned themselves with this problem. Spengler in *The Decline of the West* tried to show that the life of a society followed certain laws of growth and decay analogous to