## A HISTORY OF WESTERN SOCIETY

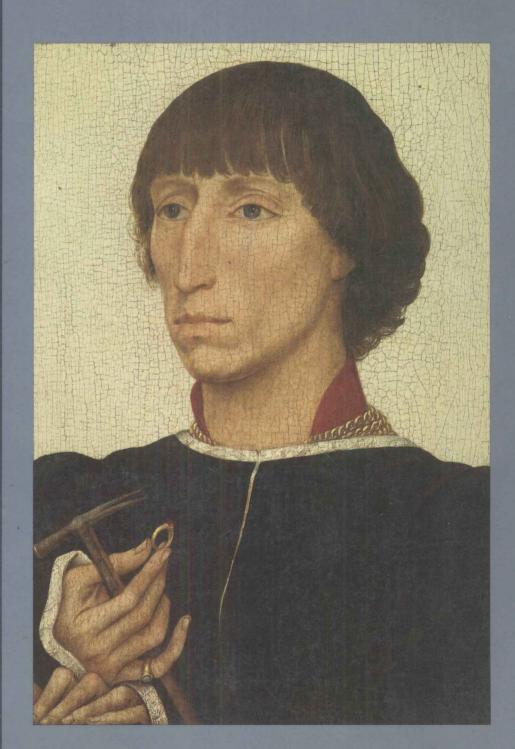
FOURTH EDITION

McKAY HILL <u>Buck</u>ler



VOLUME B

FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO 1815



## A HISTORY OF WESTERN SOCIETY

#### FOURTH EDITION

Volume B From the Renaissance to 1815

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### A HISTORY OF WESTERN SOCIETY

#### **About the Authors**

John P. McKay Born in St. Louis, Missouri, John P. McKay received his B.A. from Weslevan University (1961), his M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (1962), and his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley (1968). He began teaching history at the University of Ilinois in 1966 and became a professor there in 1976. John won the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize for his book Pioneers for Profit: Foreign Entrepreneurship and Russian Industrialization, 1885-1913 (1970). He has also written Tramways and Trollevs: The Rise of Urban Mass Transport in Europe (1976) and has translated Jules Michelet's The People (1973). His research has been supported by fellowships from the Ford Foundation, the Guggenheim Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and IREX. His articles and reviews have appeared in numerous journals, including The American Historical Review, Business History Review. The Journal of Economic History, and Slavic Review. He edits Industrial Development and the Social Fabric: An International Series of Historical Monographs.

Bennett D. Hill A native of Philadelphia, Bennett D. Hill earned an A.B. at Princeton (1956) and advanced degrees from Harvard (A.M., 1958) and Princeton (Ph.D., 1963). He taught history at the University of Illinois at Urbana, where he was department chairman from 1978 to 1981. He has published English Cistercian Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Twelfth Century (1968) and Church and State in the Middle Ages (1970); and articles in Analecta Cisterciensia, The New Catholic Encyclopaedia, The American Benedictine Review, and The Dictionary of the Middle Ages. His reviews have appeared in The American Historical Review, Speculum, The Historian, The Catholic Historical Review, and Library Journal. He has been a fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies and has served on committees for the National Endowment for the Humanities. Now a Benedictine monk of St. Anselm's Abbey, Washington, D.C., he is also a Visiting Professor at Georgetown University.

John Buckler Born in Louisville, Kentucky, John Buckler received his B.A. from the University of Louisville in 1967. Harvard University awarded him the Ph.D. in 1973. From 1984 to 1986 he was the Alexander von Humboldt Fellow at Institut für Alte Geschichte, University of Munich. He is currently a professor at the University of Illinois. In 1980 Harvard University Press published his The Theban Hegemony, 371-362 B.C.. He has also published Philip II and the Sacred War (Leiden 1989), and co-edited BOIOTIKA: Vorträge vom 5. International Böotien-Kolloquium (Munich 1989). His articles have appeared in journals both here and abroad, like the American Journal of Ancient History, Classical Philology, Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Classical Quarterly, Wiener Studien, and Symbolae Osloenses.

#### **Preface**

A HISTORY OF WESTERN SOCIETY grew out of the authors' desire to infuse new life into the study of Western civilization. We knew full well that historians were using imaginative questions and innovative research to open up vast new areas of historical interest and knowledge. We also recognized that these advances had dramatically affected the subject of European economic, intellectual, and, especially, social history, while new research and fresh interpretations were also revitalizing the study of the traditional mainstream of political, diplomatic, and religious development. Despite history's vitality as a discipline, however, it seemed to us that both the broad public and the intelligentsia were generally losing interest in the past. The mathematical economist of our acquaintance who smugly quipped "What's new in history?"—confident that the answer was nothing and that historians were as dead as the events they examine—was not alone.

It was our conviction, based on considerable experience introducing large numbers of students to the broad sweep of Western civilization, that a book reflecting current trends could excite readers and inspire a renewed interest in history and our Western heritage. Our strategy was twofold. First, we made social history the core element of our work. Not only did we incorporate recent research by social historians, but also we sought to recreate the life of ordinary people in appealing human terms. At the same time we were determined to give great economic, political, intellectual, and cultural developments the attention they unquestionably deserve. We wanted to give individual readers and instructors a balanced, integrated perspective, so that they could pursue on their own or in the classroom those themes and questions that they found particularly exciting and significant. In an effort to realize fully the potential of our fresh yet balanced approach, we made many changes, large and small, in the second and third editions.

#### Changes in the New Edition

In preparing the fourth edition we have worked hard to keep our book up-to-date and to make it still more effective. First, every chapter has been carefully revised to incorporate recent scholarship. Many of our revisions relate to the ongoing explosion in social history, and once again important findings on such subjects as class relations, population, and the family have been integrated into the text. We have made a special effort to keep up with the rapidly growing and increasingly sophisticated scholarship being done in European women's history. Thus we have added or revised sections on women in early Jewish society and in classical Greece, in Christian evangelization and in the Crusades, as well as in the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and the Industrial Revolution. The roots of modern feminism have been explored.

A major effort has also been made to improve the treatment of economic development and accompanying social changes in the modern period in the light of new research and fresh concepts. We are proud of the resulting changes, which include a new discussion of early modern crises in Chapter 16, a reconsideration of the eighteenth century in Chapters 19 and 20, and a fundamental rethinking of European industrialization in Chapter 22 and its global significance in Chapter 26. Other subjects incorporating new scholarship in this edition include early human evolution, Germanic tribes, the Inquisition, French industrialization, and utopian socialism. New topics designed to keep the work fresh and appealing include Greek federalism, the Vikings, anti-Semitism in the Middle Ages, and reform and revolution in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe in the 1980s.

Second, as in the third edition, we have carefully examined each chapter for organization and clarity. The book begins with a new section on the study of history and the meaning of civilization. There is expanded coverage of Islam and its impact on medieval Europe in Chapter 7, while discussion of the early baroque has been moved from the chapter on absolutism in eastern Europe to Chapter 15 for better thematic and chronological organization. Other organizational improvements include a more appropriate positioning of the story of the Irish famine in Chapter 23, a new section on the

Civil War in the United States in Chapter 25 to facilitate more continuous transatlantic comparisons, a revised discussion of intellectual trends in Chapter 28 that emphasizes the connection between these movements and subsequent political developments, and a unified account of the Second World War in Chapter 29. We have also taken special care to explain terms and concepts as soon as they are introduced.

Third, the addition of more problems of historical interpretation in the third edition was well received, and we have continued in that direction in this edition. We believe that the problematic element helps the reader develop the critical-thinking skills that are among the most precious benefits of studying history. New examples of this more openended, more interpretive approach include the debate over Alexander the Great and his achievements (Chapter 4), the controversy regarding the causes of Rome's decline (Chapter 6), the significance of abandoned children in the Middle Ages (Chapter 10), the social costs of English enclosure (Chapter 19), and the impact of industrialization on women and the standard of living (Chapter 22).

Finally, the illustrative component of our work has been completely revised. There are many new illustrations, including nearly two hundred color reproductions that let both great art and important events come alive. As in earlier editions, all illustrations have been carefully selected to complement the text, and all carry captions that enhance their value. Artwork remains an integral part of our book, for the past can speak in pictures as well as in words.

The use of full color throughout this edition also serves to clarify the maps and graphs and to enrich the textual material. Again for improved clarity, maps from the third edition have been completely redesigned to provide easily read and distinguished labels and prominent boundaries and topographical relief. We have also added new maps that illustrate social as well as political developments, including maps on Cistercian expansion and economic activity, seventeenth-century Dutch commerce, Europe at 1715, the ethnic and political boundaries of the Soviet republics, and the reform movements of 1989 in eastern Europe.

In addition to the many maps that support text discussion, we offer a new, full-color map essay at the beginning of each volume. Our purpose is twofold. First, by reproducing and describing such cartographic landmarks as the Babylonian world map, the medieval Ebstorf map, maps of the Americas, Africa, and the British Empire based on Ptolemy and Mercator, and contemporary global projections and satellite images, we hope to demonstrate for students the evolution of Western cartography and to guide them toward an understanding of the varied functions and uses of maps. Second, the map essay is intended to reveal the changing European world-view and its expansion from antiquity to the present. In this sense, the map essay may serve as an introduction to the course as well as to cartography.

#### **Distinctive Features**

Distinctive features from earlier editions remain in the fourth. To help guide the reader toward historical understanding we have posed specific historical questions at the beginning of each chapter. These questions are then answered in the course of the chapter, each of which concludes with a concise summary of the chapter's findings. The timelines added in the third edition have proved useful, and still more are found in this edition, including double-page timelines that allow students to compare simultaneous political, economic, religious, and cultural developments.

We have also tried to suggest how historians actually work and think. We have quoted extensively from a wide variety of primary sources and have demonstrated in our use of these quotations how historians sift and weigh evidence. We want the reader to think critically and to realize that history is neither a list of cut-and-dried facts nor a senseless jumble of conflicting opinions. It is our further hope that the primary quotations, so carefully fitted into their historical context, will give the reader a sense that even in the earliest and most remote periods of human experience, history has been shaped by individual men and women, some of them great aristocrats, others ordinary folk.

Each chapter concludes with carefully selected suggestions for further reading. These suggestions are briefly described to help readers know where to turn to continue thinking and learning about the Western world. The chapter bibliographies have been revised and expanded to keep them current with the vast and complex new work being done in many fields.

Western civilization courses differ widely in chronological structure from one campus to another. To accommodate the various divisions of historical time into intervals that fit a two-quarter, three-quarter, or two-semester period, *A History of Western Society* is being published in four versions, three of which embrace the complete work:

One-volume hardcover edition, A HISTORY OF WESTERN SOCIETY; two-volume paperback, A HISTORY OF WESTERN SOCIETY Volume I: From Antiquity to the Enlightenment (Chapters 1–17), Volume II: From Absolutism to the Present (Chapters 16–32); three-volume paperback, A HISTORY OF WESTERN SOCIETY Volume A: From Antiquity to 1500 (Chapters 1–13), Volume B: From the Renaissance to 1815 (Chapters 12–21), Volume C: From the Revolutionary Era to the Present (Chapters 21–32). For courses on Europe since the Renaissance, we are offering A HISTORY OF WESTERN SOCIETY Since 1400 (Chapters 13–32) for the first time in the fourth edition.

Note that overlapping chapters in both the twoand the three-volume sets permit still wider flexibility in matching the appropriate volume with the opening and closing dates of a course term.

#### **Ancillaries**

Learning and teaching ancillaries, including a Study Guide, MicroStudy Plus (a computerized version of the Study Guide) Instructor's Resource Manual, Test Items, MicroTest (a computerized version of the Test Items), and Map Transparencies, also contribute to the usefulness of the text. The excellent Study Guide has been thoroughly revised by Professor James Schmiechen of Central Michigan University. Professor Schmiechen has been a tower of strength ever since he critiqued our initial prospectus, and he has continued to give us many valuable suggestions and his warmly appreciated support. His Study Guide contains chapter summaries, chapter outlines, review questions, extensive multiplechoice exercises, self-check lists of important concepts and events, and a variety of study aids and suggestions. New to the fourth edition are studyreview exercises on the interpretation of visual sources and major political ideas as well as suggested issues for discussion and essay and chronology reviews. Another major addition is the section, Understanding the Past Through Primary Sources. Seven primary source documents widely used by

historians are included, each preceded by a description of the author and source and followed by questions for analysis. The Study Guide also retains the very successful sections on studying effectively. These sections take the student by ostensive example through reading and studying activities like underlining, summarizing, identifying main points, classifying information according to sequence, and making historical comparisons. To enable both students and instructors to use the Study Guide with the greatest possible flexibility, the guide is available in two volumes, with considerable overlapping of chapters. Instructors and students who use only Volumes A and B of the text have all the pertinent study materials in a single volume, Study Guide, Volume I (Chapters 1–21); likewise, those who use only Volumes B and C of the text also have all the necessary materials in one volume, Study Guide, Volume 2 (Chapters 12-32). The multiple-choice sections of the Study Guide are also available as Micro-Study Plus, a computerized, tutorial version that tells students not only which response is correct but also why each of the other choices is wrong and provides the page numbers of the text where each question is discussed. These "rejoinders" to the multiple-choice questions also appear in printed form at the end of the Study Guide. MicroStudy Plus is available for both IBM and Macintosh computers.

The Instructor's Resource Manual, prepared by Professor John Marshall Carter of Oglethorpe University, contains learning objectives, chapter synopses, suggestions for lectures and discussion, paper and class activity topics, and lists of audio-visual resources. The accompanying Test Items, by Professor Charles Crouch of St. John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota offer identification, multiplechoice, and essay questions for a total of approximately 2000 test items. These test items are available to adopters in both IBM and Macintosh versions, both of which include editing capabilities. In addition, a set of full-color Map Transparencies of all the maps in the text is available on adoption.

JOHN P. MCKAY
BENNETT D. HILL
JOHN BUCKLER

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Each of us has benefited from the generous criticism of his co-authors, although each of us assumes responsibility for what he has written. John Buckler has written the first six chapters; Bennett Hill has continued the narrative through Chapter 16; and John McKay has written Chapters 17 through 32. Finally, we continue to welcome from our readers

comments and suggestions for improvements, for they have helped us greatly in this ongoing endeavor.

J.P.M.

B.D.H.

J.B.

# Expanding Horizons: apmaking in the West

Today cartography, the art of making maps, is as widespread as typography, the process of printing. Maps are so much a part of daily life that people take them for granted. But people are not born with maps in their heads, as they are with fingers on their hands. The very concept of a map is a human invention of vast intellectual and practical importance. Like writing itself, cartography depends on people's use of visual and symbolic means to portray reality. Earth is not a flat table, devoid of physical features. Instead it is marked by mountains, valleys, rivers, oceans, and distances among them all. The knowledge of these features and the accurate portraval of them allow people to understand their relationship to the planet on which they live. That is the basic reason for a map or an atlas.

The intellectual motivations of cartographers are easily overlooked, but they contribute something singular to the understanding of people. Human beings have a natural curiosity about their world and a joy in discovering new parts of it or learning more about regions not so well known. The Roman statesman and orator Cicero once asked, "Ubinam gentium sumus?" ("Where in the world are we?") Although he used this question as a figure of speech, many people were quite serious about finding an accurate answer to it. This curiosity and desire have led people to examine not only the earth but its relation to the cosmos of which it is a part. Early cartographers learned to use the stars as fixed points for the measurement of place and distance. Even today American nuclear submarines depend on celestial

MAP 1 Babylonian world map, ca 600 B.C. (Source: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

navigation, transmitted by satellite, to determine their course and position. Once people looked to the stars, they began to wonder about the shape, nature, and content of the universe itself. Mapping of the earth was no longer enough; people now charted the cosmos. The Hubble Space Satellite, launched in May 1990, is a sign that the quest continues today.

For ordinary purposes cartography fills a host of practical needs. Maps were first used as a way to describe people's immediate environment—to illustrate the shape of villages and the boundaries of fields. As knowledge of the earth grew, maps became indispensable for travel, both on land and sea. People needed to know where their destination lay, how to reach it, and what to expect along the way. Mariners used the geographical knowledge provided by maps to sail from one port to another.

Other uses of early maps were economic. As people came into contact with one another, they saw new opportunities for barter and trade. It was no longer enough to know how to travel to different locations. Merchants needed to understand the geography of their markets and to know what foreign lands produced and what trading partners wanted in return for their goods. In short, economic contact itself increased knowledge of the face of the land, which could be preserved on maps by symbols to indicate the natural resources and products of various lands.

A third important function of early maps was military. Rulers and generals needed exact knowledge of distances and terrain through which their armies could move and fight. Their needs spurred interest in *topography*, the detailed description and representation of the natural and artificial features of a landscape. The military need for detail led to greater accuracy of maps and better definition of the physical environment.

The demands of empire were not only military but also administrative. The only effective way to govern an area is to know where each part of it is located and what its importance is. Rulers need precise maps to enforce their authority, dispatch commands, collect taxes, and maintain order. Thus the value to historians of some maps lies in their illustration of people's knowledge of the world in relation to the needs of government and the exercise of authority over broad distances.

These are only a few of the uses of cartography, but what of the maps themselves? How do people

depict visually and accurately large sections of land or the entire face of the globe? The ways are numerous and some more exact than others. The earliest maps are only pictures of towns showing spatial relationships within a very limited context.

A more accurate way of making a map was derived from land surveys. Beginning about 1500 B.C., surveyors trained in geometry and trigonometry began to study the land in question and to divide its physical features into a series of measured angles and elevations. Cartographers then placed this information onto a grid, so that they could represent visually, according to a consistent and logical system, relations among areas. Although the method sounds simple, it presented early cartographers with a daunting problem, one that still exists today. Mapmakers must represent on a twodimensional surface the face of a three-dimensional globe. To complicate matters even further, the earth is not a perfect sphere. How cartographers have grappled with these problems can best be seen from the maps illustrated here.

Since maps are basically visual, it is best to trace their evolution in their own context. People of other cultures also mapped their lands, but the Western tradition of cartography enjoyed its own singular path of development. The earliest known map of the Western world is the Babylonian world map, which dates to about 600 B.C. (Map 1). Babylon, with its neighbors around it, lies at the center of the world. Surrounding the land is the ocean, depicted as a circle. Quite interesting are the triangles beyond the ocean, which indicate that the Babylonians knew of peoples beyond the ocean. Here for the first time is evidence of a people who attempted to put themselves geographically into the context of their larger world.

The greatest geographer of the Greco-Roman period was unquestionably Claudius Ptolemaeus, better known as Ptolemy, who lived in Alexandria in the second century A.D. He advanced far beyond the schematic Babylonian world map to produce a scientific atlas based on data. He knew from previous scholars that the world was spherical, so he devised a way of using conic lines of *longitude*, angular distances east and west, and of *latitude*, angular distances north and south, to plot the positions and distances of the earth's features. Despite its distortions, Ptolemy's *Geographia* became the standard Western work on geography until the Age of Discovery (ca 1450–1650) in the early modern period.

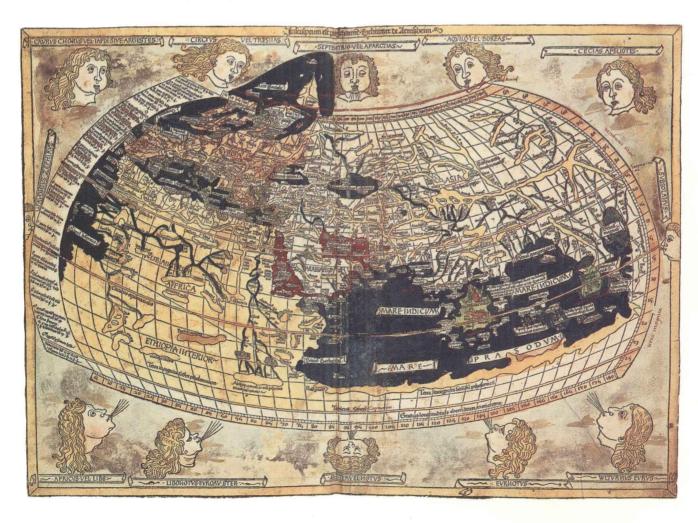
The best illustration of his brilliant vision actually dates much later than its first representation to a manuscript produced in the German city of Ulm in 1482 (Map 2). Ptolemy put cartography on a scientific basis.

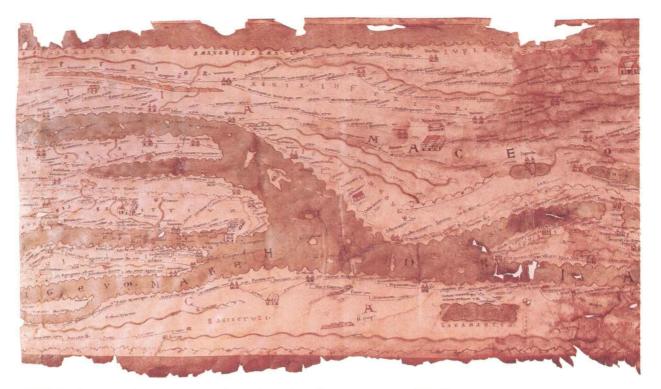
Some of the practical fruits of Ptolemy's labor can be seen in the series of maps known as the Peutinger Table, which probably dates to ca A.D. 500. The Table is a good example of how cartography served the Roman Empire. The section illustrated here is typical of the entire series: it indicates roads, rivers, mountains, cities, and towns in Greece (Map 3). In that respect it is an ancient road map, for its purpose was not to define the known world, as Ptolemy had done, but to inform the emperor and

his bureaucracy how they could most easily administer and communicate with the provinces. Although alien to modern notions of the shape of Europe, the Peutinger Table is a remarkably accurate atlas of routes and distances and thus displays vividly and beautifully one of the most practical functions of cartography.

Europeans in the Middle Ages, like their predecessors, drew maps of the world, but now religion became an ingredient of cartography. Ptolemy's concepts of geography remained in force, but maps also served another and different purpose for society. The Ebstorf Map, drawn during the thirteenth century, shows the world surrounded by the ocean, a conception dating to antiquity (Map 4). Yet the

MAP 2 Map from Ptolemy's Geographica (Source: Michael Holford)





MAP 3 Section of the Peutinger Table illustrating Greece, ca A.D. 500 (Source: Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek)



MAP 4 Ebstorf map, thirteenth century (Source: Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek Hannover)

Map boasts several novel features. Its background is the crucifixion of Jesus, whose head stands at the top to indicate east with his arms pointing north and south. Jerusalem occupies the center of the map to represent the place of Jesus' death as the center of the Christian world. Thus the Ebstorf Map was intended to convey a religious message, a declaration of faith, unlike the practical maps of the Peutinger Table.

Islamic cartographers also drew heavily on Ptolemy's research, but they relied on exploration as well. The most famous of them was al-Idrisi, who lived in the twelfth century. His atlas depicted the

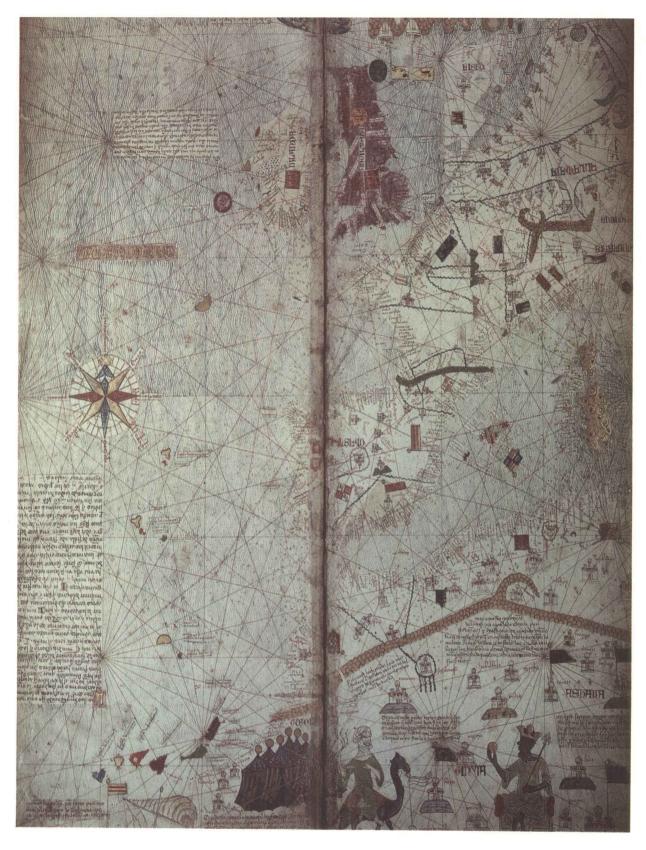
entire known world and was accompanied by a written commentary of the places illustrated. The portion shown here represents North Africa at the straits of Gibraltar and Spain (Map 5). As in the Peutinger Table, physical features such as rivers and mountains are stylized, but Idrisi has made a serious effort to delineate the general features of the landmass. If the map looks odd, it is because Idrisi used south as his basic point of orientation, not north as do modern cartographers.

north as do modern cartographers.

The people of the Middle Ages were not content to rely solely on Ptolemy for their understanding of the world. They explored the concept of triangula-



MAP 5 Portion of the map of al-Idrisi, showing North Africa and Spain (Source: Reproduced by permission of Norman J. W. Thrower, Department of Geography, UCLA)



MAP 6 Catalan Atlas of 1375 (Source: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris/Photo Hubert Josse)



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