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A ROCK-CUT TEMPLE OR SHRINE AT PETRA, IN ANCIENT EDMOM

Petra was the chief station on the great caravan route from Babylonia to Gaza and the cities of Phoenicia. (Photograph by Franklin E. Hoskins and Philip Van Ness Myers)

A SHORT HISTORY OF ANCIENT TIMES

BY

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PREFACE

The present volume consists of the first half of my second revised "General History," with merely such changes in a few matters of detail as were necessary in order to make the book independent of the last half of that work, which part is to be issued as a separate volume under the title of "A Short History of Mediæval and Modern Times."

P. V. N. M.

COLLEGE HILL, CINCINNATI

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A SHORT HISTORY OF ANCIENT TIMES

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION: PREHISTORIC TIMES

1. The Prehistoric and the Historic Age. The immensely long periods of human life which lie back of the time when man began to keep written or graven records of events form what is called the Prehistoric Age. The comparatively few centuries of human experience made known to us through such records comprise the Historic Age. For Egypt the historic period begins about 4000 B.C.; for the Mediterranean regions of Europe it opens about 1000 B.C.; for the countries of central and northern Europe, speaking broadly, not until about the beginning of our era; and for the New World only a little over four hundred years ago.

2. How we Learn about Prehistoric Man. A knowledge of what manner of man prehistoric man was and what he did is indispensable to the historical student; for the dim prehistoric ages of human life form the childhood of the race—and the man cannot be understood without at least some knowledge of the child.

But how, in the absence of written records, are we to find out anything about prehistoric man? In many ways we are able to learn much about him. First, by studying the life of present-day backward races; for what they now are, the great races of history, we have reason to believe, were in their prehistoric age.

Again, the men who lived before the dawn of history left behind them many things which witness as to what manner of men they were. In ancient gravel beds along the streams where they fished or hunted, in the caves which afforded them shelter, in the refuse heaps (kitchen middens) on the sites of their villages or camping places, or in the graves where they laid away their dead, we find

great quantities of tools and weapons and other articles shaped by their hands.¹ From these various things we learn what skill these early men had acquired as tool makers, what degree of culture they had attained, and something of their conception of the life in the hereafter.

3. Divisions of Prehistoric Times. The long period of prehistoric times is divided into different ages, or stages of culture, which are named from the material which man used in the manufacture of his weapons and tools. The earliest epoch is known as the Old Stone Age; the following one as the New Stone Age; and the later period as the Age of Metals. The division lines between these ages are not sharply drawn. In most countries the epochs run into and overlap one another, just as in modern times the Age of Steam runs into and overlaps the Age of Electricity.

4. The Old Stone Age. In the Old Stone Age man's chief implements were usually made of stone, and especially of chipped flints, though bones, horns, tusks, and other materials were also used in their manufacture. These rude implements and weapons of his, found mostly in river gravel beds and in caves, are the very oldest things in existence which we know positively to have been shaped by human hands.

The man of the Old Stone Age in Europe saw the retreating glaciers of the great Ice Age, of which geology tells us. Among the animals which lived with him on that continent (we know most of early man there) were the woolly-haired mammoth, the bison, the wild ox, the cave bear, the rhinoceros, the wild horse, and the reindeer—species which are no longer found in the regions where primitive man hunted them. As the climate and the vegetation changed, some of these animals became extinct, while others of the cold-loving species retreated up the mountains or migrated toward the north.

What we know of man of the Old Stone Age may be summed up as follows: he was a hunter and fisher; his habitation was often

¹ Besides these material things that can be seen and handled, there are many immaterial things — as, for instance, language, which is as full of human memories as the rocks are of fossils — that light up for us the dim ages before history.

merely a cave or a rock shelter; his implements were in the main roughly shaped flints; he had no domestic animals save possibly the dog; he was ignorant of the arts of spinning and weaving, and practically also of the art of making pottery.¹

The length of the Old Stone Age no one knows; we do not attempt to reckon its duration by years or by centuries, but only

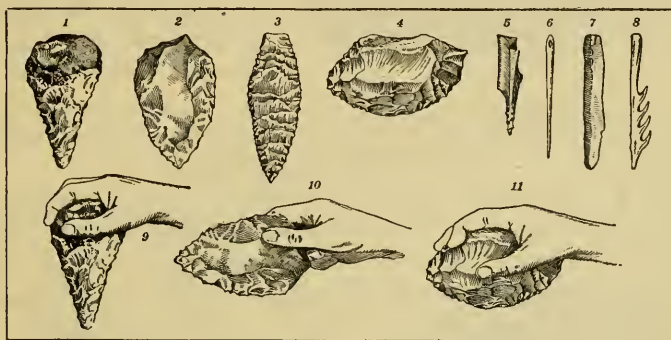


FIG. 1. IMPLEMENTS OF THE OLD STONE AGE

No. 1, the core of a flint nodule, was the earliest and the characteristic tool and weapon of man of the Old Stone Age. It served a variety of purposes, and was used without a handle, being clutched with the hand (No. 9), and hence is called the hand-ax or fist-ax. No. 2 is a flint flake struck from a nodule. No. 3 (a harpoon-point) tells us that the man of this age was a fisher as well as a hunter. From No. 6 (a bone needle) we may infer that he made clothing of skins, for since he had not yet learned the art of weaving (the spindle-whorl does not appear till the next epoch; see Fig. 5 and explanatory note), the material of which he made clothing could hardly have been anything else than the skins of animals killed in the chase. That skins were carefully prepared is evidenced by the scraper (Nos. 4, 11), an implement used in dressing hides. No. 7 (an engraving-tool) tells us that art had its beginnings in the Old Stone Age

by geologic ages. We do know, however, that the long, slow ages did not pass away without some progress having been made by primeval man, which assures us that, though so lowly a creature, he was endowed with the capacity for growth and improvement. Before the end of the period he had acquired wonderful skill in the chipping of flint points and blades; he had learned the use of fire, as we know from the traces of fire found in the places where

¹ The Australians and New Zealanders when first discovered were in the Old Stone Age stage of culture; the Tasmanians had not yet reached it.

he made his abode; and he had probably invented the bow and arrow, as we find this weapon in very general use at the opening of the following epoch.



FIG. 2. ENGRAVING OF A MAMMOTH ON THE FRAGMENT OF A TUSK (Old Stone Age)

This important invention gave man what was to be one of his chief weapons in the chase and in war for thousands of years—down to and even after the invention of fire-arms late in the historic period.

But most prophetic of the great future of this savage or semi-savage cave man of the Old Stone Age was the fine artistic talent that some tribes or races of the period possessed; for, strange as it may seem, among the men of this epoch there were some amazingly good artists. Besides numerous specimens of his drawings and carvings of animals, chiefly on bone and ivory, which have been found from time to time during the last half century and more, there have recently been discovered many large drawings and paintings on the walls of various grottoes in southern France and northern Spain.¹ These wonderful pictures are mainly representations of animals. The species most often depicted are the bison, the horse, the wild ox, the reindeer, and the mammoth.

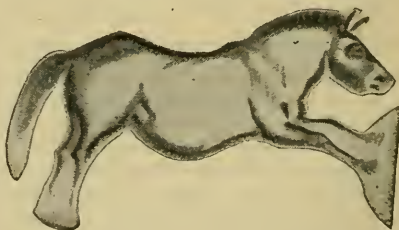


FIG. 3. WALL PICTURE FROM THE CAVERN OF FONT-DE-GAUME, FRANCE (After Breuil)

¹ The first of these wall paintings were discovered in 1879, but that they really were of the immense age claimed for them was not established beyond all doubt until 1902. The pictures are generally found in the depths of caverns where not a ray of the light of day ever enters. They were made by the light of lamps fed with the fat of animals. It is almost certain that they had a magical purpose, that is, were made in the belief that by a species of magic they would cause an increase of the game animals represented, or would render them a sure prey in the chase.



FIG. 4. SPECIMENS OF THE ART OF THE EUROPEAN CAVE MAN

These remarkable animal forms were painted, in colors still well preserved, on the walls of French and Spanish caverns, by a race of hunter-artists of the Old Stone Age. They were drawn probably at least ten or fifteen thousand years before the Pyramids were erected

This astonishing art of the European cave men shows that primitive man, probably because he is a hunter and lives so close to the wild life around him, often has a keener eye for animal forms and movements than the artists of more advanced races. The history of art (sculpture, engraving, and painting) must hereafter begin with the works of these artist hunters of the Old Stone Age.

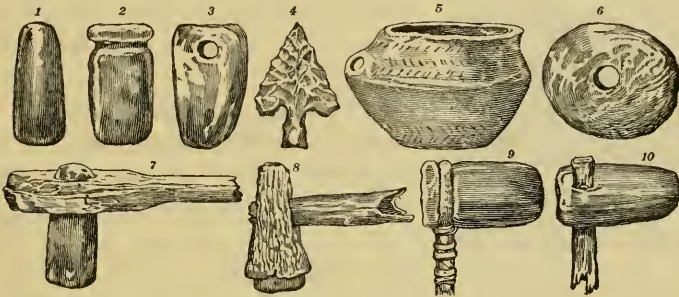


FIG. 5. IMPLEMENTS OF THE NEW STONE AGE

These tools and weapons mark a great advance over the chipped flints of the Old Stone Age (Fig. 1). They embody the results of thousands (perhaps tens of thousands) of years of human experience and invention, and mark the first steps in human progress. Nos. 1-3 and 7-10 show how after unmeasured ages man had learned to increase the effectiveness of his tools and weapons by grinding them smooth and sharp, and by fitting handles to them. No. 5 records the coming of the art of making pottery—one of the most important industrial arts prior to the Age of Iron. No. 6 (a spindle-whorl of stone or of hardened clay used as a weight in twisting thread) informs us that man had learned the civilizing arts of spinning and weaving

5. The New Stone Age. The Old Stone Age was followed by the New. Chipped or hammered stone implements still continued to be used, but what characterizes this period was the use of ground or polished implements. Man had learned the art of grinding his tools and weapons to a sharp edge with sand on a grinding stone.¹ To his ax he had also learned to attach a handle, which made it a vastly more effective implement (Fig. 5).

¹ The North American Indians were in this stage of culture at the time of the discovery of the New World. The Egyptians and Babylonians were just emerging from it when they first appeared in history.

Besides these improvements in his tools and weapons, the man of the New Stone Age had made other great advances beyond the man of the Old Stone Age. He had learned to till the soil; he had learned to make fine pottery, to spin, and to weave; he had domesticated various wild animals; he built houses, often on piles on

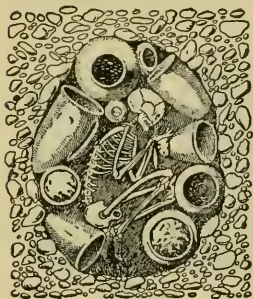


FIG. 6. A PREHISTORIC
EGYPTIAN TOMB
(After *J. de Morgan*)

Primitive man's belief in a future life led him to place in the grave of the deceased weapons, implements, food, and articles of personal adornment for use in the other world. Outfits of this kind found in prehistoric graves are an important source of our knowledge of man before recorded history begins

Indeed, it would be almost impossible to overestimate their importance to man. Man could do very little with stone implements compared with what he could do with metal implements. It was a great labor for primitive man, even with the aid of fire, to fell a tree with a stone ax and to hollow out the trunk for a boat. He was hampered in all his tasks by the rudeness of

the margins of lakes and morasses; and he buried his dead in such a manner—with accompanying gifts (Fig. 6)—as to show that he had a firm belief in a future life.¹

6. The Age of Metals. Finally the long ages of stone passed into the Age of Metals. This age falls into three subdivisions—the Age of Copper, the Age of Bronze, and the Age of Iron. Some peoples, like the African negroes, passed directly from the use of stone to the use of iron; but in most of the countries of the Orient and of Europe the three metals came into use one after the other and in the order named. Speaking broadly, we may say that the Age of Metals began for the more advanced peoples of the ancient world between 4000 and 3000 B.C.

The history of metals has been declared to be the history of civilization.

¹ Recent discoveries have revealed traces of this belief even before the close of the Old Stone Age. Several cases of burial have been found with rich grave outfits of flint implements and weapons, which point unmistakably to a belief in a life after death.

his tools. It was only as the bearer of metal implements and weapons that he began really to subdue the earth and to get dominion over nature. All the higher cultures of the ancient world with which history begins were based on the knowledge and use of metals.

7. The Origin of the Use of Fire. That fire was known to man of the Old Stone Age we learn, as already noted, from the

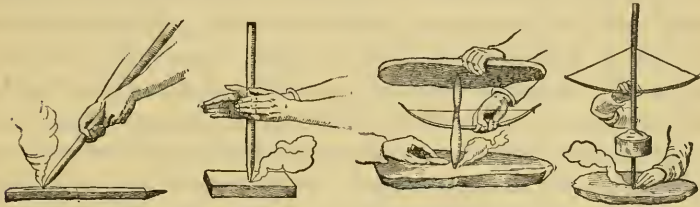


FIG. 7. PRIMITIVE METHODS OF MAKING FIRE. (After *Tylor*)

Doubtless the discovery that fire could be produced by friction came about through the operation of the primitive toolmaker. The processes of smoothing, polishing, and grooving softwood implements, and of boring holes in them with pieces of harder wood, could hardly fail of revealing the secret. The character of the fire-making devices of present-day savages point the way of the discovery

traces of it discovered in the caves and rock shelters which were his abode. No people has ever been found so low in the scale of culture as to be without it.

As to the way in which early man came into possession of fire, we have no knowledge. Possibly he kindled his first fire from a glowing lava stream or from some burning tree trunk set aflame by the lightning.¹ However this may be, he had in the earliest times learned to produce the vital spark by means of friction. The fire borer, according to Tylor, is among the oldest of human inventions. Since the awakening of the spark was difficult, the fire once alight was carefully fed so that it should not go out. The duty of watching the flame naturally fell to the old women or to the daughters of the community, to which custom may be traced the origin of such institutions as that among the Romans of the six

¹ Fires thus lighted are surprisingly numerous. During the year 1914 there were over 2000 fires started by lightning in the national forests of the United States.

vestal virgin priestesses, the keepers of the sacred fire which flamed on the common household hearth in the temple of the goddess Vesta (sect. 237).

Only gradually did primeval man learn the various properties of fire and discover the different uses to which it might be put, just as historic man has learned only gradually the possible uses of electricity. By some happy accident or discovery he learned that it would harden clay, and he became a potter; that it would smelt ores, and he became a worker in metals; and that it would aid him in a hundred other ways. "Fire," says Joly, "presided at the birth of nearly every art, or quickened its progress." The place it holds in the development of the family, of religion, and of the industrial arts is revealed by these three significant words—"the hearth, the altar, the forge." No other agent has contributed more to the progress of civilization. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how without fire primitive man could ever have emerged from the Age of Stone.

8. The Domestication of Animals. "When we visit a farm at the present day and observe the friendly nature of the life which goes on there,—the horse proudly and obediently bending his neck to his yoke; the cow offering her streaming udder to the milkmaid; the woolly flock going forth to the field, accompanied by their trusty protector, the dog, who comes fawning to his master,—this familiar intercourse between man and beast seems so natural that it is scarcely conceivable that things may once have been different. And yet in the picture we see only the final result of thousands and thousands of years of the work of civilization, the enormous importance of which simply escapes our notice because it is by everyday wonders that our amazement is least excited."¹

The most of this work of inducing the animals of the fields and woods to become, as it were, members or dependents of the human family, to enter into a league of friendship with man and to become his helpers, was done by prehistoric man. When man appears in history, he appears surrounded by almost all the domestic animals known to us today. The dog was already his faithful

¹ Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* (1890), p. 259.

companion—and probably the first won from among the wild creatures; the sheep, the cow, and the goat shared his shelter with him.

The domestication of animals had such a profound effect upon human life and occupation that it marks the opening of a new epoch in history. The hunter became a shepherd, and the hunting stage in culture gave place to the pastoral.¹

9. The Domestication of Plants. Long before the dawn of history those peoples of the Old World who were to play great parts in early historic times had advanced from the pastoral to the agricultural stage of culture. Just as the step from the hunting to the pastoral stage had been taken with the aid of a few of the most social species of animals, so had this second upward step, from the pastoral to the agricultural stage, been taken by means of the domestication of a few of the innumerable species of the seed grasses and plants growing wild in field and wood.

Wheat and barley, two of the most important of the cereals, were probably first domesticated somewhere in Asia, and from there carried over Europe. These grains, together with oats and rice, have been, in the words of Tylor, "the mainstay of human life and the great moving power of civilization."

The domestication of plants and the art of tilling the soil effected a great revolution in prehistoric society. The wandering life of the hunter and the herder now gave way to a settled mode of existence. Cities were built, and within them began to be amassed those treasures, material and immaterial, which constitute the precious heirloom of humanity. This attachment to the soil of the hitherto roving clans and tribes meant also the beginning of political life. The cities were united into states and great kingdoms were formed, and the political history of man began, as in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates.

10. The Invention of Writing. Still another achievement of prehistoric man was the invention of writing. There are two kinds of writing,—picture writing and phonetic or sound writing. In

¹ It is of interest to note that most of the wild stocks whence have come our domestic animals are of Old World origin.

picture writing the characters are in the main rude pictures of material objects. This way of representing ideas seems natural to man. It is a form of writing that children love to use.

In phonetic writing the symbols represent sounds of the human voice. There are three stages. In the first stage each picture or symbol stands for a whole word. In such a system as this there must of course be as many characters or signs as there are words in the language represented. In working out their system of writing the Chinese stuck fast at this point (sect. 77).

In the second stage the symbols are used to represent syllables instead of words. This reduces at once the number of signs needed from many thousands to a few hundreds, since the words of any given language are formed by the combination of a comparatively small number of syllables. With between four and five hundred symbols the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, who used this form of writing, were able to represent all the words of their respective languages (sect. 36).

While a collection of syllabic signs is a great improvement over a collection of word signs, still it is a clumsy instrument for expressing ideas, and the system requires still further simplification. This is done and the third and final step in developing a convenient system of writing is taken when the symbols are used to represent not syllables but elementary sounds of the human voice, of which there are only a few—a score or two—in any language. Then the symbols become true letters, a complete collection of which is called an alphabet, and the mode of writing alphabetic. This is the system of writing which we employ.

What people invented the first alphabet is unknown; but as early as the ninth century B.C. we find several Semitic peoples in possession of a true alphabet. Through various agencies, particularly through the agency of trade and commerce, this alphabet was spread east and west and thus became the parent of all except one¹ of the alphabets employed by the peoples of the ancient world of history.

¹ See p. 27, n. 1.

With the invention of phonetic writing and the practice of keeping records, with names of actors and dates of events, the truly historic age for man begins.

11. The Great Bequest. We of this twentieth century esteem ourselves fortunate in being the heirs of a noble heritage, the heirs of all the past. We are not used to thinking of the men of the first generation of historic times as also the heirs of a great legacy. But even the scanty review we have made of what was discovered and thought out by man during the long epochs before history began cannot fail to have impressed us with the fact that a vast bequest was made by prehistoric to historic man.

If our hasty glance at those far-away times has done nothing more than this, then we shall never again regard history quite as may have been our wont. We shall see the story of man to be more wonderful than we once thought, the path which he has followed to be longer and more toilsome than we ever imagined. But our interest in the traveler will have been deepened through our knowing more of his origin, of his early hard and narrow life, and of his first painful steps in the path of civilization. We shall follow with greater concern and sympathy this wonderful being, child of earth and child of heaven, this heir of all the ages, as he journeys on and upward with his face toward the light.

References.¹ OSBORN, H. F., *Men of the Old Stone Age* ("The most important work on the evolution of our own species that has appeared since Darwin's 'Descent of Man.'"—Theodore Roosevelt). SOLLAS, W. J., *Ancient Hunters*. HOERNES, M., *Primitive Man*. KEARY, C. F., *The Dawn of History*. STARR, F., *Some First Steps in Human Progress*. TYLOR, E. B., *Anthropology*, chaps. iv, vii, "Language" and "Writing"; *Primitive Culture*, 2 vols. LUBBOCK, SIR J., *Prehistoric Times*. MASON, O. T., *First Steps in Human Culture and The Origin of Invention*. DAVENPORT, E., *Domesticated Animals and Plants*. SHALER, N. S., *Domesticated Animals*. HOFFMANN, W. J., *The Beginnings of Writing*. CLODD, E., *The Story of the Alphabet*. TAYLOR, I., *The Alphabet*, 2 vols. HOLBROOK, F., *Cave, Mound, and Lake Dwellers* (juvenile). FROBENIUS, *The Childhood of Man*, chap. xxvii.

¹ For titles of Source Books containing selections from the original sources for the history of different periods and for Topics for Class Reports, see Appendix.

DIVISION I. THE EASTERN NATIONS

CHAPTER II

RACES AND GROUPS OF PEOPLES

12. Subdivisions of the Historic Age. We begin now our study of the Historic Age—a record of about six or seven thousand years. The story of historic times is usually divided into three parts—Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern History. Ancient History begins, as already indicated, with the earliest peoples of which we can gain any certain knowledge through written records, and extends to the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West, in the fifth century of the Christian era. Mediæval History embraces the period, the so-called Middle Ages, about one thousand years in length, lying between the fall of Rome and the discovery of the New World by Columbus, A.D. 1492. Modern History commences with the close of the mediæval period and extends to the present time.¹ It is Ancient History alone with which we shall be concerned in the present volume.

13. The Races of Mankind in the Historic Period. Distinctions mainly in bodily characteristics, such as form, color, and features, divide the human species into many types or races, of which the three chief are known as the Black or Negro Race, the Yellow or Mongolian Race, and the White or Caucasian Race.²

¹ It is thought preferable by some scholars to let the decisive beginning of the great Teutonic migration (A.D. 376), or the restoration of the Empire by Charlemagne (A.D. 800), mark the end of the period of Ancient History, and to call all after that Modern History. Some also prefer to date the beginning of the modern period from the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (A.D. 1453); while still others speak of it in a general way as commencing about the close of the fifteenth century, at which time there were many inventions and discoveries, and great movements in the intellectual world.

² The classification given is simply a convenient and practical one. It disregards various minor groups of uncertain ethnic relationship.

But we must not suppose each of these three types to be sharply marked off from the others; they shade into one another by insensible gradations. There is a great number of intermediate types or subraces.

It is probable that the physical and mental differences of existing races arose through their ancestors' having been subjected to different climatic influences and to different conditions of life through long periods of prehistoric time. There has been no perceptible change in the great types of mankind during the historic period. The paintings upon the oldest Egyptian monuments show us that at the dawn of history the principal races were as distinctly marked as now, each bearing its racial badge of color and features.

14. The Black Race. Africa south of the Sahara is the true home of the typical folk (the negroes) of the Black Race, but we find them on all the other continents and on many of the islands of the seas, whither they have migrated or been carried as slaves by the stronger races.

15. The Yellow or Mongolian Race. Eastern and northern Asia is the central seat of the Mongolian Race. Many of the Mongolian tribes are wandering herdsmen, who roam over the vast Asian plains north of the great ranges of the Himalayas; their leading part in history has been to harass peoples of settled habits.

But the most important peoples of this type are the Japanese and the Chinese. The latter constitute probably a fifth or more of the entire population of the earth. Already in times very remote this people had developed a civilization quite advanced on various lines, but having reached a certain stage in culture they did not continue to make so marked a progress. Not until recent times did either the Chinese or the Japanese come to play a real part in world history.



FIG. 8. NEGRO CAPTIVES
(From the monuments of
Thebes)

Illustrating the permanence of
race characteristics

16. **The White or Caucasian Race and its Three Groups.** The so-called White or Caucasian Race embraces almost all of the historic nations. Its chief peoples fall into three groups—the Hamitic, the Semitic, and the Aryan or Indo-European. The members forming any one of these groups must not be looked upon as necessarily kindred in blood; the only certain bond uniting the peoples of each group is the bond of language.

The ancient Egyptians were the most remarkable people of the Hamitic branch. In the gray dawn of history we discover them already settled in the valley of the Nile, and there erecting great monuments so faultless in construction as to render it certain that those who planned them had had long training in the art of building.

The Semitic family includes among its chief peoples the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, and the Arabians. Most scholars regard Arabia as the original home of this family. It is interesting to note that the three great monotheistic religions—the Hebrew, the Christian, and the Mohamadan—arose among peoples belonging to the Semitic family.

The Aryan-speaking peoples form the most widely dispersed group of the White Race. They include the ancient Greeks and Romans, all the peoples of modern Europe (save the Basques, the Finns and Lapps, the Hungarians, and the Ottoman Turks), together with the Persians, the Hindus, and some other Asian peoples.¹ After what we may call the Semitic age it is the Aryan-speaking peoples that have borne the leading parts in the great drama of history.

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¹ The kinship in speech of all these peoples is most plainly shown by the similar form and meaning of certain words in their different languages, as, for example, the word *father*, which occurs with but little change in several of the Aryan tongues (Sanskrit, *pitri*; Persian, *padar*; Greek, *πατήρ*; Latin, *pater*; German, *Vater*).





CHAPTER III

ANCIENT EGYPT

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

17. Egypt and the Nile. The Egypt of history comprises the Delta of the Nile and the flood plains of its lower course. These rich lands were formed in past geologic ages from the silt brought down by the river in seasons of flood. The Delta was known to the ancients as Lower Egypt, while the valley proper, reaching from the head of the Delta to the First Cataract, a distance of six hundred miles, was called Upper Egypt.

Through the same means by which Egypt was originally created is the land each year still renewed and fertilized; hence an old Greek writer, in happy phrase, called the country "the gift of the Nile." Swollen by heavy tropical rains and the melting



FIG. 9. PLOUGHING AND SOWING
(From a papyrus)

snows of the mountains about its sources, the Nile each year overflows its banks and on receding leaves on the fields a film of rich earth. In a few weeks after the sowing of the grain, the entire land, so recently a flooded plain, is a sea of verdure, which forms a striking contrast to the desert sands and barren hills that rim the valley.

18. Climate and Products. The climate of Egypt is semi-tropical. The fruits of the tropics and the cereals of the temperate zone grow luxuriantly. From early times the land was the granary of the East. To it less favored countries, when stricken by famine, —a calamity so common in the East in regions dependent upon the rainfall,—looked for food, as did the families of Israel during drought and failure of crops in Palestine.

19. The Pharaoh and the Dynasties. The rulers of historic Egypt bore the royal title or common name of *Pharaoh*. The Pharaohs that reigned in the country up to the conquest of Alexander the Great (332 B.C.) are grouped in thirty-one dynasties. The history of these dynasties covers more than half of the entire period of authentic history. Almost three thousand years



FIG. 10. KHUFU, BUILDER OF THE GREAT PYRAMID. (From Petrie's *Abydos*, Part II)

Though only a minute figure in ivory, it shows a character of immense energy and will; the face is an astonishing portrait to be expressed in a quarter of an inch. — PETRIE

of this history had passed before the opening of the historic age in Greece and Italy.

20. The Fourth Dynasty (about 2900–2750 B.C.); the Pyramid Builders. The Pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty, who reigned at Memphis, are called the pyramid builders, because they built the largest of the pyramids. Khufu, the Cheops of the Greeks, was the most noted of these rulers. He constructed the Great Pyramid, at Gizeh, —“the greatest mass of masonry that has ever been put together by mortal man.”¹

A recent fortunate discovery enables us now to look upon the face of this Khufu, one of the earliest and most renowned personages of the ancient world (Fig. 10).

To some king of this same early family of pyramid builders is also ascribed, by some authorities, the wonderful sculpture of the gigantic human-headed Sphinx at the foot of the Great Pyramid—the largest statue in the world.

¹ This pyramid rises from a base covering 13 acres to a height of 450 feet. According to Herodotus, Cheops employed 100,000 men for twenty years in its erection.

These sepulchral monuments, for the pyramids were the tombs of the Pharaohs who constructed them, and the great Sphinx are the most venerable memorials of the early world of culture that have been preserved to us.

21. **The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties** (about 1580–1205 B.C.). It is the deeds and architectural works of the Pharaohs of these two celebrated dynasties that have contributed largely to give Egypt her great name and place in history. The most famous ruler of the Nineteenth Dynasty was Rameses II, the Sesostris of the Greeks. The chief of Rameses' wars were those

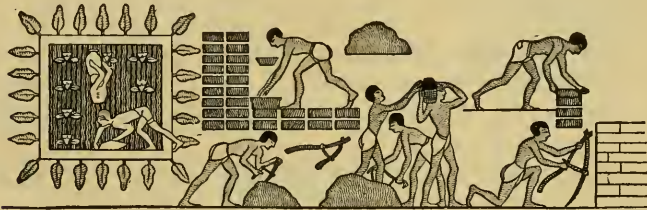


FIG. II. BRICK-MAKING IN ANCIENT EGYPT. (From Thebes)

against the Kheta, the Hittites of the Bible, who at this time were maintaining an extensive empire, embracing in the main the interior uplands of Asia Minor and northern Syria.¹ We find Rameses at last concluding with them a celebrated treaty of peace and alliance, in which the chief of the Hittites is formally recognized as in every respect the equal of the Pharaoh of Egypt. The meaning of this alliance was that the Pharaohs had met their peers in the princes of the Hittites, and that they could no longer hope to become masters of western Asia.

It is the opinion of some scholars that this Rameses II was the oppressor of the children of Israel, the Pharaoh who "made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field," and that what is known as the Exodus took place in the reign of his successor.

¹ We know very little about this people, save that for several centuries they divided with Egypt and Assyria the dominion of western Asia. They had a system of writing, the key to which has not yet been discovered.

22. The Last of the Native Pharaohs. Before the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, about six hundred years before Christ, Egypt, her power having greatly declined, became tributary to Babylon, and a little later bowed beneath the Persian yoke. From about the middle of the fourth century B.C. to the present day no native prince has sat upon the throne of the Pharaohs.

"The mission of Egypt among the nations was fulfilled; it had lit the torch of civilization in ages inconceivably remote, and had passed it on to other peoples of the West."

II. RELIGION, ARTS, AND GENERAL CULTURE

23. The Egyptian System of Writing. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the ancient Egyptians was the working out of a system of writing. More than four thousand years before Christ

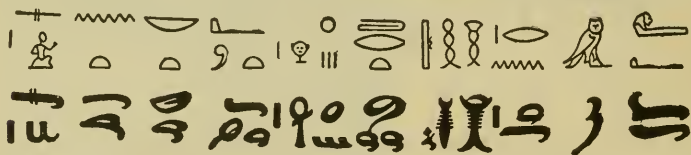


FIG. 12. FORMS OF EGYPTIAN WRITING

The top line is hieroglyphic script; the bottom line is the same text in hieratic

they had developed a very curious and complex system, which was partly picture writing and partly alphabetic.¹

The chief writing material used by the ancient Egyptians was the noted papyrus paper, manufactured from a reed which grew in the marshes and along the water channels of the Nile. From the Greek names of this Egyptian plant, *byblos* and *papyrus*, come our words *Bible* and *paper*.

¹ Just as we have two forms of letters, one for printing and another for writing, so the Egyptians employed three forms of script: the *hieroglyphic*, in which the pictures and symbols were carefully drawn — a form generally employed in monumental inscriptions; the *hieratic*, a simplified form of the hieroglyphic, adapted to writing, and forming the greater part of the papyrus manuscripts; and later a still simpler form developed from the hieratic, and called by the Greeks *demotic*, that is, the ordinary writing (from *demos*, "the people").

24. The Rosetta Stone and the Key to Egyptian Writing.

The first key to the Egyptian writing was discovered by means of the Rosetta Stone, which was found by the French when they invaded Egypt in 1798. This precious relic, a heavy block of black basalt, is now in the British Museum. It holds an inscription in the Egyptian and the Greek language, which is written in three different forms of script. The chief credit of deciphering the Egyptian script and of opening up the long-sealed secrets of the Egyptian monuments is commonly allotted to the French scholar Champollion.

25. The Egyptian Gods. Chief of the great Egyptian deities was the sun-god Rā (or Rê), from whom the Pharaohs claimed descent. He was imagined as sailing across the heavens in a sacred bark on a celestial river, and at night returning to the east through subterranean water passages—an adventurous and danger-beset voyage.

The good Osiris, a beloved deity of many attributes and many fables, was, it seems, at first worshiped as the spirit or god of vegetation, but later he came to be conceived of as judge and ruler in the realms of the dead. Set, the Typhon of Greek writers, was the Satan of later Egyptian mythology. Besides the greater gods there was a multitude of lesser deities, each district and village having its local god or gods.

26. Animal Worship. The Egyptians believed some animals to be incarnations of a god descended from heaven. Thus a god was thought to animate the body of some particular bull, which might be known from certain spots or markings. Upon the death of the sacred bull, or Apis, as he was called, the body was carefully embalmed and, amid funeral ceremonies of great expense and magnificence, laid away in a huge granite sarcophagus in the tomb of his predecessors.

Not only were individual animals held sacred and worshiped but sometimes whole species, for example the cat, were regarded as

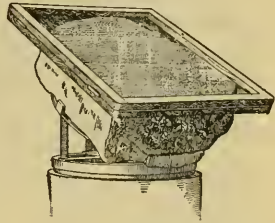


FIG. 13. THE ROSETTA STONE

sacred. To kill one of these animals was thought the greatest impiety. Many explanations have been given to account for the existence of such a debased form of worship among a people so



FIG. 14. MUMMY OF A SACRED BULL
(From a photograph)

cultured as were the ancient Egyptians. Probably the sacred animals in the later worship simply represent an early crude stage of the Egyptian religion.

27. Ideas of the Future Life; the Mummy. Among no other people of antiquity did the life beyond the tomb seem so real and hold so large a place in the thoughts of the living as among the Egyptians. They thought that the welfare of the soul in the hereafter was dependent upon the preservation of the body; hence the anxious care with which they sought to protect the body against decay by embalming it.

In the various processes of embalming, use was made of oils, resins, bitumen, and various aromatic gums. The bodies of the wealthy were preserved by being filled with costly aromatic and resinous substances, and swathed in bandages of linen. To a body thus treated is applied the term *mummy*.

To this practice of the Egyptians of embalming their dead we owe it that we can look upon the actual faces of many of the ancient Pharaohs. Toward the close of the last century (in 1881) the mummies of nearly all the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, and



FIG. 15. PROFILE OF RAMESES II
(From a photograph of the mummy)

Twenty-first Dynasties were found in a secret rock chamber near Thebes. The faces of many are so remarkably preserved that, in the words of Maspero, "were their subjects to return to the earth today they could not fail to recognize their old sovereigns."

28. The Judgment of the Dead and the Negative Confession. Death was a great equalizer among the Egyptians; king and peasant alike must appear before the dread tribunal of Osiris, the judge of the underworld, and render an account of the deeds done in the body. Here the soul sought justification in such declarations as these, which form what is called the Negative Confession: "I



FIG. 16. THE JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD. (From a papyrus)

Showing the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the scales of truth

have not blasphemed"; "I have not stolen"; "I have not slain anyone treacherously"; "I have not slandered anyone or made false accusation." In other declarations of the soul we find a singularly close approach to Christian morality, as for instance in this: "I have given bread to the hungry and drink to him who was athirst; I have clothed the naked with garments."

The truth of what the soul thus asserted in its own behalf was tested by the balances of the gods. In one of the scales was placed the heart of the deceased; in the other, a feather, the symbol of truth or righteousness. The soul stood by watching the weighing. If the heart were found not light, the soul was welcomed to the companionship of the good Osiris. The unjustified were sent to a place of torment or were thrown to a monster to be devoured.

29. Architecture, Sculpture, and Minor Arts. In the building art the ancient Egyptians, in some respects, have never been surpassed. The Memphian pyramids built by the earlier, and the Theban temples raised by the later, Pharaohs have excited the astonishment and the admiration alike of all the successive generations that have looked upon them.

In the cutting and shaping of enormous blocks of the hardest stone, the Egyptians achieved results which modern stonecutters can scarcely equal. "It is doubtful," says the historian Rawlinson, "whether the steam-sawing of the present day could be trusted to produce in ten years from the quarries of Aberdeen a single obelisk such as those which the Pharaohs set up by dozens."

Egyptian sculpture was at its best in the earliest period; that it became so imitative and the figures so conventional and rigid was due to the influence of religion. The artist, in the portrayal of the figures of the gods, was not allowed to change a single line of the sacred form.

In many of the minor arts the Egyptians attained a surprisingly high degree of excellence. They were able in coloring glass to secure tints as brilliant and beautiful as any which modern art has been able to produce. In goldsmith's work they showed wonderful skill.

It should be noted here that it was especially in the domain of art that the influence of Egypt was exerted upon contemporary civilizations. Until the full development of Greek art, Egyptian art reigned over the world in somewhat the same way that Greek art has reigned since the Golden Age of Greece. Its influence can be traced in the architecture, the sculpture, and the decorative art of all the peoples of the Mediterranean lands.

30. The Sciences: Astronomy, Geometry, and Medicine. The cloudless and brilliant skies of Egypt invited the inhabitants of the Nile valley to the study of the heavenly bodies. And another circumstance closely related to their very existence—the inundation of the Nile, following the changing seasons—could not but have incited them to the watching and recording of the movements of the heavenly bodies. Their observations led

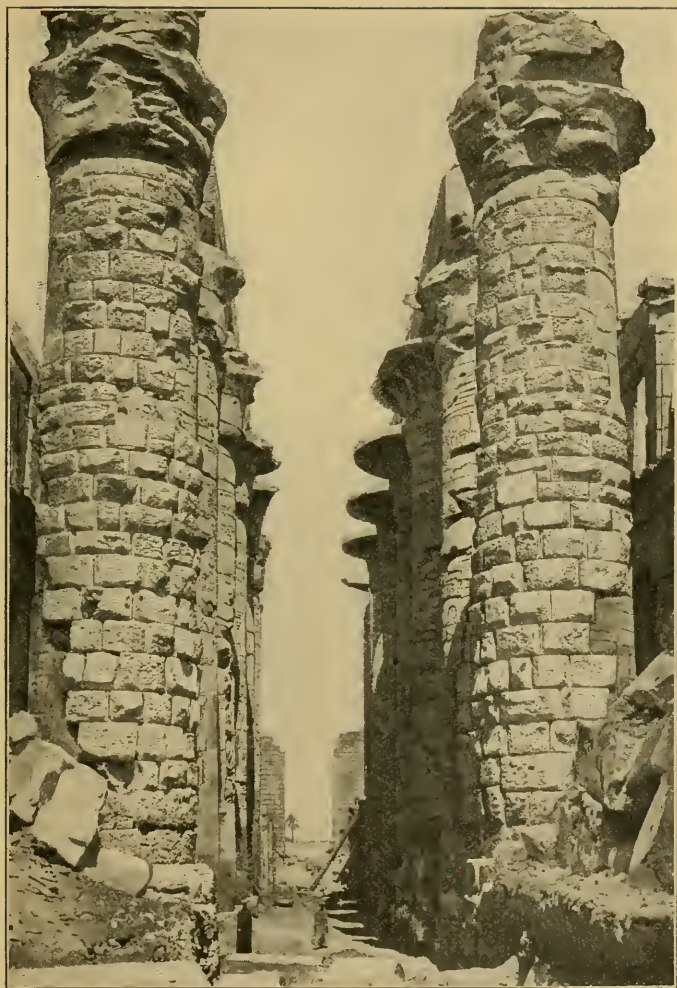


FIG. 17. RUINS OF THE GREAT HALL OF COLUMNS AT KARNAK
(From a photograph)

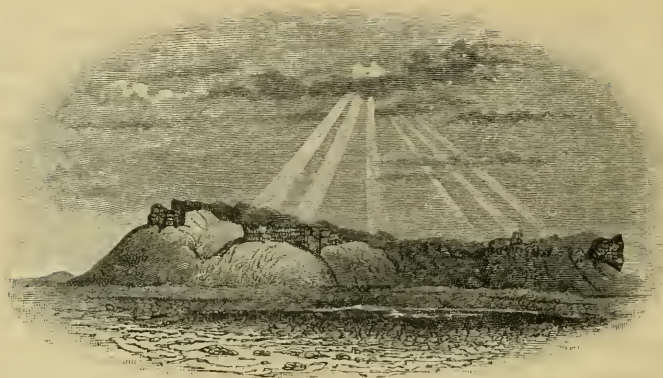
them to discover the length, very nearly, of the solar year, which they divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with a festival period of five days at the end of the year. This was the calendar that, with minor changes, Julius Cæsar introduced into the Roman Empire, and which, slightly reformed by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1582, has been the system employed by almost all the civilized world up to the present day (sect. 290).

The Greeks accounted for the early rise of the science of geometry among the Egyptians by the necessity they were under of reëstablishing each year the boundaries of their fields—the inundation obliterating old landmarks and divisions. The science thus forced upon their attention was cultivated with zeal and success. The work of the Greek scholars in this field was based on that done by the Egyptians.

The Egyptian physicians relied largely on magic, for every ailment was supposed to be caused by a demon that must be expelled by means of magical rites and incantations. But they also used drugs of various kinds; the ciphers or characters employed by modern apothecaries to designate grains and drams are believed to be of Egyptian invention.

31. Egypt's Contribution to Civilization. Egypt, we thus see, made valuable gifts to civilization. From the Nile came the germs of much found in the later cultures of the peoples of western Asia and of the Greeks and Romans, and through their agency in that of the modern world. "We are the heirs of the civilized past," says Professor Sayce, "and a goodly portion of that civilized past was the creation of ancient Egypt."

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CHAPTER IV

BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

I. THE EARLY CITY-KINGDOMS OF BABYLONIA AND THE OLD BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

32. The Tigris and Euphrates Valley; the Upper and the Lower Country. As in the case of Egypt, so in that of the Tigris and Euphrates valley,¹ the physical features of the country exerted a great influence upon the history of its ancient peoples. Differences in geological structure divide this region into an upper and a lower district; and this twofold division in natural features is reflected, as we shall see, throughout its political history. The northern part of the valley, the portion that comprised ancient Assyria, consists of undulating plains, broken in places by mountain ridges. This region nourished a hardy and warlike race, and became the seat of a great military empire.

The southern part of the valley, the part known as Babylonia, is, like the Delta region of Egypt, an alluvial deposit. The making

NOTE. The picture at the head of this page shows the Babil Mound, at Babylon, as it appeared in 1811.

¹ The ancient Greeks gave to the land embraced by the Tigris and the Euphrates the name of *Mesopotamia*, which means literally "the land between or amidst the rivers." The name is often loosely applied to the whole Tigris-Euphrates valley.

of new land by the rivers has gone on steadily during historic times. The ruins of one of the ancient seaports of the country (Eridu) lie over a hundred miles inland from the present head of the Persian Gulf. In ancient times much of the land was protected against the overflow of the rivers in seasons of freshet, and watered in seasons of drought, by a stupendous system of dikes and canals, which at the present day, in a ruined and sand-choked condition, cover like a network the face of the country.

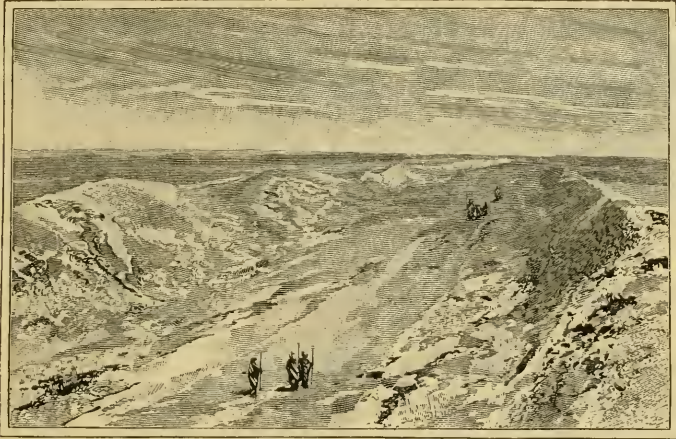


FIG. 18. ANCIENT BABYLONIAN CANAL

The productions of Babylonia are very like those of the Nile valley. The luxuriant growth of grain upon these alluvial flats excited the wonder of the Greek travelers who visited the East. Herodotus will not tell the whole truth for fear his veracity may be doubted. This favored plain in a remote period of antiquity became the seat of an agricultural, industrial, and commercial population among which the arts of civilized life found a development which possibly was as old as that of Egypt, and which ran parallel with it.

33. The Age of City-Kingdoms. When the light of history first falls upon the Mesopotamian lands, about 3000 B.C., it reveals the lower river plain filled with independent walled cities like those

which we find later in Palestine, Greece, and Italy. Each city had its patron god, and was ruled by a prince bearing the title of *king* or *lord*.

From the tablets of the old Babylonian temple archives (sect. 36), patient scholars are slowly deciphering the wonderful story of these ancient cities. The political side of their history may, for our present purpose, be summarized by saying that for a period of two thousand years and more their records, so far as they have become known to us, are annals of wars waged for

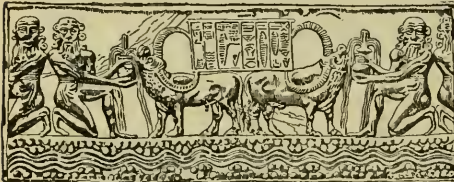


FIG. 19. IMPRESSION OF A SEAL OF SARGON I
(Date about 2800 B.C.)

Must be ranked among the masterpieces of oriental engraving. — MASPERO

supremacy by one city and its gods against other cities and their gods.

Of all the kings whose names have been recovered from the monuments we shall here mention only one—Sargon I (about 2800 B.C.), a

Semitic king of Akkad, whose reign forms a great landmark in early Babylonian annals. He built up a powerful state in Babylonia and carried his arms to "the land of the setting sun" (Syria).

34. The Rise of Babylon; the Old Babylonian Empire. Among these cities of the plain was the great Babylon, whose name is a household word throughout the world today. Gradually rising into prominence, this city gave to the whole country the name by which it is best known—*Babylonia*.

For more than fifteen hundred years Babylon was the political and commercial center of what is known as the Old Babylonian Empire, a state of varying fortunes, of changing dynasties, and of shifting frontiers. Meanwhile a new Semitic power had been slowly developing in the north. This was the Assyrian Empire, the later center and capital of which was the great city of Nineveh. Finally Babylonia was conquered by an Assyrian king and passed under Assyrian control (728 B.C.).

thousand years in the civilizations of all the peoples of culture, save those of eastern Asia, who use systems developed from the Chinese (sect. 77).

The writing material of the Babylonians was usually clay tablets of various sizes. The tablets were carefully preserved in great public archives, which sometimes formed an adjunct of the temple of some specially revered deity.

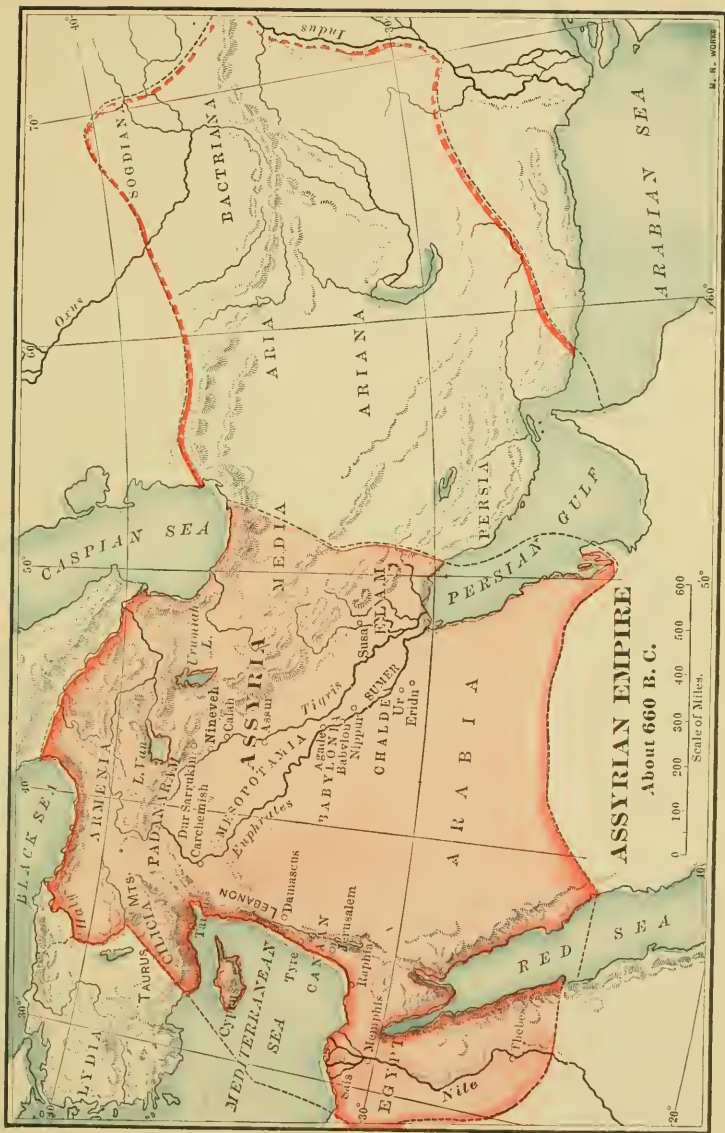
37. The Religion. The Babylonians, like the Egyptians, were worshippers of many gods. The god-group embraced powerful nature gods, local city deities, and a multitude of lesser gods.

The most prominent feature from first to last of the popular religion was a belief in spirits, particularly in wicked spirits, and the practice of magic rites and incantations to avert the evil influence of these demons. A second most important feature of the religion was what is known as astrology, or the foretelling of events by the aspect of the planets and stars. The Chaldean astrologers were famed throughout the ancient world.

Alongside these low beliefs and superstitious practices there existed, however, higher and purer elements. This is best illustrated by the so-called penitential psalms, which breathe a spirit like that of the penitential psalms of the Old Testament.

38. Legislation: the Code of Hammurabi. In 1901-1902 French excavators at Susa, in the ancient Elam, discovered a block of stone upon which was inscribed the code of laws set up by Hammurabi, king of Babylon, more than two thousand years B.C. This is the oldest system of laws known to us. It is, in the main, merely a collection of earlier laws and ancient customs.

The code casts a strong side light upon the Babylonian life of the period when it was compiled, and thus constitutes one of the most valuable monuments spared to us from the old Semitic world. It defined the rights and duties of husband and wife, master and slave, of merchants, gardeners, tenants, shepherds—of all the classes which made up the population of the Babylonian Empire. As in the case of the later Hebrew code, the principle of retaliation determined the penalty for injury done another; it was an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.



ASSYRIAN EMPIRE
About 660 B. C.

M. R. WOODS

For more than two thousand years after its compilation this code of laws was in force in the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, and even after this lapse of time it was used as a textbook in the schools of the Mesopotamian lands. Probably no other code save the Mosaic or the Justinian (sect. 385) has exerted a greater influence upon human society.

39. Sciences: Astronomy, the Calendar, and Mathematics. In astronomy the Babylonians made greater advance than the Egyptians. Their knowledge of the heavens came about from their interest as astrologers in the stars. They divided the zodiac into twelve signs and named its constellations, a memorial of their astronomical attainments which will remain forever inscribed upon the great circle of the heavens; they foretold eclipses of the sun and moon; they invented the sundial; they divided the year into twelve months, the day and night into hours, and the hours into minutes, and devised a week of seven days.¹

In the mathematical sciences, also, the Babylonians made considerable advance. The duodecimal system in numbers was their invention, and it is from them that the system has come to us. They devised measures of length, weight, and capacity. It was from them that all the peoples of antiquity derived their systems of weight and measure. Aside from letters, these are perhaps the most indispensable agents in the life of a people after they have risen above the lowest levels of barbarism.

II. THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

40. Introduction. The story of Assyria is in the main a story of the Assyrian kings. And it is a story of ruthless war, which made the Assyrian kings the scourge of antiquity. To relate this story with any measure of detail would involve endless repetition of the royal records of pillaging raids and punitive campaigns in all the countries of western Asia. We shall therefore merely mention two or three of the great kings of the later empire whose names live among the renowned personages of the ancient world.

¹ This week of seven days was a subdivision of the moon-month, based on the phases of the moon, namely, new moon, first quarter, full moon, and last quarter.

41. Sargon II (722-705 B.C.). Sargon II was a great conqueror. In 722 B.C. he captured Samaria and carried away the most influential classes of the Ten Tribes of Israel into captivity (sect. 56). The greater portion of the captives were scattered among the towns of Media and Mesopotamia, and probably became, for the most part, merged with the population of those regions.

42. Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.). To Sennacherib, the son of Sargon, we must accord the first place of renown among the Assyrian kings. His name, connected as it is with the history of Jerusalem and with the wonderful discoveries among the ruined palaces of Nineveh, has become as familiar as that of Nebuchadnezzar in the story of Babylon. His reign was filled with military expeditions and marked by great building enterprises at Nineveh. Respecting the decoration of this capital, one of his inscriptions says: "I raised again all the edifices of Nineveh, my royal city; I reconstructed all its old streets, and widened those that were too narrow. I made the whole town a city shining like the sun."

43. The Fall of Nineveh (606 B.C.). A ruler named by the Greek writers Saracus was the last of the long line of Assyrian kings. For nearly or quite six centuries the Ninevite kings had now lorded it over the East. There was scarcely a state in all western Asia that during this time had not, in the language of the royal inscriptions, "borne the heavy yoke of their lordship"; scarcely a people that had not suffered their cruel punishments or tasted the bitterness of enforced exile.

But now swift misfortunes were bearing down from every quarter upon the oppressor. Egypt revolted and tore Syria away from the empire. In the southern lowlands the Babylonians also rose in revolt, while from the mountain defiles on the east issued the armies of the recent-grown empire of the Aryan Medes and laid close siege to Nineveh. The city was finally taken and sacked, and dominion passed away forever from the proud capital (606 B.C.). Two hundred years later, when Xenophon with his Ten Thousand Greeks, in his memorable retreat (sect. 162), passed the spot, the once great city was a crumbling mass of ruins and its name had been forgotten.

44. **Assyrian Excavations and Discoveries.** In 1843-1844 M. Botta, the French consul resident at Mosul on the Tigris, excavated a great palace-mound some distance from the site of old Nineveh, and astonished the world with most wonderful specimens of Assyrian art from the palace of Sargon II. The sculptured and lettered slabs were removed to the museum of



FIG. 21. EXCAVATING AN ASSYRIAN PALACE. (After *Layard*)

the Louvre, in Paris. A little later Austen Henry Layard, an English archæologist, disintombed the palace of Sennacherib and those of other kings at Nineveh and Calah (the earliest capital of the Assyrian kingdom), and enriched the British Museum with the treasures of his search.

In the ruins of one of the palaces at Nineveh was discovered what is known as the Royal Library, the largest and most important library of the old Semitic world, from which over twenty thousand tablets were taken. The greater part of the tablets were copies of older Babylonian works; for the literature of the Assyrians, as well as their arts and sciences, was borrowed almost in a body from the Babylonians.

45. Cruelty of the Assyrians. The Assyrians have been called the "Romans of Asia." They were a proud, warlike, and cruel race. The Assyrian kings seem to have surpassed all others in the cruelty which characterizes the warfare of the whole ancient Orient. The sculptured marbles of their palaces exhibit the hideously cruel tortures inflicted by them upon prisoners (Fig. 22). A royal inscription which is a fair specimen of many others runs as follows: "The nobles, as many as had revolted, I flayed; . . . Three thousand of their captives I burned with fire. . . . I cut



FIG. 22. ASSYRIANS FLAYING PRISONERS ALIVE. (From a bas-relief)

off the hands [and] feet of some; I cut off the noses, the ears [and] the fingers of others; the eyes of the numerous soldiers I put out. . . . Their young men [and] their maidens I burned as a holocaust." The significant thing here is that the king exults in having done these things and thinks to immortalize himself by portraying them upon imperishable stone.

46. Services rendered Civilization by Assyria. Assyria did a work like that done by Rome at a later time. Just as Rome welded all the peoples of the Mediterranean world into a great empire, and then throughout her vast domains scattered the seeds of the civilization which she had borrowed from vanquished Greece, so did Assyria weld into a great empire the innumerable petty warring states and tribes of western Asia, and then throughout her extended dominions spread the civilization which she had in the main borrowed from the conquered Babylonians.

III. THE CHALDEAN OR NEW BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

(625-538 B. C.)

47. Babylon becomes again a Great Power. Nabopolassar (625-605 B. C.) was the founder of what is known as the Chaldean or New Babylonian Empire. At first a vassal of the Assyrian king, when troubles began to thicken about the Assyrian court, he revolted and became independent. With the break-up of the Assyrian Empire, the Babylonian kingdom received large accessions of territory. For a short time thereafter Babylon held a great place in history.

48. Nebuchadnezzar II (605-561 B. C.). Nabopolassar was followed by his son Nebuchadnezzar, whose renown filled the ancient world. One important event of his reign was the siege and capture of Jerusalem. The city was pillaged and its walls were thrown down. The temple was stripped of its sacred vessels of silver and gold, which were carried away to Babylon, and the temple itself was given to the flames; a part of the people were also carried away into the "Great Captivity" (586 B. C.).

Nebuchadnezzar rivaled even the Pharaohs in the execution of immense works requiring vast expenditures of human labor. Among his works were the Great Palace in the royal quarter of Babylon, the celebrated Hanging Gardens,¹ and the City Walls. The gardens and the walls were reckoned among the seven wonders of the ancient world.

Especially zealous was Nebuchadnezzar in the erection and restoration of the shrines of the gods. "Like dear life," runs one of the inscriptions, "love I the building of their lodging places." He dwells with fondness on all the details of the work, and tells how he ornamented the panelings of the shrines with precious stones, roofed them with huge beams of cedar overlaid

¹ The Hanging Gardens were constructed by Nebuchadnezzar to please his wife Amytis, who, tired of the monotony of the Babylonian plains, longed for the mountain scenery of her native Media. The gardens were probably built somewhat in the form of the tower temples, the successive stages being covered with earth and beautified with plants and trees, so as to simulate the appearance of a mountain rising in cultivated terraces toward the sky.

with gold and silver, and decorated the gates with plates of bronze, making the sacred abodes as "bright as the stars of heaven."

49. The Fall of Babylon (538 B.C.). The glory of the New Babylonian Empire passed away with Nebuchadnezzar. Among the mountains and on the uplands to the east of the Tigris-Euphrates valley there had been growing up an Aryan kingdom. At the time which we have now reached, this state, through the destruction of the Assyrian Empire and the absorption of its provinces, had grown into a great imperial power—the Medo-Persian. At the head of this new empire was Cyrus, a strong, energetic, and ambitious sovereign (sect. 66). Coming into collision with the Babylonian king Nabonidus he defeated his army in the open field, and the gates of the strongly fortified capital Babylon were without further resistance thrown open to the Persians.

With the fall of Babylon the scepter of dominion, borne so long by Semitic princes, was given into the hands of the Aryan peoples, who were destined from this time forward to shape the main course of events and control the affairs of civilization.¹

References. MASPERO, G., *The Dawn of Civilization*, chaps. vii-ix; *The Struggle of the Nations*, chaps. i, vi; *The Passing of the Nations*, chaps. i-v; and *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, chaps. xi-xx. KING, L. W., *History of Akkad and Sumir* and *A History of Babylon*. RAWLINSON, G., *The Five Great Monarchies*, 3 vols. ROGERS, R. W., *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, 2 vols. HOMMEL, F., *The Civilization of the East*. GOODSPEED, G. S., *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*. RAGOZIN, Z. A., *The Story of Assyria*. LAYARD, A. H., *Nineveh and its Remains*. PETERS, J. P., *Nippur*, 2 vols. JASTROW, N., *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* and *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*. SAYCE, A. H., *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*. KOLDEWEY, R., *The Excavations at Babylon. The Code of Hammurabi* (in either the C. H. W. Johns or the R. F. Harper translation).

¹ For the temporary revival of Semitic power throughout the Orient by the Arabs, see Chapter XXXIX.

CHAPTER V

THE HEBREWS

50. The Patriarchal Age. The history of the Hebrews, as narrated in their sacred books, begins with the departure of the patriarch Abraham out of "Ur of the Chaldees." The stories of Abraham and his nephew Lot, of Isaac and his sons Jacob and Esau, of the sojourn and the oppression of the descendants of Jacob in Egypt, of the Exodus under the leadership of the great lawgiver Moses, of the conquest of Canaan by his successor Joshua—all these wonderful stories are told in the old Hebrew Scriptures with a charm and simplicity that have made them the familiar possession of childhood.

51. The Age of the "Judges" (ending about 1050 B.C.). The intrusion into Canaan of the Israelite tribes was followed by a long period of petty wars, brigandage, and anarchy. During this time there arose a line of national heroes, such as Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson, whose deeds of valor and daring, and the timely deliverance they wrought for the tribes of Israel from their foes, caused their names to be handed down with grateful remembrance to following ages. These popular leaders are called "Judges" by the Bible writers.

52. Founding of the Hebrew Monarchy (about 1050 B.C.). During the time of the "Judges" there was, as the history of the period shows, no effective union among the tribes of Israel. But the common danger to which they were exposed from enemies,—especially from the warlike Philistines,—and the example of the nations about them, led the people finally to begin to think of the advantages of a more perfect union and of a strong central government. The hitherto loose confederation, accordingly, was changed into a kingdom, and Saul of the tribe of Benjamin was made king of the new monarchy.

53. The Reign of David (about 1025–993 B.C.). Upon the death of Saul, David, son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, assumed the scepter. He built up a real empire and waged wars against the troublesome tribes of Moab, Ammon, and Edom.

David was a poet as well as a warrior. His lament over Saul and Jonathan¹ is regarded as one of the noblest specimens of elegiac poetry that has come down from Hebrew antiquity. Such was his fame that the authorship of a large number of hymns written in a later age was ascribed to him.

54. The Reign of Solomon (about 993–953 B.C.). David was followed by his son Solomon. The son did not possess the father's talent for military affairs, but was a liberal patron of art, commerce, and learning. He erected with the utmost magnificence of adornment the temple at Jerusalem planned by his father David. Thenceforth this temple was the center of the Hebrew worship and of the national life. As the reputed author of famous proverbs, Solomon has lived in tradition as the wisest king of the East. He maintained a court of oriental magnificence. When the queen of Sheba, made curious by reports of his glory, came from South Arabia to visit him, she exclaimed, "The half was not told me."

55. The Division of the Kingdom (about 953 B.C.). The reign of Solomon was brilliant, yet disastrous in the end to the Hebrew monarchy. In order to carry on his vast undertakings he had laid oppressive taxes upon his people. When Rehoboam, his son, succeeded to his father's place, the people entreated him to lighten the taxes. He refused. Straightway all the tribes, save Judah and Benjamin, rose in revolt, and succeeded in setting up to the north of Jerusalem a rival kingdom, with Jeroboam as its first king. This northern state, of which Samaria afterwards became the capital, was known as the Kingdom of Israel; the southern, of which Jerusalem remained the capital, was called the Kingdom of Judah.

Thus was torn in twain the empire of David and Solomon. United, the tribes might have offered successful resistance to the

¹ 2 Sam. i, 17–27.

encroachments of the powerful and ambitious monarchs about them. But now the land became an easy prey to the spoiler.

56. The Kingdom of Israel (953?-722 B.C.). The kingdom of the Ten Tribes maintained its existence for about two hundred years. The little state was at last overwhelmed by the Assyrian power. This happened 722 B.C., when Samaria, as already narrated, was captured by Sargon II, king of Nineveh, and the flower of the people were carried away into captivity. The gaps thus made in the population of Samaria were filled with other subjects or captives of the Assyrian king. The descendants of these, mingled with the Israelites that were still left in the country, formed the Samaritans of the time of Christ.

57. The Kingdom of Judah (953?-586 B.C.). This little kingdom maintained an independent existence for over three centuries, but upon the extension of the power of Babylon to the west, Jerusalem was forced to acknowledge the overlordship of the Babylonian kings. The kingdom at last shared the fate of its northern rival. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in revenge for an uprising of the Jews, besieged and captured Jerusalem and carried away a large part of the people into captivity at Babylon. This event virtually ended the separate political life of the Hebrew race (586 B.C.). Henceforth Judea constituted simply a province of the empires which successively held sway over the regions of western Asia, with, however, just one short period of national life under the Maccabees, during a part of the two centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ.

58. Hebrew Literature. The literature of the Hebrews is a religious one; for literature with them was in the main merely a means of inculcating religious truth or awakening devotional feeling. This unique literature is contained in sacred books known as the *Old* or *Hebrew Testament*. In these ancient writings histories, poems, prophecies, and personal narratives blend in a wonderful mosaic, which pictures with vivid and grand effect the migrations, the deliverances, the calamities,—all the events and religious experiences making up the checkered life of the people of Israel.

Out of the *Old* arose the *New Testament*, which we should think of as a part of Hebrew literature; for although written in the Greek language and long after the close of the political life of the Jewish nation, nevertheless it is essentially Hebrew in thought and doctrine, and the supplement and crown of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Besides the Sacred Scriptures, called collectively, by way of pre-eminence, the *Bible* (the Book), it remains to mention especially the *Apocrypha*, embracing a number of books that were composed after the decline of the prophetic spirit, and which show traces of the influence of Persian and Greek thought.

Neither must we fail to mention the *Talmud*, a collection of Hebrew customs and traditions, with the comments thereupon of the rabbis, a work held by most Jews next in sacredness to the Holy Book; the writings of Philo, an illustrious Alexandrian philosopher (born about 25 B.C.); and the *Antiquities of the Jews* and the *Jewish War* by the historian Josephus (born A.D. 37).

59. Hebrew Religion and Morality. The ancient Hebrews made little or no contribution to science. They produced no new order of architecture. In sculpture they did nothing; their religion forbade their making "graven images." Their mission was to make known the idea of God as a being holy and just and compassionate and loving,—as the Universal Father whose care is over not one people alone but over all peoples and all races,—and to teach men that what he requires of them is that they shall do justice and practice righteousness.

This lofty conception of God was the best element in the bequest which the ancient Hebrews made to the younger Aryan world of Europe, and is largely what entitles them to the pre-eminent place they hold in the history of humanity.

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CHAPTER VI

THE PHŒNICIANS

60. The Land. Ancient Phœnicia embraced a little strip of broken seacoast lying between the Mediterranean Sea and the ranges of Mount Lebanon. One of the most noted productions of the country was the fine fir timber cut from the forests that crowned the lofty ranges of the Lebanon Mountains. The "cedars of Lebanon" hold a prominent place both in the history and in the poetry of the East.

Another celebrated product of the country was the Tyrian purple, which was obtained from several varieties of the Murex, a species of shellfish secured at first along the Phœnician coast, but later sought in distant waters, especially in the Grecian seas.

61. Tyre and Sidon. The various Phœnician cities never coalesced to form a true nation. They constituted merely a sort of league or confederacy, the petty states of which generally acknowledged the leadership of Tyre or of Sidon, the two chief cities. From about the eleventh to the fourth century B.C. Tyre controlled, almost without dispute on the part of Sidon, the affairs of Phœnicia. During this time the maritime enterprise and energy of her merchants spread throughout the Mediterranean world the fame of the little island capital.

62. Phœnician Commerce. It was natural that the people of the Phœnician coast should have been led to a seafaring life. The lofty mountains that back the little strip of shore seemed to shut them out from a career of conquest and to prohibit an extension



FIG. 23. SPECIES OF THE MUREX. (After *Maspero*)

The mollusks which secrete the famous purple dye of the ancient Tyrians

of their land domains. At the same time, the Mediterranean in front invited them to maritime enterprise, while the forests of Lebanon in the rear offered timber in abundance for their ships.

One of the earliest centers of activity of the Phœnician traders was the Ægean Sea; but towards the close of the tenth or the ninth century B.C. the jealousy of the Greek city-states, now growing into maritime power, closed the eastern Mediterranean against them. They then pushed out into the western Mediter-

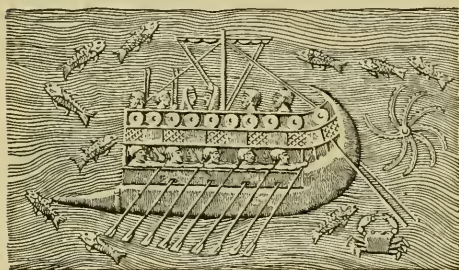


FIG. 24. PHŒNICIAN GALLEY. (From an Assyrian sculpture)

anean. One chief object of their quest here was tin, which was in great demand on account of its use in the manufacture of bronze. The tin was at first supplied by the mines opened in the Iberian (Spanish) peninsula. Later the bold Phœnician sailors passed the Pillars of Hercules, braved the dangers of the At-

lantic, and brought back from those stormy seas the product of the tin-producing districts¹ of western Europe.

63. Phœnician Colonies. Along the different routes pursued by their ships, and upon the coasts visited by them, the Phœnicians established naval stations and trading posts. Settlements were planted in Cyprus, in Rhodes, and on other islands of the Ægean Sea, and probably even in Greece itself. The shores of the islands of Sicily and Sardinia were fringed with Phœnician colonies; while the coast of North Africa was dotted with such great cities as Utica, Hippo, and Carthage. Colonies were even planted beyond the Pillars of Hercules, upon the Atlantic seaboard. The Phœnician settlement of Gades, upon the western coast of Spain, is still preserved in the modern Cadiz.

¹ Probably one or all of the following regions: northwest Spain, southwest Britain (Cornwall), and the neighboring Scilly Islands — possibly the ancient Cassiterides.

64. Arts spread abroad by the Phœnicians; the Alphabet. Commerce has been called the path-breaker of civilization. Certainly it was such in antiquity when the Phœnician traders carried in their ships to every Mediterranean land the wares of the workshops of Tyre and Sidon, and along with these material products carried also the seeds of culture from the ancient lands of Egypt and Babylonia. "Egypt and Assyria," as has been tersely said, "were the birthplace of material civilization; the Phœnicians were its missionaries."

Most fruitful of all the arts which the Phœnicians introduced among the peoples with whom they traded was the art of alphabetic writing. As early at least as 900 B.C. they were in possession of an alphabet. Now wherever the Phœnician traders went they carried this alphabet as "one of their exports." It was through them that the Greeks received it; the Greeks passed it on to the Romans, and the Romans gave it to the German folk. In this way our alphabet came to us from the ancient East. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this gift of the alphabet to the Aryan-speaking peoples of Europe. Without it their civilization could never have become so rich and progressive as it did.¹

Among the other elements of culture which the Phœnicians carried to the peoples of the Mediterranean lands, the most important, after alphabetical writing, were systems of weights and measures. These are indispensable agents of civilization, and hold some such relation to the development of trade and commerce as letters hold to the development of the intellectual life.

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¹ All systems of writing now in use, except the Chinese (sect. 77) and those derived from it, are from the Phœnician script.

CHAPTER VII

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

(558-330 B. C.)

65. Kinship of the Medes and Persians. It was in remote times, probably before 1500 B. C., that some Aryan tribes, separating themselves from kindred clans, the ancestors of the Indian Aryans, with whom they had lived for a time as a single community, sought new abodes on the plateau of western Iran. The immigrants that settled in the south, near the Persian Gulf, became known as Persians; while those that took possession of the mountain regions of the northwest were called Medes. The names of the two peoples were always very closely associated, as in the Bible phrase, "The law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."

66. Cyrus the Great (558-529 B. C.) founds a Great World Empire. The Medes were at first the leading people. Their leadership, however, was of short duration. A certain Cyrus overthrew their power, and assumed the headship of both Medes and Persians. Through his energy and soldierly genius Cyrus soon built up an empire more extended than any over which the scepter had yet been swayed by oriental monarch, or indeed, so far as we know, by any ruler before his time.

After the conquest of Media and the acquisition of the provinces formerly ruled by the Median princes, Cyrus rounded out his empire by the conquest of Lydia and Babylonia. Lydia was a country in the western part of Asia Minor. It embraced two rich river valleys,—the plains of the Hermus and the Cayster,—which, from the mountains inland, slope gently to the island-dotted Ægean. The coast region did not at first belong to Lydia; it was held by the Greeks, who had fringed it with cities. The capital of the country was Sardis.

The Lydian throne was at this time held by Cræsus (560–546 B.C.), the last and most renowned of his race. The tribute Cræsus collected from the Greek cities which he had subjugated and the revenue he derived from his gold mines rendered him the richest monarch of his times, so that his name has passed into the proverb "rich as Cræsus."

It was this king who, alarmed at the growth of the Persian power, threw down the gage of battle to Cyrus. Cyrus defeated the Lydians in the open field, and after a short siege captured Sardis. Lydia now became a part of the Persian Empire. This war between Cræsus and Cyrus derives special importance from the fact that it brought the Persian Empire into contact with the Greek cities of Asia, and thus led on directly to a memorable struggle between Greece and Persia,—one of the chief matters of ancient history,—the incidents of which we shall narrate in a later chapter.

The fall of Lydia was followed by that of Babylon, as has been already related as part of the story of the Chaldean Empire. Cyrus had now rounded out his dominions.

67. Reign of Darius I (521–484 B.C.). Cyrus was followed by his son Cambyses, who through conquest added Egypt to the growing empire. A short troublous period followed the death of Cambyses and then Darius I, the greatest of the Persian kings, took the throne. The new king built splendid structures at Persepolis; reformed the government, making such wise and lasting changes that he has been called "the second founder of the Persian Empire"; established post roads; and upon the great Behistun Rock, a lofty, smooth-faced cliff on the western frontier of Persia, caused to be inscribed a record of all he had done.

And now the Great King, lord of western Asia and of Egypt, conceived and entered upon the execution of vast designs of conquest, the far-reaching effects of which were destined to live long after he had passed away. He determined to extend the frontiers of his empire into India and Europe alike.

At one blow Darius brought northwestern India under his authority, and thus by a single effort pushed out the eastern boundary

of his empire so that it included one of the richest countries of Asia. Several campaigns in Europe followed. These brought Darius in direct contact with the Greeks, of whom we shall soon hear much. How his armaments and those of his son and successor, Xerxes I, fared at the hands of this freedom-loving people, who now appear for the first time as prominent actors in large world affairs, will be told when we come to narrate the history of

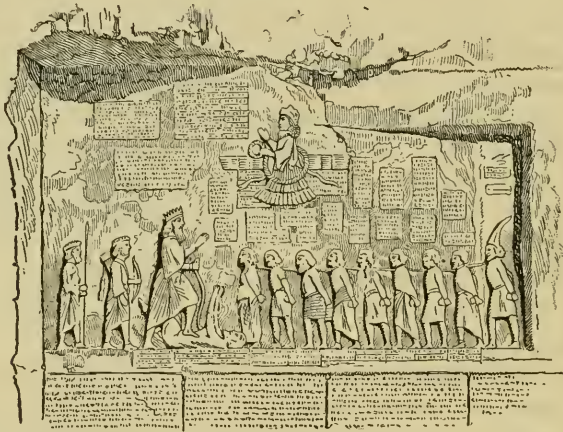


FIG. 25. INSURGENT CAPTIVES BROUGHT BEFORE DARIUS
(From the Behistun Rock)

the Greek city-states. We need now simply note the result—the wreck of the Persian plans of conquest and the opening of the great days of Greece.

68. End of the Persian Empire. The power and supremacy of the Persian monarchy passed away with the reign of Xerxes. In the year 334 B.C. Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia, led a small army of Greeks and Macedonians across the Hellespont intent upon the conquest of Asia. The story of the establishment by him of the short-lived Macedonian monarchy upon the ruins of the Persian Empire properly belongs to Grecian history, and will be related at a later stage of our narrative.





Authorities.
 H. Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*
 W. Sieglin, *Atlas Antiquus*

THE M-N, WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.



69. The Government. Before the reign of Darius I the Persian Empire consisted of a great number of subject states, which were allowed to retain their own kings and manage their own affairs, merely paying tribute and homage and furnishing war contingents to the Great King.

Darius converted this primitive type of government into what is known as the *satrapal*, a form represented until recently by the Turkish Empire. The main part of the lands embraced by the monarchy was divided into twenty or more provinces, over each of which was placed a governor, called a satrap, appointed by the king. These officials held their position at the pleasure of the sovereign. Each province contributed to the income of the king a stated revenue.

There were provisions in the system by which the king might be apprised of

the disloyalty of his satraps. Thus the whole dominion was firmly cemented together, and the facility with which almost-sovereign states—which was the real character of the different parts of the empire under the old system—could plan and execute revolt, was removed.

70. Religion and Morality; Zoroastrianism. The literature of the ancient Persians was mostly religious. Their sacred book is called the *Zend-Avesta*. The religious system of the Persians, as taught in the *Zend-Avesta*, is known as Zoroastrianism, from Zoroaster, its supposed founder. This great reformer and teacher is now generally believed to have lived and taught about 1000 B.C., though some scholars place him several centuries later.

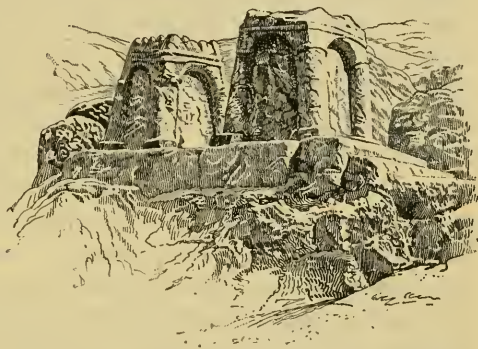


FIG. 26. ANCIENT PERSIAN FIRE-ALTARS
(From Perrot, *History of Persian Art*)

Zoroastrianism was a system of belief known as dualism. There was a good spirit, Ahura Mazda, whose truest symbol or manifestation was fire. Upon high mountain tops the eternal flame on fire-altars was kept burning from generation to generation. Because of their veneration for fire the ancient Persians are often called fire-worshippers.

Opposed to the good spirit Ahura, or Ormazd, was an evil spirit Ahriman, who was constantly striving to destroy the good creations of Ahura by creating all evil things—drought, pestilence, baneful animals, weeds and thorns in the world without, and evil in the heart of man within. From all eternity these two powers had been contending for the mastery; in the present neither had the decided advantage, but in the near future Ahura, it was believed, would triumph over Ahriman, and evil be forever destroyed.

The duty of man was to aid Ahura by working with him against the evil-loving Ahriman. He must labor to eradicate every evil and vice from his own heart, to reclaim the earth from barrenness, and to kill all noxious animals—snakes, lizards and such like creeping things—which Ahriman had created. Above all, man must be truthful, because Ahura, on whose side he battles, is the god of sincerity and truth. To lie was to be a follower of Ahriman, the god of deceit and lies. "The most disgraceful thing in the world," affirms Herodotus in his account of the Persians, "they think, is to tell a lie." In his report of the Persian system of education he says: "The boys are taught to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth." I was not wicked, nor a *liar*, is the substance and purport of many a record of the ancient kings. The Persian rulers, shaming in this all other nations ancient and modern, kept sacredly their pledged word; only once were they ever even charged with having broken a treaty with a foreign power.

References. MASPERO, G., *The Passing of the Empires*, chap. vi. RAWLINGS, G., *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. iii, pp. 84-539. SAYCE, A. H., *The Ancient Empires of the East*, chaps. iv, v. JACKSON, A. V. W., *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*. HALL, H. R. H., *Ancient History of the Near East*, chap. xii, pp. 551-579. BENJAMIN, S. G. W., *Persia*, chaps. vii-xi. See HERODOTUS, V, 52-54, for the Royal Road from Susa to Sardis, and HARPER, R. F., *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 174-187, for the Behistun Inscription of Darius.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EAST ASIAN PEOPLES

71. The East Asian Circle of Culture. While in Egypt and western Asia there were slowly developing the Egyptian, the Babylonian-Assyrian, the Syrian, and the Persian cultures of which we have given some account in the preceding chapters, there were developing at the other end of Asia, in India and China, civilizations which throughout this early period were in the main uninfluenced by the cultures of the West. Before following further the development of civilization in the Western lands, we must cast a glance upon these civilizations of the Far East.¹

I. INDIA

72. The Aryan Invasion. At the time of the great Indo-European dispersion some Aryan bands, journeying from the northwest, settled first the plains of the Indus and then occupied the valley of the Ganges. They reached the banks of the latter river as early probably as 1500 B.C. These fair-skinned invaders found the land occupied by a dark-skinned, non-Aryan race, whom they either subjugated and reduced to serfdom, or drove out of the great river valleys into the mountains and the half-desert plains of the peninsula.²

73. The Development of the System of Castes. The conflict and mingling of races in northern India caused the population to become divided into four social grades or hereditary classes,

¹ Besides the Hindus and the Chinese, the Japanese are a third important people belonging to the East Asian sphere of culture, but as they did not emerge from the obscurity of prehistoric times until about the beginning of the fifth century of our era, when writing was introduced into Japan from the continent, their true history falls outside the period covered by the present chapter.

² The unsubdued tribes of southern India, known as Dravidians, retained their native speech. Over 54,000,000 of the present population of India are non-Aryan in language.

based on color. These were (1) the nobles or warriors; (2) the Brahmans or priests;¹ (3) the peasants and traders; and (4) the Sudras. The last were of non-Aryan descent. Below these several grades were the Pariahs or outcasts, the lowest and most despised of the native races. The marked characteristics of this graded society were that intermarriage between the classes was forbidden, and that the members of different classes must not eat together nor come into personal contact.

The development of this system, which is known as the system of castes, is one of the most important facts in the history of India. The system, however, has undergone great modification in the lapse of ages, and is now less rigid than in earlier times. At the present day it rests largely on an industrial basis, the members of every trade and occupation forming a distinct caste. The number of castes is now about two thousand.

74. The Vedas; the Religion. The most important of the sacred books of the Hindus are called the *Vedas*. They are written in the Sanscrit language, which is the oldest form of Aryan speech preserved to us.

The early religion of the Indian Aryans was a worship of the powers of nature. As time passed, this nature worship developed into a form of religion known as Brahmanism. It is so named from Brahma, which is the Hindu name for the Supreme Being. Below Brahma there are many gods.

A chief doctrine of Brahmanism is that of rebirth. According to this teaching the good man is at death reborn into some higher caste or better state, while the evil man is reborn into a lower caste, or perhaps his soul enters some unclean animal, or is imprisoned in a shrub or tree. This doctrine of rebirth is known as the transmigration of souls.

75. Buddhism. In the fifth century before our era a great teacher and reformer named Gautama (about 557-477 B.C.), but better known as Buddha, that is, "the Enlightened," arose in India. He was born a prince, but legend represents him as being so touched by the universal misery of mankind that he voluntarily

¹ At a later period the Brahmans arrogated to themselves the highest rank.

abandoned the luxury of his home and spent his life in seeking out and making known to men a new and better way of salvation. His creed was very simple. What he taught the people was that they should seek salvation not through self-torture and the observance of religious rites and ceremonies but through honesty and purity of heart, through charity and tenderness and compassion toward all creatures that have life.

Buddhism gradually gained ascendancy over Brahmanism ; but after some centuries the Brahmans regained their power, and by the eighth century after Christ the faith of Buddha had died out or had been crowded out of almost every part of India.

But Buddhism, like Christianity, has a profound missionary spirit, and during the very period when India was being lost the missionaries of the reformed creed were spreading the teachings of their master among the peoples of all the countries of eastern Asia, so that today Buddhism is the religion of almost one third of the human race. Buddha has probably nearly as many followers as both Christ and Mohammed together.

II. CHINA

76. General Remarks. China was the cradle of a very old civilization, older perhaps than that of any other lands save Egypt and Babylonia ; yet China has not until recently exercised any direct influence upon the general current of history. All through the later ancient and mediæval times the country lay, vague and mysterious, in the haze of the world's horizon. During the Middle Ages the land was known to Europe under the name of Cathay.

The government of ancient China was a parental monarchy. The emperor was the father of his people. But though an absolute prince, he dared not rule tyrannically ; he must rule justly and in accordance with the ancient customs.

77. Chinese Writing. The art of writing was known among the Chinese as early as 2000 B.C. The system employed is curiously cumbrous. In the absence of an alphabet each word of the language is represented upon the written page by means of a

symbol, or combination of symbols; this, of course, requires that there be as many symbols or characters as there are words in the language. The number sanctioned by good use is about twenty-five thousand; but counting obsolete signs, the number amounts to over fifty thousand. A knowledge of five or six thousand characters, however, enables one to read and write without difficulty. The nature of the signs shows conclusively that the Chinese system of writing, like that of all others with which we are acquainted, was at first pure picture writing. Time and use have worn the pictorial symbols to their present form.

Printing from blocks was practiced in China as early as the sixth century of our era, and printing from movable types as early as the tenth or eleventh century,—that is to say, about four hundred years before the same art was invented in Europe.

78. The Teacher Confucius. The great teacher of the Chinese was Confucius (551-478 B.C.). He was not a prophet or revealer; he laid no claims to a supernatural knowledge of God or of the hereafter; he said nothing of an Infinite Spirit, and but little of a future life. His cardinal precepts were obedience to parents and superiors and reverence for the ancients and imitation of their virtues. He gave the Chinese the Golden Rule, stated negatively: "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." The influence of Confucius has been greater than that of any other teacher excepting Christ and perhaps Buddha.

79. Chinese Literature. The most highly prized portion of Chinese literature is embraced in what is known as the Five Classics and the Four Books, called collectively the Nine Classics. A considerable part of the material of the Five Classics was collected and edited by Confucius. The Four Books, though not written by Confucius, yet bear the impress of his mind and thought, just as the Gospels teach the mind of Christ. The cardinal virtue inculcated by all the sacred writings is filial piety. The second great moral requirement is conformity to ancient custom.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence which the Nine Classics have had upon the Chinese nation. For more than two thousand years these writings have been the Chinese Bible. But

their influence has not been wholly good. The Chinese in strictly obeying the injunction to walk in the old ways, to conform to the customs of the ancients, have failed to mark out new footpaths for themselves; hence, probably, one cause of the unprogressive character of Chinese civilization.

80. Education and Civil-Service Competitive Examinations. China has a very ancient educational system. The land was filled with schools, academies, and colleges more than a thousand years before our era. Until recently a knowledge of the sacred books was the sole passport to civil office and public employment. All candidates for places in the government had to pass a series of competitive examinations in the Nine Classics. At the opening of the present century there were between two and three million persons studying for these literary tests.¹

81. The Chinese outside the Western Circle of Ancient Culture. Though constituting so important a factor in the East Asian circle of culture, the Chinese during ancient times, as we have already intimated, did not contribute any historically important elements to the civilization of the West Asian and Mediterranean lands. What contributions this great people will make to the general civilization of the future, the future alone will disclose.

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¹ In the year 1905 the Dowager Empress by edict ordered that in future examinations the sciences of the West should be substituted for the ancient classics.

² The Great Wall is one of the most remarkable works of man. This immense rampart, which was built as a barrier against the incursions of nomads, extends for about 1500 miles along the northern frontier of the country. Its construction was begun in the third century B.C.

DIVISION II. GREECE

CHAPTER IX

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

82. Hellas. The ancient people whom we call Greeks called themselves Hellenes and their land Hellas. But this term *Hellas* as used by the ancient Greeks embraced much more than modern Greece. "Wherever were Hellenes there was Hellas." Thus the name included not only Greece proper and the islands of the adjoining seas but also the Hellenic cities in Asia Minor, in southern Italy, and in Sicily, besides many other Greek settlements scattered up and down the Mediterranean and along the shores of the Hellespont and the Euxine. Yet Greece proper was the real homeland of the Hellenes and the actual center of Greek life and culture.

83. Divisions of Greece. Long arms of the sea divide the Greek peninsula into three parts, called Northern, Central, and Southern Greece. The southern portion, joined to the mainland by the Isthmus of Corinth, was called by the ancients the Peloponnesus, that is, the Island of Pelops, from the fabled founder there of a mythic line of kings.

Northern Greece included the ancient districts of Thessaly and Epirus. Thessaly consists mainly of a large and beautiful valley, walled in on all sides by rugged mountains. The district of Epirus stretched along the Ionian Sea on the west. In the deep recesses of its forests of oak was situated a renowned oracle of Zeus.

Central Greece was divided into eleven districts, among which were Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. In Phocis was the city of Delphi, famous for its oracle and temple; in Bœotia the city of Thebes; and in Attica was the brilliant Athens. The Attic land, as we shall learn, was the central point of Greek history.

The chief districts of Southern Greece were Corinthia, Arcadia, Argolis, Laconia, and Elis.

The main part of Corinthia formed the isthmus uniting the Peloponnesus to Central Greece. Its chief city was Corinth, the gateway of the peninsula.

Arcadia, sometimes called "the Switzerland of the Peloponnesus," formed the heart of the peninsula. This region consists

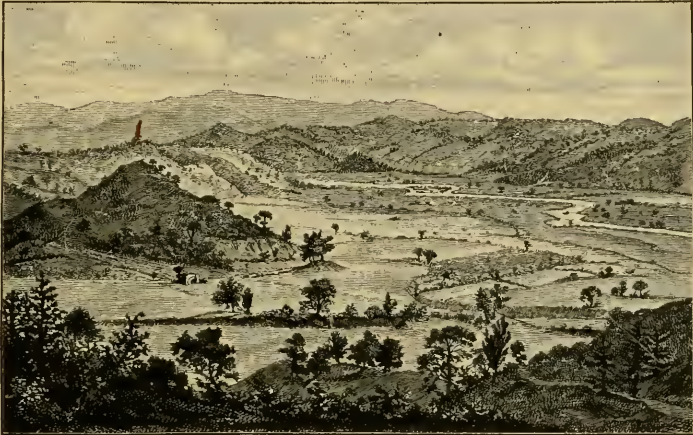


FIG. 27. THE PLAIN OF OLYMPIA. (From Boetticher, *Olympia*)

The valley of the Alpheus in Elis, where were held the celebrated Olympic games

of broken uplands shut in by irregular mountain walls. The inhabitants of this district, because thus isolated, were, in the general intellectual movement of the Greek race, left far behind the dwellers in the more open and favored portions of Greece. It is the rustic, simple life of the Arcadians that has given the term *Arcadian* its meaning of pastoral simplicity.

Argolis formed a tongue of land jutting out into the Ægean. This region is noted as the home of an early prehistoric culture, and holds today the remains of cities—Mycenæ and Tiryns—the kings of which built great palaces, possessed vast treasures in gold and silver, and held wide sway centuries before Athens had made for herself a name and place in history.

Laconia, or Lacedæmon, embraced the southeastern part of the Peloponnesus. This district was ruled by the city of Sparta, the great rival of Athens.

Elis, a district on the western side of the Peloponnesus, is chiefly noted as the consecrated land which held Olympia, the great assembling place of the Greeks for the celebration of the most famous of their festivals,—the so-called Olympian games.

84. Mountains. The Cambunian Mountains form a lofty wall along a considerable reach of the northern frontier of Greece. Branching off at right angles to these mountains is the Pindus range, which runs south into Central Greece.

On the northern border of Thessaly is Mount Olympus, the most celebrated mountain of the peninsula. The Greeks thought it the highest mountain in the world (its height is about 9700 feet), and believed that its cloudy summit was the abode of the gods.

South of Olympus, close by the sea, are Ossa and Pelion, celebrated in fable as the mountains which the giants, in their war against the gods, piled one upon another in order to scale the heavens.

Parnassus and Helicon, in Central Greece,—beautiful mountains clad with trees and vines and filled with fountains,—were believed to be haunts of the Muses. Near Athens are Hymettus, praised for its honey, and Pentelicus, renowned for its marbles.

The Peloponnesus is rugged with mountains that radiate in all directions from the central country of Arcadia.

85. The Rivers and Lakes of the Land. Greece has no rivers large enough to be of service to commerce. Most of the streams are scarcely more than winter torrents. Among the most important streams are the Alpheus in Elis, on the banks of which the Olympian games were celebrated, and the Eurotas, which threads the central valley of Laconia. The lakes of Greece are in the main scarcely more than stagnant pools, the backwater of spring freshets.

86. Islands about Greece. Very much of the history of Greece is intertwined with the islands that lie about the mainland. On



the east, in the Ægean Sea, are the Cyclades, so called because they form an irregular circle round the sacred island of Delos, where was a very celebrated shrine of Apollo. Between the Cyclades and Asia Minor lie the Sporades, which islands, as the name implies, are sown irregularly over that part of the Ægean.

Just off the coast of Attica is a large island called by the ancients Eubœa. Close to the Asian shores are the large islands of Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. In the Mediterranean, midway between Greece and Egypt, is the large island of Crete, noted in legend for its Labyrinth and its legislator Minos. To the west of Greece lie the Ionian Islands, the largest of which was called Corcyra, now Corfu.

87. Influence of the Land upon the People. The physical geography of a country has much to do with molding the character and shaping the history of its people. Mountains, isolating neighboring communities, foster the spirit of local patriotism; the sea, inviting abroad and rendering intercourse with distant countries easy, awakens the spirit of adventure and develops commercial enterprise.

Now Greece is at once a mountainous and a maritime country. Mountain walls fence it off into a great number of isolated districts, and this is probably one reason why the Greeks formed so many small independent states, and never could be brought to feel or to act as a single nation.¹

The Greek peninsula is, moreover, by deep arms and bays of the sea, converted into what is in effect an archipelago. Hence its people were early tempted to a seafaring life,—tempted to follow what Homer calls the “wet paths” of Ocean, to see whither they might lead. Intercourse with the old civilizations of the Orient, which Greece faces, stirred the naturally quick and versatile Greek intellect to early and vigorous thought. The islands strewn with seeming carelessness through the Ægean Sea were “stepping-stones,” which invited intercourse between the settlers

¹ But we must be careful not to exaggerate the influence of geography upon Greek history. For the root of feelings and sentiments which were far more potent than geographical conditions in keeping the Greek cities apart, see sect. 98.

of Greece and the inhabitants of the delightful coast countries of Asia Minor, and thus blended the life and history of the opposite shores.

How much the sea did in developing enterprise and intelligence in the cities of the maritime districts of Greece is shown by the contrast which the advancing culture of these regions presented to the lagging civilization of the peoples of the interior districts; as, for instance, those of Arcadia.

88. The Hellenes. The historic inhabitants of the land we have described were called by the Romans Greeks; but, as we have already learned, they called themselves Hellenes, from their fabled ancestor Hellen. They were divided into four tribes,—the Achæans, the Ionians, the Dorians, and the Æolians. These several tribes, united by bonds of language and religion, always regarded themselves as members of a single family. All non-Hellenic peoples they called *Barbarians*.¹ When the mists of prehistoric times first rise from Greece, about the beginning of the eighth century B.C., we discover the several Hellenic families in possession of Greece proper, of the islands of the Ægean, and of the western coast of Asia Minor. Respecting their prehistoric migrations and settlements we have little or no certain knowledge. In the next chapter we shall see how they pictured to themselves the past of the Ægean lands.

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¹ At first this term meant scarcely more than “unintelligible folk”; but later it came to express aversion and contempt.

² We cite the standard extended histories of Greece and of Rome by giving merely the author's name with volume and chapter or page.

CHAPTER X

GREEK LEGENDS; THE ÆGEAN CIVILIZATION¹

89. **Character and Value of the Legends.** The Greeks of historic times possessed a great store of wonderful legends and tales of the foretime in Greece. Though many of these stories were doubtless in large part a pure creation of the Greek imagination, still for two reasons the historical student must make himself familiar with them. First, because the historic Greeks believed them to be true, and hence were greatly influenced by them. What has been said of the war against Troy, namely, "If not itself a fact, the Trojan War became the cause of innumerable facts," is true of the whole body of Greek legends. These tales were recited by the historian, dramatized by the tragic poet, cut in marble by the sculptor, and depicted by the painter on the walls of portico and temple. They thus constituted a very vital part of the education of every Greek.

Second, a knowledge of these legends is of value to the student of Greek history because recent discoveries in the Ægean lands prove that at least some of them contain elements of truth, that they are memories, though confused memories, of actual events.

Therefore, as a prelude to the story we have to tell we shall in the present chapter repeat some of these tales, selecting chiefly those that contain references to a wonderful civilization which is represented as having existed in the Ægean lands in prehistoric times, but which long before authentic Greek history opens had vanished, leaving behind barely more than a dim memory.

¹ The prehistoric period in Greece was formerly called the *Mycenaean Age*, for the reason that Mycenæ, in Argolis, was believed to have been the center of the brilliant Bronze Age culture which characterized the second millennium B. C. in the Ægean lands. Discoveries in Crete, however, show that island to have been the radiating point of this civilization, and the Ægean islands and coast lands its chief arena, hence the name *Ægean Civilization* by which it is now generally designated. The creators and bearers of this civilization were a non-Greek race.

90. Oriental Immigrants. The legends of the Greeks represent the early growth of civilization among them, as having been promoted by the settlement in Greece of oriental immigrants, who brought with them the arts and culture of the East. Thus from Egypt, legend affirms, came Cecrops, bringing with him the arts, learning, and priestly wisdom of the Nile valley. He is represented as the builder of Cecropia, which became afterwards the citadel of the illustrious city of Athens. From Phœnicia Cadmus brought the letters of the alphabet, and founded the city of Thebes.

The nucleus of fact in these legends is probably this,—that the European Greeks received certain of the elements of their culture from the East. Without doubt they got from thence letters, a gift of incomparable value, and hints in art, besides suggestions and facts in philosophy and science.

91. The Heroes; Heracles. The Greeks believed that their ancestors were a race of heroes of divine or semi-divine lineage. Every tribe, district, city, and village even, preserved traditions of its heroes, whose wonderful exploits were commemorated in song and story.

Heracles was the greatest of the national heroes of the Greeks. He is represented as performing twelve superhuman labors, and as being at last translated from a blazing pyre to a place among the immortal gods. Heracles was originally a sun-god. Transferred from the heavens to the earth he became the personification or embodiment of the moral qualities of heroism, endurance, and self-sacrifice in the service of others.

92. Minos the Lawgiver and Sea-King of Crete. Many of the Greek legends cluster about the island of Crete. These have much to do with a great ruler named Minos, who is represented as a lawgiver of divine wisdom, the founder of the first great maritime state in the Ægean, and the suppressor of piracy in those waters.

This legend preserves the memory of a Cretan kingdom which was great and powerful in the early part of the second millennium B.C. The center of this early Ægean culture, which in some respects was not inferior to the contemporary civilizations of

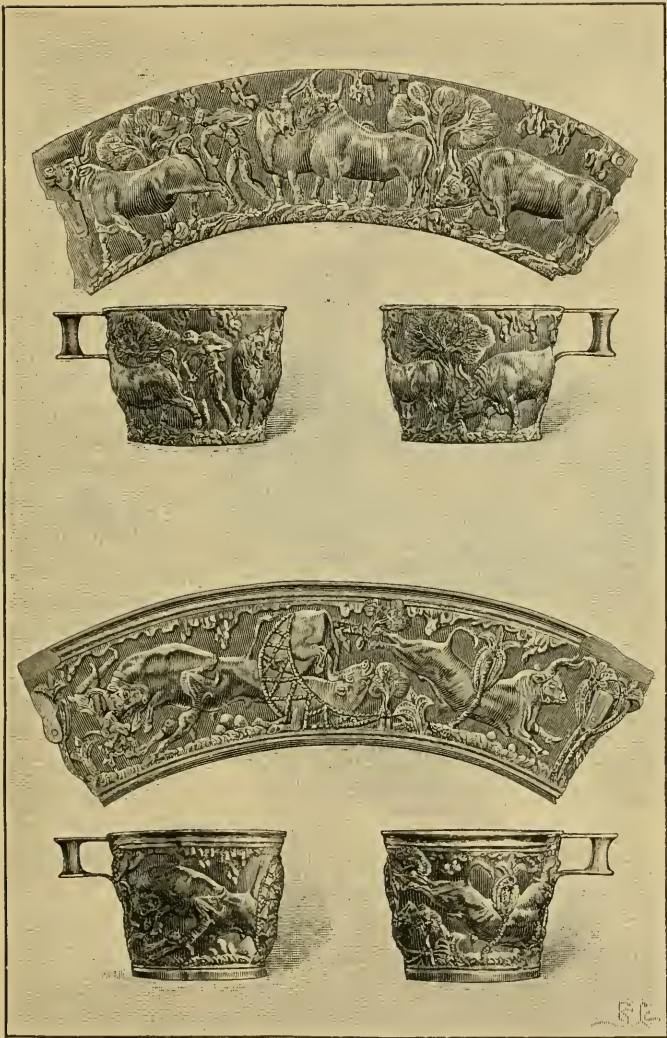


FIG. 28. THE VAPHIO CUPS AND THEIR SCROLLS

These famous cups, masterpieces of the art of the prehistoric Aegean civilization, were found in a tomb at Vaphio, in Laconia, in 1889. They were doubtless of Cretan origin and represent a brilliant culture that centuries before the opening of classical Greek history had vanished, leaving behind only a vague memory in tradition

Egypt and Babylonia, was Cnossus. Here have been unearthed the remains of a great, many-chambered palace and other memorials of a wonderful civilization which was in its bloom a thousand years and more before the beginnings of recorded Greek history.

93. The Argonautic Expedition. Besides the labors and exploits of single heroes, Greek legends tell of various memorable and arduous enterprises which were conducted by bands of heroes. Among these undertakings were the Argonautic Expedition and the Siege of Troy.

The tale of the Argonauts is told with many a variation in the legends of the Greeks. Jason, a prince of Thessaly, with fifty companion heroes, among whom were Heracles, Theseus, and Orpheus,—

the last a musician of superhuman skill, the music of whose lyre moved trees and stones,—set sail in "a fifty-oared galley" called the *Argo* (hence the name *Argonauts*, given to the heroes), in search of a "golden fleece" which was fabled to be nailed to a tree and watched by a dragon in a grove on the eastern shore of the Euxine—an inhospitable region of unknown terrors. The expedition was successful, and after many wonderful adventures the heroes returned in triumph with the sacred relic.

In its primitive form this tale was doubtless an oriental nature myth; but in the shape given it by the Greek story-tellers it may, divested of its many poetical embellishments, be taken as

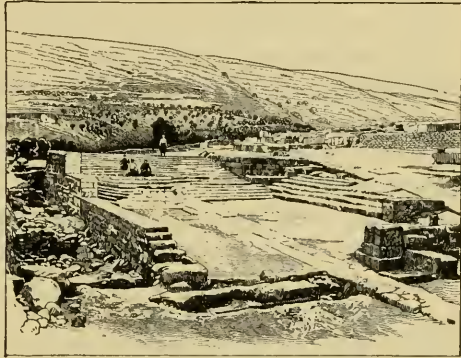


FIG. 29. THEATER AND "DANCING-PLACE" (?)
EXCAVATED AT CNOSSUS BY DR. EVANS

Also did the glorious lame god devise a dancing-place like unto that which once in wide Knosos Daidalos wrought for Ariadne of the lovely tresses.—*Iliad* (tr. Lang and others), xviii, 590-592

symbolizing the explorations and adventures of the prehistoric Greeks or their predecessors in the North Ægean and the Euxine.

94. The Trojan War (legendary date, 1194–1184 B.C.). The Trojan War was an event about which gathered a great circle of tales and poems, all full of an undying interest and fascination.

Ilios, or Troy, was a strong-walled city which had grown up in Asia Minor just south of the Hellespont. The traditions tell how Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, visited the Spartan king Menelaus, and ungenerously requited his hospitality by secretly bearing away to Troy his wife Helen, famous for her rare beauty.

All the heroes of Greece flew to arms to avenge the wrong. A host of a hundred thousand warriors was speedily gathered. Agamemnon, brother of Menelaus and king of Mycenæ, "wide-ways and rich in gold," was chosen leader of the expedition. Under him were the "lion-hearted Achilles" of Thessaly, the "crafty Odysseus," king of Ithaca, the aged Nestor, and many more—the most valiant heroes of all Hellas. Twelve hundred galleys bore the gathered clans across the Ægean, from Aulis to the Trojan shores. For ten years the Greeks and their allies held in close siege the city of Priam. The place was at last taken through a device of the artful Odysseus, and was sacked and burned to the ground.

There is probably a nucleus of fact in this, the most elaborate and interesting of the Grecian legends. We may believe it to be the dim recollection of a prehistoric conflict between the Greeks and the natives of Asia Minor, arising from the attempt of the former to secure a foothold upon the coast. That there really was in prehistoric times in the Troad a city which was the stronghold of a rich and powerful royal race has been placed beyond doubt by the excavations and discoveries of Dr. Schliemann and others.¹

¹ We may reasonably believe that the basis of the power and riches of these rulers was the control which their strategic position at the entrance of the water passage to the Propontis and the Euxine gave them over the trade of those regions. Troy in prehistoric times seems to have held the same relation to this northern trade that Byzantium, located at the northern entrance to the Bosphorus, held throughout the classical Greek period, and which Constantinople holds today.

95. **The Home-coming of the Greek Chieftains.** After the fall of Troy the Greek chieftains and princes returned home. The legends represent the gods as withdrawing their protection from the hitherto favored heroes, because they had not spared the altars of the Trojans. Consequently many of them were driven in endless wanderings over sea and land. Homer's *Odyssey* portrays the sufferings of the "much-enduring Odysseus," impelled by divine wrath to long journeyings through strange seas.

In some cases, according to the tradition, advantage had been taken of the absence of the princes, and their thrones had been usurped. Thus in Argolis, Ægisthus had won the unholy love of Clytemnestra, wife and queen of Agamemnon, who on his return was murdered by the guilty couple. A tradition current among the Greeks of later times pointed out Mycenæ as the place where the unfortunate king and those slain with him were buried.¹

References. GAYLEY, C. M., *The Classical Myths in the English Literature and in Art* (rev. ed., 1911), chaps. xiv-xxiv (gives the tales of the older and the younger Greek heroes, including the legends of the Argonauts (pp. 229-233), the Seven against Thebes (pp. 265-268), and the Trojan War (pp. 277-306)). For an admirable summary of the works of Dr. H. Schliemann (*Troy and its Remains*, 1875, *Mycenæ*, 1878, etc.) see SCHUCHHARDT, C., *Schliemann's Excavations*. GARDNER, P., *New Chapters in Greek History*, chaps. i-v. The following works summarize and interpret the new discoveries in Crete: HALL, H. R. H., *Ægean Archaeology*; MOSSO, A., *The Palaces of Crete*; BAIKIE, J., *The Sea-kings of Crete*; and FOWLER, H. N. and WHEELER, J. R., *Greek Archaeology*, chap. i.

¹ In 1876 Dr. Schliemann began excavations at Mycenæ. The most interesting of his discoveries here were several tombs holding the remains of nineteen bodies, which were surrounded by an immense number of articles of gold, silver, and bronze,—golden masks and breastplates, drinking cups of solid gold, bronze swords inlaid with gold and silver, and personal ornaments of every kind. There were



FIG. 30. INLAID SWORD BLADE FOUND AT MYCENÆ

one hundred pounds in weight of gold articles alone. This discovery assures us that the ancient legends, in so far as they represent Mycenæ as having been in early pre-Dorian times the seat of an influential and wealthy royal race, rest on a basis of actual fact.

CHAPTER XI

THE HERITAGE OF THE HISTORIC GREEKS

96. A Rich and Mixed Heritage. The Greeks when they appeared in history, in the eighth century B.C., were the bearers of an already advanced culture. They possessed well-developed political and religious institutions, a wonderfully copious language, a rich and varied mythology, an unrivaled epic literature, and an art which, though immature, was yet full of promise.

This was indeed a rich heritage. It was in part a bequest from their own foretime, and in part a legacy from that earlier Ægean civilization mentioned in the preceding chapter. There were mingled in it also elements derived directly from oriental cultures. But all these non-Greek racial and cultural contributions had before historic times received the deep impress of the Hellenic spirit. This will become evident as we now proceed to examine somewhat in detail this heritage of the historic Hellenes, and note how different a product it is from anything we have found before.

97. The City-State. The light that falls upon Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. shows most of Greece proper, the shore-lands of Asia Minor, and many of the Ægean islands filled with cities. Respecting the nature of these cities we must say a word, for it is with them—with cities—that Greek history has to do.

In the first place, each of these cities was an independent community, like a modern nation. It was a city-state. It made war and peace and held diplomatic relations with its neighbors. Its citizens were aliens in every other city.

In the second place, these city-states were, as we think of independent states, very small. So far as we know, no city in Greece proper, save Athens, ever had over twenty thousand arm-bearing

citizens. In most cases each consisted of nothing more than a single walled town with a little encircling zone of farming and pasture land. Sometimes, however, the city-state embraced, besides the central town, a large number of smaller places. Thus the city-state of Athens, in historic times, included all Attica with its hundred or more villages and settlements. In most other cases, however, the outlying villages, if any, were so close to the walled town that all their inhabitants, in the event of a sudden raid by enemies, could get to the city gates in one or two hours at most.

In the third place, each of these early cities was made up of groups—clans, phratries or brotherhoods (groups of closely united families), and tribes—which were a survival from the tribal age of the Greeks, the age before they began to live in cities. It was at first only members of these groups who enjoyed the rights of citizenship.

98. Feeling of the Greek for his City. We cannot understand Greek history unless we get at the outset a clear idea of the feelings of a Greek toward the city of which he was a member. It was his country, the fatherland for which he lived and for which he died. Exile from his native city was to him a fate scarcely less dreaded than death. This devotion of the Greek to his city was the sentiment which corresponds to patriotism amongst us, only, being a narrower as well as a religious feeling, it was much more intense.

It was mainly this strong city feeling among the Greeks which prevented them from ever uniting to form a single nation. The history of Greece is the history of modern Europe in miniature. It is, in general, the history of a great number of independent cities wearing one another out with their never-ending disputes and wars arising from a thousand and one petty causes of rivalry and hatred. But it was this very thing that made life in the Greek cities so stimulating and strenuous, and that developed so wonderfully the faculties of the Greek citizen. In a word, the wonderful thing which we call Greek civilization was the flower and fruitage of the city-state.

99. Ideas of the Greeks respecting the System of the Universe. Forming another important element of the inheritance of the historic Greeks were their religious ideas and institutions. In speaking of these we shall begin with a word respecting their ideas in regard to the system of the universe.

The Greeks supposed the earth to be, as it appears, a plane, circular in form like a shield. Around it ebbed and flowed the



THE WORLD ACCORDING TO HOMER

“mighty strength of the ocean river,” a stream broad and deep, beyond which on all sides lay realms of darkness and terror. The heavens were a solid vault or dome, whose edge shut down close upon the earth. Beneath the earth, reached by subterranean passages, was Hades, a vast region, the realm of departed souls.

Still beneath this was the prison Tartarus, a pit deep and dark, made fast by strong gates of brass and iron.

The sun was an archer god, borne in a fiery chariot up and down the steep pathway of the skies. In the western region were the Elysian Fields, the abodes of the shades of heroes and poets.

100. The Olympian Council. At the head of the Greek deities there was a council of twelve members, comprising six gods and six goddesses. Chief among these male deities were Zeus, the father of gods and men; Poseidon, ruler of the sea; and Apollo, or Phæbus, the god of light, of music, and of prophecy.

Among the female divinities were Hera, the proud and jealous queen of Zeus; Athena, or Pallas,—who sprang full-grown from the forehead of Zeus,—the goddess of wisdom and the patroness of the domestic arts; and Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty.¹

These great deities were simply magnified human beings. They surpassed mortals rather in power than in size of body. Their abode was Mount Olympus and the airy regions above the earth.

101. The Delphian Oracle. The most precious part perhaps of the religious heritage of the historic Greeks from the misty Hellenic foretime was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. The Greeks believed that in the early ages the gods were wont to visit the earth and mingle with men. But even in Homer's time this familiar intercourse was a thing of the past,—a tradition of a golden age that had passed away. In historic times, though the gods often revealed their will and intentions through signs and portents, still they granted a more special communication of counsel through what were known as *oracles*. The favored spots where these communications were made were called *oracles*, as were also the responses there received.

The most renowned of the Greek oracles was that at Delphi, in Phocis. Here, from a deep fissure in the rocks, arose vapors, which were thought to be the inspiring breath of Apollo. Over this spot was erected a temple in honor of the Revealer. The communication was generally received by the Pythia, or priestess, seated upon a tripod placed above the orifice. As she became overpowered by the vapors, she uttered the message of the god. These mutterings of the Pythia were taken down by attendant priests, interpreted, and written in verse. Some of the responses of the oracle contained plain and wholesome advice; but very many of

¹ Besides the great gods and goddesses that constituted the Olympian Council, there was an almost infinite number of other deities, celestial personages, and monsters neither human nor divine. Hades ruled over the lower realms; Dionysus was the god of wine; the goddess Nemesis was the punisher of crime, and particularly the queller of the proud and arrogant; Æolus was the ruler of the winds, which he confined in a cave secured by mighty gates. There were nine Muses, inspirers of art and song. Three Fates allotted life and death, and three Furies (Eumenides, or Erinyes) avenged crime, especially murder and sacrilegious crimes. Besides these there were the Centaurs, the Cyclopes, the Harpies, the Gorgons, and a thousand others.

them, particularly those that implied a knowledge of the future, were made obscure and ingeniously ambiguous, so that they might correspond with the event however affairs should turn. Thus Cræsus at the time he made war on Cyrus (sect. 66) was told in response to his inquiry that if he undertook the war he would destroy a great empire. He did, indeed,—but the empire was his own.

The oracle of Delphi gained a celebrity wide as the world. It was often consulted by the monarchs of Asia and the people of Rome in times of extreme danger and perplexity. Among the Greeks scarcely any undertaking was entered upon without the will and sanction of the oracle being first sought.

102. The Olympian Games. Another of the most characteristic of the religious institutions of the Greeks which they inherited

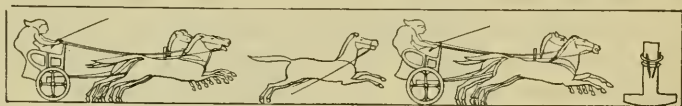


FIG. 31. RACING WITH FOUR-HORSE CHARIOTS. (From a vase painting of the fifth century B.C.)

from prehistoric times was the sacred games celebrated at Olympia in Elis, in honor of the Olympian Zeus. The origin of this festival is lost in the obscurity of tradition; but by the opening of the eighth century B.C. it had assumed national importance. The games were held every fourth year, and the interval between two successive festivals was known as an Olympiad.

The contests consisted of foot races, boxing, wrestling, and other athletic games. Later, chariot racing was introduced, and became the most popular of all the contests. The competitors must be of Hellenic race; must have undergone special training in the gymnasium; and must, moreover, be unblemished by any crime against the state or sin against the gods. Spectators from all parts of the world crowded to the festival.

The victor was crowned with a garland of sacred olive; heralds proclaimed his name abroad; his native city received him as a conqueror, sometimes through a breach made in the city walls;

his statues, executed by eminent artists, were erected at Olympia and in his own city; and poets and orators vied with the artist in perpetuating his name and triumphs as the name and triumphs of one who had reflected immortal honor upon his native state.

Besides the Olympian games there were transmitted from pre-historic times the germs at least of three other national festivals. These were the Pythian, held in honor of Apollo, near his shrine and oracle at Delphi; the Nemean, celebrated in honor of Zeus, at Nemea, in Argolis; and the Isthmian, observed in honor of Poseidon, on the Isthmus of Corinth.

103. Influence of the Grecian Games. For more than a thousand years all these national festivals, particularly those celebrated at Olympia, exerted an

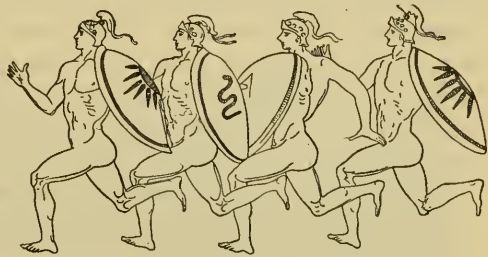


FIG. 32. GREEK RUNNERS

immense influence upon the social, religious, and literary life of Hellas. They enkindled among the widely scattered Hellenic states and colonies a common literary taste and enthusiasm; for into all the four great festivals, save the Olympian, were introduced, sooner or later, contests in poetry, oratory, and history. During the festivals poets and historians read their choicest productions, and artists exhibited their masterpieces. The extraordinary honors accorded to the victors stimulated the contestants to the utmost, and strung to the highest tension every power of body and mind.

Particularly were the games promotive of sculpture, since they afforded the sculptor living models for his art. "Without the Olympic games," says Holm, "we should never have had Greek sculpture." Moreover, they promoted intercourse and trade; for the festivals naturally became great centers of traffic and exchange

during the progress of the games. They softened, too, the manners of the people, turning their thoughts from martial exploits and giving the states respite from war; for during the season in which the religious games were held it was sacrilegious to engage in military expeditions. They tended also to keep alive common Hellenic feelings and sentiments. In all these ways, though they never drew the states into a common political union, they impressed a common character upon their social, intellectual, and religious life.¹

104. The Greek Language. One of the most wonderful things which the Greeks brought out of their dim foretime was their language. At the beginning of the historic period it was already one of the richest and most refined languages ever spoken by human lips. Through what number of centuries it was taking form upon the lips of the forefathers of the historic Greeks, we can only vaguely imagine. It bears testimony to a long period of true Hellenic life lying behind the historic age in Hellas.

105. The Homeric Poems. The rich and flexible language of the Greeks had already in prehistoric times been wrought into epic poems of incomparable beauty and perfection. These epics, transmitted from the Greek foretime and known as the "Homeric poems," consist of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Neither their exact date nor their authorship is known (sect. 108). That they were the prized possession of the Greeks at the beginning of the historic period is all that it is important for us to note here. They were a sort of Bible to the Greeks, and exercised an incalculable influence not only upon the religious but also upon the literary life of the entire Hellenic world.

References. CURTIUS, E., vol. ii, p. I-III. GROTE, G. (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 164-194; vol. iii, pp. 276-297. HOLM, A., vol. i, chaps. i, xi, xix. BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, pp. 65-73. FOWLER, W. W., *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chaps. i-iii. DIEHL, C., *Excursions in Greece*, chap. vii (on the Grecian games). SEYMOUR, T. D., *Life in the Homeric Age*. GARDINER, E. N., *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, chap. ix (on the Olympic games).

¹ The Olympian games, after having been suspended since the fourth century of our era, were revived, with an international character, in 1896, at Athens.

CHAPTER XII

THE GROWTH OF SPARTA

106. **Situation of Sparta.** Probable tradition tells of a pre-historic invasion of the Peloponnesus by Dorian tribes and the subjugation by them of the earlier population¹ of the peninsula. Sparta was one of the cities of the Peloponnesus which owed their

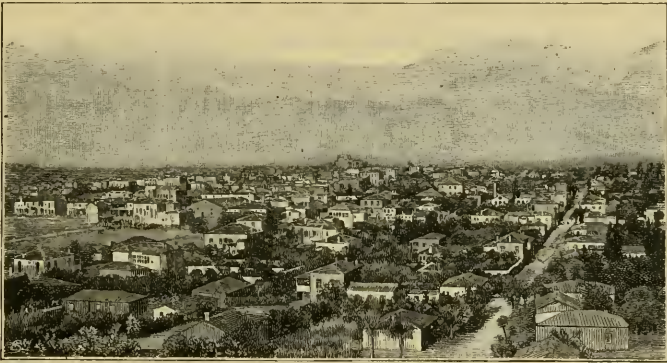


FIG. 33. SPARTA, WITH THE RANGES OF THE TAYGETUS

origin or importance to this conquest. It was situated in the deep valley of the Eurotas, in Laconia, and took its name *Sparta* ("sown land") from the circumstance that it was built upon tillable ground, whereas the heart and center of most Greek cities consisted of a lofty rock (the citadel or acropolis). But Sparta needed no citadel. Her situation, surrounded as she was by almost impassable mountain barriers, and far removed from the sea, was her sufficient defense. Indeed, the Spartans seem to have thought it unnecessary even to erect a wall round their city, which stood open on every side until late and degenerate times.

¹ Probably already Hellenized.

107. Classes in the Spartan State. The population of Laconia was divided into three classes,—Spartans, Perioeci, and Helots. The Spartans proper were the descendants of the conquerors of the country, and were of course Dorian in race and language. They composed but a small fraction of the entire population.

The Perioeci ("dwellers around") were the subjugated natives. They are said to have outnumbered the Spartans three to one. They were allowed to retain possession of their lands, but were forced to pay tribute-rent, and in times of war to follow the lead of their Spartan masters.

The third and lowest class was composed of serfs, called Helots. They were the property of the state, and not of the individual Spartan lords, among whom they were distributed by lot. It is affirmed that when they grew too numerous for the safety of the state, their numbers were thinned by a deliberate massacre of the surplus population.

108. The Spartan Constitution. Of the history of Sparta before the eighth century B.C. we have no certain knowledge. According to tradition, peace, prosperity, and rapid growth were secured through the adoption of a most remarkable political constitution framed by a great lawgiver named Lycurgus. This constitution provided for two joint kings, a Senate, a General Assembly, and a sort of executive board composed of five persons called Ephors. The double sovereignty worked admirably, one king being a check upon the other; for five centuries there was no successful attempt on the part of a Spartan king to subvert the constitution.

The Senate consisted of twenty-eight elders and the two kings. No one could become a senator until he had reached the age of sixty. The General Assembly was composed of all the citizens of Sparta over thirty years of age. By this body laws were made and questions of peace and war decided. In striking contrast to the custom at Athens, all matters were decided without general debate, only the magistrates and persons specially invited being allowed to address the assemblage. The Spartans were fighters, not talkers; they hated windy discussion.

109. The Public Tables. In order to correct the extravagance with which the tables of the rich were often spread, Lycurgus is said to have ordered that all the citizens should eat at public and common tables. This was their custom, but Lycurgus could have had nothing to do with instituting it. It was part of their military life.

A luxury-loving Athenian once visited Sparta, and, seeing the coarse fare of the citizens, is reported to have declared that now he understood the Spartan disregard of life in battle. "Any one," said he, "must naturally prefer death to life on such fare as this."

110. Education of the Youth. Children at Sparta were regarded as belonging to the state. Every male infant was brought before a Council of Elders, and if it did not seem likely to become a robust and useful citizen, was exposed in a mountain glen. At seven the education and training of the youth were committed to the charge of public officers, called boy trainers. The aim of the entire course was to make a nation of soldiers who should contemn toil and danger and prefer death to military dishonor.

The mind was cultivated only as far as might contribute to the main object of the system. Reading and writing were not taught, and the art of rhetoric was despised. Only martial poems were recited. The Spartans had a profound contempt for the subtleties and literary acquirements of the Athenians. Spartan brevity was a proverb, whence our word *laconic* (from *Laconia*), meaning a concise and pithy mode of expression.

But while the mind was neglected, the body was carefully trained. In running, leaping, wrestling, and hurling the spear the Spartans acquired the most surprising nimbleness and dexterity. At the Olympian games Spartan contestants more frequently than any others bore off the prizes of victory.

But before all things else was the Spartan youth taught to bear pain unflinchingly. At times he was scourged just for the purpose of accustoming his body to pain. Frequently, it is said, boys died under the lash without revealing their suffering by look or moan.

That the laws and regulations of the Spartan constitution were admirably adapted to the end in view,—the rearing of a nation of agile and sturdy warriors,—the long military supremacy of Sparta among the states of Greece abundantly attests.

111. The Spartan Conquest of Messenia. The most important event in Spartan history between the age of Lycurgus and the commencement of the Persian Wars was the long contest with Messenia, known as the First and Second Messenian Wars (about 743–723 and 645–631 B.C.). The outcome of the protracted struggle was the defeat of the Messenians and their reduction to the hard and bitter condition of the Helots of Laconia. Many of the nobles fled the country and found hospitality as exiles in other lands. Some of the fugitives conquered for themselves a place in Sicily and gave name and importance to the still existing city of Messana (Messina), on the Sicilian straits.

Thus Sparta secured possession of Messenia. From the end of the Second Messenian War on to the decline of the Spartan power in the fourth century B.C., the Messenians were the serfs of the Spartans. All the southern part of the Peloponnesus was now Spartan territory.

112. Sparta becomes Supreme in the Peloponnesus. After Sparta had secured possession of Messenia, her influence and power advanced steadily until her leadership was acknowledged by most of the states of the Peloponnesus. She now, as head of a Peloponnesian league, began to be looked to even by the Greek cities beyond the peninsula as the natural leader and champion of the Greeks.

Having now traced in brief outline the rise of Sparta to supremacy in the Peloponnesus, we must turn aside to take a wider look over Hellas, in order to note an expansion movement of the Hellenic race which resulted in the establishment of Hellenes upon almost every shore of the then known world.

References. PLUTARCH, *Lycurgus*. CURTIUS, E., vol. i, pp. 175–275. GROTE, G. (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 259–376. ABBOTT, E., vol. i, chaps. vi–viii. HOLM, A., vol. i, chaps. xv–xvii. ALCROFT and MASOM, *Early Grecian History*, chaps. viii, xi. OMAN, C., *History of Greece*, chaps. vii, viii. BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, chap. iii.

CHAPTER XIII

THE AGE OF COLONIZATION AND OF TYRANNIES

I. THE AGE OF COLONIZATION (ABOUT 750-600 B.C.)

113. Causes of Greek Colonization. The latter half of the eighth and the seventh century B.C. constituted a period in Greek history marked by great activity in the establishment of colonies. One inciting cause of this outward movement at this time was the political unrest which had come to fill almost all the cities of Greece. Oligarchies and tyrannies had arisen, and the people oftentimes were oppressed. Thousands, driven from their homes, like the Puritans in the time of the Stuart tyranny in England, fled over the seas, and, under the direction of the Delphian Apollo, laid upon remote and widely separated shores the basis of "dispersed Hellas." The growth in population, the expansion of the trade of the homeland cities, and the Greek love of adventure also contributed to swell the number of emigrants.

114. Relation of a Greek Colony to its Mother City. The history of the Greek colonies would be unintelligible without an understanding of the relation in which a Greek colony stood to the city sending out the emigrants. There was a wide difference between Greek colonization and Roman. The Roman colony was subject to the authority of the mother city. The Greek colony, on the other hand, was, in almost all cases, wholly independent of its parent city. The Greek mind could not entertain the idea of one city as rightly ruling over another, even though that other were her own daughter colony.

But while there were no political bonds uniting the mother city and her daughter colonies, still the colonies were attached to their parent country by ties of kinship, of culture, and of filial piety. The sacred fire on the altar of the new home was kindled from

embers piously borne by the emigrants from the public hearth of the mother city, and testified constantly that the citizens of the two cities were members of the same though divided family.

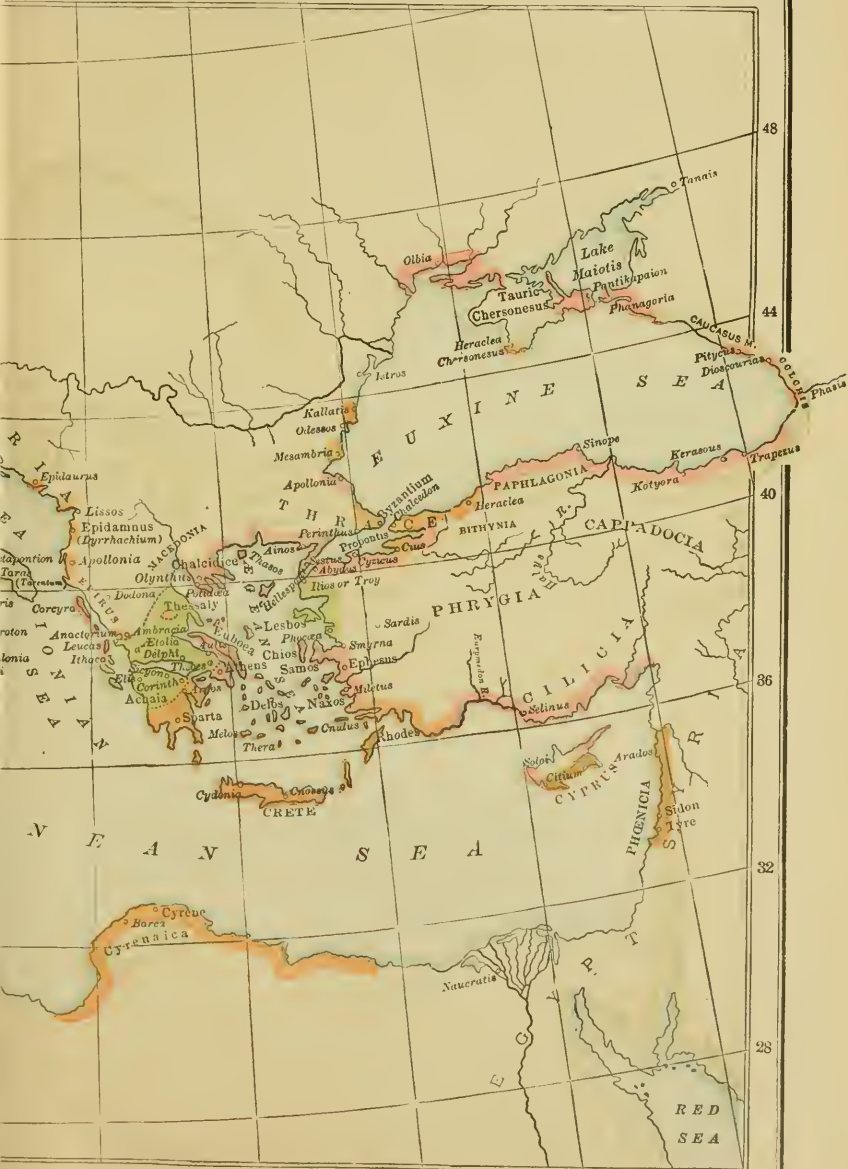
The feeling the colonists had for their mother city is shown by the names which they often gave to the prominent objects in and about their new home. Just as the affectionate memory of the homes from which they had gone out prompted the New England colonists to reproduce in the new land the names of places and objects dear to them in the old, so did the cherished remembrance of the land they had left lead the Greek emigrants to give to the streets and temples and fountains and hills of their new city the familiar and endeared names of the old home. The new city was simply "a home away from home."

115. The Chalcidian Colonies (about 750–650 B.C.). An early colonizing ground of the Greeks was the Macedonian coast. Here a triple promontory juts far out into the Ægean. On this broken shore Chalcis of Eubœa, with the help of emigrants from other cities, founded so many colonies—thirty-two owned her as their mother city—that the land became known as Chalcidice.

One of the chief attractions of this shore to the Greek colonists was the rich copper, silver, and gold deposits. The hills, too, were clothed with heavy forests which furnished excellent timber for shipbuilding, and this was an important item of export, since in many parts of Greece timber was scarce.

116. Colonies on the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. A second region full of attractions for the colonists of the enterprising commercial cities of the mother country was that embracing the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. These water channels, forming as they do the gateway to the northern world, early drew the attention of the Greek traders. Here was founded, among other cities, Byzantium (658 B.C.). The city was built, under the direction of the Delphian oracle,¹ on one of the most magnificent

¹ The managers of the oracle, doubtless through the visitors to the shrine, kept themselves informed respecting the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and thus were able to give good advice to those contemplating the founding of a new settlement.



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36
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sites for a great emporium that the ancient world afforded. It was destined to a long and checkered history.

117. Colonies in the Euxine Region. The tale of the Argonauts (sect. 93) shows that in prehistoric times the Greeks probably carried on trade with the shores of the Euxine. The chief products of the region were fish, grain, and cattle, besides timber, gold, copper, and iron. Still another object of commerce was slaves. This region was a sort of slave hunters' land,—the Africa of Hellas. It supplied to a great degree the slave markets of



FIG. 34. RUINED TEMPLES AT PÆSTUM

Paestum was the Greek Posidonia, in Lucania. These ruins form the most noteworthy existing monuments of the early Greek occupation of southern Italy

the Hellenic world. In the modern Caucasian slave trade of the Mohammedan sultans we may recognize a survival of a commerce which was active twenty-five hundred years ago.

Eighty colonies in the Euxine are said to have owned Miletus as their mother city. The coasts of the sea became so crowded with Greek cities, and the whole region was so astir with Greek enterprise, that the Greeks came to regard this quarter of the world, once looked upon as so remote and inhospitable, as almost a part of the home country.

118. Colonies in Southern Italy. At the same time that the tide of Hellenic migration was flowing towards the north it was also flowing towards the west. Southern Italy became so thickly set with Greek cities as to become known as *Magna Græcia*, "Great Greece." Here were founded during the latter part of the eighth century B.C. the important city of Taras, the Tarentum

of the Romans, and the Æolian city of Sybaris, noted for the voluptuous life of its citizens, whence our term *sybarite*, meaning a person given to sensual pleasures.

The chief importance of the cities of Magna Græcia for civilization springs from their relations to Rome. Through them, without doubt, the early Romans received many primary elements of culture, deriving thence probably their knowledge of letters as well as of Greek constitutional law (sect. 227).

119. Colonies in Sicily and in Southern Gaul. The island of Sicily is in easy sight from the Italian shore. About the same time that the southern part of the peninsula was being filled with Greek colonists, this island was also receiving swarms of immigrants. Here among other colonies was planted by the Dorian Corinth the city of Syracuse (734 B.C.), which, before Rome had become great, waged war on equal terms with Carthage.

Sicily was the most disorderly and tumultuous part of Hellas. It was the "wild West" of the Hellenic world. It was the land of romance and adventure, and seems to have drawn to itself the most untamed and venturesome spirits among the Greeks.

The coast of Gaul where the Rhone meets the sea was another region occupied by Greek colonists. A chief attraction here was the amber and tin brought overland from the Baltic and from Britain. Here were established several colonies, chief among which was Massilia (about 600 B.C.), the modern Marseilles.

120. Colonies in North Africa and Egypt. In the Nile Delta the Greeks early established the important station of Naucratis, which was the gateway through which Hellenic influences passed into Egypt and Egyptian influences passed out into Greece. Sometime in the seventh century B.C., in obedience to the commands of the Delphian Apollo, they founded on the African coast the important colony of Cyrene, which became the metropolis of a large district known as Cyrenaica.

121. Place of the Colonies in Grecian History. The history of dispersed Hellas is closely interwoven with that of continental Hellas. In truth, a large part of the history of Greece would be unintelligible should we lose sight of Greater Greece, just as a

large part of the history of Europe since the seventeenth century cannot be understood without a knowledge of Greater Europe. In colonial interests, rivalries, and jealousies we shall find the inciting cause of many of the contentions and wars between the cities of the homeland.

II. THE TYRANNIES (ABOUT 650-500 B.C.)

122. The Character and Origin of the Greek Tyrannies. The latter part of the period of Greek colonization corresponds very nearly to what has been called the "Earlier Age of the Tyrants,"¹ of whom a word must here be said.

In the Heroic Age the preferred form of government among the Greeks was a patriarchal monarchy. The *Iliad* says, "The rule of many is not a good thing: let us have one ruler only,—one king,—him to whom Zeus has given the scepter." But by the dawn of the historic period the patriarchal monarchies of the early age had given place, in almost all the Grecian cities, to oligarchies or aristocracies. A little later, just as the Homeric monarchies had been superseded by oligarchies, so were these in many of the Greek cities superseded by tyrannies.

By the term *tyrannos* ("tyrant") the Greeks did not mean one who ruled harshly, but simply one who held the supreme authority in the state illegally. Some of the Greek tyrants were beneficent rulers, though too often they were all that the name implies among us. There was hardly an important Greek city which did not at one time or another fall into the hands of a tyrant.

Generally the person setting up a tyranny was some ambitious member of the aristocracy, who had held himself out as the champion of the people, and who, aided by them, had succeeded in overturning the hated government of the oligarchs.

123. The Greek Feeling toward the Tyrants. The tyrants sat upon unstable thrones. The Greeks, always lovers of freedom, had

¹ For a hundred years after the expulsion of the tyrants from Athens (sect. 131) there were no tyrants in Greece proper, and for a great part of this time there were no tyrants anywhere in the Greek world. In the fourth century B.C. tyrants arose again, particularly in Sicily. This distribution in time of these rulers leads some historians to divide the tyrannies into an earlier and a later age.

an inextinguishable hatred of these despots. Furthermore, the atrocious crimes of some of them caused the whole class to be regarded with the utmost abhorrence,—so much so that tyrannicide, that is, the killing of a tyrant, came to be regarded by the Greeks as a supremely patriotic and virtuous act. Consequently the tyrannies were, as a rule, short-lived. They were usually violently overthrown, and the old oligarchies reëstablished, or democracies set up in their place. Speaking broadly, the Dorian cities preferred aristocratic and the Ionian cities democratic government.

124. Influence of the Tyrants upon Greek Civilization. The rule of the tyrants conferred some undoubted benefits upon Greek civilization. Through the connections which the despots formed with foreign kings the isolation of the Greek cities was broken. These connections between the courts of the tyrants and those of the rulers of oriental countries opened the cities of the Hellenic world to the influences of those lands of culture, widened their horizon, and enlarged the sphere of their commercial enterprise.

Again, the tyrants were apt to be liberal patrons of art and literature. Poetry and music flourished in the congenial atmosphere of their luxurious courts, while architecture was given a great impulse by the public buildings and works which many of them undertook with a view of embellishing their capitals, or of winning the favor of the poorer classes by creating opportunities for their employment. Thus it happened that the Age of the Tyrants was a period marked by an unusually rapid advance of many of the Greek cities in their artistic, intellectual, and industrial life.

References. For the colonies: CURTIUS, E., vol. i, pp. 432-500. GROTE, G. (ten-volume ed.), vol. iii, pp. 163-220, 247-275. ABBOTT, E., vol. i, pp. 333-365. HOLM, A., vol. i, chap. xxi. OMAN, C., *History of Greece*, chap. ix. BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, chap. ii. KELLER, A. G., *Colonization*, pp. 39-50.

For the tyrannies: GROTE, G. (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 378-421. HOLM, A., vol. i, chap. xxii. FOWLER, W. W., *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chaps. iv, v. MAHAFFY, J. P., *Problems in Greek History*, chap. iv, and *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 99-101. COX, G. W., *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, "Polykrates." HERODOTUS, iv, 150-153, 156-159 (on the Delphic oracle and Greek colonization).

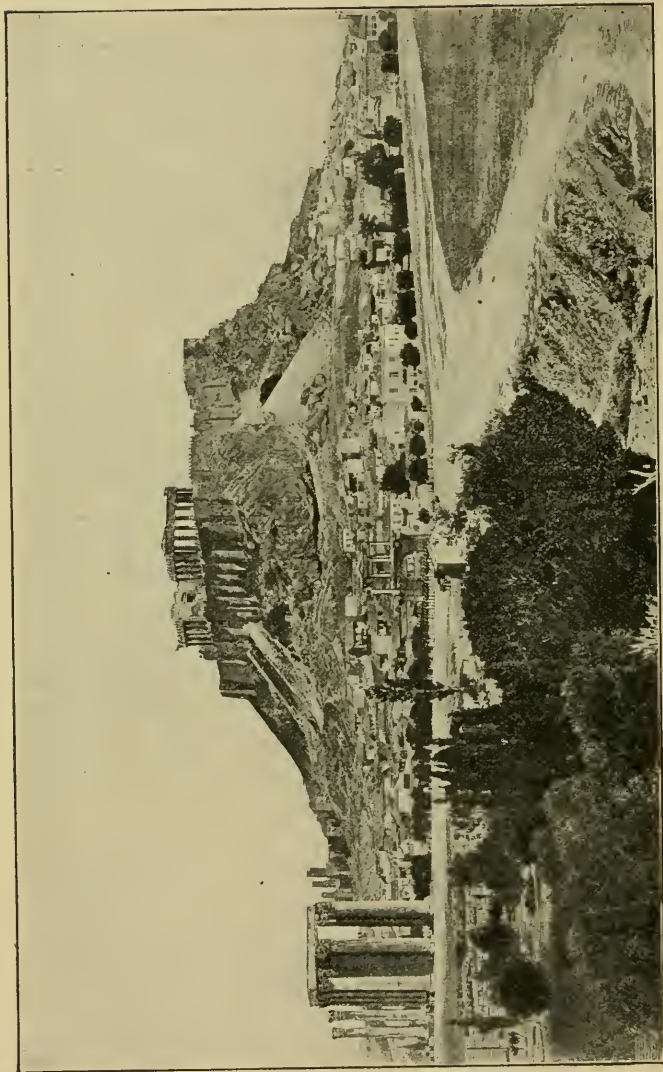


FIG. 35. THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. (From a photograph)

CHAPTER XIV

THE HISTORY OF ATHENS UP TO THE PERSIAN WARS

125. **The Beginnings of Athens.** Four or five miles from the sea, a little hill, about one thousand feet in length and half as many in width, rises about one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the plains of Attica. The security afforded by this eminence doubtless led to its selection as a stronghold by the early settlers of the Attic plains. Here a few buildings, perched upon the summit of the rock and surrounded by a palisade, constituted the beginnings of the capital whose fame has spread over all the world.

126. **The Archons, the Council of the Areopagus, and the General Assembly.** In prehistoric times Athens, like all other Greek cities, was ruled by kings. The name of Theseus is the most noted of the regal line. By the opening of the seventh century B.C. a board of nine persons, called Archons, of whom the king in a subordinate position was one, stood at the head of the Athenian state. The ancient monarchy had become an oligarchy.

Besides the board of Archons there was in the Athenian state at this time a very important tribunal, called the Council of the Areopagus.¹ This council was composed exclusively of ex-Archons, and consequently was a purely aristocratic body. Its members held office for life. The duty of the council was to see that the laws were duly observed, and to judge and punish transgressors. There was no appeal from its decisions. This council was, at the opening of the historic period, the real power in the Athenian state.

In addition to the board of Archons and the Council of the Areopagus, there is some evidence of the existence of a general assembly (*Ἐκκλησία, Ecclesia*), in which all those who served in the heavy-armed forces of the state had a place.

¹ So called from the name of the hill *Ἄρειος πάγος*, "Hill of Ares," which was the assembling place of the council. See Acts xvii, 22-31.

127. Classes in the Athenian State. The leading class in the Athenian state were the nobles. These men were wealthy land-owners, a large part of the best soil of Attica, it is said, being held by them.

Beneath the nobles we find the body of the nominally free inhabitants. Many of them were tenants living in a state little removed from serfdom upon the estates of the wealthy nobles.

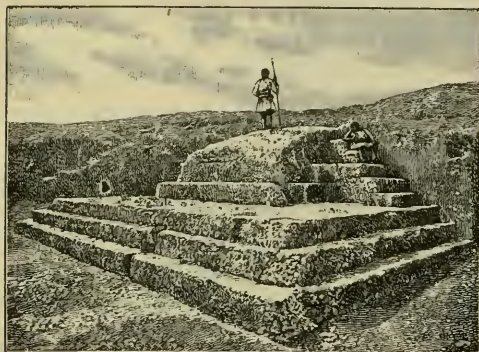


FIG. 36. THE BEMA, OR ORATOR'S STAND, ON THE PNYX HILL, ATHENS. (From a photograph)

They paid rent in kind to their landlords, and in case of failure to pay, they, together with their wives and children, might be seized by the proprietor and sold as slaves. Others owned their little farms, but at the time of which we are speaking had fallen deeply in

debt. Thus because of their wretched economic condition, as well as because of their exclusion from the government, these classes among the common people were filled with bitterness toward the nobles and were ready for revolution.

128. Draco's Code (621 B.C.). It was probably to quiet the people and to save the state from anarchy that the nobles at this time appointed a person named Draco, one of their own order, to write out and publish the laws.¹

In carrying into effect his commission, Draco probably did little more than reduce existing rules and customs to a definite and

¹ Up to this time the rules and customs of the city had been unwritten, and hence the magistrates, who belonged to the order of the nobility and alone administered the laws, could and often did interpret them unfairly in favor of their own class. The people demanded that the customs should be put in writing and published, so that everyone might know just what they were (compare sect. 247).

written form. The laws as published were very severe. Death was the penalty for the smallest theft. This severity of the Draconian laws is what caused a later Athenian orator to say that they were written "not in ink, but in blood."

There was one real and great defect in Draco's work. He did not accomplish anything in the way of economic reform, and thus did nothing to give relief to those who were struggling with poverty and were the victims of the harsh laws of debt.

129. The Reforms of Solon (594 B.C.). The condition of the poorer classes grew more and more unendurable. Some radical measures of relief became necessary. Once more, as in the time of Draco, the Athenians resolved to place their laws in the hands of a single man, to be remodeled as he might deem best. Solon, a man held in high esteem by all classes, was selected to discharge this responsible duty. Solon turned his attention first to relieving the misery of the debtor class. He canceled all debts of every kind, both public and private.¹ Moreover, that there might never again be seen in Attica the spectacle of men dragged off in chains to be sold as slaves in payment of their debts, Solon forbade the practice of securing debts on the body of the debtor. No Athenian was ever after this sold for debt.

Such was the most important of the economic reforms of Solon. His constitutional reforms were equally wise and beneficent. The Ecclesia, or popular assembly, was at this time composed of all those persons who were able to provide themselves with arms and armor; that is to say, of all the members of the three highest of the four propertied classes into which the people were divided. The fourth and poorest class, the Thetes, were excluded. Solon opened the Ecclesia to them, giving them the right to vote but not to hold office. He also made other changes in the constitution whereby the magistrates became responsible to the people, who henceforth not only elected them but judged them in case they did wrong.

¹ This is Aristotle's account of the matter (*Athenian Constitution*, ch.6). According to other accounts, Solon annulled only debts secured on land or on the person of the debtor. Solon also reformed the monetary system.

130. The Tyrant Pisistratus (560-527 B.C.). The reforms of Solon naturally worked hardship to many persons. These became bitter enemies of the new order of things. Moreover, the reformed constitution failed to work smoothly. Taking advantage of the situation, Pisistratus, an ambitious noble, with a small force seized the Acropolis and made himself master of Athens. Though



FIG. 37. THE ATHENIAN TYRANNICIDES, HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGITON

Marble statues in the Naples Museum, recognized as ancient copies of the bronze statues set up at Athens in commemoration of the assassination of the tyrant Hipparchus

twice expelled from the city, he as often returned and reinstated himself in the tyranny.

Pisistratus may be taken as a type of the better class of Greek tyrants. He gave Athens a mild rule, and under him the city enjoyed a period of great prosperity. He established religious festivals, adorned the city with splendid buildings, and is said also to have added to the embellishments of the Lyceum, a sort of public park just outside the city walls, which in after times became one of the favorite resorts of the poets, philosophers, and pleasure seekers of the capital.

131. Expulsion of the Tyrants from Athens (510 B.C.). The two sons of Pisistratus, Hippias and Hipparchus, succeeded to his power. At first they emulated the example of their father, and Athens flourished under their rule. But at length an unfortunate event gave an entirely different tone to the government. Hipparchus having insulted a young noble named Harmodius, this man, in connection with his friend Aristogiton and some others, planned to assassinate both the tyrants. Hipparchus was slain, but the plans of the conspirators miscarried as to Hippias. Harmodius was struck down by the guards of the tyrants, and Aristogiton was seized and put to death.

We have already spoken of how tyrannicide appeared to the Greek mind as an eminently praiseworthy act (sect. 123). This is well illustrated by the grateful and venerated remembrance in which Harmodius and Aristogiton were ever held by the Athenians. Statues were raised in their honor (Fig. 37), and the story of their deed was rehearsed to the youth as an incentive to patriotism and self-devotion.

The plot had a most unhappy effect upon the disposition of Hippias. It caused him to become suspicious and severe. His rule now became a tyranny indeed. He was finally driven out of the city.

132. The Reforms of Clisthenes (508 B.C.). Straightway upon the expulsion of the tyrant Hippias, old feuds between factions of the nobles broke out afresh. A prominent noble named Clisthenes, head of one of the factions, feeling that he was not receiving in the way of coveted office the recognition from his own order which his merits deserved, allied himself with the common people as their champion. He thus got control of affairs in the state. With power once in his hands he used it to remold the constitution into a form still more democratic than that given it by Solon.

One of the most important of his measures was that by which he conferred citizenship upon a great body of poor Athenians who had hitherto been excluded from the rights of the city, and also upon many resident aliens and freedmen. This measure, which was effected through a regrouping of the people, made such radical changes in the constitution in the interests of the masses that Clisthenes has been called "the second founder of the Athenian democracy."

133. Ostracism. Among the other innovations or institutions generally ascribed to Clisthenes was the celebrated one known as ostracism. By means of this process any person who had excited the suspicions or displeasure of the people could by popular vote, without trial, be banished from Athens for a period of ten years. The name of the person whose banishment was sought was written on a shell or a piece of pottery, in Greek *ostrakon* (ὄστρακον), whence the term *ostracism*.

The design of this institution was to prevent the recurrence of such a usurpation as that of Pisistratus. It was first used to get rid of some of the old friends of the ex-tyrant Hippias, whom the Athenians distrusted. Later the vote came to be employed, as a rule, simply to settle disputes between rival leaders of political parties. Thus the vote merely expressed political preference, the ostracized person being simply the defeated candidate for popular favor. No stigma or disgrace attached to him.

The power that the device of ostracism lodged in the hands of the people was not always wisely used, and some of the ablest and most patriotic statesmen of Athens were sent into exile through the influence of some demagogue who for the moment had caught the popular ear.¹

134. Sparta Opposes the Athenian Democracy. The aristocratic party at Athens was naturally bitterly opposed to all these democratic innovations. The Spartans also viewed with disquiet and jealousy this rapid growth of the Athenian democracy, and, inviting Hippias over from Asia, tried to overthrow the new government and restore him to power. But they did not succeed in their purpose, because their allies refused to aid them in such an undertaking, and Hippias went away to Persia to seek aid of King Darius.

References. PLUTARCH, *Solon*. CURTIUS, E., vol. i, pp. 316-431. GROTE, G. (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 422-529; vol. iii, pp. 324-398. ABBOTT, E., vol. i, chaps. ix, xiii, xv. The accounts of the Athenian constitution in Curtius, Grote, and Abbott, which were written before the discovery of the Aristotelian treatise (*Athenian Constitution*), must be read in the light of the new evidence. HOLM, A., vol. i, chaps. xxvi-xxviii. HOPKINSON, L. W., *Greek Leaders*, pp. 1-17, "Solon." COX, G. W., *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, "Solon," "Peisistratus," and "Kleisthenes." BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, chap. iv, sect. iv; chap. v, sect. ii. TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. ii (on the environment of Athens). Young readers will enjoy HARRISON, J. A., *Story of Greece*, chaps. xvi-xviii.

¹ The institution was short-lived. It was resorted to for the last time during the Peloponnesian War (418 B.C.). The people then, in a freak, ostracized a man, Hyperbolus by name, whom all admitted to be the meanest man in Athens. This, it is said, was regarded as such a degradation of the institution, as well as such an honor to the mean man, that never thereafter did the Athenians degrade a good man or honor a bad one by a resort to the measure.



CHAPTER XV

THE PERSIAN WARS

(500-479 B.C.)

135. The Real Cause of the Persian Wars. In a foregoing chapter we showed how the expansive energies of the Greek race, chiefly during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., covered the islands and shores of the Mediterranean world with a free, liberty-loving, progressive, and ever-growing population of Hellenic speech and culture. The first half of the sixth century had barely passed before this promising expansion movement was first checked and then seriously cramped by the rise of a great despotic Asiatic power, the Persian Empire. By the opening of the fifth century B.C. all the Asian Greek cities had been enslaved, and the Ægean had become practically a Persian lake. These encroachments threatened to leave the Greeks no standing room on the earth. Here must be sought the real cause of the memorable wars between Hellas and Persia.

136. The Ionian Revolt (500 B.C.). The Greek cities reduced to servitude by Persia could neither long nor quietly endure the loss of their independence. In the year 500 B.C. Ionia became the center of a formidable rebellion against the Great King.¹ The Athenians sent twenty ships to the aid of their Ionian kinsmen. Sardis was taken and burned. Defeated in battle, the Athenians forsook their Ionian confederates and sailed back to Athens.

This unfortunate expedition was destined to have tremendous consequences. The Athenians had not only burned Sardis, but "had set the whole world on fire." When the news of the affair

¹ Darius I. See sect. 67.

reached Darius at Susa, he asked, Herodotus tells us, who the Athenians were and, being told, took his bow and shot an arrow upward into the sky, saying as he let fly the shaft, "Grant, O Zeus, that I may have vengeance on the Athenians." After this speech he bade one of his servants every day repeat to him three times these words: "Master, remember the Athenians."

137. The First Expedition of Darius against Greece (492 B.C.). The Ionian revolt having been crushed and punished, Darius determined to chastise the European Greeks, and particularly the Athenians, for giving aid to his rebellious subjects. A large land and naval armament was fitted out for the conquest of Greece. The land forces suffered severe losses at the hands of the barbarians of Thrace, and the fleet was wrecked by a violent storm off Mount Athos, three hundred ships being lost.

138. The Second Expedition of Darius; the Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.). Undismayed by this disaster, Darius issued orders for the raising and equipping of another and stronger armament. Soon a large force had been mustered for a second attempt upon Greece. A fleet of six hundred ships bore the army from the coasts of Asia Minor over the Ægean toward the Grecian shores. After receiving the submission of the most important of the Cyclades, the Persians landed at Marathon, barely one day's journey from Athens. Instead of awaiting behind their walls the coming of the Persians, the Athenians decided to offer them battle in the open field at Marathon. Accordingly they marched out ten thousand strong.

Meanwhile a fleet runner, Phidippides by name, was hurrying with a message to Sparta for aid. In just thirty-six hours Phidippides was in Sparta, which is one hundred and thirty-five or forty miles from Athens. Now it so happened that it lacked a few days of the full of the moon, during which interval the Spartans, owing to an old superstition, dared not set out upon a military expedition. They promised aid, but moved only in time to reach Athens after all was over.

The battle was begun by the Athenians under their general Miltiades. The issue was for a time doubtful. Then the tide

turned in favor of the Greeks, and the Persians were driven to their ships with great slaughter. After threatening Athens with attack, but finding the Athenians ready to receive them, the Persians sailed away for the Ionian shore.

139. Results of the Battle of Marathon. The battle of Marathon is justly reckoned as one of the "decisive battles of the world." It marks a turning point in the history of humanity. By the victory Hellenic civilization was saved to mature its fruit, not for Hellas alone but for the world. We cannot conceive what European civilization would be like without those rich and vitalizing elements contributed to it by the Greek, and especially by the Athenian, genius. But the germs of all these might have been smothered and destroyed had the barbarians won the day at Marathon. Ancient Greece, as a satrapy of the Persian Empire, would certainly have become what modern Greece became as a province of the empire of the Ottoman Turks.

The great achievement further inspired the Athenians with self-confidence. They did great things thereafter because they believed themselves able to do them. From the battle of Marathon dates the beginning of the great days of imperial Athens.

140. Themistocles and his Naval Policy; Aristides Opposes him and is Ostracized (483 B.C.). Many among the Athenians were inclined to believe that the battle of Marathon had freed Athens forever from the danger of a Persian invasion. But there was at least one among them who was clear-sighted enough to see that that battle was only the beginning of a great struggle. This was Themistocles, a sagacious, farsighted, versatile statesman, who, in his own words, though "he knew nothing of music and song, did know how of a small city to make a great one." The policy he urged upon the Athenians was to strengthen their navy as the only reliable defense of Hellas against subjection to the Persian power.

Themistocles was opposed in this policy by Aristides, called the Just, a man of the most scrupulous integrity, who feared that Athens would make a serious mistake if she converted her land force into a naval armament. The contention grew so sharp

between the two that ostracism was called into use to decide the matter. Six thousand votes were cast against Aristides, and he was sent into exile.

It is related that while the vote that ostracized him was being taken in the popular assembly, an illiterate peasant, who was a stranger to Aristides, asked him to write the name of Aristides upon his tablet. As he placed the name desired upon the shell, the statesman asked the man what wrong Aristides had ever done him. "None," responded the voter; "I do not even know him; but I am tired of hearing him called the Just."

After the banishment of Aristides, Themistocles was free to carry out his naval policy without serious opposition, and soon Athens had the largest fleet of any Greek city, with a splendid harbor at Piræus.

141. The Invasion of Greece by Xerxes; the Battle of Thermopylæ (480 B.C.). As soon as news of the disaster at Marathon reached Darius he began preparations to avenge this second defeat. In the midst of these plans for revenge death cut short his reign. His son Xerxes succeeded him, and, after some delay, pushed forward with energy the preparations already begun. To facilitate the march of his armies, Xerxes caused to be constructed a double bridge of boats across the Hellespont. This work was in the hands of Egyptian and Phœnician artisans.

With the first indications of the opening spring of 480 B.C., just ten years after the defeat at Marathon, a vast Persian army was concentrating from all points upon the Hellespont. The passage of the strait, as pictured in the inimitable narration of Herodotus, is one of the most dramatic of all the spectacles afforded by history. Herodotus affirms that for seven days and seven nights the bridges groaned beneath the living tide that Asia was pouring into Europe.¹

Leading from northern into central Greece is a narrow pass, pressed on one side by the sea and on the other by rugged

¹ According to Herodotus, the land and naval forces of Xerxes amounted to 2,317,000 men, besides about 2,000,000 slaves and attendants. It is certain that these figures are a great exaggeration, and that the actual number of the Persian army could not have exceeded 600,000 men aside from attendants and camp followers.

mountain ridges. At the foot of the cliffs break forth several hot springs, whence the name of the pass, Thermopylæ, or Hot Gates. Here the Greeks had decided to make their first stand against the invaders. Leonidas, king of Sparta, with three hundred Spartan soldiers and about six thousand allies from different states, held the pass.

The Spartans could be driven from their advantageous position only by an attack in front, as the Grecian fleet prevented Xerxes from landing a force in their rear. Before attacking them, Xerxes summoned them to give up their arms. The answer of Leonidas was, "Come and take them." For two days the Persians tried in vain to storm the pass. Even the Ten Thousand Immortals,¹ the famous bodyguard of the Great King, were hurled back from the Spartan front like waves from a cliff.

But an act of treachery on the part of a native Greek, Ephialtes by name, "the Judas of Greece," rendered unavailing all the bravery of the keepers of the pass. This man, hoping for a large reward, revealed to Xerxes a bypath leading over the mountain to the rear of the Greeks. The startling intelligence was brought to Leonidas that the Persians were descending the mountain path in his rear. Realizing that the pass could no longer be held, the most of the allies now withdrew from the place while opportunity still remained; but for Leonidas and his Spartan companions there could be no thought of retreat. Death in the pass, the defense of which had been intrusted to them, was all that Spartan honor and Spartan law now left them. The next day, surrounded by the Persian host, they fought with desperate valor; but, overwhelmed by mere numbers, they were slain to the last man.

The fight at Thermopylæ echoed through all the after centuries of Grecian history. The Greeks felt that all Hellas had gained great glory on that day when Leonidas and his companions fell, and they gave them a chief place among their national heroes. Memorial pillars marked for coming generations the sacred spot, while praising inscriptions and epitaphs told in brief phrases the

¹ This body of picked soldiers was so called because its number was always kept up to ten thousand.

story of the battle. Among these was an inscription which, commemorating at once Spartan law and Spartan valor, read, "Stranger, go tell the Lacedæmonians that we lie here in obedience to their commands!"

142. The Athenians abandon their City and betake themselves to their Ships. Athens now lay open to the invaders. Counsels were divided. The Delphian oracle had obscurely declared, "When everything else in the land of Cecrops shall be taken, Zeus grants to Athena that the *wooden walls* alone shall remain unconquered, to defend you and your children." The oracle was believed to be, as was declared, "firm as adamant." But there were various opinions as to what was meant by the "wooden walls." Some thought the Pythian priestess directed the Athenians to seek refuge in the forests on the mountains; others, that the oracle meant they should defend the Acropolis, which in early times had been surrounded with a palisade; but Themistocles (who it is thought may have himself prompted the oracle) contended that the ships were plainly indicated.

The last interpretation was acted upon. All the soldiers of Attica were crowded upon the vessels of the fleet at Salamis. The aged men, with the women and children, were carried out of the country to different places of safety. All the towns of Attica, with the capital, were thus abandoned to the conquerors. A few days later the Persians entered the deserted plain, and burned the empty towns. The revered temples of the citadel of Athens were plundered and given to the flames. Sardis was avenged.

143. The Naval Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.). Just off the coast of Attica lies the island of Salamis. Here lay the Greek fleet, awaiting the Persians. Xerxes, deceived by Themistocles respecting the state of things among the Greek allies, ordered an immediate attack. From a lofty throne upon the shore he himself overlooked the scene and watched the result. The Persian fleet was broken to pieces and two hundred of the ships destroyed.

The blow was decisive. Xerxes, fearing that treachery might destroy the Hellespontine bridges, instantly dispatched a hundred ships to protect them; and then, leaving Mardonius with a large

force to retrieve the disaster of Salamis, the monarch with a strong escort made a hasty retreat into Asia. The following year, in a memorable battle known as the battle of Plataea, Mardonius was slain and his army virtually annihilated. Soon all European Greece, together with the Hellespont and the Ægean islands, was, in the phrase of Herodotus, "restored to Grecian freedom."

144. Memorials and Trophies of the War. The glorious issue of the war caused an outburst of joy and exultation throughout Greece. Poets, artists, and orators vied with one another in commemorating the deeds of the heroes whose valor had averted the impending peril. The dramatist Æschylus, who had fought at Marathon and perhaps at Salamis and Plataea, erected an eternal monument in literature in his *Persians*, which, eight years after the battle, was presented at Athens before twenty thousand spectators, many of whom had had part in the fight; and the great artist Polygnotus painted on the walls of a public porch at Athens the battle of Marathon. In truth, the great literature and art of the golden age of Athens were an imperishable memorial of the war.

Nor did the pious Greeks think that the marvelous deliverance had been effected without the intervention of the gods in their behalf. To the temple at Delphi was gratefully consecrated a tenth of the immense spoils in gold and silver from the field of Plataea; and upon the Acropolis at Athens was erected a colossal statue of Athena, made from the brazen arms gathered from the field at Marathon, while within the sanctuary of the goddess were placed the broken cables of the Hellespontine bridges, at once a proud trophy of victory and a signal illustration of the divine punishment that had befallen the impious attempt of the barbarians to lay a yoke upon the sacred waters of the Hellespont.

References. PLUTARCH, *Themistocles and Aristides*. ÆSCHYLUS, *The Persians* (a historical drama which celebrates the victory of Salamis). CURTIUS, E., vol. ii, pp. 135-352. GROTE, G. (ten-volume ed.), vol. iii, pp. 399-521; vol. iv, pp. 1-294. HOLM, A., vol. i, chaps. xxiii, xxiv; vol. ii, chaps. i-vi. ABBOTT, E., vol. ii, chaps. i-v. COX, G. W., *The Greeks and the Persians*. CREASY, E. S., *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. i, "The Battle of Marathon." HOPKINSON, L. W., *Greek Leaders*, pp. 19-36, "Themistocles." CHURCH, A. J., *Pictures from Greek Life and Story*, chaps. iii-viii (juvenile).

CHAPTER XVI

THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

145. The Formation of the Confederacy of Delos (477 B.C.). Soon after the expulsion of the Persians from Greece the Ionian states, in order that they might be able to carry on more effectively the work to which they had set their hands, namely, the liberating of the Greek cities yet in the power of the Persians, formed a league known as the Confederacy of Delos. Sparta and her Peloponnesian allies were excluded from the league on account of the treachery of the Spartan Pausanias, who had been in command of the allied fleet. The league was a free association of independent and equal states, about two hundred and sixty in number. Athens was to be the head of the confederacy. Matters of common concern were to be in the hands of a congress convened yearly in the sacred island of Delos and composed of delegates from all the cities.

At Delos, also, in the temple of Apollo, was to be kept the common treasure chest, to which each state was to make contribution according to its ability. What proportion of the ships and money should be contributed by the several states for carrying out the purposes of the union was left at first entirely to the decision of Aristides, such was the confidence all possessed in his fairness and incorruptible integrity; and so long as he retained control of the matter, none of the allies ever had cause for complaint.

The formation of this Delian League constitutes a prominent landmark in Grecian history. It meant not simply the transfer from Sparta to Athens of leadership in the maritime affairs of Hellas. It meant that all the earlier promises of Panhellenic union had come to naught. It meant, since the Peloponnesian Confederacy still continued to exist, that henceforth Hellas was to be a house divided against itself.

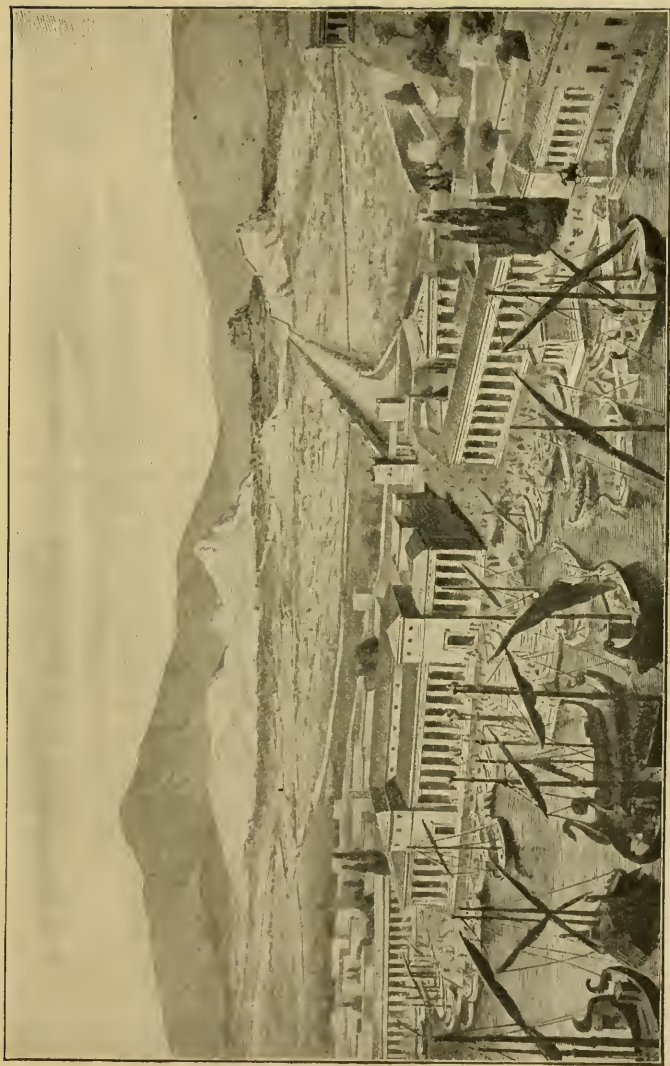


FIG. 38. THE PIRÆUS AND THE LONG WALLS OF ATHENS. (A restoration by *Thiersch*)

146. The Athenians convert the Delian League into an Empire. The Confederacy of Delos laid the basis of the imperial power of Athens. The Athenians misused their authority as leaders of the league, and gradually, during the interval between the formation of the union and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, reduced their allies to the condition of tributaries and subjects.

Athens transformed the league into an empire in the following manner. The contributions assessed by Aristides upon the different members of the confederation consisted of ships for the larger states and of money payments for the smaller ones. From the first, Athens attended to this assessment matter, and saw to it that each member of the league made its proper contribution.

After a while, some of the cities preferring to make a money payment in lieu of ships, Athens accepted the commutation, and then, building the ships herself, added them to her own navy. Thus the confederates disarmed themselves and armed their master.

Very soon the restraints which Athens imposed upon her allies became irksome, and they began to refuse, one after another, to pay the assessment in any form. Naxos, one of the Cyclades, was the first island to secede from the league (466 B.C.). But Athens had no idea of admitting any such doctrine of state rights, and with her powerful navy forced the Naxians to remain within the union and to pay an increased tribute.

What happened in the case of Naxos happened in the case of other members of the confederation. By the year 449 B.C. only three of the island members of the league—Lesbos, Chios, and Samos—still retained their independence. They alone of all the former allies did not pay tribute. Even before the date last named the Athenians had transferred the common treasury from Delos to Athens, and, diverting the tribute from its original purpose, were beginning to spend it not in the prosecution of war against the barbarians but in the carrying on of home enterprises, as though the treasure were their own revenue. About this time also the congress probably ceased to exist.

Thus what had been simply a voluntary confederation of sovereign and independent cities was converted into what was

practically an absolute monarchy, with the Attic democracy as the imperial master. Thus did Athens become a "tyrant city."

147. Cimon and Pericles. Two of the most prominent of the Athenian leaders at this time were Cimon and Pericles. Cimon, a successful admiral, was the leader of a party, aristocratic in its sympathies, whose policy was the maintenance in Greece of a

dual headship, Sparta being allowed leadership on land and Athens leadership on the sea.

Cimon was opposed by Pericles, who believed that such a double leadership was impracticable. The aim of his policy was to make Athens supreme not only on the sea but also on the land. The popularity of Cimon at last declined and he was ostracized. The fall of Cimon gave Pericles a free hand in the carrying out of his ambitious policy.

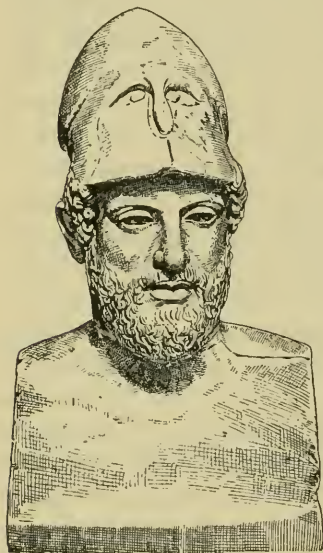


FIG. 39. PERICLES

148. Construction of the Long Walls. As a part of his maritime policy, Pericles persuaded the Athenians to push to completion what were known as the Long Walls, which united Athens to the

port of Piræus (see Fig. 38). By means of these great ramparts Athens and her principal port, with the intervening land, were converted into a vast fortified district, capable in time of war of holding the entire population of Attica. With her communication with the sea thus secured, and with a powerful navy at her command, Athens could bid defiance to her foes on sea and land.

149. The Age of Pericles (445-431 B.C.). The period during which the influence of Pericles was supreme in Athens is known as the Age of Pericles. It was the golden age of Athens. The people were at this period the source and fountain of all power.

Every matter which concerned Athens and her empire was discussed and decided by the popular assembly. Never before in the history of the world had any people enjoyed such unrestricted political liberty as did the citizens of Athens at this time, and never before were any people, through so intimate a knowledge of public affairs, so well fitted to take part in the administration of government. As a rule, every citizen was qualified to hold public office. At all events the Athenians acted upon this assumption, as is shown by their extremely democratic practice of filling all the public offices, save a few in the army and navy, by the use of the lot.

150. The Dicasteries. A characteristic feature of the Athens of Pericles was the great popular law courts or tribunals. Each year there were chosen by lot from those citizens who wished to serve on juries six thousand persons. One thousand were held in reserve; the remaining five thousand were divided into ten sections of five hundred each. These divisions were called *dicasteries*, and the members *dicasts*, or *jurymen*. The usual number sitting on any given case was between two hundred and four hundred. Sometimes, however, when an important case was to be heard, the jury would number two thousand or even more.

There was an immense amount of law business brought before these courts: for they not only tried all cases arising between the citizens of Athens, but attended also to a large part of the law business of the numerous cities of Athens's great empire. The decision of the jurors was final. The judgment of a dicastery was never reversed or annulled.

151. Pericles adorns Athens with Public Buildings. Athens having achieved such a position as she now held, it was the idea of Pericles that the Athenians should so adorn their city that it should be a fitting symbol of the power and glory of their empire. Nor was it difficult for him to persuade his art-loving countrymen to embellish their city with those masterpieces of architecture that in their ruins still excite the admiration of the world.

The most noteworthy of the Periclean structures were grouped upon the Acropolis. Here, as the gateway to the sacred inclosure of the citadel, were erected the magnificent Propylæa, which have

served as a model for similar structures since the time of Pericles. Here also was raised the beautiful Parthenon, sacred to the virgin goddess Athena. The celebrated sculptures of the frieze were designed by Phidias. Near the temple stood the colossal bronze statue of Athena,—made, it is said, from the spoils of Marathon,—whose glittering spear point was a beacon to the mariner sailing in from Sunium.

The Athenians obtained a considerable portion of the money needed for the prosecution of their great architectural and art undertakings from the treasury of the Delian Confederacy. The allies naturally declaimed bitterly against this proceeding, complaining that Athens with their money was “adorning herself as a vain woman decks her body with gay ornaments.” But Pericles’ answer to these charges was that the money was contributed to the end that the cities of the league should be protected against the Persians, and that so long as the Athenians kept the enemy at a distance they had a right to use the money as they pleased.

152. Strength and Weakness of the Athenian Empire. Under Pericles Athens had become the most powerful naval state in the world. In one of his last speeches Pericles says to his fellow-citizens: “There is not now a king, there is not any nation in the universal world, able to withstand that navy which at this juncture you can launch out to sea.” And this was no empty boast. The Ægean had become an Athenian lake. Its islands and coast lands formed practically an Athenian empire. The revenue ships of Athens collected tribute from two hundred Greek cities. It seemed almost as though the union of the cities of Hellas was to be effected on an imperial basis through the energy and achievements of the Athenians.

But the most significant feature of this new imperial power was the remarkable combination of material and intellectual resources which it exhibited. Never before had there been such a union of the material and the intellectual elements of civilization at the seat of empire. Literature and art had been carried to the utmost perfection possible to human genius.

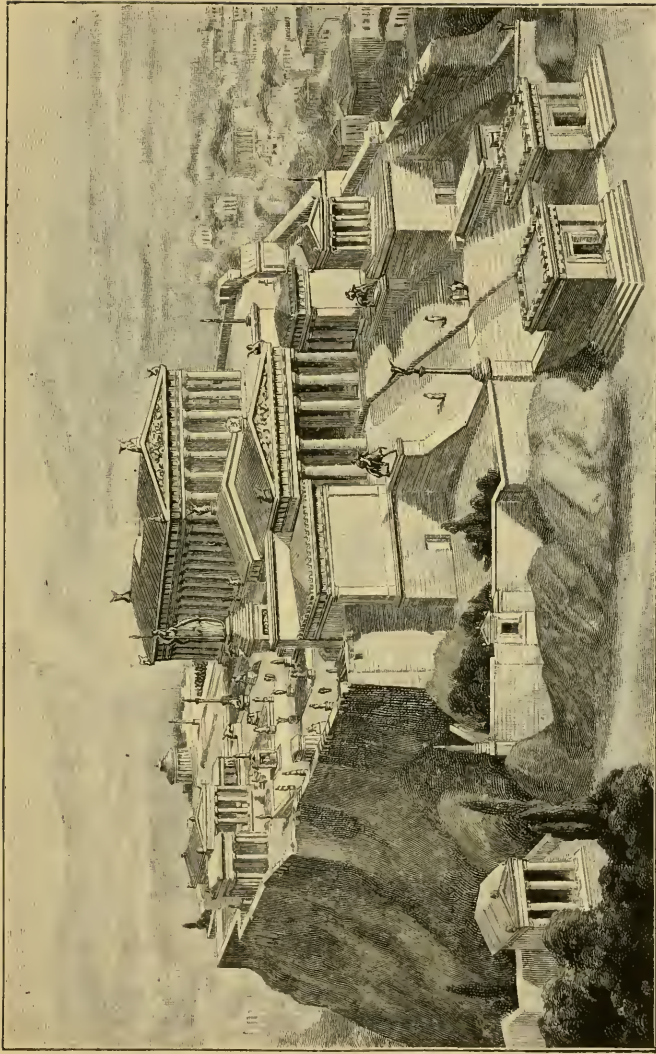


FIG. 40. THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. (A restoration by G. Rehlender)

But there were elements of weakness in the splendid imperial structure. The Athenian Empire was destined to be short-lived because the principles upon which it rested were in opposition to the deepest instinct of the Greek race,—to that sentiment of local patriotism which invested each individual city with political sovereignty (sect. 97). The so-called confederates were the subjects of Athens. To her they paid tribute. To her courts they were dragged for trial.¹ Naturally the subject cities of her empire regarded Athens as the destroyer of Hellenic liberties, and watched impatiently for the first favorable moment to revolt and throw off the yoke that she had imposed upon them. Hence the Athenian Empire rested upon a foundation of sand.

Had Athens, instead of enslaving her confederates of the Delian League, only been able to find some way of retaining them as allies in an equal union,—a great and perhaps impossible task under the then existing conditions of the Hellenic world,—as head of the federated Greek race she might have secured for Hellas the sovereignty of the Mediterranean, and the history of Rome might have ended with the first century of the republic.

Illustrations of these weaknesses, as well as of the strength of the Athenian Empire, will be afforded by the great struggle between Athens and Sparta known as the Peloponnesian War, the causes and chief incidents of which we shall next rehearse.

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¹ The subject cities were allowed to maintain only their lower courts of justice; all cases of importance, as we have seen (sect. 150), were carried to Athens, and there decided in the Attic tribunals.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR; THE SPARTAN AND THE THEBAN SUPREMACY

I. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431-404 B.C.)

153. The Beginning of the War. Before the end of the life of Pericles the growing jealousy between Ionian Athens and Dorian Sparta and her allies broke out in the long and calamitous struggle known as the Peloponnesian War. One immediate cause of the war was the blockade by the Athenians of Potidæa, in Chalcidice. This was a Corinthian colony, but it was a member of the Delian League, and was now being chastised by Athens for attempted secession. Corinth had endeavored to lend aid to her daughter, but had been worsted in an engagement with the Athenians.

With affairs in this shape, Corinth, supported by other states that like herself had causes of complaint against Athens, appealed to Sparta, as the head of the Dorian alliance, for aid and justice. The Spartans, after listening to the deputies of both sides, decided that the Athenians had been guilty of injustice, and declared for war. The resolution of the Spartans was indorsed by the Peloponnesian Confederation, and apparently approved by the Delphian oracle, which, in response to an inquiry of the Spartans as to what would be the issue of the proposed undertaking, assured them that "they would gain the victory, if they fought with all their might."

154. The Peloponnesians ravage Attica (431 B.C.). A Peloponnesian army was soon collected at the Isthmus, ready for a campaign against Athens. With invasion imminent, the inhabitants of the hamlets and scattered farmhouses of Attica abandoned their homes and sought shelter behind the defenses of the capital.

Into the plain thus deserted the Peloponnesians marched, and ravaged the country far and near. From the walls of the city the Athenians could see the flames of their burning houses, which recalled to the old men the sight they had witnessed from the island of Salamis just forty-nine years before, at the time of the Persian invasion. The failure of provisions finally compelled the Peloponnesians to withdraw from the country, and the contingents of the different cities scattered to their homes.

155. Funeral Oration of Pericles. It was the custom of the Athenians to bury with public and imposing ceremonies the bodies of those slain in battle. After the burial of the remains, some person chosen by his fellow-citizens on account of his special fitness for the service delivered an oration over the dead, extolling their deeds and exhorting the living to an imitation of their virtues.

It was during the winter following the campaign we have mentioned that the Athenians celebrated the funeral ceremonies of those who had fallen thus far in the war. Pericles was chosen to give the oration on this occasion. This funeral speech, as reported by Thucydides,¹ is one of the most valuable memorials preserved to us from antiquity. The speaker took advantage of the occasion to describe the institutions to which Athens owed her greatness, and to picture the glories of the imperial city for which the heroes they lamented had died. He praised the Athenian government, in which all the citizens, rich and poor alike, had part. He praised, too, Athens's military system, in which the citizen was not sacrificed to the soldier, as at Sparta; and yet Athens was alone a match for Sparta and all her allies. He extolled the intellectual, moral, and social virtues of the Athenians, which were fostered by their free institutions, and declared their city to be "the school of Hellas" and the model for all other cities.

¹ Respecting the speeches which Thucydides introduces so frequently in his narrative, he himself says: "As to the speeches which were made either before or during the war, it was hard for me, and for others who reported them to me, to recollect the exact words. I have therefore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said" (Jowett's *Thucydides*, i. 15).

She would never need a Homer to perpetuate her memory, because she herself had set up everywhere eternal monuments of her greatness. "Such is the city," the speaker exclaimed im-



FIG. 41. THE SO-CALLED MOURNING ATHENA.² (From a photograph)

pressively, "for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and every one of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf."

Then followed words of tribute to the valor and self-devotion of the dead, whose sepulchers and inscriptions were not the graves and the memorial stones of the cemetery,— "for the whole earth is the sepulcher of famous men," and the memorials of them are "graven not on stone but in the hearts of mankind." Finally, with words of comfort for the relatives of the dead, the orator dismissed the assembly to their homes.¹

156. The Plague at Athens (430-429 B.C.). Upon the return of the next campaigning season the Peloponnesians broke once more into Attica and ravaged the land anew. The walls of Athens were

¹ *Thucydides*, ii. 35-46, for the whole oration.

² A bas-relief recently excavated on the Acropolis of Athens. As to the possible connection of this relief with the funeral oration of Pericles, Dr. Waldstein says: "Though I do not mean to say that the inscription which it surmounted referred immediately to those who had fallen in the campaign of 431 B.C., I still feel that the most perfect counterpart in literature is the famous funeral oration of Pericles as recorded by Thucydides."

unassailable by the hostile army ; but unfortunately they were no defense against a more terrible foe. A pestilence broke out in the crowded city and added its horrors to the already unbearable calamities of war. The mortality was frightful. One fourth of the population of the city was swept away. In the third year of the war the plague reappeared at Athens. Pericles, who had been the very soul and life of Athens during all these dark days, fell a victim to the disease.

After the death of Pericles the leadership of affairs at Athens fell to a great degree into the hands of demagogues. The mob element got control of the Ecclesia, so that hereafter we shall find many of its measures marked neither by virtue nor by wisdom.

157. Alcibiades. About midway in the long war—it lasted, with intervals of nominal peace, twenty-seven years—there came into prominence at Athens a new leader of the demos, who played a most conspicuous part, not only in Athenian but also in Hellenic affairs, from this time on to near the close of the war. This was Alcibiades, a young man of noble lineage and of aristocratic associations. He was versatile, brilliant, and resourceful, but unscrupulous, reckless, and profligate. He was a pupil of Socrates, but he failed to follow the counsels of his teacher. His astonishing escapades kept all Athens talking, yet seemed only to attach the people more closely to him, for he possessed all those personal traits which make men popular idols. His influence over the democracy was unlimited. He was able to carry through the Ecclesia almost any measure that it pleased him to advocate.

The more prudent of the Athenians were filled with apprehension for the future of the state under such guidance. The noted misanthrope Timon gave expression to this feeling when, after



FIG. 42. ALCIBIADES

Alcibiades had secured the assent of the popular assembly to one of his impolitic measures, he said to him: "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper; for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd." And it did, as we shall see.

158. The Sicilian Expedition (415-413 B.C.). The most prosperous enterprise of Alcibiades, in the Timonian sense, was the inciting of the Athenians to undertake an expedition against the Dorian city of Syracuse, in Sicily. The resolution to engage in the tremendous enterprise seems to have been taken lightly by the Athenians, which was quite in keeping with their usual way of doing things. The vastness of the armament needed seemed to captivate their imagination. The expedition further presented itself to the ardent imagination of the youth as a sort of pleasure and sight-seeing excursion among the wonders of the land of the "Far West." And so it came about that, in a special meeting of the Ecclesia, the assembly, almost without a dissenting voice, voted for the fateful adventure.

An immense fleet was carefully equipped and manned.¹ Anxiously did those remaining behind watch the departing ships until they were lost to sight. Could the anxious watchers have foreseen the fate of the splendid armament, their anxiety would have passed into despair. "Athens itself was sailing out of the Piræus, never to return."

Scarcely had the expedition arrived at Sicily before Alcibiades, who was one of the generals in command of the armament, was summoned back to Athens to answer a charge of impiety. Fearing to trust himself in the hands of his enemies at Athens, he fled to Sparta, and there, by traitorous counsel, did all in his power to ruin the very expedition he had planned. The surest way, he told the Spartans, in which to wreck the plans of the Athenians was to send to Sicily at once a force of heavy-armed men, and above all a good Spartan general, who alone would be worth a whole army. The Spartans acted upon this advice and sent to Sicily their ablest general, Gylippus, with instructions to push the war there with the utmost vigor.

¹ It consisted of one hundred and thirty-four costly triremes, bearing thirty-six thousand soldiers and sailors.

The affairs of the Athenians in Sicily at just this time were prospering greatly. But the arrival of Gylippus changed everything at once. After some severe fighting, in which the Athenians lost heavily, they resolved to withdraw their forces from the island while retreat by the sea was still open to them.

Just as the ships were about to weigh anchor, there occurred an eclipse of the moon. Nicias, the general in chief command, unfortunately was a superstitious man, having full faith in omens and divination. He sought the advice of his soothsayers. They pronounced the portent an unfavorable one, and advised that the retreat be delayed thirty-seven days. Never did a reliance upon omens more completely undo a people. The delay was fatal.

Further disaster and a failure of provisions finally convinced the Athenians that they must without longer delay fight their way out by sea or by land. But already it was too late. The attempt to force their way through the enemy's fleet in the harbor failed dismally. There was now no course open save retreat by land. Making such preparations as they could for their march, they set out. Pursued and harassed by the Syracusans, the fleeing multitude was practically annihilated. The prisoners, about seven thousand in number, were crowded in deep, open stone quarries around Syracuse, where hundreds soon died of exposure and starvation. Most of the wretched survivors were finally sold as slaves. The tragedy of the Sicilian expedition was ended.

159. The Fall of Athens (404 B.C.). With most admirable courage the Athenians, after the great disaster in Sicily, set to work to retrieve their seemingly irretrievable fortune. Forgetting and forgiving the past, they recalled Alcibiades and gave him command of the army, thereby well illustrating what the poet Aristophanes said respecting the disposition of the Athenians toward the spoiled favorite,—“They love, they hate, but cannot live without him.”

Alcibiades gained some splendid victories for Athens. But he could not undo the evil he had done. He had ruined Athens beyond redemption by any human power. The struggle grew more and more hopeless. Finally, at Ægospotami, on the Hellespont,

the Athenian fleet was surprised and captured by the Spartan general Lysander (405 B. C.). The native Athenians, to the number of four thousand it is said, were put to death, the usual rites of burial being denied their bodies. Among the few Athenian vessels that escaped capture was the state ship *Paralus*, which hastened to Athens with the tidings of the terrible misfortune. It arrived in the night-time, and from the Piræus the awful news, published by a despairing wail, spread up the Long Walls into the upper city. "That night," says Xenophon, "no one slept."

Besieged by sea and land, Athens was soon forced to surrender. Some of the allies insisted upon a total destruction of the city. The Spartans, however, with apparent magnanimity, declared that they would never consent thus "to put out one of the eyes of Greece." The real motive of the Spartans in sparing the city was their fear lest, with Athens blotted out, Thebes or Corinth should become too powerful, and the leadership of Sparta be thereby endangered. The final resolve was that the lives of the Athenians should be spared, but that they should be required to demolish their Long Walls and those of the Piræus, to give up all their ships save twelve, and to bind themselves to do Sparta's bidding by sea and land. The Athenians were forced to surrender on these hard conditions.

The long war was now over. The dominion of the imperial city of Athens was at an end, and the great days of Greece were past.

160. The Results of the War. Greece never recovered from the effects of the war which had destroyed so large a part of her population. Athens was merely the wreck of her former self. The harbor of the Piræus, once crowded with ships, was now empty. The population of the capital had been terribly thinned. Things were just the reverse now of what they were at the time of the Persian invasion, when, with Athens in ruins, Themistocles at Salamis, taunted with being a man without a city, could truthfully declare that Athens was there on the sea in her ships. Now the real Athens was gone; only the empty shell remained.

Not Athens alone, but all Hellas, bore the marks of the cruel war. Sites once covered with pleasant villages or flourishing towns

were now plough and pasture land. The Greek world had sunk many degrees in morality, while the vigor and productiveness of the intellectual and artistic life of Hellas were impaired beyond recovery. The achievements of the Greek intellect in the century following the war were, it is true, wonderful; but these triumphs merely show, we may believe, what the Hellenic mind would have done for art and general culture had it been permitted, unchecked, and under the favoring and inspiring conditions of liberty and self-government, to disclose all that was latent in it.

II. THE SPARTAN AND THE THEBAN SUPREMACY

161. Character of the Spartan Supremacy. For just one generation following the Peloponnesian War (404-371 B.C.) Sparta held the leadership of the Greek states. Throughout that struggle she had maintained that her only purpose in warring against Athens was to regain for the Greek cities the liberty of which she had deprived them. But no sooner was the power of Athens broken than Sparta herself began to play the tyrant. The outcome of her oppressive tyranny we shall notice directly.

162. The Expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks (401-400 B.C.). One of the most memorable episodes of the period of Spartan supremacy was the famous expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks. Cyrus, brother of the Persian king Artaxerxes II and satrap in Asia Minor, feeling that he had been unjustly excluded from the throne by his brother, secretly planned to dethrone him. From various quarters he gathered an army of over a hundred thousand barbarians and about thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries. Setting out from Sardis, he had marched through Asia Minor and across the Mesopotamian plains, thus penetrating to the very heart of the Persian Empire, before, at Cunaxa in Babylonia, his farther advance was disputed by Artaxerxes with an immense army. In the battle which here followed, the splendid conduct of the Greeks won the day for their leader. Cyrus, however, was slain; and the Greek generals, lured to a conference, were treacherously seized and put to death.

The Greeks, in a hurried night meeting, chose new generals to lead them back to their homes. One of these was Xenophon, the popular historian of the expedition. Now commenced one of the most memorable retreats in all history. After a most harassing march over the hot plains of the Tigris and the icy passes of Armenia, the survivors reached the Black Sea, the abode of sister Greek colonies.

The march of the Ten Thousand is regarded as one of the most remarkable military exploits of antiquity. Its historical significance is owing to the fact that it paved the way for the later expedition of Alexander the Great. This it did by revealing to the Greeks the decayed state of the Persian Empire, and showing how feeble was the resistance which it could offer to the march of an army of disciplined soldiers.

163. The Condemnation and Death of Socrates (399 B.C.). While Xenophon was yet away on his expedition there happened in his native city one of the saddest tragedies in history. This was the trial and condemnation to death by the Athenians of their fellow-citizen Socrates, the greatest moral teacher of pagan antiquity. The double charge upon which he was condemned was worded as follows: "Socrates is guilty of crime,—first, for not worshiping the gods whom the city worships, but in introducing new divinities of his own; next, for corrupting the youth." The trial was before a dicastery or citizen court (sect. 150) composed of over five hundred jurors, and the sentence of death was pronounced by a majority vote.

After his condemnation Socrates was led to prison, and there remained for about thirty days before the execution of the sentence. This period Socrates spent in serene converse with his friends upon those lofty themes that had occupied his thoughts during all his life. When at last the hour for his departure had arrived, he bade his friends farewell, and then calmly drank the cup of poison.

164. The Battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.). Throughout the period of her supremacy Sparta continued to deal most tyrannically with the other Greek cities. One of her worst crimes was the

treacherous seizure of the citadel of Thebes and the placing of a Spartan garrison in it. All Greece stood aghast at this perfidious and high-handed act, and looked to see some awful misfortune befall Sparta as a retribution.

And misfortune came speedily enough, and not single-handed. The Spartan garrison was driven out of the citadel by an uprising of the Thebans. A Spartan army was soon in Bœotia. The Thebans met the invaders at Leuctra. The Spartans had no other thought than that they should gain an easy victory. But the military genius of the Theban commander, Epaminondas, had prepared for Hellas a startling surprise. Hitherto the Greeks had fought drawn up in extended and comparatively thin opposing lines, not more than twelve ranks deep. The Spartans at Leuctra formed their line in the usual way. Epaminondas, on the other hand, massed his best troops in a solid column, that is in a phalanx, fifty deep, on the left of his battle line, the rest being drawn up in the ordinary extended line. With all ready for the attack, the phalanx was set in motion first. It ploughed through the thin line of the enemy "as the beak of a ship ploughs through a wave,"—and the day was won. Of the seven hundred Spartans in the fight four hundred were killed. It was the first time that a Spartan army with its king had been fairly beaten in a great battle by an enemy inferior in numbers. The Spartan forces at Thermopylæ headed by their king had, it is true, been annihilated,—but annihilation is not defeat.

The manner in which the news of the overwhelming calamity was received at Sparta affords a striking illustration of Spartan discipline and self-control. It so happened that when the messenger arrived the Spartans were celebrating a festival. The Ephors would permit no interruption of the entertainment. They merely sent lists of the fallen to their families, and ordered that the women should make no lamentation nor show any signs of grief. "The following day," says Xenophon, "those who had lost relatives in the battle appeared on the streets with cheerful faces, while those whose relatives had escaped, if they appeared in public at all, went about with sad and dejected looks." When

we contrast this scene at Sparta with that at Athens upon the night of the receipt of the news of the disaster of Ægospotami (sect. 159), we are impressed with the wide difference in spirit or temperament between the Athenian and the Spartan.

165. **Theban Supremacy (371-362 B.C.).** From the victory of Leuctra dates the short but brilliant period of Theban supremacy. The year after that battle Epaminondas led an army into the Peloponnesus to aid the Arcadians against Sparta. Laconia was ravaged, and for the first time Spartan women saw the smoke of the camp fires of an enemy.

But, moved by jealousy of the rapidly growing power of Thebes, Athens now formed an alliance with her old rival Sparta against her. Three times more did Epaminondas lead an army into the Peloponnesus. Upon his last expedition he fought with the Spartans and Athenians the great battle of Mantinea, in Arcadia. On this memorable field Epaminondas led the Thebans once more to victory; but he himself was slain, and with him fell the hopes and power of Thebes (362 B.C.).

All the chief cities of Greece now lay in a state of exhaustion or of helpless isolation. Sparta had destroyed the empire of Athens; Thebes had broken the dominion of Sparta, but had exhausted herself in the effort. There was now no city energetic, resourceful, unbroken in spirit and strength, such as Athens at the time of the Persian Wars, to act as leader and champion of the Greek states. Yet never was there greater need of such leadership in Hellas than at just this moment; for the Macedonian monarchy was now rising in the north and threatening the independence of all Greece.

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CHAPTER XVIII

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

(336-323 B.C.)

166. The Macedonians and their Rulers. Macedonia was a country lying north of the Cambunian Mountains and back of Chalcidice (see map, p. 54). The people were for the most part mountaineers still in the tribal state.¹ They were Aryans in speech and close kin to the Greeks, but since they did not speak pure Greek and were backward in culture, they were looked upon as barbarians by their more refined city kinsmen of the South. The ruling race in the country, however, claimed to be of genuine Hellenic stock, and this claim had been allowed by the Greeks, who had permitted them to appear as contestants in the Olympian games,—a privilege, it will be recalled, accorded only to those who could prove pure Hellenic ancestry.

167. Philip of Macedon. Macedonia first rose to importance under Philip II (359-336 B.C.), generally known as Philip of Macedon. He was a man of preëminent ability. The art of war he had learned in youth as a hostage-pupil of Epaminondas of Thebes. The "Macedonian phalanx,"² which he is said to have originated, and which holds some such place in the military history of Macedonia as the "legion" holds in that of Rome, was simply a modification of the Theban phalanx that won the day at Leuctra and again at Mantinea.

With his kingdom settled and consolidated at home, Philip's ambition led him to seek the leadership of the Greek states.

¹ There were, however, a few towns in Macedonia, of which Ægæ and Pella, each of which was in turn the seat of the royal court, were of chief note.

² The phalanx was formed of soldiers drawn up sixteen files deep and armed with pikes so long that those of the first five ranks projected beyond the front of the column, thus opposing a perfect thicket of spears to the enemy. On level ground it was irresistible.

168. Battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.). Philip quickly extended his power over a large part of Thrace and the Greek cities of Chalcidice. He was on the way to make himself master of all Greece. Demosthenes at Athens was one of the few who seemed

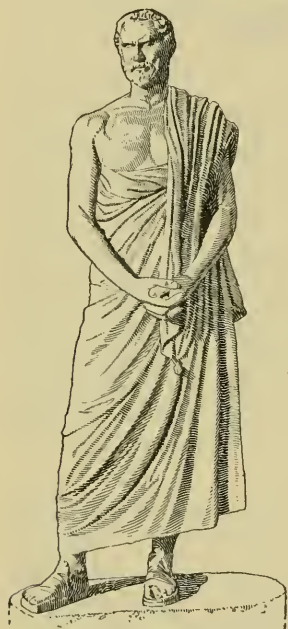


FIG. 43. DEMOSTHENES
(Vatican Museum)

If thy power, Demosthenes, had been as great as thy spirit never had Hellas bowed before the Macedonian sword. — PLUTARCH

to understand the real designs of Philip. With all the energy of his wonderful eloquence he strove to stir up the Athenians to resist Philip's encroachments. He hurled against him his famous "Philippics," speeches so filled with fierce denunciation that they have given name to all writings characterized by bitter criticism or violent invective.

At length the Athenians and Thebans, aroused by the eloquence of Demosthenes and by some fresh encroachments of Philip, united their forces, and met him upon the memorable field of Chæronea in Bœotia. The battle was stubbornly fought, but finally went against the allies. The power and authority of Philip were now extended and acknowledged throughout Greece.

169. Philip's Plan to invade Asia; his Death (336 B.C.). Soon after the battle of Chæronea, Philip convened at Corinth a council of the Greek states. His main object in calling the congress was to secure aid in an expedition for the conquest of the Persian Empire. The exploit of the Ten Thousand Greeks had shown the feasibility of such an undertaking (sect. 162). The plan was indorsed by the congress. Every Greek city was to furnish a contingent for the army of invasion. Philip was chosen leader of the expedition.



EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT
About 323 B.C.
 March of Alexander: —
 0 50 100 200 300
 Scale of Miles.



Authorities:—
 H. Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*
 W. Sieglitz, *Atlas Antiquus*

M. N. WORKS

East 50 from Greenwich 55 60 65 70 75 80

All Greece was now astir with preparations for the great adventure. By the spring of the year 336 B.C. the expedition was ready to move. In the midst of all, Philip was assassinated, and his son Alexander succeeded to his place and power.

170. The Youth of Alexander. Alexander was only twenty years of age when he came to his father's throne. Certain influences under which the boy came in his earliest years left a permanent impress upon his mind and character. By his mother he was taught to trace his descent from the great Achilles, and was incited to emulate his exploits and to make him his model in all things. The *Iliad*, which recounts the deeds of that mythical hero, became the prince's inseparable companion.

After his mother's influence, perhaps that of the philosopher Aristotle, whom Philip persuaded to become the tutor of the youthful Alexander, was the most formative. This great teacher implanted in the mind of the young prince a love of literature and philosophy, and through his inspiring companionship exercised over the eager, impulsive boy an influence for good which Alexander himself gratefully acknowledged in later years.

171. Alexander crosses the Hellespont; the Battle of the Granicus (334 B.C.). Alexander carried out his father's scheme in regard to the Asiatic expedition. In the spring of 334 B.C. he set out at the head of an army numbering about thirty-five thousand men for the conquest of the Persian Empire. Crossing the Hellespont, he met on the banks of the Granicus a Persian army, over which he gained a decisive victory. All Asia Minor now lay open to the invader, and soon practically all of its cities and tribes were brought to acknowledge the authority of the Macedonian.¹

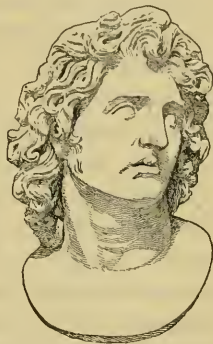


FIG. 44. ALEXANDER
THE GREAT
(Capitoline Museum)

¹ At Gordium, in Phrygia, Alexander performed an exploit which has given the world one of its favorite apothegms. In the temple at this place was a chariot to the pole of which a yoke was fastened by a curiously intricate knot. An oracle had been

172. **The Battle of Issus (333 B.C.).** At the northeast corner of the Mediterranean lies the plain of Issus. Here Alexander met and defeated another great Persian army. The king himself¹ escaped from the field, and hastened to his capital Susa to raise another army to oppose the march of the conqueror.

173. **Alexander in Egypt.** With Syria and the cities of Phœnicia subject to his will, Alexander marched down into Egypt. The Egyptians made no resistance to him, but willingly exchanged masters. While in the country, Alexander founded at one of the mouths of the Nile a city named after himself Alexandria. The city became the meeting place of the East and the West. Its importance through many centuries attests the farsighted wisdom of its founder.

A less worthy enterprise of the conqueror was his expedition to the oasis of Siwah, located in the Libyan desert, where were a celebrated temple and oracle of Zeus Ammon. To gratify his vanity, to impress his new oriental subjects, and especially to qualify himself as the legitimate successor of the divine Pharaoh, Alexander desired to be declared of celestial descent. The priests of the temple, in accordance with the wish of the king, gave out that the oracle pronounced Alexander to be the son of Zeus and the destined ruler of the world.

174. **The Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.).** From Egypt Alexander retraced his steps to Syria and marched eastward. At Arbela, not far from the ancient Nineveh, his farther advance was disputed by Darius with an immense army. The Persian host was overthrown with enormous slaughter. Darius fled from the field, as he had done at Issus, and later was treacherously killed by an attendant.

The battle of Arbela was one of the decisive combats of history. It marked the end of the long struggle between the East and the West, between Persia and Greece, and prepared the way for the spread of Hellenic civilization over all western Asia.

spread abroad to the effect that whoever should untie the knot would become master of Asia. Alexander attempted the feat. Unable to loosen the knot, he drew his sword and cut it. Hence the phrase "cutting the Gordian knot,"—meaning a short way out of a difficulty.

¹ Darius III (336-330 B. C.).

175. Alexander at Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. From the field of Arbela Alexander marched south to Babylon, which opened its gates to him without opposition. Susa was next entered by the conqueror. Here he seized incredible quantities of gold and silver (\$57,000,000, it is said), the treasure of the Great King.

From Susa Alexander's march was directed to Persepolis, where he secured a treasure more than twice as great as that found at Susa. Upon Persepolis Alexander wreaked vengeance for all that Greece had suffered at the hands of the Persians. Many of the inhabitants were massacred and others sold into slavery, while the palaces of the Persian kings were given to the flames.¹

176. Conquests in India. With the tribes of what is now known as Afghanistan subdued, and the remote countries of Bactria and Sogdiana, lying north of the Hindu Kush, conquered and settled, Alexander recrossed the mountains and led his army down into the rich and crowded plains of India (327 B.C.). Here again he showed himself invincible, and received the submission of many of the native princes.

Alexander's desire was to extend his conquests to the Ganges, but his soldiers began to murmur at the length and hardness of their campaigns, and reluctantly he turned back. His return route lay through the ancient Gedrosia, now Baluchistan, a region frightful with burning deserts, amidst which his soldiers endured almost incredible privations and sufferings. After a trying and calamitous march of over two months, Alexander, with the survivors of his army, reached Carmania in Persia.

177. The Plans and Death of Alexander. As the capital of his vast empire, which now stretched from the Ionian Sea to the Indus, Alexander chose the ancient Babylon, upon the Euphrates, for the reason that such a location of the seat of government would help to promote his plans, which aimed at nothing less than the union and Hellenizing of the world.

In the midst of his vast projects Alexander was seized by a fever, brought on doubtless by his insane excesses, and died at Babylon, 323 B.C., in the thirty-second year of his age. His

¹ Read Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*.

soldiers could not let him die without seeing him. The watchers of the palace were obliged to open the doors to them, and the veterans of a hundred battlefields filed sorrowfully past the couch of their dying commander. His body was carried first to Memphis, but afterwards to Alexandria, in Egypt, and there inclosed in a golden coffin, over which was raised a splendid mausoleum. His ambition for celestial honors was gratified in his death; for in Egypt and elsewhere temples were dedicated to him, and divine worship was paid to his statues.

178. Results of Alexander's Conquests. The remarkable conquests of Alexander had far-reaching consequences. First, they ended the long struggle between Persia and Greece, and spread Hellenic civilization over Egypt and western Asia. It is particularly this spreading abroad of the culture of Greece which makes the short-lived Macedonian Empire of such importance in universal history.

Second, the distinction between Greek and barbarian was effaced, and the sympathies of men, hitherto so narrow and local, were widened, and thus an important preparation was made for the reception of the Christian creed of universal brotherhood.

Third, the world was given a universal language of culture, which was a further preparation for the spread of Christian teachings.

But the evil effects of these conquests were also positive and far-reaching. The sudden acquisition by the Greeks of the enormous wealth of the Persian Empire, and contact with the vices and the effeminate luxury of the oriental nations, had a most demoralizing effect upon Hellenic life. Greece became corrupt, and she in turn corrupted Rome. Thus the civilization of classical antiquity was undermined.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE GRÆCO-ORIENTAL WORLD FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE CONQUEST OF GREECE BY THE ROMANS

(323-146 B. C.)

179. *Hellenistic Culture.* It has already been noticed that one of the most important results of the conquests of Alexander was the spreading of Greek culture over the countries of the Near East. It was chiefly through two agencies that the Greek language and arts and Greek letters were spread throughout the Orient. These were, first, the courts of the successors of Alexander which were established in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; and, second, the hundreds of Greek cities which were founded throughout all the regions included in the kingdoms of these Græco-Macedonian rulers. Each court and each city was the radiating center of Greek culture and arts. The new cities, however, which were the more effective of the two agencies in the spread of Greek culture, were founded generally in the midst of a dense native population more or less advanced in civilization. In this environment Hellenic culture in all its elements—language, arts, manners and customs, ways of living, and ways of thinking—inevitably became modified, in some countries less, in others more. We indicate this changed character of the civilization by calling it *Hellenistic*,¹ thereby distinguishing it from the pure *Hellenic* culture of Greece.

The formation of this Hellenistic or Græco-oriental culture is one of the great matters of universal history, a matter like the formation later of the Græco-Roman civilization in the great melting-pot of the world-empire of Rome.

In the remaining sections of this chapter we shall speak briefly of some noteworthy matters in the history of continental Greece

¹ From *Hellenist*, a non-Greek who adopts the Greek language and imitates Greek manners and customs.

during the Hellenistic period and of the leading kingdoms that resulted from the break-up of the empire of Alexander.

180. Macedonia. Before the close of the fourth century B.C. the vast empire created by Alexander's unparalleled conquests had become broken into many fragments. Besides minor states,¹ three kingdoms of special importance, centering in Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt, rose out of the ruins. All were finally overwhelmed by the now rapidly rising power of Rome.

The story of Macedonia from the death of Alexander on to the conquest of the country by the Romans is made up largely of the quarrels and crimes of rival aspirants for the crown that Philip and Alexander had worn. The country was one of the first east of the Adriatic to come in hostile contact with the great military republic of the West. After much intrigue and a series of wars, the country was eventually brought into subjection to the Italian power and made into a Roman province (146 B.C.). A large part of the population were sold as slaves. Not a man of note was left in the country. The great but short rôle Macedonia had played in history was ended.

181. Continental Greece. From the subjection of Greece by Philip of Macedon to the absorption of Macedonia into the growing dominions of Rome, the Greek cities of the peninsula were, much of the time, under the real or nominal overlordship of the Macedonian kings.

In the third century B.C. there arose in Greece two important confederacies, known as the Achæan and Ætolian leagues, whose history embraces almost every matter of interest and instruction in the later political life of the Greek cities. These late attempts

¹ Of these lesser states the following should be noted:

a. Rhodes. The city of Rhodes, on the island of the same name, became the head of a federation of adjacent island and coast cities, and thus laid the basis of a remarkable commercial prosperity and naval power. It was one of the chief centers of Hellenistic culture, and acquired a wide fame through its schools of art and rhetoric. Julius Cæsar and Cicero both studied here under Rhodian teachers of oratory.

b. Pontus. Pontus (Greek for *sea*), a state of Asia Minor, was so called from its position upon the Euxine. It was never thoroughly conquered by the Macedonians. It has a place in history mainly because of the luster shed upon it by the transcendent ability of one of its kings, Mithradates the Great (sect. 278).

at federation among the Grecian cities were fostered by the intense desire of all patriotic Hellenes to free themselves from the hated arbitership of Macedonia. The Greeks had learned at last—but unhappily too late—that the liberty they prized so highly could be maintained only through union.

Both of the leagues were broken up by Rome. In the year 146 B.C., Corinth, the most important member of the Achæan League, was taken by the Romans, the men were killed, the women and children sold into slavery, the rich art treasures of the city sent as trophies to Rome, and its temples and other buildings given to the flames. Later all Greece, under the name of Achæa, was reduced to the status of a Roman province.

182. The Syrian Kingdom. During the two centuries and more of its existence the Syrian kingdom played an important part in the civil history of the world. Under its first king it comprised nominally almost all the countries of Asia conquered by Alexander, thus stretching from the Hellespont to the Indus; but in reality the monarchy embraced only Asia Minor, part of Syria, and the old Assyria and Babylonia. Its rulers were called Seleucidæ, from the founder of the kingdom, Seleucus Nicator, famous as the builder of cities. The successors of Seleucus Nicator led the kingdom through checkered fortunes. On different sides provinces fell away and became independent states.¹ At last, coming into collision with Rome, the kingdom was destroyed, and its lands were incorporated with the Roman Republic (63 B.C.).

183. The Kingdom of the Ptolemies in Egypt (323–30 B.C.). The Græco-Egyptian empire of the Ptolemies, founded by Ptolemy I, surnamed Soter, was by far the most important, in its influence upon the civilization of the world, of all the kingdoms that owed their origin to the conquests of Alexander. Under Ptolemy I, Alexandria became the great depot of exchange for the products of the ancient world. At the entrance of the harbor stood

¹ The most noteworthy of these was Pergamum, a state in western Asia Minor which became independent upon the death of Seleucus Nicator (281 B.C.). Its capital, also called Pergamum, became a most noted center of Greek learning and civilization, and through its great library and university gained the renown of being, next to Alexandria in Egypt, the greatest city of the Hellenistic world.

the Pharos, or lighthouse,—the first structure of its kind. This edifice was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world.

But it was not alone the exchange of material products that was comprehended in Ptolemy's scheme. His aim was to make his capital the intellectual center of the world—the place where the arts, sciences, literatures, and even the religions of the world should meet and mingle. He founded the famous Museum, a sort of college, which became the "University of the East," and established the renowned Alexandrian Library. He encouraged poets, artists, philosophers, and teachers in all departments of learning to settle in Alexandria by conferring upon them immunities and privileges, and by gifts and a munificent patronage. His court embraced the learning and genius of the age.

The rule of the Ptolemies in Egypt lasted almost exactly three centuries (323–30 B.C.). The story of the beautiful but dissolute Cleopatra, the last of the house of the Ptolemies, belongs properly to the history of Rome, which city was now interfering in the affairs of the Orient. In the year 30 B.C., the year which marks the death of Cleopatra, Egypt was made a Roman province.

184. Conclusion. We have now traced the political fortunes of the Greek race through about six centuries of authentic history. In succeeding chapters, in order to render more complete the picture we have endeavored to draw of ancient Hellas, we shall add some details respecting Hellenic art, literature, philosophy, and society. Even a short study of these matters will help us to form a more adequate conception of that wonderful, many-sided genius of the Hellenic race which enabled Hellas, "captured, to lead captive her captor."

References. HOLM, A., vol. iv (the best history in English of the period). GARDNER, E. A., *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. xv, "The Successors of Alexander and Greek Civilization in the East." MAHAFFY, J. B., *The Story of Alexander's Empire*, chaps. vi–xxxii; *Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest*; and *The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*.

CHAPTER XX

GREEK ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING

185. Introductory : the Greek Sense of Beauty. The Greeks were artists by nature. Everything they made, from the shrines for their gods to the meanest utensils of domestic use, was beautiful. "Ugliness gave them pain like a blow." Beauty they placed next to holiness ; indeed, they almost or quite made beauty and goodness the same thing. They are said to have thought it strange that Socrates was good, seeing he was so homely.

I. ARCHITECTURE

186. Orders of Greek Architecture. By the close of the sixth century Greek architecture had made considerable advance and presented three distinct styles, or orders. These are commonly known as the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian (Fig. 45). They are distinguished from one another chiefly by differences in the proportions and ornamentation of the column.

The Doric column is without a base and has a plain capital. At first the Doric temples of the Greeks were almost as massive as those of the Egyptians, but gradually they grew less heavy.

The Ionic column is characterized chiefly by the volutes, or spiral scrolls, of its capital, but is also marked by its fluting, its base, and its slender proportions. This form was principally employed by the Greeks of Ionia, whence its name.

The Corinthian order is distinguished by its rich capital, formed of acanthus leaves. This order was not much employed in Greece before the time of Alexander the Great.

The entire structure was made to harmonize with its supporting columns. The general characteristics of the orders are happily suggested by the terms we use when we speak of the *severe* Doric, the *graceful* Ionic, and the *ornate* Corinthian.

Speaking of the place which these styles held in Greek architecture and have held in that of the world since Greek times, an eminent authority says, "We may admit that the invention and perfecting of these orders of Greek architecture has been (with one exception—the introduction of the arch) the most important event in the architectural history of the world."

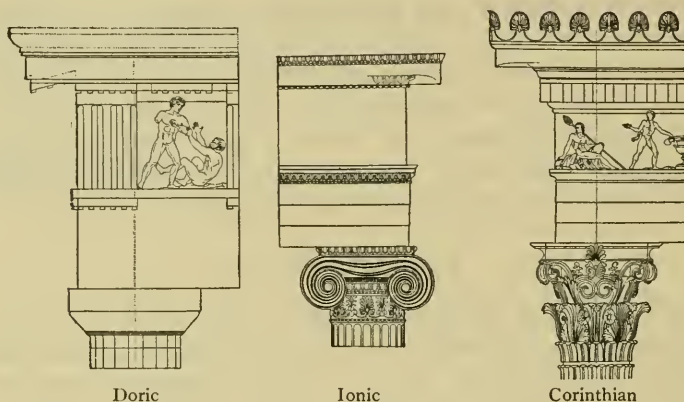


FIG. 45. ORDERS OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE

It was religious feeling which created the noblest monuments of the architectural genius of Hellas. Hence in the few words which we shall have to say about Greek buildings our attention will be confined almost exclusively to the temples of Greece.

187. The Delphian Temple. One of the oldest temple sites in Greece was at Delphi. In the year 548 B. C. the temple then standing was destroyed by fire. All the cities and states of Hellas contributed to its rebuilding. The later structure was impressive from both its colossal size and the massive simplicity that characterizes the Doric style of architecture. It was crowded with the spoils of many battlefields, with the rich gifts of kings, and with rare works of art.¹ After remaining long secure, through the awe and

¹ Besides being in a sense museums, the temples of the Greeks were also banks of deposit. The priests often loaned out on interest the money deposited with them, the revenue from this source being added to that from the leased lands of the temple and from the tithes of war booty to meet the expenses of the services of the shrine.

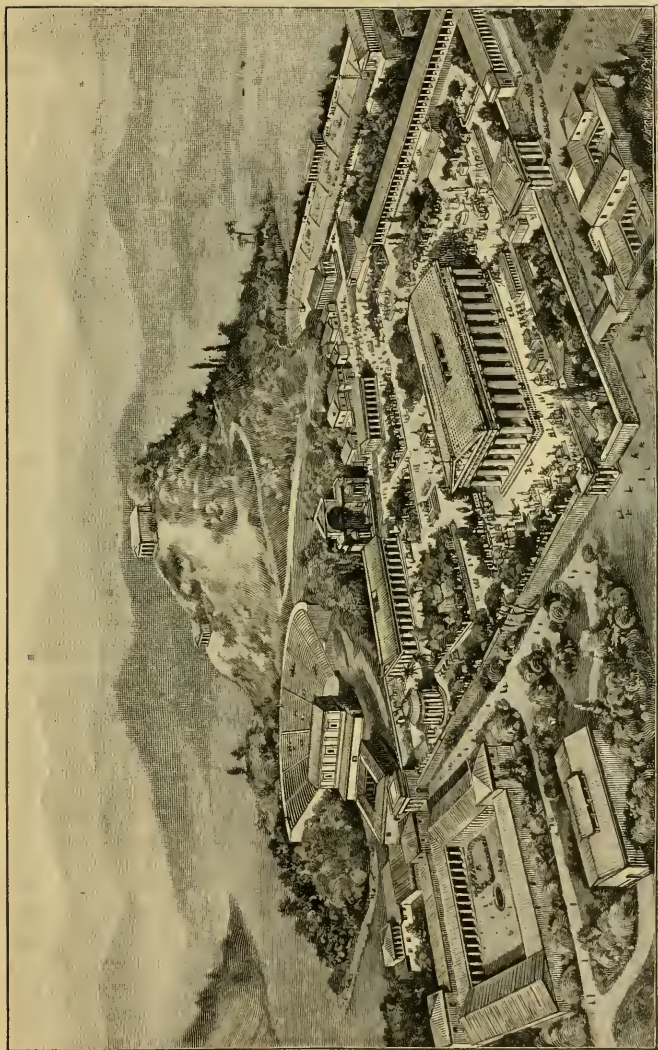


FIG. 46. GENERAL VIEW OF OLYMPIA. (A restoration by *Thiersch*)

reverence which its oracle inspired, it finally suffered repeated spoliation. The Phocians, pressed for funds in a war, despoiled the temple of a treasure equivalent, it is estimated, to more than \$10,000,000, and later the Romans seem to have stripped it almost bare of its art treasures.

188. The Athenian Parthenon. We have already glanced at the Parthenon, the sanctuary of the virgin goddess Athena, upon the Acropolis at Athens (sect. 151). This temple, which is built in the Doric order, of marble from the neighboring Pentelicus, is regarded as the finest specimen of Greek architecture. The art exhibited in its construction is an art of ideal perfection. After standing for more than two thousand years, and having served successively as a pagan temple, a Christian church, and a Mohammedan mosque, it finally was made to serve as a Turkish powder magazine in a war with the Venetians in 1687. Unfortunately a bomb ignited the magazine, and more than half of the wonderful masterpiece was shattered into fragments. Even in its ruined state the structure is the most highly prized memorial that we possess of the builders of the ancient world.

189. Olympia and the Temple of Zeus Olympius. The sacred plain of the Alpheus in Elis was, as we have learned, the spot where were held the celebrated Olympian games. Here was raised a magnificent Doric temple consecrated to Zeus Olympius, and around it were grouped a vast number of shrines, treasure-houses, porticoes, and various other structures.

For many centuries these buildings adorned the consecrated spot and witnessed the recurring festivals. But in the fifth century of our era the Christian emperor Theodosius II ordered their destruction, as monuments of paganism, and the splendid structures were given to the flames. Earthquakes, landslips, and the floods of the Alpheus completed in time the work of destruction and buried the ruins beneath a thick layer of earth.

For centuries the desolate spot remained unvisited; but late in the last century the Germans excavated the temple site and the sites of about forty other structures. The remains unearthed were of such an extensive nature as to make possible a restoration

of the noble assemblage of buildings which we may believe recreates with fidelity the scene looked upon by the visitor to Olympia in the days of its architectural glory (Fig. 46).

190. Theaters and Stadia. The Greek theater was semi-circular in form, and open to the sky, as shown in the accompanying cut. The space between the lower range of seats and the stage was the orchestra, or dancing-place for the chorus.

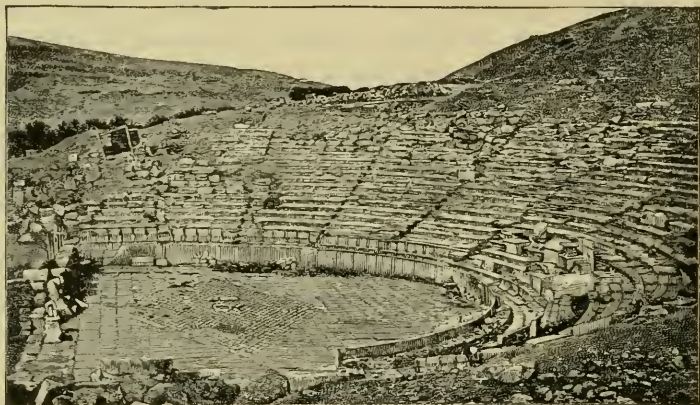


FIG. 47. THE THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS. (From a photograph)

The most noted of Greek theaters was the Theater of Dionysus at Athens, which was the model of all the others. It was cut partly in the native rock on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, the Greeks in the construction of their theaters generally taking advantage of a hillside. The structure probably would seat about twenty thousand spectators.

The Greek stadium, in which foot races and other games were held, was a narrow rectangular enclosure between six and seven hundred feet in length. In its construction, as in that of the theater, advantage was usually taken of a hillside, or of a trough between two ridges, the slopes of which gave standing-ground for the spectators or, in later times, formed the foundation for tiers of wooden or stone seats. There was a stadium at every chief place of assemblage in the Greek world.

II. SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

191. The Archaic Period, down to the Persian Wars. Among the oldest remains of Greek sculpture are specimens of carvings in relief. A good example of this archaic phase of Greek sculpture is seen in the tombstone of Aristion (Fig. 48), discovered in Attica in 1838. The date of this work is placed at about 500 B.C. A sort of Egyptian rigidity still binds the limbs of the figure, yet there are suggestions of the grace and freedom of a truer and a higher art.

192. Influence of the Olympic Games and the Gymnasium upon Greek Sculpture. Toward the latter part of the sixth century B.C. it became the custom to set up images of the victors in the Olympic games. It was probably this custom that gave one of the earliest impulses to Greek sculpture. The grounds at Olympia became crowded with "a band of chosen youth in imperishable forms."

In still another way did the Olympic contests and the exercises of the gymnasia exert a most helpful influence upon Greek sculpture. They afforded the artist unrivaled opportunities for the study of the human form. "The whole race," as Symonds says, "lived out its sculpture and its painting, rehearsed, as it were, the great works of Phidias and Polygnotus in physical exercises before it learned to express itself in marble or in color."

193. The Period of Perfection of Greek Sculpture; Phidias. Greek sculpture was at its best during the last half of the fifth century B.C.¹ The preëminent sculptor of this period of perfection

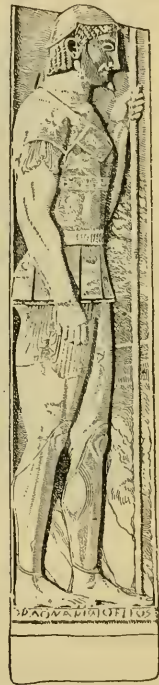


FIG. 48. STELE
OF ARISTION

Example of archaic
Attic sculpture

¹ Almost all the masterpieces of the Greek sculptors have perished; they are known to us for the most part only through Roman copies.

was Phidias. It was his genius which, as already mentioned, created the marvelous figures of the pediments and of the frieze of the Parthenon.¹

The most celebrated of his colossal sculptures were the statue of Athena within the Parthenon and that of Olympian Zeus in the temple at Olympia. The statue of Athena was of gigantic size,



FIG. 49. THE WRESTLERS

"Particularly were the games promotive of sculpture, since they afforded the sculptor living models for his art" (sect. 103)

being about forty feet in height, and was constructed of ivory and gold, the hair, weapons, and drapery being of the latter material. The statue of Olympian Zeus was also of ivory and gold. It was sixty feet high and represented the god seated on his throne. The colossal proportions of this wonderful work, as well as the lofty yet benign aspect of the countenance, harmonized well with the popular conception of the majesty and grace of the "father of gods and men." It was thought a great misfortune to die without having seen the Olympian Zeus. The statue was

in existence for eight hundred years. It is believed to have been carried to Constantinople and to have perished there in a conflagration in the fifth century of the Christian era.

194. Praxiteles. Though Greek sculpture attained its highest perfection in the fifth century, still the following century produced sculptors whose work possessed qualities of rare excellence. The most eminent sculptor of this period was Praxiteles (period of activity about 360-340 B.C.), of whom it has been said that he "rendered into stone the moods of the soul." Among his chief pieces was the *Hermes*, which was set up at Olympia. To the great

¹ The subject of the wonderful frieze was the procession which formed the most important feature of an Athenian festival celebrated every four years in honor of the patron goddess of Athens. The best part of the frieze is now in the British Museum, the Parthenon having been largely despoiled of its coronal of sculptures by Lord Elgin. Read Lord Byron's *The Curse of Minerva*.

joy of archæologists this precious memorial of antiquity was discovered in 1877, so that now we possess an undoubtedly original work of one of the great masters of Greek sculpture (Fig. 50).

195. The School of Rhodes. The Græco-oriental period saw the rise at Rhodes, at this time the commercial emporium of the eastern Mediterranean, of a celebrated school of sculpture. Very many of the prized works of Greek art in our museums were executed by members of this Rhodian school. One of the most noted of the Rhodian sculptors was Chares, the designer of the celebrated *Colossus of Rhodes* (about 280 B.C.). This work was reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world.¹

But the most remarkable piece of sculpture (one of the masterpieces of Hellenistic art) at-

tributed to members of the school of Rhodes is the celebrated group known as the *Laocoön* (Fig. 51), found at Rome in 1506.

196. Painting. With the exception of antique vases, a few patches of mural decoration, some interesting portraits, dating probably from the second century after Christ, found in graves in Lower Egypt, and colored sculpturings, all specimens of Greek painting have perished. Not a single work of any great painter of antiquity has survived the accidents of time. Consequently

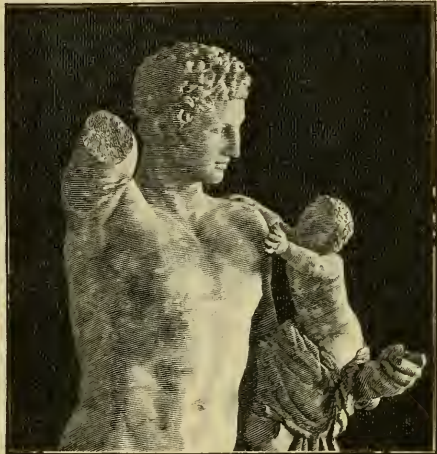


FIG. 50. HERMES WITH THE INFANT
DIONYSUS

An original work of Praxiteles, found in 1877 at Olympia. "The only certainly identified original work of any famous Greek Artist"

¹ The statue was not quite as large as the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor. After standing about half a century, the Colossus was overthrown by an earthquake. Nine hundred years later it was broken up and sold for old metal.

our knowledge of Greek painting is derived chiefly from the description by the ancient writers of renowned works, and their anecdotes of great painters.

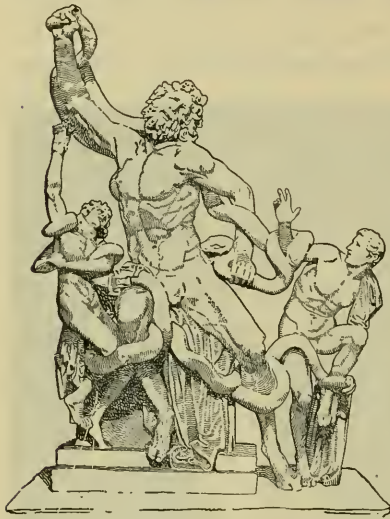


FIG. 51. THE LAOCOÖN GROUP.
(Vatican Museum)

Found at Rome in 1506. The subject represented is the cruel suffering inflicted upon Laocoön, a Trojan priest, and his two sons, through the agency of terrible serpents sent by Athena, whose anger Laocoön had incurred (see *Aeneid*, ii, 212-224)

Polygnotus (flourished 475-455 B.C.) has been called the Prometheus of painting, because he was the first to give fire and animation to the expression of the countenance. "In his hand," it is affirmed, "the human features became for the first time the mirror of the soul." Of a Polyxena¹ painted by this great master it was said that "she carried in her eyelids the whole history of the Trojan War."

Apelles, the "Raphael of antiquity," was the court painter of Alexander the Great. He was such a consummate master of the art of painting and carried it to such a state of perfection that the ancient writers spoke of it as the "Art of Apelles." After him the art declined, and no other really great name appears.

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¹ Polyxena was a daughter of the Trojan Priam, famous for her beauty and sufferings.

CHAPTER XXI

GREEK LITERATURE

197. The Greeks as Literary Artists. It was that same exquisite sense of fitness and proportion and beauty which made the Greeks artists in marble that also made them artists in language. "Of all the beautiful things which they created," says Professor Jebb, "their own language was the most beautiful." This language they wrought into epics and lyrics and dramas and histories and orations as incomparable in form and beauty as their temples and statues.

198. The Homeric Poems. The most precious literary products of the springtime of Hellas are the so-called Homeric poems,—the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*,—wherein are reflected the glories of that brilliant Ægean civilization which preceded the historic culture of Greece.

Until the rise of modern German criticism these poems were almost universally ascribed to a single bard named Homer, who was believed to have lived about the middle of the ninth century B.C., one or two centuries after the events commemorated in his poems. Tradition represents seven different cities as contending for the honor of having been his birthplace. He traveled widely (so it was believed), lost his sight, and then as a wandering minstrel sang his immortal verses to admiring listeners in the different cities of Hellas.

But it is now the opinion of perhaps the majority of scholars that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as they stand today, are not, either of them, the creation of a single poet. They are believed to be the work of many bards. The "Wrath of Achilles," however, which forms the nucleus of the *Iliad*, may, with very great probability, be ascribed to Homer, whom we may believe to have been the most prominent of a brotherhood of bards who flourished about

the ninth and eighth centuries before the Christian era. The *Odyssey* is probably at least a century later than the *Iliad*.

199. **Hesiod.** Hesiod, who is believed to have lived toward the close of the eighth century B.C., was the poet of nature and of peasant life in the dim transition age of Hellas. The Homeric

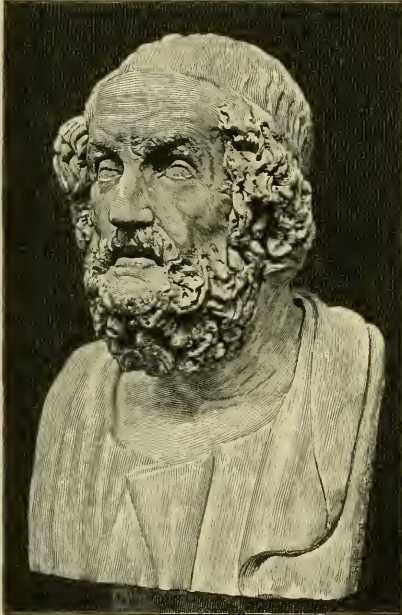


FIG. 52. HOMER

Ideal portrait of the Hellenistic Age

bards sang of the deeds of heroes and of a far-away time when gods mingled with men. Hesiod sings of common men and of everyday, present duties. His greatest poem is *Works and Days*. This is in the main a sort of farmer's calendar, with minute instructions respecting farm labor, and beautiful descriptive passages of the changing seasons.

200. **Lyric Poetry.** The island of Lesbos was the hearth and home of several of the earlier lyric poets. Among these singers was Sappho (about 610-570 B.C.), who was exalted by the Greeks to a place next to Homer.

Plato calls her the Tenth Muse. Although her fame endures, her poetry, excepting a few precious verses, has long since perished. Anacreon (period of poetical activity about 550-500 B.C.) was a courtier at the time of the Greek tyrannies.

But the greatest of the Greek lyric poets, and perhaps the greatest of all lyric poets of every age and race, was Pindar (522-448 B.C.). He was born at Thebes, but spent most of his time in the cities of Magna Græcia. The greater number of Pindar's

poems were inspired by the scenes of the national festivals. They describe in lofty strains the splendors of the Olympian chariot races, or the glory of the victors at the Isthmian, the Nemean, or the Pythian games.

201. Origin of the Greek Drama. The Greek drama, in both its branches of tragedy and comedy, grew out of the songs and dances instituted in honor of the god of wine, Dionysus. Tragedy (goat song, possibly from the accompanying sacrifice of a goat) sprang from the graver songs, and comedy (village song) from the



FIG 53. HOEING AND PLOUGHING. (From a vase painting of the sixth century B.C.)

Pray to Zeus . . . when thou beginnest thy labor, as soon as, putting thy hand to the plough, thou touchest the back of the oxen that draw at the oaken beam. Just behind thee, let a servant, equipped with a mattock, raise trouble for the birds by covering the seed. — HESIOD, *Works and Days*, vv. 465-471 (Croiset's trans.)

lighter and more farcical ones. Gradually recital and dialogue were added, there being at first but a single speaker, then two, and finally three, which last was the classical number.

Owing to its origin, the Greek drama always retained a religious character and, further, presented two distinct features, the chorus (the songs and dances) and the dialogue. At first the chorus was the all-important part; but later the dialogue became the more prominent portion, the chorus, however, always remaining an essential feature of the performance. Finally, in the golden age of the Attic stage, the chorus dancers and singers were carefully trained at great expense, and the dialogue and choral odes were the masterpiece of some great poet,—and then the Greek drama, the most splendid creation of human genius, was complete.

202. The Three Great Tragic Poets. There are three great names in Greek tragedy,—Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

These dramatists all wrote during the splendid period which followed the victories of the Persian Wars. They drew the material of their plays chiefly from the myths and legends of the heroic age, just as Shakespeare for many of his plays used the legends of the semi-historical periods of his own country or of other lands. Of the two hundred and more dramas produced by these poets, only thirty-two have escaped the accidents of time.

Æschylus (525-456 B.C.) knew how to touch the hearts of the generation that had won the victories of the Persian Wars, for he had fought at Marathon and probably also at Salamis. The Athenians called him the Father of Tragedy. The central idea of his dramas is that "Zeus tames excessive lifting up of heart." *Prometheus Bound* is one of his chief works. Another of his great tragedies is *Agamemnon*, thought by some to be his masterpiece. The theme of his *The Persians* was the defeat of Xerxes and his host, which afforded the poet a good opportunity "to state his philosophy of Nemesis, here being a splendid tragic instance of pride humbled, of greatness brought to nothing, through one man's impiety and pride."

Sophocles (about 496-405 B.C.) while yet a youth gained the prize in a poetic contest with Æschylus. Plutarch says that Æschylus was so chagrined by his defeat that he left Athens and retired to Sicily. Sophocles now became the leader of tragedy at Athens. His dramas were perfect works of art.¹ The central idea of his pieces is the same as that which characterizes those of Æschylus, namely, that self-will and insolent pride arouse the righteous indignation of the gods, and that no mortal can contend successfully against the will of Zeus.

Euripides (480-406 B.C.) was a more popular dramatist than either Æschylus or Sophocles. His fame passed far beyond the limits of Greece. Plutarch says that the Sicilians were so fond of his lines that many of the Athenian prisoners, taken before Syracuse, bought their liberty by teaching their masters his verses.

¹ The chief works of Sophocles are *Ædipus Tyrannus*, *Ædipus Coloneus*, and *Antigone*, all of which are founded upon the old tales of the prehistoric royal line of Thebes.

203. Comedy; Aristophanes. Foremost among all writers of comedy must be placed Aristophanes (about 450–385 B.C.). For a generation his inimitable humor furnished the Athenians with a chief part of their entertainment in the theater.¹ He even made the Athenians laugh at themselves as he held up to mirth-provoking ridicule their mania for everything new, and made fun of their proceedings in the Ecclesia, their fondness for sitting daylong in their great law courts, and their way of doing things in general.

204. The Three Great Historians. Poetry is the first form of literary expression among all peoples. So we must not be surprised to find that it was not until two centuries or more after the composition of the Homeric poems, that is, about the sixth century B.C., that prose writing appeared among the Greeks. Historical composition was then first cultivated. We can speak briefly of only three historians—Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon—whose names were cherished among the ancients, and whose writings are highly valued by ourselves.

Herodotus (about 484–425 B.C.), born at Halicarnassus, in Asia Minor, is called the Father of History. He traveled over much of the then-known world, visiting Italy, Egypt, and Babylonia, and described as an eyewitness, with a never-failing vivacity and freshness, the wonders of the different lands he had seen. Herodotus lived in a story-telling age, and he is himself an inimitable story-teller. To him we are indebted for a large part of the picturesque tales of antiquity,—tales of men and happenings of which the world will never tire. He was overcredulous, and was often imposed upon by his guides in Egypt and at Babylon; but he describes with great care and accuracy what he himself saw. The central theme of his great history is the Persian Wars, the struggle between Asia and Greece.

Thucydides (about 471–400 B.C.), though not so popular an historian as Herodotus, was a much more philosophical writer. He held a command during the earlier years of the Peloponnesian War, but having incurred the displeasure of the Athenians he was sent into the exile which afforded him leisure to compose his

¹ His best-known plays are the *Knights*, the *Clouds*, the *Wasps*, the *Birds*, and the *Frogs*.

history of that great struggle. Thucydides died before his task was completed. His work is considered a model of historical writing. Demosthenes read and reread his writings to improve his own style; and the greatest orators and historians of modern times have been equally diligent students of the work of the great Athenian.

Xenophon (about 445–355 B. C.) was an Athenian, and is known both as a general and as a writer. The works that render his name so familiar are his *Anabasis*, a simple yet thrilling narrative of the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks (sect. 162), and his *Memorabilia*, or "Recollections" of Socrates.



FIG. 54. THUCYDIDES
(National Museum, Naples)

205. Oratory; Demosthenes. The art of oratory among the Greeks was fostered and developed by the generally democratic character of their institutions. The public assemblies of the democratic cities were great debating clubs, open to all. The gift of eloquence secured for its possessor a sure preëmi-

nence. The great jury courts of Athens (sect. 150) were also schools of oratory; for every citizen there was obliged to be his own advocate and to defend his own case.

It has been the fortune of Demosthenes (385–322 B. C.) to have his name become throughout the world the synonym of eloquence. The labors and struggles by which, according to tradition, he achieved excellence in his art are held up anew to each generation of youth as guides to the path to success. Respecting the orations of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon we have already spoken (sect. 168).

206. The Alexandrian Age (300–146 B. C.). Under the Ptolemies Alexandria in Egypt became the center of literary activity, hence the term *Alexandrian*, applied to the literature of the age. The great Museum and Library of the Ptolemies afforded in that capital such facilities for students and authors as existed in

no other city in the world. But the creative age of Greek literature was over. The writers of the period were commentators and translators. One of the most important literary undertakings of the age was the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures of the *Old Testament* into Greek. From the traditional number of translators (seventy) the version is known as the *Septuagint*.

Among the poets of the period one name, and only one, stands out clear and preëminent. This is that of Theocritus, a Sicilian poet, who wrote at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus. His rustic idyls are charming pictures of Sicilian pastoral life.

207. Conclusion: Græco-Roman Writers. After the Roman conquest of Greece, the center of Greek literary activity shifted from Alexandria to Rome. Hence Greek literature now passes into what is known as its Græco-Roman period (146 B.C.—A.D. 527).

The most noted historical writer of the first part of this period was Polybius (d. 121 B.C.), who wrote a history of the Roman conquests from 264 to 146 B.C. His work, though it has reached us in a sadly mutilated state, is of great worth; for Polybius wrote of matters that had become history in his own day. He had lived to see the greater part of the world he knew absorbed by the ever-growing dominions of the city of Rome.

Plutarch (b. about A.D. 40), "the prince of biographers," will always live in literature as the author of the *Parallel Lives*, in which, with great wealth of illustrative anecdotes, he compares or contrasts Greek and Roman statesmen and soldiers. One motive that led Plutarch to write the book, as we may infer from the partiality which he displays for his Greek heroes, was a desire to let the world know that Hellas had once bred men the peers of the best men that Rome had ever brought forth; another was "through the example of great men to teach men to live well." And this last end he attained, for his work has been and is a great force in the moral education of the world.

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CHAPTER XXII

GREEK PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

208. The Seven Sages: the Forerunners. About 600 B.C. there lived in different parts of Hellas many persons of real or reputed originality and wisdom. Among these were seven men, called the Seven Sages, who held the place of preëminence.¹ To them belongs the distinction of having first aroused the Greek intellect to philosophical thought. The wise sayings—such as “Know thyself,” “Nothing in excess,”—attributed to them are beyond number.

While the maxims and proverbs ascribed to the sages, like the so-called proverbs of Solomon, contain a vast amount of practical wisdom, they do not constitute philosophy proper, which is a systematic search for the reason and causes of things. They form simply the introduction or prelude to Greek philosophy.

209. The Ionic Philosophers; Thales. The first Greek school of philosophy grew up in the cities of Ionia, in Asia Minor, where almost all forms of Hellenic culture seem to have had their beginnings. The founder of the school was Thales of Miletus (born about 640 B.C.), the Father of Greek Philosophy.

Thales visited Egypt, and it is probable that what he learned there formed the basis of his work in geometry and astronomy. He is said to have taught the Egyptians how to measure the height of the pyramids by means of their shadows. He is also credited with having foretold an eclipse of the sun—a very great scientific achievement.

210. Pythagoras. Pythagoras (about 580-500 B.C.) was born on the island of Samos, whence his title of the “Samian Sage.”

¹ As in the case of the seven wonders of the world, ancient writers were not always agreed as to what names should be accorded the honor of enrollment in the sacred number. Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilo, Bias, and Pittacus are, however, usually reckoned as the Seven Wise Men.

The most of his later years were passed at Croton, in southern Italy, where he became the founder of a celebrated brotherhood, or association. Legend tells how his pupils in debate used no other argument than the words *Ipse dixit* ("he himself said so"). It is to Pythagoras, according to the legend, that we are indebted for the word *philosopher*. Being asked of what he was master, he replied that he was simply a "philosopher," that is, a "lover of wisdom."

In astronomy the Pythagoreans held views which anticipated by two thousand years those of Copernicus. They taught that the earth is a sphere, and that it, together with the other planets, revolves about a central globe of fire, "the hearth, or altar, of the universe."

211. Anaxagoras. Anaxagoras (about 500-427 B.C.) was the first Greek philosopher who made *Mind*, instead of necessity or chance, the arranging and harmonizing force of the universe. "Reason rules the world" was his first maxim. In the views he held of the universe in general Anaxagoras was far in advance of his age. He taught that the sun was not a god, but a glowing rock, as large, probably as the Peloponnesus. He suffered the fate of Galileo in a later age; he was charged with impiety and exiled. Yet this did not disturb the serenity of his mind. In banishment he said, "It is not I who have lost the Athenians, but the Athenians who have lost me."

212. The Sophists. The Sophists were a class of philosophers or teachers who gave instruction in rhetoric and the art of disputation. They traveled about from city to city, and contrary to the custom of the Greek philosophers took fees from their pupils. They were in general teachers of superficial knowledge, who cared more for the dress in which the thought was arrayed than for the thought itself. The better philosophers of the time despised them, and applied to them many harsh epithets, taunting them with selling wisdom and accusing them of boasting that they could "make the worse appear the better reason." But there were those among the Sophists who taught a true philosophy of life and whose good influence was great and lasting.

213. Socrates. Volumes would not contain all that would be both instructive and interesting respecting the teachings and speculations of the three great philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. We can, however, accord to each only a few words. Of these three eminent thinkers, Socrates (469-399 B.C.) has the firmest hold upon the affections of the world.

Nature, while generous to Socrates in the gifts of soul, was unkind to him in the matter of his person. His face was ugly as a satyr's so that he invited the shafts of the comic poets of his time. He loved to gather a little circle about him in the Agora or in the streets, and then draw out his listeners by a series of ingenious questions. His method was so peculiar to himself that it has received the designation of the "Socratic dialogue." He has very happily been called an *educator*, as opposed to an *instructor*. Among the young men of his time Socrates found many devoted pupils.

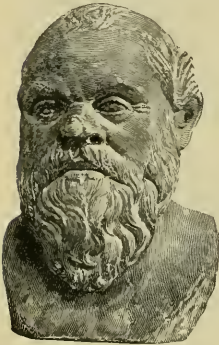


FIG. 55. SOCRATES
(National Museum,
Naples)

This great philosopher believed that the proper study of mankind is man, his favorite maxim being "Know thyself." He taught one of the purest systems of morals that the world had yet known, one which has been surpassed only by the precepts of the Great Teacher. He believed in the immortality of the soul and in a Supreme Ruler of the universe. Of his prosecution and condemnation to death on the charge of impiety, and of his last hours with his devoted disciples, we have already spoken (sect. 163).

214. Plato. Plato (427-347 B.C.), "the broad-browed," was a philosopher of noble birth, before whom in youth opened a brilliant career in the world of Greek affairs; but, coming under the influence of Socrates, he resolved to give up all his prospects in politics and devote himself to philosophy. Upon the condemnation and death of his master he went into voluntary exile. He finally returned to Athens and established a school of philosophy

in the Academy. Here, amid the disciples that thronged to his lectures, he passed the greater part of his long life laboring incessantly upon the great works that bear his name.

Plato imitated in his writings Socrates' method in conversation. The discourse is carried on by questions and answers, hence the term *Dialogues* that attaches to his works. He attributes to his master, Socrates, much of the philosophy that he teaches; yet his writings are all deeply tinged with his own genius and thought. In the *Republic* Plato portrays his conception of an ideal state. The *Phædo* is a record of the last conversation of Socrates with his disciples,—an immortal argument for the immortality of the soul.

Plato believed not only in a future life (postexistence) but also in preëxistence; teaching that the ideas of reason, or our intuitions, are reminiscences of a past experience.¹ Plato's doctrines have exerted a profound influence upon all schools of thought and philosophies since his day. In some of his precepts he made a close approach to the teachings of Christianity. "We ought to become like God," he said, "as far as this is possible; and to become like him is to become holy and just and wise."

215. Aristotle. As Socrates was surpassed by his pupil Plato, so in turn was Plato excelled by his disciple Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), "the master of those who know." In him the philosophical genius of the Hellenic intellect reached its culmination. It may be doubted whether all the ages since his time have produced so profound and powerful an intellect as his. He was born in the Macedonian city of Stagira, and hence is frequently called "the Stagirite."

After studying for twenty years in the school of Plato, Aristotle accepted the invitation of Philip II of Macedon to become the preceptor of his son, the young prince Alexander (sect. 170). In

¹ In the following lines from Wordsworth we catch a glimpse of Plato's doctrine of preëxistence:

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:

Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory, do we come
From God, who is our home.

Ode on Immortality

after years Alexander became the liberal patron of his tutor, and, besides giving him large sums of money, encouraged and aided him in his scientific studies by causing to be sent to him collections of plants and animals gathered on his distant expeditions.

Among the productions of Aristotle are works on the natural history of animals, on rhetoric, logic, poetry, morals, politics, and physics. For centuries his works were studied and copied and commented upon by both European and Asiatic scholars, in the schools of Athens and Rome, of Alexandria and Constantinople. Until the time of Bacon in England, for nearly two thousand years, Aristotle ruled over the realm of mind with a despotic sway. All teachers and philosophers acknowledged him as their guide and master.



FIG. 56. ARISTOTLE. (Spada Palace, Rome)

216. Zeno and the Stoics. We are now approaching the period when the political life of Hellas was failing, and was being fast overshadowed by the greatness of Rome. But the intellectual life of the Greek race was by no means eclipsed by

the calamity that ended its political existence. For centuries after that event the poets, scholars, and philosophers of this highly gifted people led a brilliant career in the schools and universities of the Mediterranean world. From among all the philosophers of this long period we select for brief mention only two, Zeno and Epicurus, who are noted as founders of schools of philosophy that exerted a vast influence upon both the thought and the conduct of many centuries.

Zeno, the founder of the celebrated school of the Stoics, lived in the third century before our era (about 340–265 B.C.). He taught at Athens in a public porch (in Greek, *stoa*), from which

circumstance comes the name applied to his disciples.¹ The Stoics inculcated virtue for its own sake. They believed—and it would be difficult to frame a better creed—that “man’s chief business here is to do his duty.” They schooled themselves to bear with composure any lot that destiny might appoint. Any sign of emotion on account of calamity was considered unmanly. Thus a certain Stoic, when told of the sudden death of his son, is said merely to have remarked, “Well, I never imagined that I had given life to an immortal.”

This Stoic code did not become a really important factor in the moral life of the ancient world until after its adoption by the finer spirits among the Romans. It never influenced the masses, but for several centuries it gave moral support and guidance to many of the best men of the Roman race, among whom were several emperors. In truth, Stoicism was one of the most helpful elements in the rich legacy which Hellas transmitted to Rome.

217. Epicurus and the Epicureans. In opposition to the Stoics, Epicurus (341–270 B.C.) taught that *pleasure* is the highest good. He recommended virtue, indeed, but only as a means for the attainment of pleasure; whereas the Stoics made virtue an end in itself. In other words, Epicurus said, “Be virtuous, because virtue will bring you the greatest amount of happiness”; Zeno said, “Be virtuous, because you ought to be.”

Epicurus had many followers in Greece, and his doctrines were eagerly embraced by many among the Romans during the later corrupt period of the Empire. Many of these disciples carried the doctrines of their master to an excess that he himself would have been the first to condemn. Their whole philosophy was expressed in the proverb, “Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.”

218. Mathematics; Euclid and Archimedes. Alexandria, in Egypt, became the seat of the most celebrated school of mathematics of antiquity. Here, under Ptolemy Soter, flourished Euclid, the great geometer, whose work forms the basis of the science of

¹ The Stoical philosophy was the outgrowth, in part at least, of that of the Cynics. The typical representative of this sect is found in Diogenes, who lived, so the story goes, in a wine cask and went about Athens by daylight with a lantern, in search, as he said, of a *man*. The Cynics were simply a race of pagan hermits.

geometry as taught in our schools today. Ptolemy himself was his pupil. The royal student, however, seems to have disliked the severe application required to master the problems of Euclid, and asked his teacher if there was not some easier way. Euclid replied, "There is no royal road to geometry." In the third century B.C., Syracuse, in Sicily, was the home of Archimedes, the greatest mathematician that the Grecian world produced.

219. Astronomy and Geography. Among ancient Greek astronomers and geographers the names of Aristarchus and Claudius Ptolemy are best known. Aristarchus of Samos, who lived in the third century B.C., held that the earth revolves about the sun as a fixed center, and rotates on its own axis. He was the Greek Copernicus. But his theory was rejected by his contemporaries and successors.

Claudius Ptolemy lived in Egypt about the middle of the second century after Christ. He compiled a vast work which preserved and transmitted to later times almost all the knowledge of the ancient world on astronomical and geographical subjects. In this way it has happened that his name has become attached to various doctrines and views respecting the universe, though these probably were not originated by him. The phrase "Ptolemaic System," however, links his name inseparably, whether the honor be fairly his or not, with that conception of the solar system set forth in his works, which continued to be the received theory from his time until Copernicus, fourteen centuries later.

Ptolemy combated the theory of Aristarchus in regard to the rotation and revolution of the earth; yet he believed the earth to be a globe, and supported this view by exactly the same arguments that we today use to prove the doctrine.

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CHAPTER XXIII

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE GREEKS

220. Education. Education at Sparta, where it was chiefly gymnastic, as we have seen, was a state affair; but at Athens and throughout Greece generally, the youth were trained in private schools. These were of all grades, ranging from those kept by the most obscure teachers, who gathered their pupils in some recess of the street, to those established in the Athenian Academy and the Lyceum by such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle.

It was only the boys who received education. In the

nursery the boy was taught the beautiful myths and stories of the national mythology and religion.¹ At about seven he entered school, being led to and from the place of training



FIG. 57. A GREEK SCHOOL. (From a vase painting of the fifth century B. C.)

The master on the left is teaching the boy seated in front of him to play the lyre; the master in the center of the picture is giving instruction in reading or in recitation to the boy standing before him. The man seated and leaning on a staff is probably the pedagogue who has brought the boys to the school

¹ Infanticide was almost universally practiced throughout Greece. (At Thebes, however, the exposure of children was prohibited by severe laws.) Such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle saw nothing in the custom to condemn. Among the Spartans, as we have already learned, the state determined what infants might be preserved, condemning the weakly or ill-formed to be cast out to die. At Athens and in other states the right to expose his child was given to the father. The infant was abandoned in some desert place, or left in some frequented spot in the hope that it might be picked up and cared for. Greek literature, like that of every other people of antiquity, is filled with stories and dramas all turning upon points afforded by this common practice.

by an old slave, who bore the name of *pedagogue*, which in Greek means a guide or leader of boys, not a teacher. His studies were grammar, music and gymnastics, the aim of the course being to secure a symmetrical development of mind and body alike.

Grammar included reading, writing, and arithmetic; music, which embraced a wide range of mental accomplishments, trained the boy to appreciate the masterpieces of the great poets, to contribute his part to the musical diversions of private entertainments, and to join in the sacred choruses and in the pæan of the battlefield. The exercises of the palestræ and the gymnasium trained him for the Olympic contests, or for those sterner hand-to-hand battle struggles in which so much depended upon personal strength and dexterity.

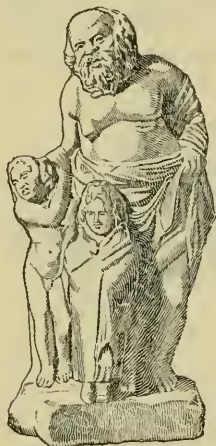


FIG. 58. PEDAGOGUE AND CHILDREN. (Terra-cotta group from Tanagra; Louvre, Paris)

Upon reaching maturity the youth was enrolled in the list of citizens. But his graduation from school was his "commencement" in a much more real sense than with the average modern graduate. Never was there a people besides the Greeks whose daily life was so emphatically a discipline in liberal culture. The schools of the philosophers, the debates of the popular assembly, the practice of the law courts, the masterpieces of a divine art, the religious processions, the Panhellenic games,—all these were splendid educational agencies, which produced and maintained a standard of average intelligence and culture among the citizens of the Greek cities that probably has never been attained among any other people on the earth. Freeman, quoted approvingly by Mahaffy, says that "the average intelligence of the assembled Athenian citizens was higher than that of our [the English] House of Commons."

221. Social Position of Woman. Although there are in Greek literature some exquisitely beautiful portraits of ideal womanhood, still the general tone of the literature betrays a deep contempt for woman. Thucydides quotes with seeming approval the Greek proverb, "That woman is best who is least spoken of among men, whether for good or for evil."

This unworthy conception of woman of course consigned her to a narrow and inferior place in the Greek home. Her position may be defined as being about halfway between oriental seclusion and modern or Western freedom. Her main duties were to cook and spin, and to oversee the domestic slaves, of whom she herself was practically one. In the fashionable society of Ionian cities she was seldom allowed to appear in public, or to meet, even in her own house, the male friends of her husband. In Sparta, however, and in Dorian states generally, she was accorded much more freedom, and was a really important factor in society.

222. Theatrical Entertainments. Among the ancient Greeks the theater was a state establishment, "a part of the constitution." This arose from the religious origin and character of the drama (sect. 201), all matters pertaining to the popular worship being the care and concern of the state. Theatrical performances, being religious acts, were presented only during religious festivals,—certain festivals observed in honor of Dionysus,—and were attended by all classes, rich and poor, men, women, and children. The women, however, were, it would seem, permitted to witness tragedies only; the comic stage was too gross to allow of their presence. The spectators sat under the open sky; and the pieces followed one after the other in close succession from early morning till nightfall.

While the better class of actors were highly honored, ordinary players were held in very low esteem, in which matter the Greek stage presents a parallel to that of England in the sixteenth century. And as in the Elizabethan age the writers of plays were frequently also the performers, so in Greece, particularly during the early period of the drama, the author often became an actor—Æschylus and Sophocles both assumed this rôle—and assisted

in the presentation of his own pieces. Still another parallel is found in the fact that the female parts in the Greek dramas, as in the early English theater, were taken by men.

The theater exerted a great influence upon Greek life. It performed for ancient Greek society somewhat the same service as that rendered to modern society by the pulpit and the press. During the best days of Hellas the frequent rehearsal upon the stage of the chief incidents in the lives of the gods and heroes served to deepen and strengthen the religious faith of the people;



FIG. 59. A BANQUET SCENE

and, in later times, when with Macedonian supremacy the days of decline came, the stage was one of the chief agents in the diffusion of Greek thought and literary culture throughout the Hellenistic world of the East.

223. Banquets and Symposia. Banquets and drinking parties among the Greeks possessed some features which set them apart from similar entertainments among other people. The banquet proper was partaken, in later times, by the guests in a reclining position, upon couches or divans arranged about the table in the oriental manner. After the usual courses a libation was poured out and a hymn sung in honor of the gods, and then followed that characteristic part of the entertainment known as the "symposium."

The symposium was "the intellectual side of the feast." It consisted of general conversation, riddles, and convivial songs rendered to the accompaniment of the lyre passed from hand to hand. Generally professional singers and musicians, dancing girls, jugglers, and jesters were called in to contribute to the merrymaking. The symposium must at times, when the conversation was sustained by such persons as Socrates and Aristophanes, have been "a feast

of reason and a flow of soul" indeed. Xenophon in his *Banquet* and Plato in his *Symposium* have each left us a striking report of such an entertainment.

224. Slavery. There is a dark side to Greek life. Hellenic art, culture, refinement,—“these good things were planted, like exquisite exotic flowers, upon the black, rank soil of slavery.”

Slaves were very numerous in Greece. No exact estimate can be made of their number. Almost every freeman was a slave owner. It was accounted a real hardship to have to get along with less than half a dozen slaves. The slave class was formed in various ways. In the prehistoric period the fortunes of war had brought the entire population of whole provinces into a servile condition, as in certain parts of the Peloponnesus. During later times the ordinary captives of war still further augmented the ranks of these unfortunates. Their number was also largely added to by the slave traffic carried on with the barbarian peoples of Asia. Criminals and debtors, too, were often condemned to servitude; while foundlings were usually brought up as slaves.

The relation of master and slave was regarded by the ordinary Greek as a perfectly natural one. Barbarians in his view were slaves by nature; that is, their inferiority in soul was such that it was manifest nature intended them to be slaves, just as she intended domestic animals to be the servants of man.

In general, Greek slaves were not treated harshly, judging their treatment by the standard of humanity that prevailed in antiquity. Some held places of honor in the family, and enjoyed the confidence and even the friendship of their master.

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DIVISION III. ROME

CHAPTER XXIV

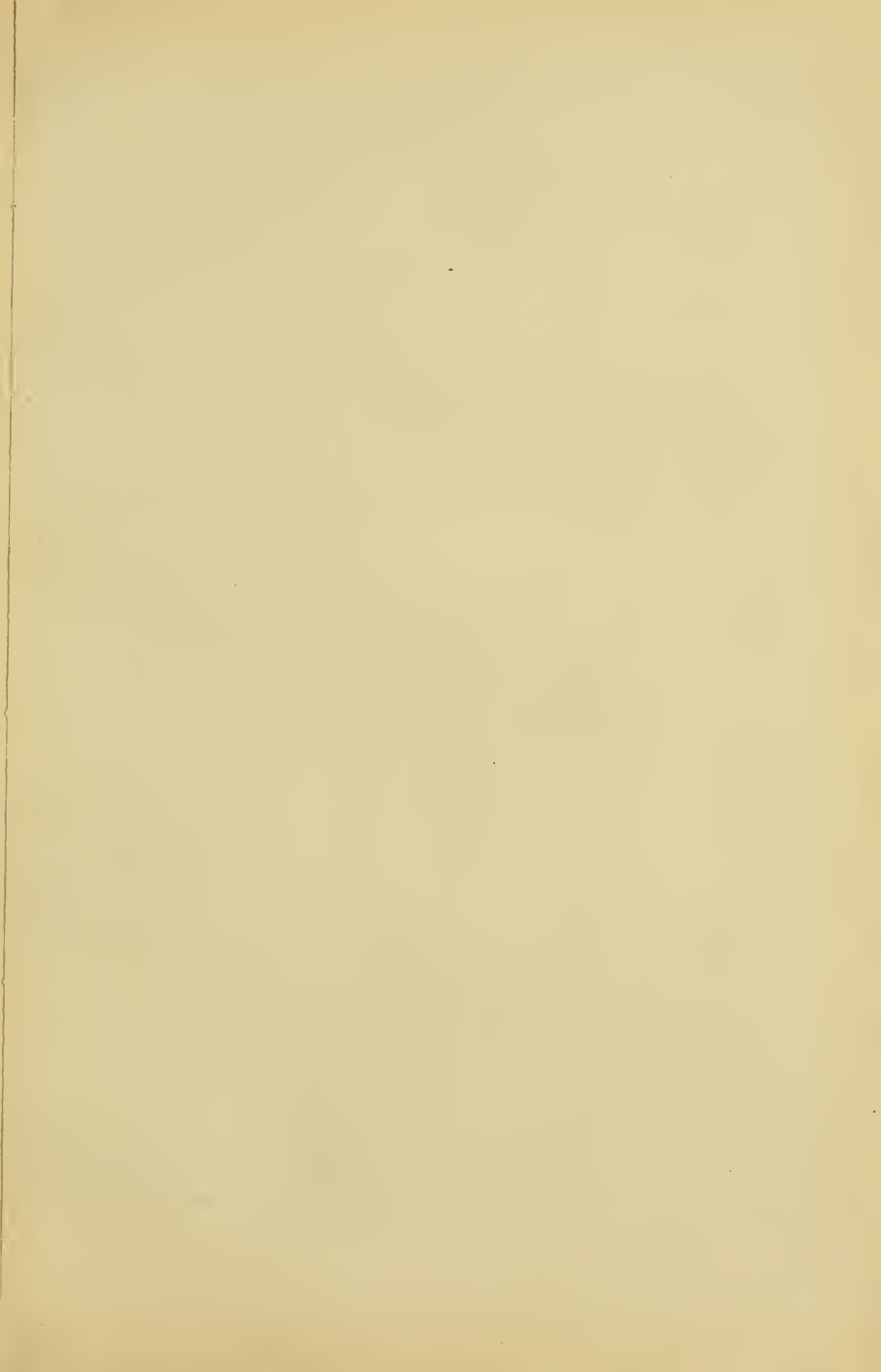
ITALY AND ITS EARLY INHABITANTS

225. Divisions of the Italian Peninsula. The Italian peninsula is generally conceived as consisting of three sections—Northern, Central, and Southern Italy. The first comprises the great basin of the river Po (*Padus*), lying between the Alps and the Apennines. In ancient times this part of Italy included three districts, namely, Liguria, Gallia Cisalpina, and Venetia. Liguria embraced the southwestern and Venetia the northeastern part of Northern Italy. Gallia Cisalpina lay between these two districts, occupying the finest portion of the valley of the Po. It received its name, which means "Gaul on this [the Italian] side of the Alps," from the Gallic tribes that about the fifth century before our era found their way over the mountains and settled upon these rich lands.

The countries of Central Italy were Etruria, Latium, and Campania, facing the Western, or Tyrrhenian, Sea; Umbria and Picenum, looking out over the Eastern, or Adriatic, Sea; and Samnium and the country of the Sabines, occupying the rough mountain districts of the Apennines.

Southern Italy comprised the ancient districts of Apulia, Lucania, Calabria, and Bruttium. Calabria¹ formed the "heel," and Bruttium the "toe," of the bootlike peninsula. The coast region of Southern Italy, as we have already learned, was called Magna Græcia, or "Great Greece," on account of the number and importance of the Greek cities that during the period of Hellenic supremacy were established on these shores.

¹ During the Middle Ages this name was transferred to the toe of the peninsula, and this forms the Calabria of today.





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The large island of Sicily, lying just off the mainland on the south, may be regarded simply as a detached fragment of Italy, so intimately has its history been connected with that of the peninsula.

226. Mountains, Rivers, and Harbors. Italy, like the other two peninsulas of southern Europe,—Greece and Spain,—has a high mountain barrier, the Alps, along its northern frontier. Corresponding to the Pindus range in Greece, the Apennines run as a great central ridge through the peninsula. Eastward of the ancient Latium they spread out into broad uplands, which in early times nourished a race of hardy mountaineers, who incessantly harried the territories of the more civilized lowlanders of Latium and Campania. Thus the physical conformation of this part of the peninsula shaped large sections of Roman history, just as in the case of Scotland the physical contrast between the north and the south was reflected for centuries in the antagonisms of Highlanders and Lowlanders.

Italy has only one really great river, the Po, which drains the large northern plain, already mentioned, lying between the Alps and the Apennines. The streams running down the eastern slope of the Apennines are short and of little volume. Among the rivers draining the western slopes of the Apennines, the one of greatest historic interest is the Tiber, on the banks of which Rome arose.

The finest Italian harbors, of which that of Naples is the most celebrated, are on the western coast. The eastern coast is precipitous, with few good havens. Italy thus faces the west. What makes it important for us to notice this circumstance is the fact that Greece faces the east, and that thus these two peninsulas, as the historian Mommsen expresses it, turn their backs to each other. This brought it about that Rome and the cities of Greece had almost no dealings with one another for many centuries.

227. Early Inhabitants of Italy: the Etruscans, the Greeks, and the Italians. There were in early historic times three chief races in Italy—the Etruscans, the Greeks, and the Italians. The Etruscans and the Italians had found their way into the peninsula in prehistoric times; the Greeks had come later.

The Etruscans, a wealthy and cultured seafaring people of uncertain race and origin, dwelt in Etruria, now called Tuscany after them.¹ They seem to have come into Italy from the east by way of the sea. Before the rise of the Roman people they were the leading race in the peninsula. Certain elements in their

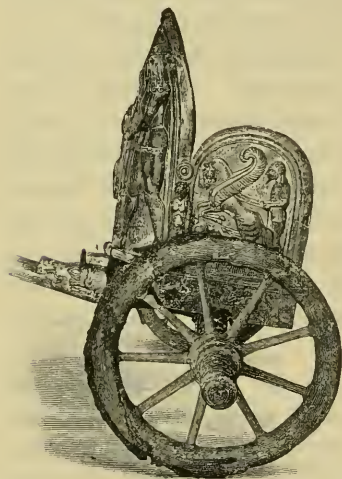


FIG. 60. AN ETRUSCAN CHARIOT²
(From a photograph)

culture lead us to believe that they had learned much from the cities of Magna Græcia. The Etruscans in their turn became the teachers of the early Romans and imparted to them certain elements of civilization, including military usages, hints in the art of building, and various religious ideas and rites.

With the Greek cities in Southern Italy and in Sicily we have already formed an acquaintance. Through the medium of these cultured communities the Romans were taught the use of letters and given valuable suggestions in matters of law and constitutional government.

The Italians, peoples of Indo-European speech, embraced many tribes or communities (Latins, Umbrians, Sabines, Samnites, etc.) that occupied nearly all Central and a considerable part of Southern Italy.³ They were kin to the Greeks and brought with them into the peninsula, where they probably mixed with an aboriginal population, those customs, manners, beliefs, and institutions that

¹ In early times they had settlements in Northern Italy and in Campania.

² This interesting memorial of Etruscan art was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of New York City at a cost of \$48,000. It was found in an ancient Etruscan cemetery (1901). Almost every part of the chariot, including the wheels, was sheathed in figured bronze. The relic probably dates from the seventh century B. C.

³ Notice carefully the large area covered by the Italian color on the accompanying map. The Italian race formed the best part of the material out of which the real Roman nation was formed.

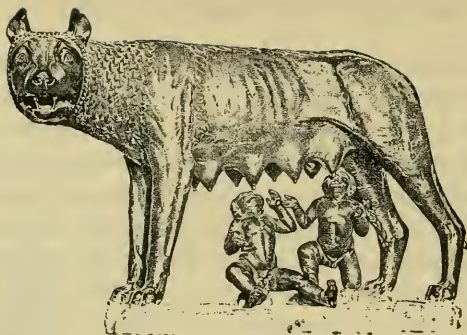
formed the common possession of the Indo-European peoples. Their life was for the most part that of shepherds and farmers.

The most important of the Italian peoples were the Latins, who dwelt in Latium. According to tradition there were in all Latium in prehistoric times thirty towns or petty city-states, like those of early Greece. These had formed an alliance among themselves known as the Latin League. At the dawn of history the leadership in this confederacy was held by Rome, which was situated on a cluster of low hills on the left bank of the Tiber, about fifteen miles from the sea. This little fortress town was doubtless intended as an outpost to protect the northern frontier of Latium against the Etruscans, the most powerful and aggressive neighbors of the Latin people.

The city of Rome, which was destined to play such a great part in history, had been formed by the union in prehistoric times of three or more settlements, the dwellings of which were upon the slopes or at the foot of the hills just mentioned. Its location was fortunate. Its distance from the sea protected it against the depredations of the pirates who in early times swarmed in the Mediterranean, while its location on the chief stream of Central Italy naturally made it the center of the lucrative trade of a wide reach of inland territory bordering upon the Tiber and its tributaries.

Concerning the government and the religious and social arrangements of the Roman community, and concerning the fortunes of the city of Rome under its early kings, we shall give a brief account in the next chapter.

References. MOMMSEN, T., vol. i, chaps. i, ii. FREEMAN, E. A., *Historical Geography of Europe*, vol. i (text), pp. 7-9, 43-49. TOZER, H. F., *Classical Geography*, chaps. ix, x. DENNIS, G., *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i, introduction (the author probably exaggerates the debt which the early civilization of Rome owed to the preceding culture of Etruria). LELAND, C. G., *Etruscan-Roman Remains*.



CHAPTER XXV

ROMAN INSTITUTIONS ; ROME UNDER THE KINGS

I. SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

228. **The Roman Family ; the Worship of Ancestors.** At the base of Roman society and forming its smallest unit was the family. This was a very different group from that which among us bears the same name. The typical Roman family consisted of the father (*paterfamilias*) and mother, the sons together with their wives and sons, and the unmarried daughters.

The most important feature or element of this family group was the unrestrained authority of the father. In early times his power over every member of the family was in law absolute, though custom required that in cases involving severe punishment he should seek the advice of a council of near relatives. He could for misconduct sell a son of mature years into slavery or even put him to death.

The father was the high priest of the family, for the family had a common worship. This was the cult of domestic divinities and the spirits of ancestors. These latter were believed to linger near the old hearth. If provided with frequent offerings of meat and drink, they would, it was thought, watch over the living members of the family and aid and prosper them in their daily work and in all their undertakings. If they were neglected, however, these

spirits became restless and suffered pain, and in their anger would bring trouble in some form upon their undutiful kinsmen.

229. The Place of the Family in Roman History. It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the family upon the history and destiny of Rome. It was the cradle of at least some of those splendid virtues of the early Romans that contributed so much to the strength and greatness of Rome, and that helped to give her the dominion of the world. It was in the atmosphere of the family that were nourished in the Roman youth the virtues of obedience, of deference to authority, and of submission to law and custom. When the youth became a citizen, obedience to magistrates and respect for law were with him an instinct and indeed almost a religion. And, on the other hand, the exercise of the parental authority in the family taught the Roman how to command as well as how to obey—how to exercise authority with wisdom, moderation, and justice.

230. Dependents of the Family : Clients and Slaves. Besides those members constituting the family proper there were attached to it usually a number of dependents. These were the clients and the slaves. The client was a person standing in a semi-servile relation to the head of the family, who was called his patron. The class of clients was probably made up largely of homeless refugees or strangers from other cities, or of freed slaves dwelling in their former master's house. They were free to engage in business at Rome and to accumulate property, though whatever they gathered was legally the property of the patron.

The duty of the patron was, in general, to look after the interests of his client, especially to represent him before the legal tribunals. The duty of the client, on the other hand, was faithfulness to his patron, and the making of contributions of money to aid him in meeting unusual expenses.

The slaves constituted merely a part of the family property. There were only a few slaves in the early Roman family, and these were held for service chiefly within the home and not in the fields. It was not until later times, when luxury crept into Rome, that the number of domestic slaves became excessively great.

231. The Clan, the Curia, the Tribe, and the City. Above the family stood the clan or gens. This was probably in the earliest times simply the expanded family, the members of which had outgrown the remembrance of their exact relationship. Yet they all believed themselves to have had a common ancestor and called themselves by his name, as the Fabii, the Claudii, the Julii, and so on. The gens, like the family, had a common altar.

The next largest group or division of the community was the curia. This was the most important political division of the people in early Rome. Levies for the army were made by curiæ, and voting in the primitive assembly of the people, as we shall explain presently, was done by these same bodies. There were thirty curiæ in primitive Rome.

Above the curiæ was the tribe, the largest subdivision of the community. In early Rome there were three tribes, each comprising ten curiæ.

These several groups made up the community of early Rome. This city, like the cities of ancient Greece, was a city-state; that is, an independent sovereign body like a modern nation. As such it possessed a constitution and government, concerning which we will next give a short account.

232. The King and the Senate. At the head of the early Roman state stood a king, the father of his people, holding essentially the same relation to them that the father of a family held to his household. He was at once ruler of the nation, commander of the army, and judge and high priest of his people. He was preceded by servants called lictors, each bearing a bundle of rods (the fasces) with an ax bound therein, the symbol of his power to punish by flogging and by putting to death (Fig. 63).

Next to the king stood the Senate, a body composed of the "fathers," or heads of the ancient clans of the community. Two important functions of the Senate were to give counsel to the king and to cast the decisive vote on all measures passed by the assembly of citizens.

233. The Popular Assembly. The popular assembly (*comitia curiata*) comprised all the freemen of Rome. The manner of

taking a vote in this assembly should be noted, for the usage here was followed in all the later popular assemblies of the republican period. The voting was not by individuals but by *curiæ*; that is, each *curia* had one vote, and the measure before the body was carried or lost according as a majority of the *curiæ* voted for or against it.

It should be further noted that this assembly was not a representative body, like a modern legislature, but a primary assembly; that is, a meeting like a New England town meeting. All of the later assemblies at Rome were like this primitive assembly. The Romans never learned, or at least never employed, the principle of representation. How important the bearing of this was upon the political fortunes of Rome we shall learn later.

234. The Rights of Roman Citizenship. The rights of the Roman citizen were divided into private rights and public rights. The chief private rights were two, namely, the right of trade and the right to intermarry with Roman citizens. The right of trade or commerce was the right to acquire, to hold, and to bequeath property (both personal and landed) according to the forms of the Roman law. This in the ancient city was an important right and privilege; it was in general denied to aliens. The right to intermarry with Roman citizens was especially important, because such a marriage carried with it the paternal power (sect. 228) and other civil rights.

The three chief public or political rights of the Roman citizen were the right of voting in the public assemblies, the right of holding office, and the right of appeal from the decision of a magistrate to the people.

These rights taken together constituted the most highly valued rights and privileges of the Roman citizen. What we should particularly notice is that the Romans adopted the practice of bestowing these rights in installments, so to speak. For instance, the inhabitants of one vanquished city would be given a part of the private rights of citizenship, those of another perhaps all of this class of rights, while upon the inhabitants of a third place would be bestowed all the rights, both private and public. This

usage created many different classes of citizens in the Roman state; and this, as will appear later, was one of the most important matters connected with the internal history of Rome.

235. Patricians and Plebeians. In early Rome there were two classes or orders, known as *patricians* and *plebeians*. The patricians formed the hereditary nobility of the state. They alone possessed all the rights of citizenship as enumerated in the preceding section.

The plebeians (from *plebs*, "the multitude") were the humbler members of the community. Some of this class were shopkeepers, artisans, and manual laborers living in Rome; but the larger number were small landowners living outside the city in scattered hamlets, and tilling with their own hands their little farms of a few acres in extent.

From most of the rights and privileges of the full citizen the plebeians were wholly shut out. They could not contract a legal marriage with one of the patrician order. They could not hold office nor appeal from the decision of a magistrate. A large part of the early history of Rome as a republic is made up of the struggles of these plebeians to better their economic condition and to secure for themselves social and political equality with the patricians.

II. RELIGION

236. The Place of Religion in Roman History. In Rome, as in the ancient cities of Greece, religion, aside from the domestic and local cults, was an affair of the state. The magistrates of the city possessed a sort of priestly character; and since almost every official act was connected in some way with the rites of the temple or the sacrifices of the altar, it happens that the political history of the Romans is closely interwoven with their religion.

237. Roman Deities. Chief of the Roman deities was Jupiter, identical in all essential attributes with the Hellenic Zeus. He was the special protector of the Roman people. To him, together with Juno his wife and Minerva goddess of wisdom, was consecrated a magnificent temple upon the summit of the Capitoline Hill, overlooking the forum and the city.

Mars, the god of war, was the favorite deity and the fabled father of the Roman race, who were fond of calling themselves the "Children of Mars." They proved themselves worthy offspring of the war-god. Martial games and festivals were celebrated in his honor during the first month of the Roman year—the month which bore, and still bears, in his honor, the name of March.

Janus was a double-faced deity to whom the month of January was sacred, as were also all gates and doors. The gates of his temple were always kept open in time of war and shut in time of peace.

The fire upon the household hearth was regarded as the symbol of the goddess Vesta. Her worship was a favorite one with the Romans. The nation, too, as a single great family, had a common national hearth in the temple of Vesta, where the sacred fires were kept burning from generation to generation by six virgins, daughters of the Roman state (see sect. 7).



FIG. 61. HEAD OF JANUS. (From a Roman coin)

238. Oracles and Divination. The Romans, like the Greeks, thought that the will of the gods was communicated to men by means of oracles, and by strange sights, unusual events, or singular coincidences. There were no true oracles at Rome. The Romans, therefore, often had recourse to those of the Greeks. Particularly in great emergencies did they seek advice from the celebrated oracle of Apollo at Delphi. From Etruria was introduced the art of divination, which consisted in discovering the will of the gods by the appearance of the inward parts of victims slain for the sacrifices.

239. The Sacred Colleges. The four chief sacred colleges or societies were the Keepers of the Sibylline Books, the College of Augurs, the College of Pontiffs, and the College of Herald.

The Sibylline Books were volumes written in Greek, the origin of which was lost in fable. They were kept in a stone chest in a

vault beneath the Capitoline temple, and special custodians were appointed to take charge of them and interpret them. The books were consulted only in times of extreme danger.

The duty of the members of the College of Augurs was to interpret the omens, or auspices,—which were casual sights or appearances, particularly the flight of birds,—by which means it was believed that Jupiter made known his will. Great skill was required in the “taking of the auspices,” as it was called. No busi-

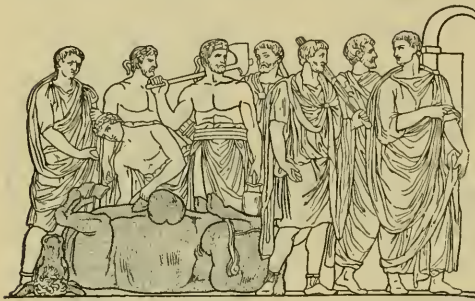


FIG. 62. DIVINING BY MEANS OF THE APPEARANCE OF THE ENTRAILS OF A SACRIFICIAL VICTIM

ness of importance, public or private, was entered upon without the auspices being first consulted to ascertain whether they were favorable.

The College of Pontiffs was so called probably because one of the duties of its members was to keep in repair a certain bridge

(*pons*) over the Tiber. This guild was the most important of all the religious institutions of the Romans; for to the pontiffs belonged the superintendence of all religious matters. The head of the college was called *Pontifex Maximus*, or “Chief Bridge Builder,” which title was assumed by the Roman emperors, and after them by the Christian bishops of Rome; and thus the name has come down to our times.

The College of Heralds (*Fetiales*) had the care of all public matters pertaining to foreign nations. Thus, if the Roman people had suffered any wrong from another state, and war was determined upon, then it was the duty of a herald to proceed to the frontier of the enemy’s country and hurl over the boundary a spear dipped in blood. This was a declaration of war. The Romans were very careful in the observance of this ceremony.

III. ROME UNDER THE KINGS (LEGENDARY DATE 753-509 B.C.)

240. The Legendary Kings. The early government of Rome was a monarchy. Tradition tells of the reigns of seven kings of whom the first was Romulus, the founder of the city, and the last Tarquinius Superbus, a haughty tyrant, whose oppressions led to the abolition by the people of the office of king.

The tradition hopelessly blends fact and fable. Respecting Roman affairs, however, under the last three kings (the Tarquins), who were of Etruscan origin, some important things are related, upon the substantial truth of which we may rely with a fair degree of certainty.



THE SEVEN HILLS OF ROME

241. Growth of Rome under the Tarquins. The Tarquins are represented by the legends as having extended their authority over much of Latium. The position of supremacy thus given Rome was attended by the rapid growth of the city in population and importance. The original walls soon became too strait for the increasing multitudes; new ramparts were built which, with a great circuit of seven miles, swept around the entire cluster of seven hills that formed the site of the city, whence the name that Rome acquired of the "City of the Seven Hills."

On a reclaimed tract of marshy ground was established the *Forum*, the public market place of the early city. At one end of this public square, as we should call it, was the *Comitium*, an inclosure where assemblies for voting purposes were held. In

later times this assembling place was enlarged and decorated with various monuments and surrounded with splendid buildings and porticoes. For upwards of a thousand years this spot was one of the chief centers of the life and activities of the ancient world.

The tradition tells further of military and constitutional reforms effected by the second Etruscan king, Servius Tullius by name, which, giving the plebeians a place in the army,—from which they were at first excluded,—were an important step toward the establishment of social and political equality between the two great classes in the state. These reforms, it is true, as the historian Mommsen maintains, assigned to the plebeians duties chiefly, and not rights; but being called upon to discharge the most important duties of citizens, it was not long before they demanded all the rights of citizens—and as the bearers of arms they were able, as we shall see, to enforce their demands.

The assembling place of the army was just outside the city walls, on a large plain called the *Campus Martius*, or Field of Mars. The meeting was called the *comitia centuriata*, or the Assembly of Centuries.¹

242. The Expulsion of the Kings. The legends, as already noted, make Tarquinius Superbus the last king of Rome. He is represented as a monstrous tyrant, whose arbitrary acts caused both patricians and plebeians to unite and drive him and all his house into exile. This event, according to the Roman annalists, occurred in the year 509 B. C., only one year later than the expulsion of the tyrants from Athens (sect. 131).

References. PLUTARCH, *Romulus* and *Numa* (in the case of these particular lives the student will of course bear in mind that he is reading Roman folklore; but it is worth while for the student of Roman history to know what the Romans of later times themselves believed respecting their early kings). MOMMSEN, T., vol. i, bk. i, chaps. iv–xv. SEIGNOBOS, C. (Fairly ed.), *History of the Roman People*, chaps. ii, iv. PELHAM, H. F., *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. i, chaps. ii, iii. IHNE, W. R., *Early Rome*. FOWLER, W. W., *The City-state of the Greeks and Romans*, chaps. ii, iii. ABBOTT, F. F., *Roman Political Institutions*, chaps. i, ii. JOHNSTON, H. W., *The Private Life of the Romans*, pp. 28–32.

¹ The unit of the military organization was the century, probably containing in early times, as the name (*centuria*) indicates, one hundred men.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE EARLY REPUBLIC; PLEBEIANS BECOME CITIZENS WITH FULL RIGHTS

(509-367 B.C.)

243. Republican Magistrates: the Consuls and the Dictator.

With the monarchy overthrown the people set to work to reorganize the government. In place of the king there were elected two patrician magistrates, called at first *prætors*, or "leaders," but later *consuls*, or "colleagues." These magistrates were chosen for one year, and were invested at first with all the powers, save some priestly functions, that had been exercised by the king. In public each consul was attended, as the king had been, by twelve lictors, bearing the "dread fasces" (sect. 232).

Each consul had the power of obstructing the acts or vetoing the commands of the other. This division of authority weakened the executive, so that in times of great public danger it was necessary to supersede the consuls by the appointment of a special officer bearing the title of *dictator*, whose term of office was limited to six months, but whose power during this time was as unlimited as that of the king had been.

244. First Secession of the Plebeians (494 B.C.). A troublous period followed the expulsion of the Tarquins. During this time of disorder the poor plebeians fell more deeply in debt to the wealthy class, and payment was exacted with heartless severity. A debtor became the absolute property of his creditor, who might sell him as a slave to pay the debt, and in some cases even put him to death.

The situation was intolerable. The plebeians, so tradition tells, resolved to secede from Rome and build a new city for themselves on a neighboring eminence, known afterwards as the Sacred Mount. Having on one occasion been called to arms to repel an invasion,

they refused to march out against the enemy, but instead marched away in a body from Rome to the spot selected beforehand and began to make preparations for erecting new homes.



FIG. 63. LICTORS WITH FASCES

The symbolic fasces borne by these officers were probably of Etruscan origin. The Tarquins are said to have brought them to Rome, along with other insignia of the kingly office

245. The Covenant and the Tribunes. The patricians well knew that such a division would prove ruinous to the state, and that the plebeians must be persuaded to give up their enterprise and come back to Rome. A commission was sent to treat with the insurgents. The plebeians were at first obdurate, but at last were persuaded to yield to the entreaties of the embassy to return, being won to this mind, so it is said, by one of the wise senators, who made use of the well-known fable of the Body and the Members.

The following covenant was entered into and bound by the most solemn oaths: The debts of the poor plebeians were to be canceled and debtors held in slavery set free; and there

were to be chosen two plebeian magistrates (the number was soon increased to ten), called *tribunes*, whose duty it should be to watch over and protect the plebeians.

That the tribunes might be the protectors of the plebeians in something more than name, they were invested with an extraordinary power known as the *jus auxilii*, "the right of aid"; that

is, they were given the right, should any patrician magistrate attempt to deal wrongfully with a plebeian, to annul his act or stop his proceeding.

The persons of the tribunes were made sacrosanct, that is, inviolable, like the persons of heralds. Anyone interrupting a tribune in the discharge of his duties or doing him any violence was declared an outlaw whom anyone might kill. That the tribunes might be always easily found, they were not allowed to go more than one mile beyond the city walls. Their houses were to be open night and day, that any plebeian unjustly dealt with might flee thither for protection and refuge.

We cannot overestimate the importance of this establishment of the plebeian tribunate. Under the protection and leadership of the tribunes, who were themselves protected by oaths of inviolable sanctity, the plebeians carried on a struggle for a share in the offices and dignities of the state which never ceased until the Roman government, as yet only republican in name, became in fact a real democracy, in which patrician and plebeian shared equally in all rights and privileges.

246. Border Wars and Border Tales; Cincinnatus. The chief enemies of early Rome and her Latin allies were the Volscians, the Æquians, the Sabines, and the Etruscans. For more than a hundred years after the founding of the Republic, Rome, either alone or in connection with her confederates, was almost constantly fighting one or another or all of these peoples. But these operations cannot be regarded as real wars. They were, on both sides, for the most part mere plundering forays or cattle-raiding expeditions into the enemy's territories. We shall probably not get a wrong idea of their real character if we liken them to the early so-called border wars between England and Scotland. Like the Scottish wars, they were embellished by the story-tellers with the most picturesque tales. One of the best known of these is that of Cincinnatus.

According to the tradition, while one of the consuls was away fighting the Sabines, the Æquians defeated the forces of the other and shut them up in a narrow valley whence escape seemed

impossible. There was great terror in Rome when news of the situation of the army was brought to the city. The Senate immediately appointed Cincinnatus, a grand old patrician, dictator. The commissioners who carried to him the message from the Senate found him upon his little farm across the Tiber, at work



THE ROMAN DOMAIN AND THE LATIN CONFEDERACY IN THE TIME OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC, ABOUT 450 B.C.

ploughing. Cincinnatus at once accepted the office, gathered an army, surrounded and captured the enemy, and sent them all beneath the yoke.¹ He then led his army back to Rome in triumph, laid down his office, having held it only sixteen days, and sought again the retirement of his farm.

247. The Decemvirs and the Twelve Tables of Laws (traditional date 451–450 B.C.). Written laws are always a great safeguard against oppression. Until what shall constitute a crime and

¹ This was formed of two spears thrust firmly into the ground and crossed a few feet from the earth by a third spear. Prisoners of war were forced to pass beneath this yoke as a symbol of submission.

what shall be its penalty are clearly written down and well known and understood by all, judges may render unfair decisions or inflict unjust punishment, and yet run little risk of being called to an account; for no one but themselves knows what either the law or the penalty really is. Hence in all struggles of the people against the tyranny of a ruling class the demand for written law is one of the first measures taken by them for the protection of their persons and property. Thus the commons of Athens, early in their struggle with the nobles, demanded and obtained a code of written laws (sect. 128). The same thing now took place at Rome. The plebeians demanded that the laws be written down and published. The patricians offered a stubborn resistance to their wishes, but finally were forced to yield to the popular clamor.

A commission, so tradition says, was sent to the Greek cities of Southern Italy and to Athens to study their laws and customs. Upon the return of this embassy a commission of ten magistrates, known as *decemvirs*, was appointed to frame a code of laws. The code when finally finished was written on twelve tablets of bronze, which were fastened to the Rostra, or orator's platform in the Forum, where they might be seen and read by all. Only a few fragments of these celebrated laws have been preserved, but the substance of a considerable part of the code is known to us through the allusions to it in the works of later writers and jurists. The following quotations will give some idea of the character of this primitive law-system—the starting-point of a great development (see sect. 346).

The provisions regarding the treatment of debtors are noteworthy. The law provided that, after the lapse of a certain number of days of grace, the creditor of a delinquent debtor might put him in the stocks or in chains, sell him to any stranger resident beyond the Tiber, or put him to death. In case there were several creditors the law provided as follows: "After the third market day his [the debtor's] body may be divided. Any one taking more than his just share shall be held guiltless." We are informed by later Roman writers that this savage provision of the law was, as a matter of fact, never carried into effect.

A special provision touching the power of the father over his sons provided that "during their whole life he shall have the right to imprison, scourge, keep to rustic labor in chains, to sell or to slay, even though they may be in the enjoyment of high state offices." The prevalence of popular superstitions is revealed by one of the laws which provides for the punishment of any one who by enchantments should blight the crops of another.

These "Laws of the Twelve Tables" formed the basis of all new legislation, touching private or personal rights, for many centuries, and constituted a part of the education of the Roman youth, every schoolboy being required to learn them by heart.

248. Sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.). We have noticed how in early times Celtic tribes from Gaul crossed the Alps and established themselves in Northern Italy. Soon after the opening of the fourth century B.C. great hordes of these barbarians made a devastating raid through Central Italy. Finally they appeared in the neighborhood of Rome. A Roman army met them on the banks of the Allia, eleven miles from the capital. But an unaccountable panic seized the Romans, and they abandoned the field in disgraceful flight. It would be impossible to picture the consternation and despair that reigned at Rome when the fugitives brought to the city intelligence of the terrible disaster. It was never forgotten, and the day of the battle of the Allia was ever after a black day in the Roman calendar. The sacred vessels of the temples were buried; the eternal fires of Vesta were hurriedly borne by their virgin keepers to a place of safety in Etruria; and a large part of the population fled in dismay across the Tiber. No attempt was made to defend any portion of the city save the citadel.

Unable to dislodge the little garrison within the citadel, the Gauls finally opened negotiations with the Romans. For one thousand pounds of gold the Gauls agreed to retire from the city. As the story runs, while the gold was being weighed out in the Forum the Romans complained that the weights were false, when Brennus, the Gallic leader, threw his sword also into the scales, exclaiming, "*Vae victis!*" (Woe to the vanquished!) Just at this

moment, so the tale continues, Camillus, a brave patrician general who had been appointed dictator, appeared upon the scene with a Roman army that had been gathered from the fugitives. As he scattered the barbarians with heavy blows he exclaimed, "Rome is ransomed with steel, and not with gold."

The city, which the Gauls had burned, was quickly rebuilt. There were some things, however, which could not be restored. These were the ancient records, through whose irreparable loss the early history of Rome is involved in great obscurity.

249. The Licinian Laws (367 B.C.). A great advance of the plebeians towards political equality with the patricians, for which the plebeians had contended ever since the expulsion of the kings, was effected through the passage of the Licinian Laws, so called from one of their proposers, the tribune Gaius Licinius. Among other provisions these laws contained the following: (1) that of the two consuls one should be a plebeian; (2) that in place of the two patrician keepers of the Sibylline Books (sect. 239) there should in the future be ten, and that five of these should be plebeians.

The equalization of the two orders was now practically effected. The son of a peasant might rise to the highest office in the state. The plebeians later gained with comparative ease admission to the remaining offices from which the jealousy of the patricians still excluded them.

The incorporation of the plebeians with the body of Roman citizens with full rights was a matter of immense import for the future of Rome. It greatly strengthened the state and insured the future of the city. It was followed by a century of successful wars which made Rome the mistress of Italy and paved the way for her advance to the dominion of the civilized world.

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE CONQUEST AND UNIFICATION OF ITALY

(367-264 B.C.)

250. The Roman Municipal System. In the time of the kings, when Alba Longa, a leading city of Latium, was taken by the Romans, the city was destroyed and its inhabitants transported in a body to Rome and incorporated with the Roman people. Later, in the times of the early republic, when Veii, a great Etruscan city, was captured, the greater part of the inhabitants were killed or sold as slaves, the vanquished community being thus broken up and, as it were, wiped out of existence.

Now, Rome admittedly could not attain to greatness by following either of these two ways of treating vanquished enemies. Happily, very early in her history she hit upon a new governmental device which enabled her to incorporate into her growing dominions one conquered city after another until she had absorbed the whole Mediterranean world. This device was what is known as the municipal system, for the reason that the Roman writers gave to a city to which this system was applied the name *municipium*.

We shall best secure a good understanding of the essential feature of this municipal system if we glance at the system as it exists among ourselves today; for our so-called municipal system, in its underlying principle, is an inheritance from Rome. A municipality in our system of government is a city which, acting under a charter granted by the state in whose territory it is situated and of which it forms a part, elects its own magistrates, and manages, with more or less supervision on the part of the state, its own local affairs. The essential principle involved in the arrangement is local self-government, carried on under the superior authority of the state. The city, without its local political life having been stifled, has been made a vital part of a larger political organism.

What we have now said will convey some idea of the important place which the municipal system of Rome holds in the development of free self-government among men. This was Rome's great, and almost her only, contribution to political constitutional history, and after her law system her best gift to civilization.

251. The Revolt of the Latin Cities (340-338 B.C.). This governmental device of the *municipium* was first applied by Rome, in a large way, to the neighboring cities of Latium. We have seen how at the opening of the historic period the little city-states of this region formed a federation known as the Latin League, of which Rome was the leading member (sect. 227). At the outset this association seems to have been somewhat like the Delian League, which, after the repulse of the Persians from Greece, Athens formed with her Ionian allies (sect. 145). But as time passed Rome began to play in the league the same rôle that Athens played in the Delian Confederacy. She used her position in the at first equal alliance between her and the Latin towns to make herself virtually their master. From allies they became dependents. With this position they could not be satisfied. They resolved that Rome should give up the sovereignty she was virtually exercising. Accordingly they sent an embassy to Rome, demanding that the association should be made one of perfect equality. To this end the ambassadors proposed that in the future one of the consuls should be a Latin, and that one half of the Senate should be chosen from the Latin nation. Rome was to be the common fatherland, and all were to bear the Roman name.

The demands of the Latin allies were refused, and war followed. After about three years' hard fighting, the rebellion was subdued. Rome now dissolved the Latin League and resettled her relations to its members. The essence of this famous settlement was that most of the cities—a few, three or four, were left their independence—were made *municipia* of different grades; that is to say, they were deprived of sovereignty and their territories were made a part of the Roman domain, but they were left their city constitutions and were allowed to live on as separate communities with local self-government inside the Roman state. The inhabitants of

some of these municipalities were admitted at once to full Roman citizenship, while those of others were allowed only a part of the rights and privileges of citizens. After a period of probation these semi-citizens¹ were all admitted to the full rights of the city.

Rome was now fairly started on the way to greatness. She had laid the foundations of a state unlike anything the world had seen before, and one capable of great expansion. "It was, in short, to the liberal policy inaugurated by the statesman of 338 that

the Roman city-state owed its capacity to unify Italy and make it one people."²

252. The Samnites. The most formidable competitors of the Romans for supremacy in Italy were the Samnites, a rough and warlike mountain people who held the Apennines to the southeast of



FIG. 64. THE APPIAN WAY. (From a photograph)

Latium. The successive struggles between these martial races—the ancient writers tell of three wars—extended over a period of half a century (about 343–290 B.C.), and in their course involved almost all the states of Italy. The Romans were finally victors. Within a short time after the subjection of the Samnites almost all the Greek cities of Southern Italy, except Tarentum, had also come under the growing power of the imperial city.

During the course of these wars with the Samnites and their allies Rome had added extensive territories to her domain, and had made her hold of these secure by means of colonies and military roads; for it was at this time that Rome began the construction of those remarkable highways that formed one of the most

¹ Known as *cives sine suffragio* (citizens without suffrage), since they could not vote in the assemblies at Rome.

² Frank, *Roman Imperialism* (1914), p. 40.

impressive features of her later empire. The first of these roads, which ran from Rome to Capua, was begun in the year 312 B.C. by the censor Appius Claudius, and was called after him the *Via Appia*.

253. The War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus (282-272 B.C.). Tarentum, a seaport of Calabria, was one of the most opulent of the cities of Magna Græcia. The Tarentines having mistreated some Roman prisoners, the Roman Senate promptly sent an embassy to Tarentum to demand amends. In the theater, in the presence of a great assembly, one of the ambassadors was grossly insulted, his toga being befouled by a clownish fellow amidst the approving plaudits of a giddy crowd. The ambassador, raising the soiled garment, said sternly, "Laugh now; but you will weep when this toga is cleansed with blood." Rome at once declared war.

The Tarentines turned to Greece for aid. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus and a cousin of Alexander the Great, a restless man, who, as Plutarch says, "thought life consisted in troubling others and in being troubled," and who had an ambition to build up such an empire in the West as his famous kinsman had established in the East, responded to their entreaties, and crossed over into Italy with an army of Greek mercenaries and twenty war elephants.

Pyrrhus' first battle with the Romans was won for him by his war elephants, the sight of which, being new to the Romans, caused them to flee from the field in dismay. But Pyrrhus had lost thousands of his bravest troops. As he looked over the battlefield he is said to have turned to his companions and remarked, "Another such victory and I shall be ruined"; hence the phrase "a Pyrrhic victory."

After further campaigning, ending with a real defeat, Pyrrhus finally returned to Epirus, "leaving behind him nothing save a brilliant reputation." Tarentum soon afterwards surrendered to the Romans. This virtually ended the struggle for the mastery of Italy. Rome was soon mistress of all the peninsula south of the streams of the Arnus (Arno) and the Rubicon.

254. United Italy. This political union of Italy paved the way for the social and racial unification of the peninsula. The greatest marvel of all history is how Rome, embracing at first merely a handful of peasants, could have made so much of the ancient world like unto herself in speech, in custom, in manners, and largely in blood. That she did so, that she did thus Romanize a large part of the peoples of antiquity, is one of the most important matters in the history of the human race. Rome accomplished this great feat in large measure by means of her system of colonization, which was, in some respects, unlike that of any other people in ancient or in modern times. We must make ourselves familiar with some of the main features of this unique colonial system.

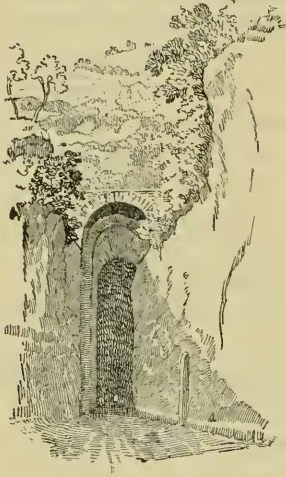


FIG. 65. GROTTA OF POSILIPO
(Near Naples)

An old Roman tunnel, about half a mile in length, still in use on the Appian Way

255. Roman Colonies and Latin Colonies. The colonies that Rome established in conquered territories fall into two classes, known as Roman colonies and Latin colonies. Roman colonies were made up of emigrants, generally three hundred in number, who retained in the new settlement all the rights and privileges, both private and public, of Roman citizens,

though of course some of these rights, as for instance that of voting in the public assemblies at Rome, could be exercised by the colonist only through his return to the capital. Such colonies were in effect permanent military camps intended to guard or to hold in subjection conquered territories. Usually it was some conquered city that was occupied by the Roman colonists, the old inhabitants either being expelled in whole or in part or reduced to a subject condition. The colonists in their new homes organized a government which was almost an exact

imitation of that of Rome, and through their own assemblies and magistrates managed all their local affairs. These colonies were, in a word, simply miniature Romes—centers from which radiated Roman culture into all the regions round about them.

The Latin colonies were so called, not because they were founded by Latin settlers, but because their inhabitants possessed substantially the same rights as the towns of the old Latin League. The Latin colonist possessed some of the most valuable of the private rights of Roman citizens, together with the capacity to acquire the suffrage by migrating to the capital and taking up a permanent residence there, provided he left behind in the town whence he came sons to take his place.

There is an analogy between the status of a settler in an ancient Latin colony and of a settler in a territory of our Union. When a citizen of any state migrates to a territory he loses his right of voting in a federal election, just as a Roman citizen in becoming a Latin colonist lost his right of voting in the assemblies at Rome. Then again, the resident of a territory has the privilege of changing his residence and settling in a state, thereby acquiring the federal suffrage, just as the inhabitant of a Latin colony could migrate to Rome and thus acquire the right to vote in the assemblies there.

The Latin colonies numbered about thirty at the time of the Second Punic War. They were scattered throughout Italy, and formed, in the words of the historian Mommsen, "the real buttress of the Roman rule." They were, even to a greater degree than the Roman colonies, active and powerful agents in the dissemination of the Roman language, law, and culture. They were Rome's chief auxiliary in her great task of making all Italy Roman.

All these colonies were kept in close touch with the capital by means of splendid military roads, the construction of which, as we have seen, was begun during the Samnite wars (sect. 252).

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CHAPTER XXVIII

EXPANSION OF ROME BEYOND THE PENINSULA

I. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR (264-241 B.C.)

256. Carthage and her Empire. Foremost among the cities founded by the Phœnicians was Carthage, upon the northern coast of Africa. The favorable location of the colony upon one of the best harbors of the African coast gave the city a vast and lucrative commerce. By the time Rome had extended her authority over Italy, Carthage held sway, through peaceful colonization or by force of arms, over the northern coast of Africa, and possessed Sardinia as well as the larger part of Sicily. She also collected tribute from the natives of Corsica and of southern Spain. With all its shores dotted with her colonies and fortresses and swept in every direction by her war galleys, the western Mediterranean had become a "Phœnician lake," in which, as the Carthaginians boasted, no one dared wash his hands without their permission.

257. Rome and Carthage compared. These two rival cities were now about to begin one of the most memorable struggles of antiquity. In material power and resources they seemed well matched as antagonists; yet Rome had elements of strength, hidden in the character of her citizens and embodied in the principles of her government, which Carthage did not possess. The Carthaginian government was a despotic oligarchy. The many different races of the empire were held in an artificial union by force alone, for the Carthaginians had none of the genius of the Romans for political organization and state building. The Roman state, on the other hand, as we have learned, was the most wonderful political organism that the world had ever seen. It was not yet a nation, but it was rapidly growing into one. Every free man

within its limits was either a citizen of Rome or was on the way to becoming a citizen. Rome was already the common fatherland of more than a quarter of a million of men.

Again, the Carthaginian territories, though of great extent, were widely scattered, while the Roman domains were compact and confined to a single and easily defended peninsula.

As to the naval resources of the two states, there existed at the beginning of the struggle no basis for a comparison. The Romans were almost destitute of anything that could be called a war navy, and were practically without experience in naval warfare; while the Carthaginians possessed the largest, the best-manned, and the most splendidly equipped fleet that had ever patrolled the waters of the Mediterranean.

258. Causes of the Struggle; the Naval Character of its First Phase. The real causes of the long wars between Rome and Carthage were commercial jealousy and rivalry for the control of the western Mediterranean, particularly of the island of Sicily. In its earlier period the struggle was a series of naval combats, the Romans having hastily built a great fleet of war galleys patterned after the Carthaginian ships. After a single great naval victory and many tragic disasters, the Romans finally succeeded in inflicting upon the Carthaginians a decisive naval defeat. Carthage now sued for peace.

259. Terms of the Treaty; Transfer of Sea Power. A treaty was at length arranged, the terms of which required that Carthage should give up all claims to the island of Sicily, surrender all her prisoners, and pay an indemnity of 3200 talents (about \$4,000,000), one third of which was to be paid down, and the balance in ten yearly payments. Thus ended (241 B.C.), after a continuance of twenty-four years, the first great struggle between Carthage and Rome.

One important result of the war was the crippling of the sea power of the Phœnician race, which from time immemorial had been a most prominent factor in the history of the Mediterranean lands, and the giving practically of the control of the sea into the hands of the Romans.

II. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR (218-201 B. C.)

260. The Carthaginians in Spain. After the disastrous ending of the First Punic War, the Carthaginians sought to repair their losses by new conquests in Spain. Hamilcar Barca, an able commander, was sent over into that country, and for nine years he devoted his commanding genius to organizing the different Iberian tribes into a compact state and to developing the rich gold and silver mines of the southern part of the peninsula. He fell in battle 228 B. C.

As a rule, genius is not transmitted ; but in the Barcine family the rule was broken, and the rare genius of Hamilcar reappeared in his sons, whom he himself, it is said, was fond of calling the "lion's brood." As Hannibal, the eldest, was only nineteen at the time of his father's death, and thus too young to assume command, Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, was chosen to succeed him.

Upon the death of Hasdrubal, which occurred 221 B. C., Hannibal, now twenty-six years of age, was by the unanimous voice of the army called to be its leader. When a child of nine years he had been led by his father to the altar, and there, with his hands upon the sacrifice, the little boy had sworn eternal hatred to the Roman race. He was driven on to his gigantic undertakings and to his hard fate not only by the restless fires of his warlike genius but, as he himself declared, by the sacred obligations of a vow that could not be broken.

Hannibal having laid siege to Saguntum,—a native city upon the east coast of Spain which the Romans had taken under their protection,—the Senate sent messengers to him forbidding him to make war upon a city that was an ally of the Roman people ; but Hannibal, disregarding their remonstrances, continued the siege and finally gained possession of the town.

The Romans now sent commissioners to Carthage to demand of the Senate that they give up Hannibal to them, and by so doing repudiate the act of their general. The Carthaginians hesitated. Then Quintus Fabius, chief of the embassy, gathering up

his toga, said: "I carry here peace and war; choose, men of Carthage, which ye will have." "Give us whichever ye will," was the reply. "War, then," said Fabius, dropping his toga.

261. Hannibal's Passage of the Alps. The Carthaginian empire was now all astir with preparations for the mighty struggle. Hannibal's bold plan was to cross the Pyrenees and the Alps and descend upon Rome from the north. Early in the spring of 218 B. C. he set out from New Carthage with an army numbering about a hundred thousand men, and including thirty-seven war elephants. Traversing northern Spain and crossing the Pyrenees and the Rhone, he reached the foothills of the Alps. The season was already far advanced,—it was October,—and snow was falling upon the higher portions of the trail, so that the passage of the mountains was accomplished only after severe toil and losses. At length the thinned columns, numbering barely twenty-six thousand men, defiled upon the plains of the Po. This was the pitiable force with which Hannibal proposed to attack the Roman state,—a state that at this time had on its levy lists over seven hundred thousand foot soldiers and seventy thousand horse.

262. Fabius "the Delayer." In three successive battles the Romans were defeated and their armies virtually destroyed. The way to Rome was now open. Believing that Hannibal would march directly upon the city, the Senate caused the bridges that spanned the Tiber to be destroyed, and appointed Fabius Maximus dictator. Fabius "saved the state by wise delay." Realizing that to risk a battle and lose it would be to lose everything, he adopted the more prudent policy of following and annoying with a small force the Carthaginian army, but refusing all proffers of battle. By this policy time was gained for raising a new army and perfecting measures for the public defense.



FIG. 66. HANNIBAL

263. The Battle of Cannæ (216 B.C.). Early in the summer of the year 216 B.C. the new levies, numbering eighty thousand men, under the command of recently chosen consuls, confronted the army of Hannibal, amounting to not more than half that number, at Cannæ, on the banks of the Aufidus, in Apulia. Here the Romans suffered a tragic defeat. From forty to seventy thousand are said to have been slain; only a handful escaped. The slaughter was so great that, according to Livy, when Mago, a brother of Hannibal, carried the news of the victory to Carthage, he, in confirmation of the intelligence, poured out on the floor of the senate house nearly a peck of gold rings taken from the fingers of Roman knights.

264. Hasdrubal attempts to carry Aid to his Brother; Battle of the Metaurus (207 B.C.). For almost a decade after the battle of Cannæ the war went on with many vicissitudes. During all these years, while Hannibal was waging war in Italy, his brother Hasdrubal was carrying on a desperate struggle with the Roman armies in Spain. At length he determined to leave the conduct of the war in that country to others and go to the relief of his brother, who now was sadly in need of aid. He followed the same route that had been taken by Hannibal, and in the year 207 B.C. descended from the Alps upon the plains of Northern Italy. Thence he advanced southward, while Hannibal moved northward from Bruttium to join him. At the river Metaurus, Hasdrubal's march was blocked by a large Roman army. Here his forces were cut to pieces, and he himself was slain. His head was severed from his body and sent to Hannibal. Upon recognizing the features of his brother, Hannibal, it is said, exclaimed sadly, "Carthage, I read thy fate."

265. The Romans carry the War into Africa; Battle of Zama (202 B.C.). Hannibal now drew back into the rocky peninsula of Bruttium. No one dared attack him. It was resolved to carry the war into Africa, in the hope that the Carthaginians would be forced to call their great commander out of Italy to the defense of Carthage. The consul Publius Cornelius Scipio led the army of invasion. He had not been long in Africa before the

Carthaginian senate sent for Hannibal. At Zama, not far from Carthage, the hostile armies met. Hannibal here suffered his first and last defeat.

266. The Close of the War (201 B.C.). Carthage was now completely exhausted and sued for peace. The terms of the treaty were much severer than those imposed upon the city at the end of the First Punic War. She was required to give up all claims to Spain and the islands of the Mediterranean, to surrender her war elephants and all her ships of war save ten galleys; to pay an indemnity of four thousand talents (about \$5,000,000) at once, and two hundred talents annually for fifty years; and not, under any circumstances, to make war upon an ally of Rome. Five hundred of the costly Phœnician war galleys were towed out of the harbor of Carthage and burned.

Such was the end of the Hannibalic War, as it was called by the Romans. Scipio was accorded a grand triumph at Rome, and in honor of his achievements given the surname *Africanus*.

267. Effects of the War on Italy. Italy never entirely recovered from the calamitous effects of this war. Agriculture in some districts was almost ruined. The peasantry had been torn from the soil and driven within the walled towns. The slave class had increased, and the estates of the great landowners had constantly grown in size and absorbed the little holdings of the ruined peasants. In thus destroying the Italian peasantry, Hannibal's invasion and long occupancy of the peninsula did very much to aggravate all those economic evils which even before this time were at work undermining the earlier sound industrial life of the Romans, and filling Italy with a numerous and dangerous class of homeless and discontented men.

III. EXPANSION OF ROME INTO THE EAST

268. Introductory. The terms imposed upon Carthage at the end of the Second Punic War left Rome mistress of the western Mediterranean. During the eventful half century that elapsed between the close of that struggle and the breaking out of the

Third Punic War her authority became supreme also in the eastern Mediterranean. In an earlier chapter, in which we narrated the fortunes of the most important states into which the great empire of Alexander was broken at his death, we followed their several histories until, one after another, they fell beneath the arms of Rome, and were absorbed into her growing dominions (Chapter XIX). We shall therefore in this place speak only of the effects upon Rome of these conquests.

269. Reaction of the East upon Rome. In entering Greece the Romans had entered the homeland of Greek culture, with which they had first come in close contact in Magna Græcia. This culture was in many respects vastly superior to their own, and for this reason it exerted a profound influence upon life and thought at Rome. Greek manners and customs, Greek modes of education, and Greek literature and philosophy became the fashion at Rome, so that Roman society seemed in a fair way of becoming Hellenized. And to a certain degree this did take place. So many and so important were the elements of Greek culture which in the process of time were taken up and absorbed by the Romans that there ceased to be such a thing in the world as a pure Latin civilization. We recognize this intimate blending of the cultures of the two great peoples of classical antiquity when we speak of the civilization of the later Roman Empire as being Græco-Roman.

But along with the many helpful elements of culture which the Romans received from the East, they received also many germs of great social and moral evils. Life in Greece and in the Orient had become degenerate and corrupt. Close communication with this society, in union with other influences which we shall notice later, corrupted life at Rome. "To learn Greek is to learn knavery" became a proverb. The simplicity and frugality of the earlier times were replaced by oriental extravagance, luxury, and dissoluteness. Evidences of this decline in the moral life of the Romans, the presage of the downfall of the Republic, will multiply as we advance in our narrative.

IV. THE THIRD PUNIC WAR (149-146 B.C.)

270. "Carthage should be destroyed." In the course of two or three decades after the close of the Second Punic War, Carthage regained much of her earlier prosperity. Now it happened that the chief of a Roman embassy sent to Carthage to conduct certain negotiations was Marcus Cato, the Censor. When he saw the prosperity of Carthage,—her immense trade, which crowded her harbor with ships, and the country for miles back of the city a beautiful landscape of gardens and villas,—he was amazed at the growing power and wealth of the city, and returned home convinced that the safety of Rome demanded the destruction of her rival. All of his addresses after this—no matter on what subject—he is said invariably to have closed with the declaration, "Moreover, Carthage should be destroyed."

A pretext for destroying the city was not long wanting. Charging the Carthaginians with having broken the conditions of the last treaty,—they had broken the mere letter of it,—the Romans laid siege to Carthage. For four years the city held out against the Roman army. At length the consul Scipio Æmilianus¹ succeeded in taking it by storm. The city was literally erased. Every trace of building which fire could not destroy was leveled, a plough was driven over the site, and a dreadful curse invoked upon anyone who should dare attempt to rebuild the city.

Such was the hard fate of Carthage. Polybius, who was an eyewitness of the destruction of the city, records that Scipio, as he gazed upon the smoldering ruins, seemed to read in them the fate of Rome, and, bursting into tears, sadly repeated the lines of Homer :

The day shall be when holy Troy shall fall
And Priam, lord of spears, and Priam's folk.²

The Carthaginian territory in Africa was made into a Roman province, with Utica as the leading city ; and by means of traders

¹ Grandson by adoption of Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. After his conquest of Carthage he was known as *Africanus Minor*. ² *Iliad*, vi. 448.

and settlers Roman civilization was spread rapidly throughout the regions that lie between the ranges of the Atlas and the sea.

271. The Significance of Rome's Triumph over Carthage. The triumph of Rome over Carthage may perhaps rightly be given as prominent a place in history as the triumph, more than three centuries before, of Greece over Persia. In each case Europe was saved from the threatened danger of becoming practically a mere dependency or extension of Asia.

The Semitic Carthaginians had not the political aptitude and moral energy that characterized the Italians and the other Aryan peoples of Europe. Their civilization was lacking in elements of growth and expansion. Had this civilization been spread by conquest throughout Europe, the germs of political, literary, artistic, and religious life among the Aryans of the continent might have been smothered, and their history have been rendered as barren in political and intellectual interest as the later history of the races of the Orient.

It is these considerations which justify the giving of the battle of the Metaurus, which marks the real turning point in the long struggle between Rome and Carthage, a place along with the battle of Marathon in the short list of the really decisive battles of the world,—battles which, determining the trend of great currents of history, have decided the fate of races, of continents, and of civilizations.

References. POLYBIUS, i, 10-63 (for an account of the First Punic War); xxxix, 3-5 (the fall of Carthage; it should be remembered that Polybius here writes as an eye-witness of the scenes that he describes). PLUTARCH, *Fabius Maximus* and *Marcus Cato*. MOMMSEN, T., vol. ii, bk. iii, chaps. i-xiv. PELHAM, H. F., *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. iii, chaps. i-iii. SMITH, R. B., *Carthage and the Carthaginians and Rome and Carthage*. DODGE, T. A., *Hannibal*. MORRIS, W. O., *Hannibal*. CHURCH, A. J., *Story of Carthage* (interesting for younger classes). CREASY, E. S., *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. iv, "The Battle of the Metaurus."

CHAPTER XXIX

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC

(133-31 B. C.)

272. Introductory. We have now traced in broad outlines the development of the institutions of republican Rome, and have told briefly the story of that wonderful career of conquest which made the little Palatine city first the mistress of Latium, then of Italy, and finally of the greater part of the Mediterranean world. In the present chapter we shall follow the declining fortunes of the Republic through the last century of its existence. During this time many agencies were at work undermining the institutions of the Republic and paving the way for the Empire. What these agencies were will best be made apparent by a simple narration of the events that crowd this memorable period of Roman history.

273. The First Servile War in Sicily (134-132 B.C.). With the opening of this period we find a terrible struggle going on in Sicily between masters and slaves,—what is known as the First Servile War. The condition of affairs in that island was the outgrowth of the Roman system of slavery.

The captives that the Romans took in war they usually sold into servitude. The great number furnished by their numerous conquests had caused slaves to become a drug in the slave markets of the Mediterranean world. They were so cheap that masters found it more profitable to wear their slaves out by a few years of unmercifully hard labor and then to buy others than to preserve their lives for a longer period by more humane treatment. In case of sickness they were often left to die without attention, as the expense of nursing exceeded the cost of new purchases. Some estates were worked by as many as twenty thousand slaves.

The wretched condition of the slaves in Sicily, where the slave system exhibited some of its worst features, at last drove them to

revolt. The insurrection spread throughout the island until two hundred thousand slaves were in arms—if axes, reaping hooks, staves, and roasting spits may be called arms. They defeated four Roman armies sent against them, and for three years defied the power of Rome. Finally, however, in the year 132 B.C., the revolt was crushed, and peace was restored to the distracted island.

274. The Public Lands. In Italy itself affairs were in a hardly less wretched condition than in Sicily. At the bottom of a large part of the social and economic troubles here was the public-land system. By law or custom those portions of the public lands which remained unsold or unallotted as homesteads were open to anyone to till or to pasture. In return for such use of the public land the user paid the state usually a fifth or a tenth of the yearly produce. Persons who availed themselves of this privilege were called possessors or occupiers; we should call them “squatters” or “tenants at will.”

Now it had happened that, in various ways, the greater part of these public lands had fallen into the hands of the wealthy. They alone had the capital necessary to stock with cattle and slaves the new lands, and hence they were the sole occupiers of them. The small farmers everywhere, too, were being ruined by the unfair competition of slave labor, and their little holdings were passing by purchase, and often by fraud or barefaced robbery, into the hands of the great proprietors. The greater part of the lands of Italy, about the beginning of the first century B.C., are said to have been held by not more than two thousand persons. Thus, largely through the workings of the public-land system, the Roman people had become divided into two great classes,—the rich and the poor, the possessors and the non-possessors.

275. The Reforms of the Gracchi. The most noted champions of the cause of the poorer classes against the rich and powerful were Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. These reformers are reckoned among the most popular orators that Rome ever produced. They eloquently voiced the wrongs of the people. Said Tiberius, “You are called ‘lords of the earth’ without possessing a single clod to

call your own." The people made him tribune (134-133 B.C.); and in that position he secured the passage of a law for the redistribution of the public lands, which gave some relief.

As the end of his term of office drew near, Tiberius stood again for the tribunate. The aristocrats combined to defeat him. It came to riot and street fighting. The partisans of Tiberius were overpowered, and he and three hundred of his followers were killed in the Forum and their bodies thrown into the Tiber. This was the first time that the Roman Forum had witnessed such a scene of violence and crime.

Gaius Gracchus now came forward to assume the position made vacant by the death of his brother Tiberius. The people elected him tribune. As tribune he won the affection of the poor of the city by carrying a law which provided that every Roman citizen, on personal application, should be given corn from the public granaries at half or less than half the market price. Gaius could not have foreseen all the evils to which this law was to lead. It led eventually to the free distribution of corn to all citizens who made application for it. Very soon a large proportion of the population of Rome was living in idleness and feeding at the public crib (sect. 352).

Other measures in the interest of the people proposed by Gaius were bitterly opposed by the aristocrats, and the two orders at last came into collision. Gaius sought death by a friendly sword, and three thousand of his adherents were massacred.

The common people ever regarded the Gracchi as martyrs, and their memory was preserved in later times by statues in the public square. To Cornelia, their mother, a monument was erected, bearing the simple inscription, "The Mother of the Gracchi."

276. The Social War (91-89 B.C.). At the opening of the last century B.C. all the free inhabitants of Italy were embraced in three classes,—*Roman citizens*, *Latins*, and *Italian allies*. The Roman citizens included the inhabitants of the capital, of certain towns called *municipia*, and of the Roman colonies (sect. 255), besides the dwellers on isolated farms and the inhabitants of villages scattered everywhere throughout Italy. The Latins

comprised the inhabitants of the Latin colonies. The Italian allies were those conquered peoples that Rome had excluded wholly from the rights of the city.

The Social War was a struggle that arose from the demands of the Italian allies for the privileges of Roman citizenship. Their demands being stubbornly resisted by both the aristocratic and the popular party at Rome, they took up arms, resolved upon the establishment of a rival state. A town called Corfinium, among the Apennines, was chosen as the capital of the new republic, and its name changed to Italica. Thus in a single day a large part of Italy south of the Rubicon was lost to Rome.

Aristocrats and democrats now hushed their quarrels and fought bravely side by side for the endangered life of the Republic. The war lasted three years, and was finally brought to an end rather by prudent concessions on the part of Rome than by fighting. In the year 90 B. C., alarmed by signs of disaffection in certain of the communities that up to this time had remained faithful, Rome granted the franchise of the city to all Italian communities that had not declared war against her or had already laid down their arms. The following year the full rights of the city were offered to all Italians who should within two months appear before a Roman magistrate and express a wish for the franchise. This tardy concession to the just demands of the Italians virtually ended the war.¹

277. Comments on the Political Results of the Social War. Thus as an outcome of the war practically all the freemen of Italy south of the Po were made equal in civil and political rights. This was a matter of great significance. "The enrollment of the Italians among her own citizens deserves to be regarded," declares the historian Merivale, "as the greatest stroke of policy in the whole history of the Republic." This wholesale enfranchisement of Latin and Italian allies more than doubled the number of Roman citizens.

This equalization of the different classes of the Italian peninsula was simply a later phase of that movement in early Rome which

¹ After the close of the war the rights that up to this time had been enjoyed by the Latin towns were conferred upon all the cities between the Po and the Alps.

resulted in the equalization of the two orders of the patricians and the plebeians. But the purely political results of the earlier and those of the later revolution were very different. At the earlier time those who demanded and received the franchise were persons living either in Rome or in its immediate vicinity, and consequently able to exercise the acquired right to vote and to hold office.

But now it was very different. These new-made citizens were living in towns and villages or on farms scattered all over Italy, and of course very few of them could ever go to Rome, either to participate in the elections there, to vote on proposed legislation, or to become candidates for the Roman magistracies. Hence the rights they had acquired were, after all, politically barren. But no one was to blame for this state of things. Rome had simply outgrown her city constitution and her system of primary assemblies (sect. 233). She needed for her widening empire a representative system like ours; but representation was a political device far away from the thoughts of the men of those times.

As a result of the impossibility of the Roman citizens outside of Rome taking part, as a general thing, in the meetings of the popular assemblies at the capital, the offices of the state fell into the hands of those actually living in Rome or settled in its immediate neighborhood. Since the free, or practically free, distribution of corn and the public shows were drawing to the capital from all quarters crowds of the poor, the idle, and the vicious, these assemblies were rapidly becoming simply mobs controlled by noisy demagogues and unscrupulous military leaders aiming at the supreme power in the state.

This situation brought about a serious division in the body of Roman citizens. Those of the capital came to regard themselves as the real rulers of the empire, as they actually were, and looked with disdain upon those living in the other cities and the remoter districts of the peninsula. They alone reaped the fruits of the conquered world. At the same time the mass of outside passive citizens, as we may call them, came to look with jealousy upon this body of pampered aristocrats, rich speculators, and ragged, dissolute clients and hangers-on at Rome. They became quite

reconciled to the thought of power passing out of the hands of such a crowd and into the hands of a single man. The feelings of men everywhere were being prepared for the revolution that was to overthrow the Republic and bring in the Empire.

278. Marius and Sulla contend for Command in a War against Mithradates. While the Social War was still in progress in Italy a formidable enemy of Rome appeared in the East. Mithradates VI, surnamed the Great, king of Pontus, taking advantage of the distracted condition of the Republic, had encroached upon the Roman possessions in Asia



FIG. 67. MITHRADATES
THE GREAT. (Coin)

Minor, had caused a general massacre of the Italian traders and residents in that country, and had persuaded many of the cities in Greece to renounce the authority of Rome. The Roman Senate now bestirred itself. An army was raised for the recovery of the Orient. Straightway a contest arose between Gaius Marius, an able commander who had risen from the lowest ranks of the people, and a noble-

man named Sulla, for the command of the forces. The Senate conferred this upon Sulla, who at that time was consul. Marius was furious. By violent means he succeeded in carrying a measure in an assembly of the people whereby the command was taken away from Sulla and given to him. Sulla now saw that the sword must settle the dispute. He marched at the head of his legions upon Rome, entered the gates, and "for the first time in the annals of the city a Roman army encamped within the walls." The party of Marius was defeated, and he and ten of his companions were proscribed. Sulla soon embarked with the legions to meet Mithradates in the East (88 B.C.).¹

279. Marius massacres the Aristocrats (87 B.C.). Returning from Africa, whither he had fled, Marius joined the consul Cinna in an attempt to crush by force the senatorial party. Rome was cut off from her food supplies and starved into submission. Marius

¹ This was what is known as the First Mithradatic War (88-84 B.C.).

now took a terrible revenge upon his enemies. The consul Gnaeus Octavius, who represented the aristocrats, was assassinated, and his head set up in front of the Rostra. Never before had such a thing been seen at Rome,—a consul's head exposed to the public gaze. For five days and nights a merciless slaughter was kept up. The life of every man in the capital was in the hands of the revengeful Marius. As a fitting sequel to all this violence, Marius and Cinna were, in an entirely illegal way, declared consuls. Marius was now consul for the seventh time. He enjoyed his seventh consulship only thirteen days, being carried away by death in the seventy-first year of his age (86 B.C.).

280. The Proscriptions of Sulla (82 B.C.). With the Mithradatic war ended, Sulla wrote to the Senate, saying that he was now coming to take vengeance upon the Marian party,—his own and the Republic's foes. Landing with his army in Italy, Sulla, after much hard fighting, entered Rome with all the powers of a dictator. The leaders of the Marian party were proscribed, rewards were offered for their heads, and their property was confiscated. Sulla was implored to make out a list of those he designed to put to death, that those he intended to spare might be relieved of the terrible suspense in which all were now held. He made out a list of eighty, which was attached to the Rostra. The people murmured at the length of the roll. In a few days it was extended to over three hundred, and then grew rapidly until it included the names of thousands of the best citizens of Italy. Hundreds were murdered simply because some favorites of Sulla coveted their estates. A wealthy noble, coming into the Forum and reading his own name in the list of the proscribed, exclaimed, "Alas! my villa has proved my ruin." Julius Cæsar, at this time a mere boy of eighteen, was proscribed on account of his relationship to Marius, but, upon the intercession of friends, Sulla spared him; as he did so, however, he said warningly, "There is in that boy many a Marius."

The number of victims of these proscriptions has been handed down as forty-seven hundred. Almost all of these must have been men of wealth or of special distinction on account of their activity

in public affairs. The property of the proscribed was confiscated and sold at public auction, or virtually given away by Sulla to his favorites. The bases of some of the most colossal fortunes that we hear of a little after this were laid during these times of proscription and robbery.

This reign of terror bequeathed to later times a terrible "legacy of hatred and fear." Its awful scenes haunted the Romans for generations, and at every crisis in the affairs of the commonwealth the public mind was thrown into a state of painful apprehension lest there should be a repetition of these frightful days of Sulla.

By a decree of the Senate Sulla was now made dictator during his own good pleasure. After having exercised the unlimited power of his office for three years, Sulla, to the surprise of everybody, suddenly resigned the dictatorship and went into retirement. He died the year following his abdication (78 B.C.). One important result of the rule of Sulla as an absolute dictator was the accustoming of the people to the idea of the rule of a single man. His short dictatorship was the prelude to the reign of the permanent imperator.

281. Spartacus; War of the Gladiators (73-71 B.C.). About a decade after the proscriptions of Sulla, Italy was the scene of fresh troubles. Gladiatorial combats had become at this time the favorite sport of the amphitheater. At Capua was a sort of training school from which skilled fighters were hired out for public or private entertainments. In this seminary was a Thracian slave, known by the name of Spartacus, who incited his companions to revolt. The insurgents fled to the crater of Vesuvius and made that their stronghold. There they were joined by gladiators from other schools, and by slaves and discontented persons from every quarter. Their number at length increased to a hundred and fifty thousand men. For three years they defied the power of Rome. But at length Spartacus himself was killed and the insurrection crushed.

282. Growth of Piracy in the Mediterranean; War with the Pirates (78-66 B.C.). Another shameful commentary on the incapacity of the government of the aristocrats was the growth of piracy in the Mediterranean waters during their rule. It is true

that this was an evil which had been growing for a long time. The Romans, through their conquest of the countries fringing the Mediterranean, had destroyed not only the governments that had maintained order on the land, but at the same time had destroyed the fleets, as in the case of Carthage, which, since the days when the rising Greek cities suppressed piracy in the Ægean Sea, had policed the Mediterranean and kept its ship routes clear of corsairs.

The Mediterranean, thus left practically without patrol, was swarming with pirates, for the Roman conquests in Africa, Spain, and especially in Greece and Asia Minor, had caused thousands of adventurous spirits in those maritime countries to take to their ships and seek a livelihood by preying upon the commerce of the seas. The pirates even ravaged the shores of Italy itself. They carried off merchants and travelers from the Appian Way and held them for ransom. At last they began to intercept the grain ships of Sicily and Africa and thereby threatened Rome with starvation. Corn rose to famine prices.

The Romans now bestirred themselves. In the year 67 B.C. Gnæus Pompey, a rising young general of the aristocrats, was invested with dictatorial power for three years over the Mediterranean and all its coasts for fifty miles inland. He quickly swept the pirates from the sea, captured their strongholds in Cilicia, and settled the twenty thousand prisoners that fell into his hands in colonies in Asia Minor and Greece. His vigorous conduct of this campaign brought him great honor and reputation.

283. Pompey in the East ; the Death of Mithradates (63 B.C.). Pompey had not yet ended the war with the pirates before he was given, by a vote of the people, charge of the war against Mithradates, who was now again in arms against Rome. In a great battle in Lesser Armenia Pompey almost annihilated the army of Mithradates. The king fled from the field, and soon afterwards, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, took his own life. His death removed one of the most formidable enemies that Rome had ever encountered. Hamilcar, Hannibal, and Mithradates were the three great names that the Romans always pronounced with respect and dread.

284. **The Conspiracy of Catiline (64–62 B.C.).** While the legions were absent from Italy with Pompey in the East a most daring conspiracy against the government was formed at Rome. Catiline, a ruined spendthrift, had gathered a large company of profligate young nobles, weighed down with debts and desperate like himself, and had deliberately planned to murder the consuls and the chief men of the state and to plunder and burn the capital. The proscriptions of Sulla were to be renewed and all debts were to be canceled.

Fortunately, all the plans of the conspirators were revealed to the consul Cicero, the great orator. The Senate immediately clothed the consuls with dictatorial power with the usual formula that they "should take care that the republic received no harm." Then in the Senate chamber, with Catiline himself present, Cicero exposed the whole conspiracy in a famous philippic, known as *The First Oration against Catiline*. The senators shrank from the conspirator and left the seats about him empty. After a feeble effort to reply to Cicero, overwhelmed by a sense of his guilt, and the cries of "traitor" and "parricide" from the senators, Catiline fled from the chamber and hurried out of the city to the camp of his followers in Etruria. In a desperate battle fought near Pistoria he was slain with many of his followers. His head was borne as a trophy to Rome.

285. **Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey: the So-called "First Triumvirate" (60 B.C.).** Although the conspiracy of Catiline had failed, still it was very easy to foresee that the days of liberty at Rome were over. From this time forward the government was practically in the hands of ambitious leaders or of corrupt combinations and "rings." Events gather about a few great names, and the annals of the Republic become biographical rather than historical.

There were now in the state three men—Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey—who were destined to shape affairs. Gaius Julius Cæsar was born in the year 100 B.C. Although descended from an old patrician family, still he had identified himself with the democratic party. In every way he courted the favor of the multitude. He lavished enormous sums upon public games and tables. His

popularity was unbounded. A successful campaign in Spain had already made known to himself, as well as to others, his genius as a commander.

Marcus Licinius Crassus belonged to the senatorial or aristocratic party. He owed his influence to his enormous wealth, being one of the richest men in the Roman world. His property was estimated at 7100 talents (about \$8,875,000).

With Gnæus Pompey and his achievements we are already familiar. His influence throughout the Roman world was great; for in settling the countries he subdued he had filled the offices with his friends and adherents. This patronage had secured for him incalculable authority in the provinces.

What is commonly known as the "First Triumvirate" rested on the genius of Cæsar, the wealth of Crassus, and the reputation of Pompey. It was a private arrangement entered into by these three men for the purpose of securing to themselves the control of public affairs. Cæsar was the manager of the "ring." Through the aid of his colleagues he secured the consulship.

286. Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul (58-51 B.C.). Directly after his consulship Cæsar was commissioned to govern the provinces of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, together with Illyricum. Already doubtless he was revolving in his mind plans for seizing supreme power. Beyond the Alps the Gallic and German tribes were in restless movement. He saw there a grand field for military exploits, which should gain for him such prestige as in other fields had been won and was now enjoyed by Pompey. With this achieved, and with a veteran army devoted to his interests, he might hope easily to attain that position at the head of affairs toward which his ambition was urging him.

In the spring of 58 B.C. alarming intelligence from beyond the Alps caused Cæsar to hasten from Rome into Transalpine Gaul. Now began a series of eight brilliant campaigns directed against the various tribes of Gaul, Germany, and Britain. In his admirable *Commentaries* Cæsar himself has left us a faithful and graphic account of all the memorable marches, battles, and sieges that filled the years between 58 and 51 B.C.

The year 55 B.C. marked two notable achievements. Early in the spring of this year Cæsar constructed a bridge across the Rhine and led his legions against the Germans in their native woods and swamps. In the autumn of the same year he crossed the channel that separates the mainland from Britain, and after maintaining a foothold upon that island for two weeks withdrew his legions into Gaul for the winter. The following season he made another invasion of Britain, but, after some encounters with the fierce barbarians, recrossed to the mainland without having established any permanent garrisons in the island. Almost one hundred years passed away before the natives of Britain were again molested by the Romans.

Great enthusiasm was aroused at Rome by Cæsar's victories over the Gauls. "Let the Alps sink," exclaimed Cicero; "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians; they are now no longer needed."

287. Results of the Gallic Wars. One good result of the Gallic wars of Cæsar was the Romanizing of Gaul. The country was opened to Roman traders and settlers, who carried with them the language, customs, and arts of Italy. This Romanization of Gaul meant the adding of another to the number of Latin nations that were to arise from the break-up of the Roman Empire. There can be little doubt that if Cæsar had not conquered Gaul it would have been overrun by the Germans, and would ultimately have become simply an extension of Germany. There would then have been no great Latin nation north of the Alps and the Pyrenees. It is difficult to imagine what European history would be like if the French nation, with its semi-Italian temperament, instincts, and traditions, had never come into existence.

Another result of Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul was the checking of the migratory movements of the German tribes, which gave Græco-Roman civilization time to become thoroughly rooted not only in Gaul but also in Spain and other lands.

288. Rivalry between Cæsar and Pompey; Cæsar crosses the Rubicon (49 B.C.). While Cæsar was in Gaul Crassus was leading an army against the Parthians in the East, hoping to rival there

the brilliant conquests of Cæsar. But his army was almost annihilated by the enemy, and he himself was slain (54 B.C.).

The world now belonged to Cæsar and Pompey. A struggle between them was inevitable. While Cæsar was carrying on his campaigns in Gaul, Pompey was at Rome watching jealously the growing reputation of his rival. He strove by a princely liberality to win the affections of the common people. He gave magnificent games and set public tables, and when the interest of the people in the sports of the Circus flagged he entertained them with gladiatorial combats.

In a similar manner Cæsar strengthened himself with the people for the struggle which he plainly foresaw. He sought, in every way to ingratiate himself with the Gauls; he increased the pay of his soldiers, conferred the privileges of Roman citizenship upon the inhabitants of different cities, and sent to Rome enormous sums of gold to be expended in the erection of theaters and other public structures, and in the celebration of games and shows that should rival in magnificence those given by Pompey.

The Senate, favoring Pompey, made him sole consul for one year, which was about the same thing as making him dictator, and issued a decree that Cæsar should resign his office and disband his Gallic legions by a stated day. The crisis had now come. Cæsar ordered his legions to hasten from Gaul into Italy. Without waiting for their arrival, at the head of a small body of veterans that he had with him at Ravenna, he crossed the Rubicon, a little stream that marked the boundary of his province. This was a declaration of war. As he plunged into the river, he exclaimed, "The die is cast!"

289. Cæsar becomes Sole Master of the Roman World. As Cæsar marched southward, one city after another threw open its gates to him; legion after legion went over to his standard. Pompey, with a few legions, fled to Greece. Within sixty days Cæsar had made himself master of all Italy. His moderation won all classes to his side. Many had looked to see the terrible scenes of the days of Marius and Sulla reënacted. Cæsar, however, soon gave assurance that life and property should be held sacred.

With order restored in Italy, and with Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain brought under his authority, Cæsar was free to turn his forces against Pompey in the East. The armies of the rivals met upon the plains of Pharsalus in Thessaly. Pompey's forces were cut to pieces. He himself fled from the field and escaped to Egypt. Just as he was landing he was assassinated.



FIG. 68. JULIUS CÆSAR. (From a bust in the Museum at Naples)

Other campaigns and victories followed both in the East and in the West, and then Cæsar was sole lord of the Roman world. He refrained from taking the title of king, but he assumed the purple robe, the insignia of royalty, and caused his effigy to be stamped, after the manner of sovereigns, on the public coins. His statue was significantly given a place along with those of the seven kings of early Rome. He was invested with all the offices and dignities of the state. The Senate made him perpetual dictator (44 B.C.),

and conferred upon him the powers of censor, consul, and tribune, with the titles of Pontifex Maximus and Imperator. Thus, though not a king in name, Cæsar's actual position at the head of the state was that of an absolute ruler.

290. Cæsar as a Statesman. Cæsar was great not only as a general but also as a statesman. He had great plans which embraced the whole world that Rome had conquered. A chief aim of his was to establish between the different classes of the Empire equality of rights, to place Italy and the provinces on the same footing, to blend the various races and peoples into a real nation,—in a word, to carry to completion that great work of making all

the world Roman which had been begun in the earliest times. To this end he established numerous colonies in the provinces and settled in them the poorer citizens of the capital. With a liberality that astonished and offended many, he admitted to the Senate sons of freedmen, and particularly representative men from among the Gauls, and conferred upon individual provincials, and upon entire classes and communities in the provinces, the partial or full rights of the city. His action here marks an epoch in the history of Rome. The immunities and privileges of the city had never hitherto been conferred, save in exceptional cases, upon any peoples other than those of the Italian race. Cæsar threw the gates of the city wide open to the non-Italian peoples of the provinces. Thus was foreshadowed the day when all freemen throughout the whole Empire should be Roman in name and privilege (see Table, p. 205).

As Pontifex Maximus, Cæsar reformed the calendar so as to bring the festivals once more in their proper seasons, and provided against further confusion by making the year consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, with an added day for every fourth or leap year. This is what is called the Julian Calendar.¹

Besides these achievements, Cæsar projected many other undertakings which the abrupt termination of his life prevented his carrying into execution.

291. The Death of Cæsar (44 B.C.). Cæsar had his bitter personal enemies, who never ceased to plot his downfall. There were, too, sincere lovers of the old Republic to whom he was the destroyer of republican liberties. The impression began to prevail that he was aiming to make himself king. A crown was several times offered him in public by the consul Mark Antony; but, seeing the manifest displeasure of the people, he each time pushed it aside. Yet there is little doubt that secretly he desired it. It was reported that he proposed to rebuild the walls of Troy, the fabled cradle of the Roman race, and make that ancient capital

¹ This calendar, which was based on the old Egyptian calendar (sect. 30), was in general use in Europe until the year 1582, when it was reformed by Pope Gregory XIII and became what is known as the Gregorian Calendar. This in time came to be used in almost all Christian countries. A few still retain the Julian Calendar.

the seat of the new Roman Empire. Others professed to believe that the arts and charms of the Egyptian Cleopatra, who had borne him a son at Rome, would entice him to make Alexandria the center of the proposed kingdom. So many, out of love for Rome and the old Republic, were led to enter into a conspiracy against the life of Cæsar with those who sought to rid themselves of the dictator for other and personal reasons.

The Ides (the 15th day) of March, 44 B.C., upon which day the Senate convened, witnessed the assassination. Seventy or eighty conspirators, headed by Gaius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, were concerned in the plot. The soothsayers must have had some knowledge of the plans of the conspirators, for they had warned Cæsar to "beware of the Ides of March." No sooner had he entered the hall where the Senate assembled that day, and taken his seat, than the conspirators crowded about him as if to present a petition. Upon a signal from one of their number their daggers were drawn. For a moment Cæsar defended himself; but seeing Brutus, upon whom he had lavished gifts and favors, among the conspirators, he is said to have exclaimed reproachfully, "*Et tu, Brute!*" (Thou, too, Brutus!) and then to have drawn his mantle over his face.

The Romans had killed many of their best men and cut short their work; but never had they killed such a man as Cæsar. He was the greatest man their race had yet produced or was destined ever to produce.

Cæsar's work was left all incomplete. What makes it historically important is that in his reforms Cæsar drew the broad lines which his successors followed, and indicated the principles on which the government of the future must be based.

292. The Second Triumvirate (43 B.C.); the Death of Cicero. Antony, the friend and secretary of Cæsar, had gained possession of his will and papers, and now, under color of carrying out the testament of the dictator according to a decree of the Senate, entered upon a course of high-handed usurpation. Very soon he was exercising all the powers of a real dictator. "The tyrant is dead," said Cicero, "but the tyranny still lives."

To what lengths Antony would have gone in his career of usurpation it is difficult to say, had he not been opposed at this point by Gaius Octavius, the young grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar, and the one whom he had named in his will as his heir and adopted as his son. Upon the Senate's declaring in favor of Octavius, civil war immediately broke out between him on the one hand and Antony and Lepidus (one of Cæsar's old lieutenants) on the other. After several indecisive battles between the forces of the rival competitors, Octavius proposed to Antony and Lepidus a reconciliation. The outcome of a conference was a league known as the Second Triumvirate (43 B.C.).

The plans of the triumvirs were infamous. They first divided the world among themselves: Octavius was to have the government of the West; Antony, that of the East; while to Lepidus fell the control of Africa. A general proscription, such as had marked the coming to power

of Sulla, was then resolved upon. It was agreed that each should give up to the assassin such friends of his as had incurred the ill-will of either of the other triumvirs. Under this arrangement Octavius gave up his friend Cicero,—who had incurred the hatred of Antony by opposing his schemes,—and allowed his name to be put at the head of the list of the proscribed.

The friends of the orator urged him to flee the country. His attendants were hurrying him, half unwilling, toward the coast, when his pursuers came up and dispatched him in the litter in which he was being carried. His head was taken to Rome and

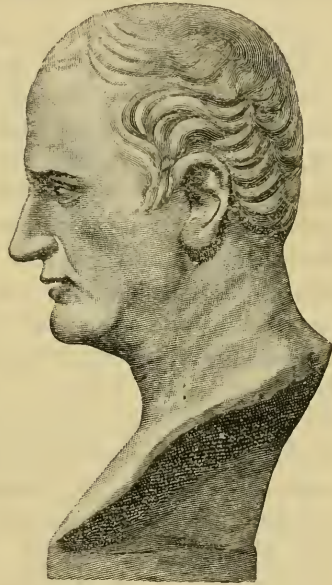


FIG. 69. CICERO. (Madrid)

set up in the Forum. The right hand of the victim—the hand that had penned the eloquent orations—was nailed to the Rostra.¹

Cicero was but one victim among many hundreds. All the dreadful scenes of the days of Sulla were reënacted. Three hundred senators and two thousand knights were murdered. The estates of the wealthy were confiscated and conferred by the triumvirs upon their friends and favorites.

293. Last Struggle of the Republic at Philippi (42 B.C.). The friends of the old Republic and the enemies of the triumvirs were meanwhile rallying in the East. Brutus and Cassius, who had fled from Rome after the assassination of Cæsar, were the animating spirits. Octavius and Antony, as soon as they had disposed of their enemies in Italy, crossed the Adriatic into Greece to disperse the forces of the republicans there. At Philippi, in Thrace, the hostile armies met. The new levies of the liberators were cut to pieces, and both Brutus and Cassius, believing the cause of the Republic lost, committed suicide. It was, indeed, the last effort of the Republic. The history of the events that lie between the action at Philippi and the establishment of the Empire is simply a record of the struggles among the triumvirs for the possession of the prize of supreme power. Lepidus was at length expelled from the triumvirate, and then again the Roman world, as in the times of Cæsar and Pompey, was in the hands of two masters,—Antony in the East and Octavius in the West.

294. The Battle of Actium (31 B.C.). Affairs could not long continue in their present course. Antony had put away his faithful wife Octavia for the beautiful Cleopatra.² It was whispered at Rome, and not without truth, that he proposed to make Alexandria the capital of the Roman world, and announce Cæsarion, son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, as the heir of the Empire. All Rome

¹ The speakers' stage in the Forum. It was so called because decorated with the beaks (*rostra*) of captured war galleys.

² After the battle of Philippi Antony went into Asia for the purpose of settling the affairs of the provinces and vassal states there. At Tarsus, in Cilicia, he met Cleopatra, the famous queen of Egypt. Antony was completely fascinated, as had been the great Cæsar before him, by the witchery of the "Serpent of the Nile." Enslaved by her enchantments and charmed by her brilliant wit, in the pleasure of her company he forgot all else—ambition and honor and country.

was stirred. It was evident that a struggle was at hand in which the question for decision would be whether the West should rule the East, or the East rule the West. All eyes were instinctively turned to Octavius as the defender of Italy and the supporter of the sovereignty of the Eternal City.

Both parties made the most gigantic preparations for the inevitable conflict. Octavius met the combined fleets of Antony and Cleopatra just off the promontory of Actium, on the western coast of Greece. While the issue of the battle was yet undecided, Cleopatra turned her galley in flight. Antony, as soon as he perceived the withdrawal of Cleopatra, forgot all else and followed in her track with a swift galley. Overtaking the fleeing queen, the infatuated man was received aboard her vessel and became her partner in the disgraceful flight. The abandoned fleet and army surrendered to Octavius.¹ The conqueror was now sole master of the civilized world. From this decisive battle (31 B.C.) are usually dated the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire.

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¹ Octavius pursued Antony to Egypt, where the latter, deserted by his army and informed by a messenger from the false queen that she was dead, committed suicide. Cleopatra then sought to enslave Octavius with her charms; but failing in this, and becoming convinced that he proposed to take her to Rome to grace his triumph, she took her own life, being in the thirty-eighth year of her age. With the death of Cleopatra the noted dynasty of the Egyptian Ptolemies came to an end. Egypt was henceforth a province of the Roman state.

CHAPTER XXX

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE AND THE PRINCIPATE OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR

(31 B. C.—A. D. 14)

295. The Character of the Imperial Government. The hundred years of strife which ended with the battle of Actium left the Roman Republic, exhausted and helpless, in the hands of one wise enough and strong enough to remold its crumbling fragments in such a manner that the state, which seemed ready to fall to pieces, might prolong its existence for another five hundred years. It was a great work thus to create anew, as it were, out of anarchy and chaos, a political fabric that should exhibit such elements of perpetuity and strength. "The establishment of the Roman Empire," says Merivale, "was, after all, the greatest political work that any human being ever wrought. The achievements of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon are not to be compared with it for a moment."

Soon after his return from the East, Octavius laid down the extraordinary powers which he, as sole master of the legions, had been exercising. Then the Senate, acting doubtless in accordance with a previous understanding or the known wishes of Octavius, reinvested him with virtually the same powers but with republican titles; for, mindful of the fate of Julius Cæsar, Octavius saw to it that the really absolute power which he received under the new arrangements was veiled under the forms of the old Republic. He did not take the title of king. He knew how hateful to the people that name had been since the expulsion of the Tarquins. Nor did he take the title of dictator, a name that since the time of Sulla had been almost as intolerable to the people as that of king. But he adopted or accepted the title of *Imperator*,—whence the name *Emperor*,—a title which, although it carried with it the absolute

authority of the commander of the legions, still had clinging to it no odious memories. He also received from the Senate the honorary surname of *Augustus*, a title that hitherto had been sacred to the gods, and hence was free from all sinister associations. A monument of this act was erected in the calendar. It was decreed by the Senate that the sixth month of the Roman year should be called Augustus (whence our August) in commemoration of the Emperor, an act in imitation of that by which the preceding month had been given the name *Julius* (whence our July) in honor of Julius Cæsar. Common usage also bestowed upon Octavius the name of *Princeps*, which was only a designation of courtesy and dignity and which simply pointed out him who bore it as the "first citizen" of a free republic.

And as Octavius was careful not to wound the sensibilities of the lovers of the old Republic by assuming any title that in any way suggested regal au-

thority and prerogative, so was he careful not to arouse their opposition by abolishing any of the republican offices or assemblies.

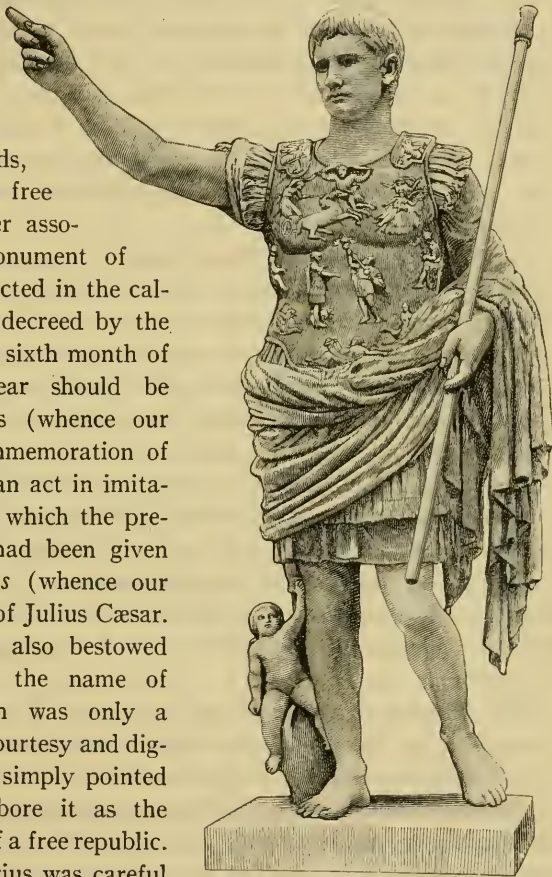


FIG. 70. AUGUSTUS. (Vatican Museum)

This statue of Augustus is regarded as one of the best of Roman portraits

He allowed all the old magistracies and the popular assemblies to exist as heretofore; but he himself absorbed and exercised the most important part of their powers and functions.¹

The Senate still existed, but it was shorn of all real independence by the predominating influence of its first member, the Princeps. Octavius endeavored to raise the body to a higher standard. He reduced the number of senators—which had been raised by Antony to one thousand—to six hundred, and struck from the rolls the names of unworthy members and of obstinate republicans.

We may summarize all these changes by saying that the monarchy abolished five hundred years before this was now slowly rising again amidst the old forms of the Republic. This is what was actually taking place; for the chief powers and prerogatives of the ancient king, which during the republican period had been gradually broken up and lodged in the hands of a great number of magistrates, colleges, and assemblies, were now being once more gathered up in the hands of a single man. This drift toward the unrestrained rule of a single person is the essence of the constitutional history of Rome for the first three centuries of the Empire; by the end of that period the concentration of all power in the hands of the Princeps was complete, and the veiled monarchy of Octavius emerges in the unveiled oriental monarchy of Diocletian (sect. 311).

296. The Government of the Provinces. The revolution that brought in the Empire effected a great improvement in the condition of the provincials. The government of all those provinces that were in an unsettled state and that needed the presence of a large military force Augustus¹ withdrew from the Senate and took the management of their affairs in his own hands. These were known as the *provinces of Cæsar*. Instead of these countries being ruled by practically irresponsible proconsuls and propretors, they were

¹ The consuls were generally nominated by Augustus, and in order that a large number of his friends and favorites might be amused with the dignity, the term of office was reduced to a shorter period. At a later time the length of the consulate was shortened to two or three months.

² From this on we shall refer to Octavius by this his honorary surname.

henceforth ruled by legates of the Emperor, who were removable at his will and answerable to him for the faithful and honest discharge of the duties of their offices.

The more tranquil provinces were still left under the control of the Senate and were known as *public provinces*. These also profited by the change, since the Emperor extended his care to them, and, as the judge of last appeal, righted wrongs and punished flagrant offenders against right and justice.

297. The Defeat of Varus by the Germans under Arminius (A.D. 9). The reign of Augustus was marked by one of the most terrible disasters that ever befell the Roman legions. The general Quintilius Varus, leading an army of about twenty thousand men against the Germans beyond the Rhine, in the almost pathless depths of the Teutoburg Wood was surprised by the barbarians under their brave chieftain Arminius,¹ and his army destroyed.

This victory of Arminius over the Romans was an event of great significance in the history of European civilization. The Germans were on the point of being completely subjugated and put in the way of being Romanized, as the Celts of Gaul had already been. Had this occurred, had Germany become a Latin nation, the whole course of European history would have been changed. Further, among these barbarians were our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Had Rome succeeded in exterminating or enslaving them, Britain, as Creasy says, might never have received the name of England, and the great English nation might never have come into existence.

298. Literature and the Arts under Augustus. The reign of Augustus lasted forty-four years, from 31 B.C. to A.D. 14. Although the government of Augustus, as we have learned, was disturbed by some troubles upon the frontiers, still, never before, perhaps, had the civilized world enjoyed so long a period of general rest from the turmoil of war. Three times during this auspicious reign the gates of the Temple of Janus at Rome, which were open in time of war and closed in time of peace, were shut. Only twice before during the existence of the city had they been closed, so constantly had the Roman people been engaged in war.

¹ His name may have been Hermann or Armin; the Romans wrote it Arminius.

This long repose from the strife that had filled all the preceding centuries was favorable to the upspringing of literature and art. Under the patronage of the Emperor and that of his favorite minister Mæcenas, poets and writers flourished and made this the Golden Age of Latin literature. The great names in the literature of the period are those of Vergil, Horace, Ovid, and Livy.

Augustus was also a munificent patron of architecture and art. He adorned the capital with many splendid structures, including temples, theaters, baths, and aqueducts. He said proudly, "I found Rome a city of brick; I left it a city of marble." The population of the city at this time was probably about one million.

299. The Death and Deification of Augustus. In the year 14 of the Christian era Augustus died, having reached the seventy-sixth year of his age. By decree of the Senate, divine worship was accorded to him and temples were erected in his honor.

The cult of Augustus had developed, particularly in the Orient, while he was yet living. At first flush this worship of Cæsar seems to us strange and impious. But it will not seem so if we put ourselves at the point of view of the ancients. In the Orient the king had very generally been looked upon as in a sense divine. Thus in Egypt the Pharaoh was believed to be of the very race of the gods. It was natural, then, that the subjects of Rome in the Eastern provinces should look upon the head of the Empire as one lifted above ordinary mortals and possessed of divine qualities. This way of thinking caused the provincials of the Orient to become sincere and zealous worshipers in the temples and before the altars of the "divine Cæsar."

From the East the custom of worshiping the Emperor spread to the West; only at Rome itself it remained usual to wait till after his death. This deification of the Cæsars had far-reaching consequences, as we shall see; since at this very time there was springing up in a remote corner of the Empire a new religion with which the imperial cult must necessarily come into violent conflict. For it was in the midst of the happy reign of Augustus, when peace prevailed throughout the civilized world, that Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF ROMAN CITIZENS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS OF THE REPUBLIC AND UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE¹

	CITIZENS OF MILITARY AGE
Under the later kings (Mommsen's estimate)	20,000
338 B.C.	165,000
293 B.C.	262,322
251 B.C.	279,797
220 B.C.	270,213
204 B.C.	214,000 ²
164 B.C.	327,022
115 B.C.	394,336
70 B.C.	900,000
27 B.C.	4,063,000 ³
8 B.C.	4,233,000
A.D. 13	4,937,000
A.D. 47 (under Claudius)	6,944,000

References. FERRERO, G., *The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, vols. iv (chaps. vii-xi), v. INGE, W. R., *Society in Rome under the Cæsars*, chap. i, "Religion" (deals with the decay of the Roman religion and the establishment at the capital of oriental cults). CAPES, W. W., *The Early Empire*, chap. i, "Augustus." PELHAM, H. F., *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. v, chap. iii. BURY, J. B., *The Roman Empire* (Student's Series), pp. 1-163. FIRTH, J. B., *Augustus Cæsar*. CREASY, E. S., *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. v, "Victory of Arminius over the Roman Legions under Varus, A.D. 9." FRIEDLÄNDER, L., *Roman Life and Manners*, vol. i, pp. 70-97. DAVIS, W. S., *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, pp. 80-105.

¹ These figures illustrate what is perhaps the most important matter in Roman history, namely, the gradual admission of aliens to the full rights of the city until every freeman in the civilized world had become a citizen of Rome.

² The falling off from the number of the preceding census of 220 B.C. was a result of the Hannibalic War.

³ These figures and those of the enumerations for 8 B.C. and A.D. 13 are from the *Momumentum Ancyranum*. The increased number given by the census of 70 B.C. over that of 115 B.C. registers the result of the admission to the city of the Italians at the end of the Social War (sect. 276). The tremendous leap upwards of the figures between 70 and 27 B.C. is probably to be explained not wholly by the admission during this period of aliens to the franchise but also, possibly, by the failure of the censors of the republican period to include in their enumerations the Roman citizens living in places remote from the capital.

CHAPTER XXXI

FROM TIBERIUS TO THE ACCESSION OF DIOCLETIAN

(A.D. 14-284)

300. Principate of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37). Tiberius, the adopted stepson of Augustus, became his successor. During the first years of his reign he used his practically unrestrained authority with moderation, and even to the last his government of the provinces was just and beneficent.

But unfortunately Tiberius was of morose, suspicious, and jealous nature, and the opposition which he experienced in the capital caused him, in his contest with his political and personal enemies, soon to institute there a most high-handed tyranny. Appointing as his chief minister and as commander of the pretorian guard¹ one Sejanus, a person of the lowest and most corrupt life, he retired to Capreæ, an islet in the Bay of Naples, and left to this man the management of affairs at the capital. For a time Sejanus ruled at Rome very much according to his own will. No man's life was safe. He even grew so bold as to plan the assassination of the Emperor himself. His designs, however, became known to Tiberius, and the infamous and disloyal minister was arrested and put to death. After the execution of his minister Tiberius ruled more despotically than before. Many sought refuge from his tyranny in suicide.

It was in the midst of the reign of Tiberius that, in a remote province of the Roman Empire, the Saviour was crucified. Animated by an unparalleled missionary spirit, his followers traversed the length and breadth of the Empire, preaching everywhere the new teachings. Men's loss of faith in the gods of the old

¹ This was a corps of select soldiers which had been created by Augustus, and which was designed as a bodyguard to the Emperor. It numbered about 10,000 men, and was given a permanent camp near one of the city gates. It soon became a formidable power in the state and made and unmade emperors at will.

mythologies, the softening and liberalizing influence of Greek culture, the unification of the whole civilized world under a single government, the widespread suffering and the inexpressible weariness of the oppressed and servile classes,—all these things had prepared the soil for the seed of the new doctrines. In less than three centuries the pagan Empire had become Christian not only in name but also very largely in fact.

301. Rule of Nero (A.D. 54–68). Nero, the third Emperor after Tiberius, was fortunate in having for his preceptor the great philosopher and moralist Seneca (sect. 344); but never was teacher more unfortunate in his pupil. For five years Nero, under the influence of Seneca and Burrhus, the latter the commander of the pretorians, ruled with moderation and equity; then he gradually broke away from the guidance of his tutor Seneca, and entered upon a career filled with crimes of almost incredible enormity.

It was in the tenth year of his reign (A.D. 64) that the so-called "Great Fire" laid more than half of Rome in ashes. It was rumored that Nero had ordered the conflagration to be lighted in order to clear the ground so that he could rebuild the city on a more magnificent plan, and that from the roof of his palace he had enjoyed the spectacle and amused himself by singing a poem of his own composition entitled the *Sack of Troy*. To turn attention from himself, Nero accused the Christians of having conspired to burn the city. The persecution that followed was one of the most cruel recorded in the history of the Church. Many victims were covered with pitch and burned at night to serve as torches in the imperial gardens. Tradition preserves the names of the apostles Peter and Paul as victims of this persecution.

The Emperor was extravagant and consequently always in need of money, which he secured through murders and confiscations. Among his victims was his old preceptor Seneca, who was immensely rich. On the charge of treason, Nero condemned him to death and confiscated his estate.

At last the armies began to rebel, and the Senate declared Nero a public enemy and condemned him to death by scourging. To avoid this, aided by a servant, he took his own life.

302. **Vespasian** (A.D. 69-79). A short troublous period followed the reign of Nero and then the imperial purple was assumed by Flavius Vespasian, the old and beloved commander of the legions in Palestine. One of the most memorable events of Vespasian's reign was the capture and destruction of Jerusalem. After one of

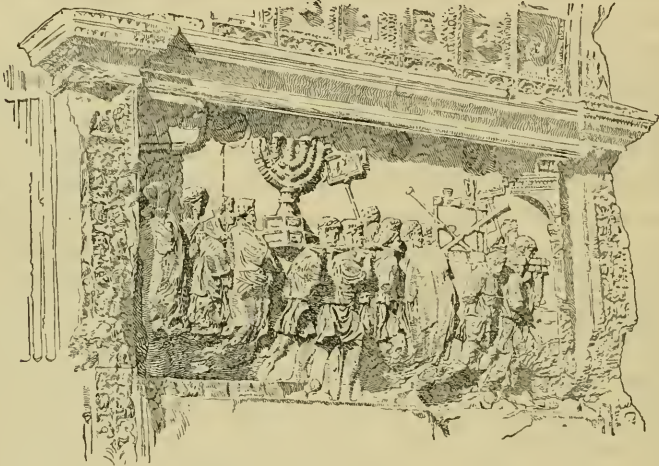


FIG. 71. TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS. (From a photograph)

Showing the seven-branched candlestick and other trophies from the temple at Jerusalem

the most harassing sieges recorded in history, the city was taken by Titus, son of Vespasian. A vast multitude of Jews who had crowded into the city—it was the season of the Passover—perished. In imitation of Nebuchadnezzar, Titus robbed the temple of its sacred utensils and bore them away as trophies. Upon the triumphal arch at Rome that bears his name may be seen at the present day the sculptured representation of the seven-branched golden candlestick, which was one of the memorials of the war.

After a most prosperous reign of ten years Vespasian died A.D. 79, the first Emperor after Augustus who had not met with a violent death.

303. Titus (A.D. 79-81). In a short reign of two years Titus won the title of "the Friend and the Delight of Mankind." He was unwearied in acts of benevolence and in bestowal of favors. His reign was signalized by two great disasters. The first was a conflagration at Rome, which was almost as calamitous as the Great Fire in the reign of Nero. The second was the destruction, by an eruption of Vesuvius, of the Campanian cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The cities were buried beneath showers of cinders, ashes, and streams of volcanic mud. Pliny the Elder, the great naturalist, venturing too near the mountain to investigate the phenomenon, lost his life.¹

304. The Five Good Emperors. The emperors Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines, whose united reigns covered the later years of the first and the greater part of the second century of the Christian era, were elected by the Senate, which during this period assumed something of its former influence in the affairs of the Empire. The wise and beneficent administration of the government by these rulers won for them the distinction of being called "the five good emperors." This period probably marks the high tide of civilization in ancient times.

Nerva, who was an aged senator and an ex-consul, ruled paternally. He died after a short reign of sixteen months, and the scepter passed into the stronger hands of the able commander Trajan, whom Nerva had previously made his associate in the government.

305. Trajan (A.D. 98-117). Trajan was a native of Spain and a soldier by profession and talent. He was the first provincial to sit in the seat of the Cæsars. From this time forward provincials were to play a part of ever-increasing importance in the affairs of the Empire.

It was the policy of Augustus—a policy adopted by most of his successors—to make the Danube in Europe and the Euphrates in Asia the limits of the Roman Empire in those respective

¹ During the past century extensive excavations have uncovered a large part of Pompeii and revealed to us the streets, homes, theaters, baths, shops, temples, and various monuments of the ancient city—all of which presents a vivid picture of Roman life during the imperial period eighteen hundred years ago.

quarters. But Trajan determined to push the frontiers of his dominions beyond both these rivers. In the early part of his reign he was busied in wars against the Dacians, a people living north of the Lower Danube. These troublesome enemies were subjugated, and Dacia was made into a province. The modern name Rumania is a monument of this Roman conquest and colonization beyond the Danube. The Rumanians today speak a language that in its main elements is largely of Latin origin.¹

In the latter years of his reign Trajan led his legions to the East, crossed the Euphrates, reduced Armenia, and wrested from the Parthians most of the lands which once formed the heart of the Assyrian monarchy. Out of the territories he had conquered Trajan made three new provinces, which bore the ancient names of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria.

To Trajan belongs the distinction of having extended the boundaries of the Empire to the most distant points to which Roman ambition and prowess were ever able to push them.

306. Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). Hadrian, a kinsman of Trajan, succeeded him in the imperial office. He prudently abandoned the territory acquired by Trajan beyond the Euphrates, and made that stream once more the eastern boundary of the Empire.

More than fifteen years of his reign were spent by Hadrian in making tours of inspection through all the different provinces of the Empire. He visited Britain, and secured the Roman possessions there against the Picts and Scots by erecting a continuous rampart, known as "Hadrian's Wall," across the island from the Tyne to the Solway Firth. This wall, in places well preserved, can still be traced over the low hills of the English moorlands almost from sea to sea. There exists nowhere in the lands that once formed the provinces of the Empire of Rome any more impressive memorial of her world-wide dominion than these ramparts, along which for three hundred years and more her sentinels kept watch and ward for civilization against the barbarian marauders of Caledonia.

¹ The Romanic-speaking peoples of Rumania and the neighboring regions number about ten millions.





307. The Antonines (A.D. 138-180). Aurelius Antoninus, surnamed Pius, the adopted son of Hadrian, and his successor, gave the Roman Empire an administration singularly pure and parental. Throughout his long reign of twenty-three years the Empire was in a state of profound peace. The attention of the historian is attracted by no striking events, which fact, as many have not failed to observe, illustrates admirably the oft-repeated epigram, "Happy is that people whose annals are brief."

Antoninus, early in his reign, had united with himself in the government his adopted son Marcus Aurelius, and upon the death of the former (A.D. 161) the latter succeeded quietly to his place and work. The studious habits of Aurelius won for him the title of Philosopher. He belonged to the school of the Stoics, and was a most thoughtful writer. His *Meditations* make the nearest approach to the spirit of Christianity of all the writings of pagan antiquity.

Having in mind the character of Marcus Aurelius, it perhaps will seem strange to some that one of the severest persecutions of the Christians should have taken place, as it did, in his reign. In explanation of this it should be noted that the persecution of the Christians under the pagan emperors sprang from political rather than religious motives, and that is why we find the names of the best emperors, as well as those of the worst, in the list of persecutors. It was believed that the welfare of the state was bound up with the careful performance of the rites of the national worship; and hence, while the Roman rulers were usually very tolerant, allowing all forms of worship among their subjects, still they required that men of every faith should at least recognize the Roman gods and burn incense before their statues, and particularly before the statue of the emperor (sect. 299). This the Christians steadily refused to do. The neglect of the temple services it was believed angered the gods and endangered the safety of the state, bringing upon it drought, pestilence, and every disaster. This was a main reason of their persecution by the pagan emperors.

Toward the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius imperative calls for help came from the north. The barbarians were pushing

in the Roman outposts and pouring over the frontiers. Aurelius placed himself at the head of his legions and hurried beyond the Alps. He checked the inroads of the barbarians, but could not subdue them. At last his weak body gave way beneath the hardships of his numerous campaigns, and he died in his camp at Vindobona (now Vienna) in the nineteenth year of his reign (A.D. 180).

Never was Monarchy so justified of her children as in the lives and works of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. As Merivale, in dwelling upon their virtues, very justly remarks, "The blameless career of these illustrious princes has furnished the best excuse for Cæsarism in all after ages."

308. The State of the Provinces. The close of the auspicious era of the Antonines invites us to cast a glance over the Empire, in order that we may note the condition of the population at large. As we have already observed, the great revolution which brought in the Empire was a revolution which conduced to the interests of the provincials. Even under the worst emperors the administration of affairs in the provinces was as a rule humane and just. It is probably true that, embracing in a single view all the countries included in the Roman Empire, the second century of the Christian era marks the happiest period in their history.

The cities of the Eastern countries, as well as hundreds of similar communities in Spain, in Gaul, in Britain, and in other lands of the West, were enjoying, under the admirable municipal system developed by the Romans, a measure of local self-government probably equal to that enjoyed today by the municipalities of the most advanced of the countries of modern Europe. This wise system had preserved or developed the sentiment of local patriotism and civic pride. The cities vied with one another in the erection of theaters, amphitheaters, baths, temples, and triumphal arches, and in the construction of aqueducts, bridges, and other works of a utilitarian nature. In these undertakings they were aided not only by liberal contributions made by the emperors from the imperial treasury but by the generous gifts and bequests of individual citizens. Private munificence of this character was as

remarkable a feature of this age as is the liberality of individuals at the present day in the endowment of educational and charitable institutions.

Scores of majestic ruins scattered throughout the lands once forming the provinces of the ancient Empire of Rome bear impressive testimony not only as to the populousness, culture, and

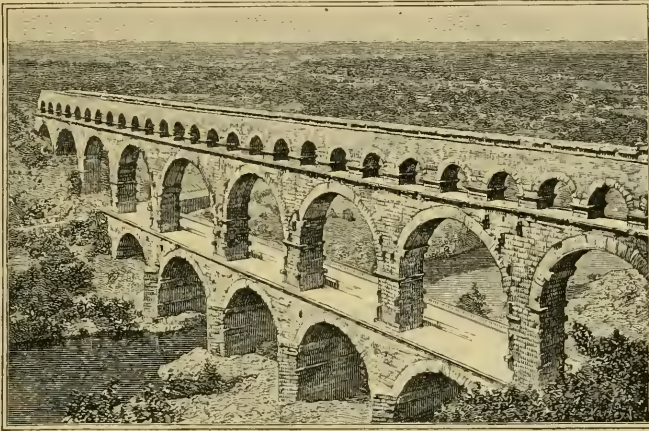


FIG. 72. ROMAN AQUEDUCT AND BRIDGE, DATING FROM THE EARLY EMPIRE, NEAR NÎMES, FRANCE. (Present condition)

This is one of the finest and most impressive of the existing monuments of the old Roman builders. The lower row of arches carries a modern roadway

enterprise of the urban communities of the Roman dominions but also as to the generally wise and beneficent character of the earlier imperial rule.

309. A Century of Anarchy; the Sale of the Empire (A.D. 193). For about a hundred years after the beneficent rule of the Antonines the Empire was the prey of disorder and sedition. The character of the period is revealed by the fact that of the twenty-five emperors who mounted the throne during this time all except four came to death by violence. To internal disorders was added the terror of barbarian invasions. On every side savage hordes were breaking into the Empire to rob, to murder, and to burn.

One of the most significant events of these troublous times was the sale of the Empire by the pretorians.¹ These soldiers, having killed the reigning Emperor, gave out notice that they would sell the Empire to the highest bidder. It was accordingly set up for sale at their camp and struck off to Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, who promised twenty-five thousand sesterces (about \$1000) to each of the twelve thousand soldiers at this time composing the guard.

As soon as the news of the disgraceful transaction reached the legions on the frontiers, they rose in indignant revolt. Each army proclaimed its favorite commander Emperor. The leader of the Danubian troops was Septimius Severus, a man of great energy and force of character. He knew that there were other competitors for the throne, and that the prize would be his who first seized it. Instantly he set his veterans in motion and was soon at Rome. The pretorians were no match for the trained legionaries of the frontiers, and did not even attempt to defend their Emperor, who was taken prisoner and put to death after a reign of sixty-five days. As a punishment for the insult they had offered to the Roman state the unworthy pretorians were disbanded and banished from the capital, and a new bodyguard of legionaries was organized to take their place.

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¹ See above, p. 206, n. 1.

CHAPTER XXXII

DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

I. THE REIGN OF DIOCLETIAN (A. D. 284-305)

310. General Statement. The accession of Diocletian marks an important era in the history of the Roman Empire. The two matters of chief importance connected with his reign are the changes he effected in the government and his persecution of the Christians. Diocletian's governmental reforms, though radical, were salutary, and infused such fresh vitality into the frame of the dying state as to give it a new lease of life for another term of nearly two hundred years.

311. The Empire becomes an Undisguised Oriental Monarchy. Up to the time we have now reached, the really monarchical character of the government had been more or less carefully concealed under the forms and names of the old Republic. Realizing that republican government among the Romans had passed away forever, and that its forms were now absolutely meaningless, Diocletian cast aside all the masks with which Augustus had concealed his practically unlimited power and which fear or policy had led his successors, with greater or less consistency, to retain, and let the government stand forth naked in the true character of what it had now virtually become—an absolute Asiatic monarchy.

The change was marked by Diocletian's assumption of the titles of Asiatic royalty and his adoption of the court ceremonials and etiquette of the East. He clothed himself in magnificent robes of silk and gold. He took the title of *lord*, and all who approached him were required to prostrate themselves to the ground, a form of oriental and servile adoration which the free races of the West had hitherto, with manly disdain, refused to render to their magistrates and rulers.

312. **Changes in the Administrative System.** The century of anarchy which preceded the accession of Diocletian, and the death by assassination during this period of so many of the wearers of the imperial purple, had made manifest the need of a system which would discourage assassination and provide a regular mode of succession to the throne. Diocletian devised a system the aim of which was to compass both these ends. First, he chose as a colleague a companion ruler, Maximian, who, like himself, bore the title of Augustus. Then each of the co-emperors associated with himself an assistant, who took the title of Cæsar and was considered the son and heir of the emperor. There were thus two Augusti and two Cæsars. Milan, in Italy, became the capital and residence of Maximian; while Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, became the seat of the court of Diocletian. The Augusti took charge of the countries near their respective capitals, while the Cæsars,—Galerius and Constantius,—younger and more active, were assigned the government of the more distant and turbulent provinces. The vigorous administration of the government in every quarter of the Empire was thus secured.

Diocletian also subdivided many of the provinces. His purpose in doing this was to diminish the power of the provincial governors and thus make it impossible for them to raise successfully the standard of revolt.

A most serious drawback to this system was the heavy expense involved in the maintenance of four courts with their endless retinues of officers and dependents, and the great number of officials needed to man and work the complicated system. It was complained that the number of those who received the revenues of the state was greater than that of those who contributed to them. The burden of taxation grew unendurable. Husbandry in some regions ceased, and great numbers were reduced to beggary or driven into brigandage. The curiales, or members of the local senates, were made responsible for the payment of the taxes due the government from their respective communities, and hence office-holding became not an honor to be coveted but a burden to be evaded. It was this vicious system of taxation which more than

any other one cause contributed to the depopulation, impoverishment, and final downfall of the Empire.

313. Growth of a Caste System. To escape from the intolerable burdens many of the peasant farmers fled to the desert and became monks; others escaped across the frontiers and sought freedom among the barbarians. The well-to-do tried in every way to evade the burden of taxation and of office. To meet the situation the government adopted the policy of tying everyone liable to taxation to his post or profession. The colonus, or peasant farmer, was attached to the land he worked and thus made a serf; the artisan was bound to his trade, the merchant to his business. Moreover, all offices, trades, and professions were, in so far as it was possible, made hereditary, children being forced to follow the occupation of their father. Everyone was to remain in the station in which he was born. Classes thus tended to become rigid hereditary castes. Personal liberty disappeared.

Perhaps we cannot better indicate the new relation to the Empire into which the head of the Roman state was brought by the innovations of Diocletian and his successor than by saying that the Empire now became the private estate of the sovereign and was managed just as any great Roman proprietor managed his domain.

314. Persecution of the Christians. Toward the end of his reign Diocletian inaugurated against the Christians a persecution which continued long after his abdication, and which was the severest, as it was the last, waged against the Church by the pagan emperors. It was during this and the various other persecutions that vexed the Church in the second and third centuries that the Christians sometimes sought refuge in the Catacombs, those vast subterranean galleries and chambers under the city of Rome. Here they buried their dead, and on the walls of the chambers sketched rude symbols of their hope and faith. It was in the darkness of these subterranean abodes that Christian art had its beginnings.



FIG. 73. CHRIST AS THE GOOD SHEPHERD
(From the Catacombs)

315. The Abdication of Diocletian. After a reign of twenty years, becoming weary of the cares of state, Diocletian abdicated the throne and forced or induced his colleague Maximian also to lay down his authority on the same day. Galerius and Constantius were, by this act, advanced to the purple and made Augusti; and two new associates were appointed as Cæsars.

Diocletian then retired to his country seat at Salona, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. It is related that, when Maximian wrote him urging him to endeavor with him to regain the power they had laid aside, he replied, "Were you but to come to Salona and see the cabbages which I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would no longer talk to me of empire."

II. REIGN OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT (A.D. 306-337)

316. The Battle of the Milvian Bridge (A.D. 312); "In this Sign conquer." Galerius and Constantius, who became Augusti on the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, had reigned together only one year when Constantius died at York, in Britain. His soldiers, disregarding the rule of succession as determined by the system of Diocletian, proclaimed his son Constantine Emperor. Six competitors for the throne arose in different quarters. For eighteen years Constantine fought before he gained the supremacy.

One of the most important of the battles that took place between the contending rivals for the imperial purple was the battle of the Milvian Bridge, about two miles from Rome. Constantine's standard on this celebrated battlefield was the Christian cross. He had been led to adopt this emblem through the appearance, as once he prayed to the sun-god, of a cross over the setting sun, with this inscription above it: "In this sign conquer."¹ Obedient unto the celestial vision, Constantine had at once made the cross his banner, and it was beneath this new emblem that his soldiers marched to victory at the battle of the Milvian Bridge.

¹ *In hoc signo vinces*; in Greek, ἐν τούτῳ νικᾷ.

317. Constantine makes Christianity the Religion of the Court. By a decree issued at Milan A.D. 313, the year after the battle at the Milvian Bridge, Constantine placed Christianity on an equal footing with the other religions of the Empire. The language of this famous edict of toleration, the Magna Carta, as it

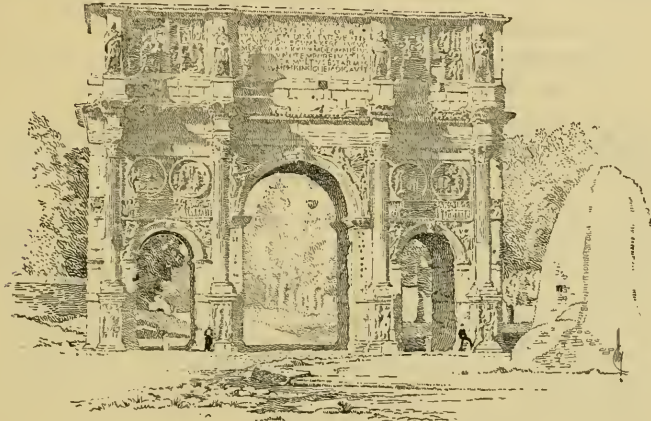


FIG. 74. ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AT ROME, AS IT APPEARS TODAY
Erected by the Roman Senate in commemoration of Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge

has been called, of the Church, was in import as follows: "We grant to Christians and to all others full liberty of following that religion which each may choose." "For the first time in history, the principle of universal toleration was [thus] officially laid down."¹

But by subsequent edicts Constantine made Christianity in effect the state religion and extended to it a patronage which he withheld from the old pagan worship. He granted the Christian societies the right to receive gifts and legacies, and he himself enriched the Church with donations of money and grants of land.

¹ *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. i, p. 5. An earlier edict of toleration by the emperor Galerius gave the Christians freedom of worship, but did not recognize the principle of *universal* toleration.

This marks the beginning of the great possessions of the Church, and with these the entrance into it of a worldly spirit. From this moment can be traced the decay of its primitive simplicity and a decline from its early high moral standard. It is these deplorable results of the imperial patronage that Dante laments in his well-known lines :

Ah, Constantine ! of how much ill was mother,
Not thy conversion, but that marriage dower
Which the first wealthy Father took from thee!¹

Another of Constantine's acts touching the new religion is of special historical interest and importance. He recognized the Christian Sunday as a day of rest, forbidding ordinary work on that day, and ordering that Christian soldiers be then permitted to attend the services of their Church. This recognition by the civil authority of the Christian Sabbath meant much for the slave. Now, for the first time in the history of the Aryan peoples, the slave had one day of rest in each week. It was a good augury of the happier time coming when all the days should be his own.

318. The Church Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325). With a view to settling the controversy between the Arians and the Athanasians² respecting the nature of Christ,—the former denied his equality with God the Father,—Constantine called the first Œcumenical or General Council of the Church at Nicæa, a town of Asia Minor, A.D. 325. Arianism was denounced, and a formula of Christian faith adopted, which is known as the Nicene Creed.

319. Constantine founds Constantinople, the New Rome, on the Bosphorus (A.D. 330). After the recognition of Christianity, the most important act of Constantine was the selection of Byzantium, on the Bosphorus, as the new capital of the Empire. One reason which led the Emperor to select a new seat for his court and government was the ungracious conduct towards him of the inhabitants of Rome, because he had abandoned the worship of

¹ *Inferno*, xix, 115-117.

² The Arians were the followers of Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria in Egypt; the Athanasians, of Athanasius, archdeacon and later bishop of the same city, and the champion of the orthodox or Catholic view of the Trinity.

the old national deities. But there were also military reasons, the most dangerous enemies of the Empire being now in the East; and also commercial, social, and political reasons, since through the Eastern conquests of Rome the center of population, wealth, and culture of the Empire had shifted eastward.

The imperial invitation and the attractions of the court induced multitudes to crowd into the new capital, so that almost in a day the old Byzantium grew into a great city. In honor of the Emperor the name was changed to Constantinople, the "City of Constantine." The old Rome on the Tiber, emptied of its leading inhabitants, soon sank to the obscure position of a provincial town.

320. The Pagan Restoration under Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361-363). A troubled period of nearly a quarter of a century followed the death of Constantine the Great, and then the imperial scepter came into the hands of Julian, called the Apostate because he abandoned Christianity and labored to restore the pagan worship. In his efforts to restore paganism, however, Julian did not resort to the old means of persuasion,—“the sword, the fire, the lions.” One reason why he did not was because under the softening influences of the very faith he sought to extirpate, the Roman world had already become imbued with a gentleness and humanity that rendered morally impossible the renewal of the Neronian and Diocletian persecutions. Julian's chief weapon was the pen, for he was a writer and satirist of no mean talent.

The disabilities under which Julian had placed the Christians were removed by his successor Jovian (A.D. 363-364) and Christianity was again made the religion of the imperial court.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

(A.D. 376-476)

321. Introductory: the Germans and Christianity. The two most vital elements in the Græco-Roman world of the fifth century were the German (Teutonic) barbarians and Christianity. They had, centuries before this, as we have seen, come into certain relations to the Roman government and to Roman life; but during the period lying immediately before us they assumed an altogether new historical interest and importance.

The two main matters, then, which will claim our attention during the century yet remaining for survey, will be (1) the struggle between the dying Empire and the young German races of the North; and (2) the final triumph of Christianity, through the aid of the temporal power, over expiring paganism.

322. The Goths cross the Danube (A.D. 376). The year 376 of the Christian era marks an event of the greatest importance in the East. The Visigoths (Western Goths) dwelling north of the Lower Danube appeared as suppliants in vast multitudes upon its banks. They said that a terrible race, whom they were powerless to withstand, had invaded their territories and spared neither their homes nor their lives. They begged permission of the Emperor Valens¹ to cross the river and settle in Thrace. Their petition was granted on condition that they surrender their arms and give up their children as hostages.

The enemy that had so terrified the Visigoths were the Huns, a monstrous race of fierce nomadic horsemen from the vast steppes of Asia. Scarcely had the fugitives been received within the limits of the Empire before a large company of their kinsmen, the

¹Valens (A.D. 364-387) was Emperor of the East. Valentinian (A.D. 364-375), Emperor of the West, had just died, and been succeeded by Gratian (A.D. 375-383).

Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths), also driven from their homes by the same terrible enemy, crowded to the banks of the Danube and pleaded that they also might be allowed to place the river between themselves and their dreaded foe. But Valens, becoming alarmed at the presence of so many barbarians within his dominions, refused their request, whereupon they crossed the river with arms in their hands.

Once within the Empire the Ostrogoths, joined by their Visigothic kinsmen, soon began to ravage the Danubian provinces. Valens dispatched swift messengers to Gratian, Emperor in the West, asking for assistance. Gratian was hurrying to the help of his colleague when news of his defeat and death at the hands of the barbarians was brought to him. He at once appointed as his associate Theodosius (A.D. 379-395), known afterwards as the Great, and intrusted him with the government of the East. Theodosius quickly reduced the Goths to submission. Great multitudes of them were settled upon the waste lands of Thrace, while more than forty thousand of these warlike barbarians, the destined subverters of the Empire, were enlisted in the imperial service.

323. The Prohibition of the Pagan Cults. Both Gratian and Theodosius were zealous champions of the orthodox Church, and a large portion of the edicts issued during their joint reign had for aim the uprooting of heresy or the suppression of the pagan worship. At first the pagans were merely placed under certain disabilities, but finally it was made a crime for anyone to practice any pagan cult, or even to enter a temple. Even the private worship of the Lares and Penates was prohibited. The struggle between Christianity and heathenism was now virtually ended—and the "Galilean" had conquered. Pagan rites, however, especially in the country districts, were practiced secretly long after this.

324. Emperor Theodosius the Great and Bishop Ambrose of Milan. A memorable incident, illustrative of the influence of the new religion that was now fast taking the place of paganism, marks the reign of Theodosius the Great. In a sedition the people of Thessalonica, in Macedonia, had murdered the general and several officers of the imperial garrison in that place. When intelligence

of the event reached Theodosius his hasty temper broke through all restraint, and, moved by a spirit of savage vengeance, he ordered an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants of Thessalonica. The command was obeyed and at least seven thousand persons perished.

Shortly after the massacre, the Emperor, as he was entering the door of the cathedral at Milan where he was wont to worship, was met at the threshold by the pious Bishop Ambrose, who, in the name of the God of justice and mercy, forbade him to enter the sacred place until he had done public penance for his awful crime. The commander of all the Roman legions was constrained to obey the unarmed pastor. In penitential garb and attitude Theodosius made public confession of his sin and humbly underwent the penance imposed by the Church. This passage of history is noteworthy as marking a stage in the moral progress of humanity. It made manifest how with Christianity a new moral force had entered the world to interpose, in the name of justice and humanity, between the weak and defenseless and their self-willed and arbitrary rulers.

325. Final Administrative Division of the Empire (A.D. 395). During the last years of his reign Theodosius ruled without a colleague. Upon his death the imperial government, as he had prearranged, was divided between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. Arcadius received the government of the East, and Honorius, still a mere child of eleven, the government of the West. This division was in no way different from those that had been repeatedly made since the time of Diocletian, and was not to affect the unity of the Empire. But so different was the trend of events in the two halves of the old Empire from this time on that the historians of Rome have generally allowed this division of the imperial rule to constitute a dividing line in the history of the Empire, and have begun here to trace separately the story of each part.

326. The Empire in the East. The story of the fortunes of the Empire in the East need not detain us long here. The line of Eastern emperors lasted over a thousand years—until the capture

of Constantinople by the Turks, A.D. 1453. It will thus be seen that the greater part of its history belongs to the mediæval period. Up to the time of the dissolution of the Empire in the West the emperors of the East were engaged almost incessantly in suppressing uprisings of their Gothic allies or mercenaries, or in repelling invasions of different barbarian tribes.

327. Last Triumph at Rome (A.D. 404). Only a few years had elapsed after the death of the great Theodosius before the barbarians were trooping in vast hordes through all parts of the Empire. First, from Thrace and Mœsia came the Visigoths, led by the great Alaric. After a raid through Greece they crossed the Julian Alps and spread terror throughout Italy. Defeated by Stilicho, the renowned Vandal general of Honorius, they finally withdrew from Italy through the defiles of the Alps. A magnificent triumph at Rome celebrated the deliverance. It was the last triumph that Rome ever saw. Three hundred times—such is asserted to be the number—the imperial city had witnessed the triumphal procession of her victorious generals, celebrating conquests in all quarters of the world.

328. Last Gladiatorial Combat of the Amphitheater. The same year that marks the last military triumph at Rome signalizes also the last gladiatorial combat in the Roman amphitheater. It is to Christianity that the credit for the suppression of these inhuman exhibitions is entirely, or almost entirely, due. The pagan philosophers usually regarded them with indifference, often with favor. They were defended on the ground that they fostered a martial spirit among the people and inured the soldiers to the sights of the battlefield. Hence gladiatorial games were sometimes actually exhibited to the legions before they set out on their campaigns.

But the Christian Fathers denounced the combats as immoral, and strove in every possible way to create a public opinion against them. At length, in A.D. 325, the first imperial edict against them was issued by Constantine. From this time forward the exhibitions were under something of a ban, until their final abolition was brought about by an incident of the games that closed the triumph

of Honorius. In the midst of the exhibition a Christian monk named Telemachus, leaping into the arena, rushed between the combatants, but was instantly killed by a shower of missiles thrown by the people, who were angered by his interruption of their sport. The people, however, soon repented of their act; and Honorius himself, who was present, was moved by the scene. Christianity had awakened the conscience and touched the heart of Rome. The martyrdom of the monk led to an imperial edict "which abolished forever the human sacrifices of the amphitheater."

329. Sack of Rome by Alaric (A.D. 410). Shortly after Alaric's first invasion of Italy, he again crossed the mountains and led his hosts to the very gates of Rome. Not since the time of the dread Hannibal—more than six hundred years before this—had Rome been insulted by the presence of a foreign foe beneath her walls. Only by the payment of a great ransom did the city escape sack and pillage.

After receiving the ransom Alaric withdrew his army from before Rome and established his camp in Etruria. The chieftain now demanded for his followers lands of Honorius, who, with his court, was safe behind the marshes of Ravenna; but the Emperor treated all the proposals of the barbarian with foolish insolence.

Rome paid the penalty. Alaric turned upon the city, resolved upon its plunder. The barbarians broke into the capital by night, "and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet." Just eight hundred years had passed since its sack by the Gauls (sect. 248). Now it is given over for the second time as a spoil to barbarians. Alaric commanded his soldiers to spare the lives of the people, and to leave untouched the treasures of the Christian churches; but the wealth of the citizens he permitted them to make their own. It was a rich booty with which they loaded their wagons, for within the palace of the Cæsars and the homes of the wealthy were gathered the riches of a plundered world.

330. The Death of Alaric (A.D. 410). After withdrawing his warriors from Rome, Alaric led them southward. As they moved slowly on, they piled still higher the wagons of their long trains



MAP SHOWING
BARBARIAN INROADS
 ON THE
FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
 Movements shown down to A.D. 477

ENGLISH MILES
 0 50 100 200 300 400 500

Longitude East



REFERENCE.

- First inroad of Huns
- Second " " "
- Vandals
- Visigoths
- Ostrogoths
- Franks
- Jutes and Saxons

20 from Greenwich 30 40 50



with the rich spoils of the cities and villas of Campania and other districts of southern Italy. In the villas of the Roman nobles the barbarians spread rare banquets from the stores of their well-filled cellars; and drank from jeweled cups the famed Falernian wine.

Alaric's designs of conquest in Africa were frustrated by his death. Tradition tells how, with religious care, his followers secured the body of their hero against molestation. The little river Busentinus, in northern Bruttium, was turned from its course with great labor, and in the bed of the stream was constructed a tomb, in which was placed the body of the king, with his jewels and trophies. The river was then restored to its old channel, and, that the exact spot might never be known, the prisoners who had been forced to do the work were all put to death.

331. The Disintegration of the Empire and the Beginnings of the Barbarian Kingdoms. We must now turn our eyes from Rome and Italy in order to watch the movement of events in the Western provinces of the Empire. During the forty years following the sack of Rome by Alaric, the German tribes seized the greater part of these provinces and established in them what are known as the barbarian kingdoms.

The Goths who had pillaged Rome and Italy, after the death of their great chieftain Alaric, under the lead of his successors, recrossed the Alps, and, establishing their camps in the south of Gaul and the north of Spain, set up finally in those regions what is known as the kingdom of the Visigoths or West Goths.

While the Goths were making these migrations and settlements, a kindred but less civilized tribe, the Vandals, moving from their seat in Pannonia, traversed Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, and there occupied for a time a large tract of country, which in its present name of *Andalusia* preserves the memory of its barbarian settlers. Then they crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, overthrew the Roman authority in all North Africa, and made Carthage the seat of a dread corsair empire.

Meanwhile the Franks, who about a century before the sack of Rome by Alaric had made their first settlement in Roman territory west of the Rhine, were increasing in numbers and in authority

and were laying the foundation of what after the fall of Rome was to become known as the kingdom of the Franks—the beginning of the French nation of today.

But the most important of all the settlements of the barbarians was being made in the remote province of Britain. In his efforts to defend Italy against her barbarian invaders, Stilicho had withdrawn the last legion from Britain, and had thus left unguarded



FIG. 75. GERMANS CROSSING THE RHINE. (After a drawing by *Alphonse de Neuville*)

the Hadrian Wall in the north (sect. 306) and the long coast line facing the continent. The Picts of Caledonia, taking advantage of the withdrawal of the guardians of the province, swarmed over the unsentined rampart and pillaged the fields and towns of the south. The half-Romanized and effeminate provincials—no match for their hardy kinsmen who had never bowed their necks to the yoke of Rome—were driven to despair by the ravages of their relentless enemies, and, in their helplessness, invited to their aid the Angles and Saxons from the shores of the North Sea. These people came in their rude boats, drove back the invaders, and,

being pleased with the soil and climate of the island, took possession of the country for themselves and became the ancestors of the English people.

332. Invasion of the Huns; Battle of Châlons (A.D. 451). The barbarians who were thus overrunning and parceling out the inheritance of the dying Empire were now in turn pressed upon and terrified by a foe more hideous and dreadful in their eyes than they themselves were in the eyes of the Roman provincials. These were the Mongol Huns, from the region northwest of China, of whom we have already caught a glimpse as they drove the panic-stricken Goths across the Danube (sect. 322). At this time their leader was Attila, whom the affrighted inhabitants of Europe called the "Scourge of God." It was Attila's boast that the grass never grew again where once the hoof of his horse had trod.

Attila defeated the armies of the Eastern Emperor and exacted tribute from the court of Constantinople. Then he turned westward and finally drew up his mighty hosts upon the plain of Châlons, in the north of Gaul, and there awaited the onset of the Romans and their allies. The conflict was long and terrible, but at last fortune turned against the barbarians, whose losses were enormous. Attila succeeded in escaping from the field and retreated with his shattered hosts across the Rhine.

This great victory is placed among the significant events of history; for it decided that the Indo-European folk, and not the Mongolian Huns, should inherit the dominions of the expiring Roman Empire and control the destinies of Europe.

333. Attila threatens Rome; his Death (A. D. 453?). The year after his defeat at Châlons, Attila crossed the Alps and burned or plundered all the important cities of northern Italy. The Veneti fled for safety to the morasses at the head of the Adriatic (A.D. 452). Upon the islets where they built their rude dwellings there grew up in time the city of Venice, "the eldest daughter of the Roman Empire," the "Carthage of the Middle Ages."

The barbarians threatened Rome; but Leo the Great, bishop of the capital, went with an embassy to the camp of Attila and pleaded for the city. He recalled to the mind of Attila how death

had overtaken the impious Alaric soon after he had given the imperial city as a spoil to his warriors, and warned him not to call down upon himself the like judgment of Heaven. Attila was induced to spare the city and to lead his warriors back beyond the Alps. Shortly after he had crossed the Danube he died suddenly in his camp, and like Alaric was buried secretly.

334. Sack of Rome by the Vandals (A.D. 455). Rome had been saved a visitation from the spoiler of the North, but a new destruction was about to burst upon it by way of the sea from the South. Africa sent out another enemy whose greed for plunder proved more fatal to Rome than the eternal hate of Hannibal. The kings of the Vandal empire in North Africa had acquired as perfect a supremacy in the western Mediterranean as Carthage ever enjoyed in the days of her commercial pride. Vandal corsairs swept the seas and harassed all the shore-lands. In the year 455 a Vandal fleet led by the dread Geiseric sailed up the Tiber.

Panic seized the people, for the name *Vandal* was pronounced with terror throughout the world. Again the great Leo, who had once before saved his flock from the fury of Attila, went forth to intercede in the name of Christ for the imperial city. Geiseric granted to the pious bishop the lives of the citizens, but said that the movable property of the capital belonged to his warriors. For fourteen days and nights the city was given over to the barbarians. The ships of the Vandals, which almost hid with their number the waters of the Tiber, were piled, as had been the wagons of the Goths before them, with the rich and weighty spoils of the capital. Palaces were stripped of their furniture, and the walls of the temples denuded of the trophies of a hundred Roman victories. From the Capitoline sanctuary were borne off the golden candlestick and other sacred things that Titus had stolen from the temple at Jerusalem¹ (sect. 302).

The greed of the barbarians was sated at last, and they were ready to withdraw. The Vandal fleet sailed for Carthage, bearing,

¹ "The golden candlestick reached the African capital, was recovered a century later, and lodged in Constantinople by Justinian, and by him replaced, from superstitious motives, in Jerusalem. From that time its history is lost."—MERIVALE

besides the plunder of the city, more than thirty thousand of the inhabitants as slaves. Carthage, through her own barbarian conquerors, was at last avenged upon her hated rival. The mournful presentiment of Scipio had been fulfilled (sect. 270). The cruel fate of Carthage might have been read again in the pillaged city that the Vandals left behind them.

335. Last Act in the Break-up of the Empire in the West (A.D. 476). Only the shadow of the Empire in the West now remained. The provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Africa were in the hands of the Franks, the Goths, the Vandals, and various other intruding tribes. Italy, as well as Rome herself, had become again and again the spoil of the barbarians. The story of the twenty years following the sack of the capital by Geiseric affords only a repetition of the events we have been narrating. During these years several puppet emperors were set up by army leaders. The last was a child of only six years. By what has been called a freak of fortune this boy-sovereign bore the name of Romulus Augustus, thus uniting in the name of the last Roman emperor of the West the names of the founder of Rome and the establisher of the Empire. He reigned only one year, when Odoacer, the leader of a small German tribe, dethroned the child-emperor.

The Roman Senate now sent to Constantinople an embassy to represent to the Eastern Emperor Zeno that the West was willing to give up its claims to an emperor of its own, and to request that the German chief, with the title of *patrician*, might rule Italy as his viceroy. With this rank and title Odoacer assumed the government of the peninsula. Thus Italy, while remaining nominally a part of the Empire, became in reality an independent barbarian kingdom, like those which had already been set up in the other countries of the West. The transaction marks not only the end of the line of Western Roman emperors, but also the virtual extinction of the imperial rule in the western provinces of the Empire—the culmination of a century-long process of dissolution.

This gradual transfer of leadership from the failing Roman race to the new barbarian folk was one of the most momentous revolutions in European history. It brought it about that the lamp of

culture, which since the second century of the Empire had burned with ever lessening light, was almost extinguished. It ushered in the so-called "Dark Ages."

But the revolution meant much besides disaster and loss. It meant the enrichment of civilization through the incoming of a new and splendidly endowed race. Within the Empire during several centuries three of the most vital elements of civilization, the Greek, the Roman, and the Christian, had been gradually blending. Now was added a fourth factor, the Teutonic. It is this element which has had much to do in making modern civilization richer and more progressive than any preceding civilization.

The downfall of the Roman imperial government in the West was, further, an event of immense significance in the political world, for the reason that it rendered possible the growth in western Europe of several nations or states in place of the single Empire.

Another consequence of the fall of Rome was the development of the Papacy. In the absence of an emperor in the West the popes rapidly gained influence and power, and soon built up an ecclesiastical empire that in some respects took the place of the old Roman Empire and carried on its civilizing work.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE, LAW, AND SOCIAL LIFE AMONG THE ROMANS

I. ARCHITECTURE AND ENGINEERING

336. Rome's Contribution to Architecture. The architecture of the Romans was, in the main, an imitation of Greek models. But the Romans were not mere servile imitators. They not only modified the architectural forms they borrowed but they gave their structures a distinct character by the prominent use of the arch, which the Greek and oriental builders seldom employed, though they were acquainted with its principle. By means of it the Roman builders gave a new artistic effect to edifices, vaulted wide passages and chambers, carried stupendous aqueducts across the deepest valleys, and spanned the broadest streams with bridges that have resisted all the assaults of time and flood for eighteen centuries and more down to the present day. These applications of the principle of the arch were the great contribution which the Roman architects made to the science and art of building.

337. Amphitheaters. The Romans borrowed the plan of their theaters from the Greeks; their amphitheaters, however, were original with them. The Flavian amphitheater, generally designated as the Colosseum, to which reference has already been made, speaks to us perhaps more impressively of the spirit of a past civilization than any other memorial of the ancient world. The ruins of this immense structure stand today as "the embodiment of the power and splendor of the Roman Empire."

Many of the most important cities of Italy and of the provinces were provided with amphitheaters similar in all essential respects to the Colosseum at the capital only much inferior in size, save the one at Capua, which was nearly as large as the Flavian structure.

338. Aqueducts. The aqueducts of ancient Rome were among the most important of the utilitarian works of the Romans. The water system of the capital was commenced by Appius Claudius (about 313 B.C.). During the Republic four aqueducts in all were completed; under the emperors the number was increased to fourteen.¹ The longest of these was about fifty-five miles in



FIG. 76. THE COLOSSEUM. (From a photograph)

Monument of the glory of the Empire, and of its shame.— DILL

length. The aqueducts usually ran beneath the surface, but when a depression was to be crossed they were lifted on arches, which sometimes were over one hundred feet high.² These lofty arches running in long, broken lines over the plains beyond the walls of Rome are today the most striking feature of the Campagna.

339. Thermæ, or Baths. Among the ancient Romans bathing became in time a luxurious art. Under the Republic bathing houses were erected in considerable numbers. But it was during the imperial period that those magnificent structures to which the

¹ Several of these are still in use.

² The Romans carried their aqueducts across depressions and valleys on high arches of masonry, not because they were ignorant of the principle that water seeks a level, but for the reason that they could not make large pipes strong enough to resist the very great pressure to which they would be subjected.

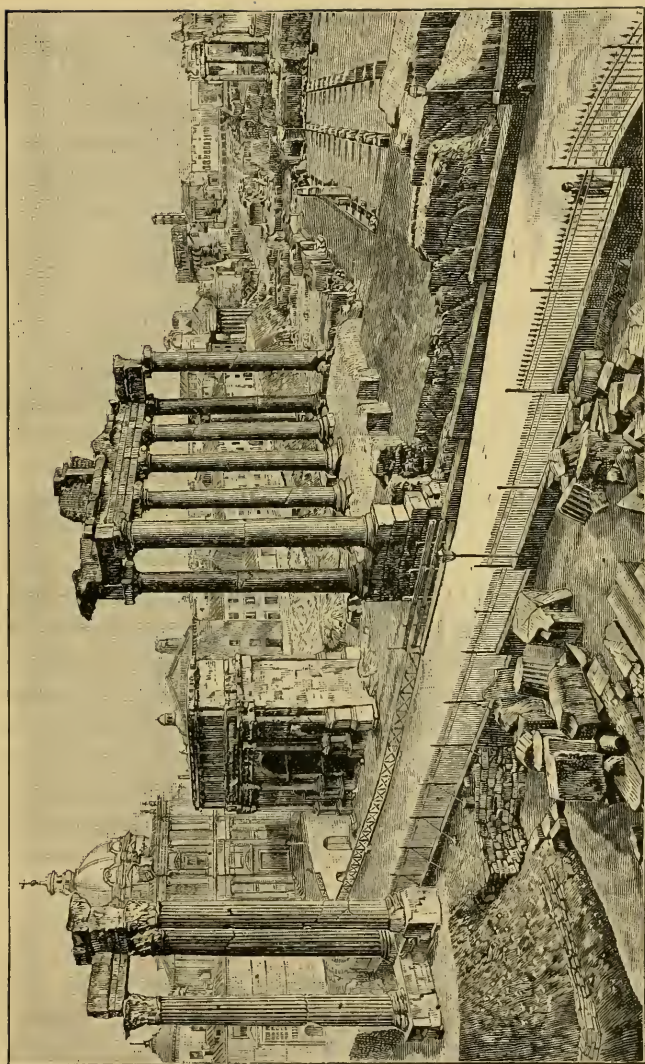


FIG. 77. THE ROMAN FORUM IN 1885

name *Thermæ* properly attaches, were erected. These edifices were among the most elaborate and expensive of the imperial works. They contained chambers for cold, hot, and swimming baths; dressing rooms and gymnasia; museums and libraries; covered colonnades for lounging and conversation; and every other adjunct that could add to the sense of luxury and relaxation.¹ Being intended to exhibit the liberality of their builders, they were thrown open to the public free of charge.

II. LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND LAW

340. Relation of Roman to Greek Literature: the Poets of the Republican Era. Latin literature was almost wholly imitative or borrowed, being a reproduction of Greek models; nevertheless it performed a most important service for civilization: it was the medium for the dissemination throughout the world of the rich literary treasures of Greece.

It was the dramatic works of the Greeks which were first studied and copied at Rome. Plautus and Terence (who wrote under the later Republic) are the most noted of the Roman dramatists. Most of their plays were simply adaptations of Greek pieces.

During the later republican era there appeared two eminent poets, Lucretius and Catullus. Lucretius was an evolutionist, and in his great poem *On the Nature of Things* we find anticipated many of the conclusions of modern scientists. Catullus was a lyric poet. He has been called the Roman Burns, as well on account of the waywardness of his life as from the sweetness of his song.

341. Poets of the Augustan Age. Three poets—Vergil (70–19 B.C.), Horace (65–8 B.C.), and Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 18)—have cast an unfading luster over the period covered by the reign of Augustus. So distinguished have these writers rendered the age in which they lived, that any period in a people's literature signalized by exceptional literary taste and refinement is called, in allusion to this Roman era, an *Augustan Age*.

¹ Lanciani calls these imperial *Thermæ* "gigantic clubhouses, whither the voluptuary and the elegant youth repaired for pastime and enjoyment."

342. **Oratory among the Romans.** "Public oratory," as has been truly said, "is the child of political freedom, and cannot exist without it." We have seen this illustrated in the history of the democratic cities of Greece (sect. 205). Equally well is it shown by records of the Roman state. All the great orators of Rome arose under the Republic. Among these Hortensius (114-50 B.C.), a learned jurist, and Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.) stand preëminent. Of these two Cicero is easily first,—“the most eloquent of all the sons of Romulus.”¹

343. **Latin Historians.** Ancient Rome produced four writers of history whose works have won for them a permanent fame,—Cæsar, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. Of Cæsar and his *Commentaries on the Gallic War* we have learned in a previous chapter. His *Commentaries* will always be cited along with the *Anabasis* of Xenophon as a model of the narrative style of writing. Sallust (86-34 B.C.) was the contemporary and friend of Cæsar. The *Conspiracy of Catiline* is one of his chief works.

Livy (59 B.C.-A.D. 17) was one of the brightest ornaments of the Augustan Age. Herodotus among the ancient, and Macaulay among the modern, writers of historical narrative are the names with which his is oftenest compared. His greatest work is his *Annals*, a history of Rome from the earliest times to the year 9 B.C. Unfortunately, only thirty-five of the one hundred and forty-two books² of this admirable production have been preserved. Many have been the laments over “the lost books of Livy.” As a chronicle of actual events, Livy’s history, particularly in its earlier parts, is very unreliable; however, it is invaluable as an account of what the Romans themselves believed respecting the origin of their race, the founding of their city, and the deeds and virtues of their forefathers.

¹ Even more highly prized than his orations are his letters, for Cicero was a most delightful letter writer. His letters to his friend Atticus are among the most charming specimens of that species of composition.

² It should be borne in mind that a book in the ancient sense was simply a roll of manuscript or parchment, and contained nothing like the amount of matter held by an ordinary modern volume. Thus Cæsar’s *Gallic Wars*, which makes a single volume of moderate size with us, made eight Roman books.

The most highly prized work of Tacitus is his *Germania*, a treatise on the manners and customs of the Germans. In this work Tacitus sets in strong contrast the virtues of the untutored Germans and the vices of the cultured Romans.

344. Science, Ethics, and Philosophy. Under this head may be grouped the names of Seneca, Pliny the Elder, Marcus Aurelius, and Epictetus.

Seneca (about A.D. 1-65), moralist and philosopher, has already come to our notice as the tutor of Nero (sect. 301). He was a disbeliever in the popular religion of his countrymen, and entertained conceptions of God and his moral government not very different from those of Socrates.

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79) is almost the only Roman who won renown as an investigator of the phenomena of nature. The only work of his that has been spared to us is his *Natural History*, a sort of Roman encyclopedia.

Marcus Aurelius the emperor and Epictetus the slave hold the first place among the ethical teachers of Rome. They were the last eminent representatives of the philosophy of the Stoics.

345. Writers of the Early Latin Church. The Christian authors of the first two centuries, like the writers of the New Testament, employed the Greek, that being the language of learning and culture. As the Latin tongue, however, gradually came into more general use throughout the West, the Christian writers naturally began to use it in the composition of their works. Hence almost all the writings of the Fathers of the Church produced in the western half of the Empire during the later imperial period were composed in Latin. Among the many names that adorn the Church literature of this period must be mentioned St. Jerome and St. Augustine.

Jerome (A.D. 342?-420) is held in memory especially through his translation of the Scriptures into Latin. This version is known as the *Vulgate*, and is the one which, with slight changes, is still used in the Roman Catholic Church. "It was to Europe of the Middle Ages," asserts an eminent authority, "more than Homer was to Greece."

Aurelius Augustine (A.D. 354-430) was born near Carthage, in Africa. His *City of God*, a truly wonderful work, possesses a special interest for the historian. The book was written just when Rome was becoming the spoil of the barbarians. It was designed to answer the charge of the pagans that Christianity, turning the people away from the worship of the ancient gods, was the cause of the calamities that were befalling the Roman state.

346. Roman Law and Law Literature. Although the Latin writers in all the departments of literary effort which we have so far reviewed did much valuable work, yet the Roman intellect in all these directions was under Greek guidance. But in another department it was different. We mean, of course, the field of legal or juristic science. Here the Romans ceased to be pupils and became teachers. Nations, like men, have their mission. Rome's mission was to give laws to the world.

In the year 527 of the Christian era Justinian became emperor of the Roman Empire in the East. He almost immediately appointed a commission, headed by the great lawyer Tribonian, to collect and arrange in a systematic manner the immense mass of Roman laws and the writings of the jurists. The undertaking was like that of the decemvirs in connection with the Twelve Tables, only far greater. The result of the work of the commission was what is known as the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, or "Body of the Civil Law." This consisted of three parts,—the *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes*. The Code was a revised and compressed collection of all the laws, instructions to judicial officers, and opinions on legal subjects promulgated by the different emperors since the time of Hadrian; the Pandects (all-containing) were a digest or abridgment of the writings, opinions, and decisions of the most eminent of the old Roman jurists and lawyers. The Institutes were a condensed edition of the Pandects, and were intended to form an elementary textbook for the use of students.

The body of the Roman law thus preserved and transmitted was the great contribution of the Latin intellect to civilization. It has exerted a profound influence upon the law systems of almost all the European peoples. Thus does the once little Palatine city

of the Tiber still rule the world. The religion of Judea, the arts of Greece, and the laws of Rome are three very real and potent elements in modern civilization.

III. SOCIAL LIFE

347. Education. Under the Republic there were no public schools in Rome ; education was a private affair. Under the early Empire a mixed system prevailed, there being both public and private schools. Later, education came more completely under the supervision of the state. The salaries of the teachers and lecturers were usually paid by the municipalities, but sometimes from the imperial chest.

The education of the Roman boy differed from that of the Greek youth in being more practical. The laws of the Twelve Tables were committed to memory ; and rhetoric and oratory were given special attention, as a mastery of the art of public speaking was an almost indispensable acquirement for the Roman citizen who aspired to take a prominent part in the affairs of state.

After their conquest of Magna Græcia and Greece the Romans were brought into closer relations with Greek culture than had hitherto existed. The Roman youth were taught the language of Athens, often to the neglect, it appears, of their native tongue. Young men belonging to families of means not unusually went to Greece, just as the graduates of our schools go to Europe, to finish their education. Many of the most prominent statesmen of Rome, as, for instance, Cicero and Julius Cæsar, received the advantages of this higher training in the schools of Greece.

Somewhere between the ages of fourteen and eighteen the boy exchanged his purple-hemmed toga, or gown, for one of white wool, which was in all places and at all times the significant badge of Roman citizenship and Roman equality.

348. Social Position of Woman. Until after her marriage the daughter of the family was kept in almost oriental seclusion. Marriage gave her a certain freedom. She might now be present at the races of the circus and the shows of the theater and amphitheater,—a privilege rarely accorded to her before marriage.

In the early virtuous period of the Roman state the wife and mother held a dignified and assured position in the household, and divorces were unusual, there being no instance of one, it is said, until the year 231 B.C.; but in later times her position became less honored and divorce grew to be very common. The husband had the right to divorce his wife for the slightest cause or for no cause at all. In this disregard of the sanctity of the family relation may doubtless be found one cause of the degeneracy and failure of the Roman stock.

349. Public Amusements ; the Theater and the Circus. The entertainments of the theater, the games of the circus, and the combats of the amphitheater were the three principal public amusements of the Romans. These entertainments, in general, increased in popularity as liberty declined, the great festive gatherings at the various places of amusement taking the place of the political assemblies of the Republic.

Tragedy was never held in high esteem at Rome ; the people saw too much real tragedy in the exhibitions of the amphitheater to care much for the make-believe tragedies of the stage. The entertainments of the theaters usually took the form of comedies, farces, and pantomimes. The last were particularly popular, both because the vast size of the theaters made it quite impossible for the actor to make his voice heard throughout the structure and for the reason that the language of signs was the only language that could be readily understood by an audience made up of so many different nationalities as composed a Roman assemblage. Almost from the beginning the Roman stage was gross and immoral. It was one of the main agencies to which must be attributed the undermining of the originally sound moral life of Roman society.

More important and more popular than the entertainments of the theater were the various games of the circus, especially the chariot races.

350. Gladiatorial Combats. But far surpassing in their terrible fascination all other public amusements were the gladiatorial combats of the amphitheater. These seem to have had their origin in Etruria, whence they were brought to Rome. It was a custom

among the early Etruscans to slay prisoners upon the warrior's grave, it being thought that the manes of the dead delighted in the blood of such victims. In later times the prisoners were allowed to fight and kill one another, this being deemed more humane than slaying them in cold blood.

The first gladiatorial spectacle at Rome was presented by two sons at the funeral of their father in the year 264 B.C. From this time the public taste for this species of entertainment grew rapidly, and by the beginning of the imperial period had become a perfect infatuation. It was now no longer the manes of the dead, but the spirits of the living that the spectacles were intended to appease. At first the combatants were slaves, captives, or condemned criminals; but at last knights, senators, and



FIG. 78. GLADIATORS. (From an ancient mosaic)

even women descended voluntarily into the arena. Training schools were established at Rome and in other cities. Free citizens often sold themselves to the keepers of these seminaries; and to them flocked desperate men of all classes and ruined spendthrifts of the noblest patrician houses. Slaves and criminals were encouraged to become proficient in the art by the promise of freedom if they survived the combats beyond a certain number of years.

Sometimes the gladiators fought in pairs; again, great companies engaged at once in the deadly fray. They fought in chariots, on horseback, on foot,—in all the ways that soldiers were accustomed to fight in actual battle. The life of a wounded gladiator was, in ordinary cases, in the hands of the audience. If in response to his appeal for mercy, which was made by outstretching the

forefinger, the spectators waved their handkerchiefs or reached out their hands with thumbs extended, that indicated that his prayer had been heard; but if they extended their hands with thumbs turned in, that was the signal for the victor to give him the death stroke.

The rivalries between ambitious leaders during the later years of the Republic tended greatly to increase the number of gladiatorial shows, as liberality in arranging these spectacles was a sure passport to popular favor: magistrates were expected to give them in connection with the public festivals; the heads of aspiring families exhibited them "in order to acquire social position"; wealthy citizens prepared them as an indispensable feature of a fashionable banquet; the children caught the spirit of their elders and imitated them in their plays. It was reserved for the emperors, however, to exhibit them on a truly imperial scale. Titus, upon the dedication of the Flavian amphitheater, provided games, mostly gladiatorial combats, that lasted one hundred days. Trajan celebrated his victories with shows that continued still longer, in the progress of which ten thousand gladiators fought upon the arena.¹

351. Luxury. By luxury, as we shall use the word, we mean extravagant and self-indulgent living. This vice seems to have been almost unknown in early Rome. The primitive Romans were men of frugal habits, who found contentment in poverty and disdained riches. A great change, however, as we have seen, passed over Roman society after the conquest of the East and the development of the corrupt provincial system of the later Republic. The colossal fortunes quickly and dishonestly amassed by the ruling class marked the incoming at Rome of such a reign of luxury as perhaps no other capital of the world ever witnessed. This luxury was at its height in the last century of the Republic and the first of the Empire. Never perhaps has great wealth been more grossly misused than during this period at Rome. A characteristically Roman vice of this age was gluttony, or gross table-indulgence.

¹ For the suppression of the gladiatorial games, see sect. 328.

352. State Distribution of Corn. The free distribution of corn at Rome has been characterized as the "leading fact of Roman life." It will be recalled that this pernicious practice had its beginnings in the legislation of Gaius Gracchus (sect. 275). Just before the establishment of the Empire over three hundred thousand Roman citizens were recipients of this state bounty. The corn for this enormous distribution was derived, in large part, from a grain tribute exacted of the African and other corn-producing provinces. In the third century, to the largesses of corn were added doles of oil, wine, and pork.

The evils that resulted from this misdirected state charity can hardly be overstated. Idleness and all its accompanying vices were fostered to such a degree that we probably shall not be wrong in citing the practice as one of the chief causes of the demoralization of society at Rome under the emperors.

353. Slavery. The number of slaves under the later Republic and the earlier Empire was very great, some estimates making it equal to the number of freemen. Some large proprietors owned as many as twenty thousand. The love of ostentation led to the multiplication of offices in the households of the wealthy and the employment of a special slave for every different kind of work. Thus, in some families there was kept a slave whose sole duty it was to care for his master's sandals. The price of slaves varied from a few dollars to ten or twenty thousand dollars,—these last figures being of course exceptional. Greek slaves were the most valuable, as their lively intelligence rendered them serviceable in positions calling for special talent.

The slave class was chiefly recruited, as in Greece, by war and by the practice of kidnaping. Some of the outlying provinces in Asia and Africa were almost depopulated by the slave hunters. Delinquent taxpayers were often sold as slaves, and frequently poor persons sold themselves into servitude.

The feeling entertained toward this unfortunate class in the later republican period is illustrated by Varro's classification of slaves as "vocal agricultural implements," and again by Cato the Censor's recommendation to masters to sell their old and decrepit

slaves in order to save the expense of caring for them. In many cases, as a measure of precaution, the slaves were forced to work in chains and to sleep in subterranean prisons. Their bitter hatred toward their masters, engendered by harsh treatment, is witnessed by the well-known proverb, "As many enemies as slaves," and by the servile revolts of the republican period.

Slaves were treated better under the Empire than under the later Republic,—a change to be attributed doubtless to the influence of Stoicism and of Christianity. From the first century of the Empire forward there is observable a growing sentiment of humanity toward the bondsman. Imperial edicts took away from the master the right to kill his slave or to sell him to the trader in gladiators, or even to treat him with undue severity, while the Christian priests encouraged the freeing of slaves as an act good for the soul of the master.

Besides the teachings of philosophy and religion other influences, social and economic, were at work ameliorating the lot of the slave, and gradually changing the harsh system of slavery as it had developed in the ancient world into the milder system of serfdom, which characterized the society and life of the Middle Ages. This great revolution, perhaps more than any other single change, marked the transformation of the ancient into the mediæval world and announced the opening of a new epoch in history.

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DIVISION IV. THE ROMANO-GERMAN OR TRANSITION AGE

(A. D. 476-800)

CHAPTER XXXV

THE BARBARIAN KINGDOMS

In connection with the history of the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West we have already given some account of the migrations and settlements of the Teutonic tribes. In the present chapter we shall indicate briefly the political fortunes, for the two centuries and more following the dissolution of the Roman government in the West, of the principal kingdoms set up by the Teutonic chieftains in the different parts of the old Empire.

354. Kingdom of the Ostrogoths (A.D. 493-554). Odoacer will be recalled as the barbarian chief who dethroned the last of the Western Roman emperors (sect. 335). His rule, which lasted only seventeen years, was brought to an end by the invasion of the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths) under Theodoric, the greatest of their chiefs, who set up in Italy a new dominion known as the kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

The reign of Theodoric covered thirty-three years (A.D. 493-527)—years of such quiet and prosperity as Italy had not known since the happy era of the Antonines. The king made good his promise that his reign should be such that "the only regret of the people should be that the Goths had not come at an earlier period." His effort was to preserve Roman civilization, and to this end he repaired the old Roman roads, restored the monuments of the Empire that were falling into decay, and in so far as possible maintained Roman law and custom.

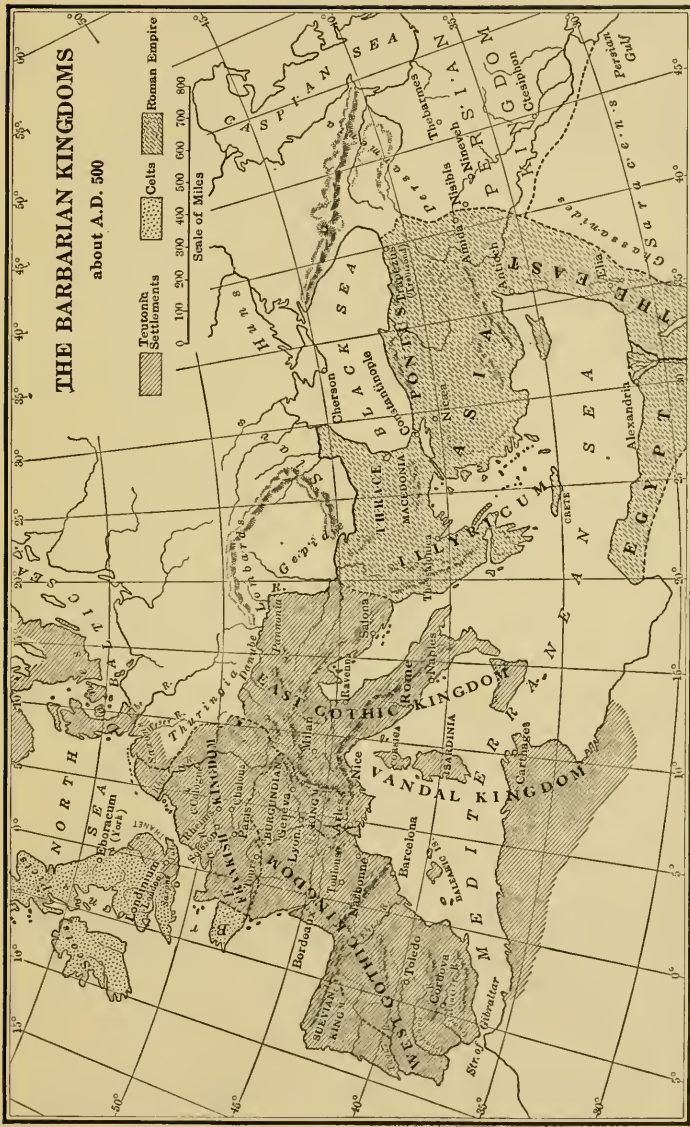
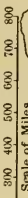
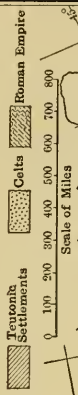
The kingdom established by the rare abilities of Theodoric lasted only twenty-seven years after his death. Justinian, emperor of the East, taking advantage of that event, sent his generals to deliver Italy from the rule of the barbarians. The last of the Ostrogothic kings fell in battle, and Italy, with her fields ravaged and her cities in ruins, was for a brief time reunited to the Empire.

355. Kingdom of the Visigoths (A.D. 415-711). The Visigoths (Western Goths) were already in possession of southern Gaul and the greater part of Spain when the Roman imperial government in the West was brought to an end by the act of Odoacer and his companions. They were driven south of the Pyrenees by the kings of the Franks, but held their possessions in Spain until the beginning of the eighth century, when their rule was ended by the Saracens (sect. 393). By this time the conquerors had mingled with the old Romanized inhabitants of Spain, so that in the veins of the Spaniard of today is blended the blood of Iberian, Celt, Roman, and Teuton, together with that of the last intruder, the African Moor.

356. Kingdom of the Vandals (A.D. 429-533). We have already spoken of the establishment in North Africa of the kingdom of the Vandals, and told how, under the lead of their king Geiseric, they bore in triumph down the Tiber the heavy spoils of Rome (sect. 334). Being Arian Christians, the Vandals persecuted with furious zeal the orthodox party. Moved by the entreaties of the African Catholics, the Byzantine emperor Justinian sent his general Belisarius to drive the barbarians from Africa. The expedition was successful, and Carthage and the fruitful fields of Africa were restored to the Empire after having suffered the insolence of the barbarian conquerors for the space of above a hundred years. The Vandals remaining in the country were gradually absorbed by the old Roman population, and after a few generations no certain trace of the barbarian invaders could be detected in the physical appearance, the language, or the customs of the inhabitants of the African coast. The Vandal nation had disappeared; the name alone remained.

THE BARBARIAN KINGDOMS about A.D. 500

about A.D. 500



357. The Franks under the Merovingians¹ (A.D. 486-752). Even long before the fall of Rome the Franks, as we have seen (sect. 331), were on the soil of Gaul, laying there the foundations of the French nation and monarchy. Among their several chieftains at this time was Clovis. As the Roman power declined, Clovis gradually extended his authority over a great part of Gaul, reducing to the condition of tributaries the various Teutonic tribes that had taken possession of different portions of the country. Upon his death (A.D. 511) his extensive dominions, in accordance with the ancient Teutonic law of inheritance, were divided among his four sons. About a century and a half of discord followed, by the end of which time the Merovingians had become so feeble and inefficient that they were pushed aside by an ambitious officer of the crown, known as Mayor of the Palace, and a new royal line—the Carolingian—was established.

358. Kingdom of the Lombards (A.D. 568-774). Barely a decade had passed after the recovery of Italy from the Ostrogoths by the Eastern emperor Justinian, before a large part of the peninsula was again lost to the Empire through its conquest by another barbarian tribe known as the Lombards.

The kingdom of the Lombards was destroyed by Charles the Great, the most noted of the Frankish rulers, in the year 774; but the blood of the invaders had by this time become intermingled with that of the former subjects of the Empire, so that throughout all that part of the peninsula which is still called Lombardy after them, one will today occasionally see the fair hair and light complexion which reveal the strain of German blood in the veins of the present inhabitants.

359. The Anglo-Saxons in Britain. We have already seen how in the time of Rome's distress the barbarians secured a footing in Britain (sect. 331). The conquerors of Britain belonged to three Teutonic tribes,—the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes,—but among the Celts they all passed under the name of Saxons, and among themselves, after they began to draw together into a single nation, under that of Angles, whence the name England (Angle-land).

¹ So called from Merowig, an early chieftain of the race.

By the close of the sixth century the invading bands had set up in the island eight or nine, or perhaps more, kingdoms,—frequently designated, though somewhat inaccurately, as the *Hep-tarchy*. For the space of two hundred years there was an almost perpetual strife for supremacy among the leading states. Finally, Egbert, king of Wessex (A.D. 802–839), brought all the other kingdoms to a subject or tributary condition, and became in reality, though he seems never, save on one occasion, to have actually assumed the title, the first king of England.

360. Teutonic Tribes outside the Empire. We have now spoken of the most important of the Teutonic tribes which forced themselves within the limits of the Roman Empire in the West, and which there, upon the ruins of the civilization they had overthrown, laid or helped to lay the foundations of the modern nations of Italy, Spain, France, and England. Beyond the boundaries of the old Empire were still other tribes and clans of this same mighty family of nations—tribes and clans that were destined to play great parts in European history.

On the east, beyond the Rhine, were the ancestors of the modern Germans. Notwithstanding the immense hosts that the forests and morasses of Germany had poured into the Roman provinces, the western portion of the fatherland, in the sixth century of our era, seemed still as crowded as before the great migration began. These tribes were yet barbarians in manners and, for the most part, pagans in religion. In the northwest of Europe were the Scandinavians, the ancestors of the modern Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. They were as yet untouched either by the civilization or the religion of Rome.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

THE CHURCH AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

I. THE CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS

361. Introductory. The most important event in the history of the tribes that took possession of the Roman Empire in the West was their conversion to Christianity. Many of the barbarians were converted before or soon after their entrance into the Empire; to this circumstance the Roman provinces owed their immunity from the excessive cruelties which pagan barbarians seldom fail to inflict upon a subjected enemy. Alaric left untouched the treasures of the churches of the Roman Christians because his own faith was also Christian (sect. 329). For like reason the Vandal king Geiseric yielded to the prayers of Pope Leo the Great and promised to leave to the inhabitants of the imperial city their lives (sect. 334). The more tolerable fate of Italy, Spain, and Gaul, as compared with the hard fate of Britain, is owing, in part at least, to the fact that the tribes which overran those countries had become, in the main, converts to Christianity before they crossed the boundaries of the Empire, while the Saxons, when they entered Britain, were still untamed pagans.

362. Conversion of the Franks; Importance of this Event. The Franks when they entered the Empire, like the Angles and Saxons when they landed in Britain, were still pagans. Christianity gained way very slowly among them until a supposed interposition by the Christian God in their behalf in a desperate battle led the king and nation to adopt the new religion in place of their old faith.

“The conversion of the Franks,” says the historian Milman, “was the most important event in its remote as well as its immediate consequences in European history.” It was of such

moment for the reason that the Franks embraced the orthodox Catholic faith, while almost all the other Teutonic invaders of the Empire had embraced the heretical Arian creed. This secured them the loyalty of their Roman subjects and also gained for them the official favor of the Church of Rome. Thus was laid the basis of the ascendancy in the West of the Frankish kings.

363. Augustine's Mission to England. In the year 596 of the Christian era Pope Gregory I sent the monk Augustine with a band of forty companions to teach the Christian faith in Britain, in whose people he had become interested through seeing in the slave market at Rome some fair-faced captives from that remote region.

The monks were favorably received by the English, who listened attentively to the story the strangers had come to tell them; and, being persuaded that the tidings were true, they burned the temples of Woden and Thor, and were in large numbers baptized in the Christian faith.¹ One of the most important consequences of the conversion of Britain was the reëstablishment of that connection of the island with Roman civilization which had been severed by the calamities of the fifth century. As the historian Green says,—he is speaking of the embassy of St. Augustine,—“The march of the monks as they chanted their solemn litany was in one sense a return of the Roman legions who withdrew at the trumpet call of Alaric. . . . Practically Augustine's landing renewed that union with the western world which the landing of Hengist had destroyed. The new England was admitted into the older commonwealth of nations. The civilization, art, letters, which had fled before the sword of the English conquerors, returned with the Christian faith.”

364. The Conversion of Ireland; Iona. The spiritual conquest of Ireland was effected largely by a zealous priest named Patricius (d. about A.D. 469), better known as St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland. With such success were his labors

¹ Read the story in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, ii, 13 (Bohn). Bede the Venerable (about A.D. 673-735) was a pious and learned Northumbrian monk, who wrote, among other works, an invaluable one entitled *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (“The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation”).

attended that by the time of his death a great part of the island had embraced the Christian faith. Never did any race receive the Gospel with more ardent enthusiasm. The Irish or Celtic Church sent out its devoted missionaries into the Pictish highlands, into the forests of Germany, and among the wilds of Alps and Apennines. Among the numerous religious houses founded by the Celtic missionaries was the famous monastery established A.D. 563 by the Irish monk St. Columba, on the little isle of Iona, just off the western coast of Scotland. Iona became a most renowned center of Christian learning and missionary zeal, and for almost two centuries was the point from which radiated light through the darkness of the surrounding heathenism.

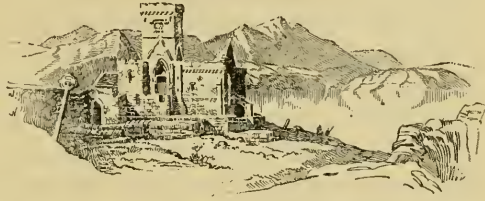


FIG. 79. THE RUINS OF IONA. (After an old drawing)

That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona. — DR. JOHNSON, *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*

365. The Conversion of Germany. The great apostle of Germany was the Saxon Winfrid, better known as St. Boniface. During a long and intensely active life he founded schools and monasteries, organized churches, preached and baptized, and at last died a martyr's death (A.D. 753). Through him, as says Milman, the Saxon invasion of England flowed back upon the Continent.

The Christianizing of the tribes of Germany relieved the Teutonic folk of western Europe from the constant peril of massacre by their heathen kinsmen, and erected a strong barrier in central Europe against the advance of the waves of Turanian paganism and Mohammedanism which for centuries beat so threateningly against the eastern frontiers of Germany.¹

¹ The story of the conversion of the Scandinavian peoples, of the Eastern Slavs, and of the Hungarians belongs to a later period than that embraced by our present survey.

II. THE RISE OF MONASTICISM

366. Monasticism Defined; Teachings that fostered its Growth. It was during the period between the third and the sixth century that there grew up in the Church the institution known as Monasticism. This term, in its widest application, denotes a life of austere self-denial and of seclusion from the world, with the object of promoting the interests of the soul. As thus defined, the system embraced two prominent classes of ascetics: (1) hermits or anchorites—persons who, retiring from the world, lived solitary lives in desolate places; (2) cenobites or monks, who formed communities and lived usually under a common roof.

Christian asceticism was fostered by teachings drawn from various texts of the Bible. Thus the apostle St. Paul had said, "He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord; . . . but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world."¹ And Christ himself had declared, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple";² and, again, he had said to the rich young man, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor."³ These passages, and others like them, taken literally, tended greatly to confirm the belief of the ascetic that his life of isolation and poverty and abstinence was the most perfect life and the surest way to win salvation.

367. Monasticism in the West. During the fourth century the anchorite type of asceticism, which was favored by the mild climate of the Eastern lands and especially by that of Egypt, assumed in some degree the monastic form; that is to say, the fame of this or that anchorite or hermit drew about him a number of disciples, whose rude huts or cells formed what was known as a *laura*, the nucleus of a monastery.

Soon after the cenobite system had been established in the East it was introduced into Europe, and in an astonishingly short space of time spread throughout all the Western countries where

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 32, 33.

² Luke xiv. 26.

³ Matt. xix. 21.

Christianity had gained a foothold. Here it prevailed to the almost total exclusion of the hermit mode of life. Monasteries arose on every side. The number that fled to these retreats was vastly augmented by the disorder and terror attending the invasion of the barbarians and the overthrow of the Empire in the West.

368. The Rule of St. Benedict. With a view to introducing some sort of regularity into the practices and austerities of the monks, rules were early prescribed for their observance. The three essential vows of the monk were poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The greatest legislator of the monks was St. Benedict of Nursia (A.D. 480-543), the founder of the celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, situated midway between Rome and Naples in Italy. His code was to the religious world what the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian (sect. 346) was to the lay society of Europe. Many of his rules were most wise and practical, as, for instance, one that made manual work a pious duty, and another that directed the monk to spend an allotted time each day in sacred reading.

The monks who subjected themselves to the rule of St. Benedict were known as Benedictines. The order became immensely popular. At one time it embraced about forty thousand abbeys.

369. Services Rendered by the Monks to Civilization. The early establishment of the monastic system in the Church resulted in great advantages to the new world that was shaping itself out of the ruins of the old. The monks, especially the Benedictines, became agriculturists, and by patient labor converted the wild and marshy lands which they received as gifts from princes and others into fruitful fields, thus redeeming from barrenness some of the most desolate districts of Europe.

The monks also became missionaries, and it was largely to their zeal and devotion that the Church owed her speedy and signal victory over the barbarians.

The quiet air of the monasteries nourished learning as well as piety. The monks became teachers, and under the shelter of the monasteries established schools which were the nurseries of learning during the earlier Middle Ages and the centers for centuries of the best intellectual life of Europe.

The monks also became copyists, and with great painstaking and industry gathered and multiplied ancient manuscripts, and thus preserved and transmitted to the modern world much classical learning and literature that would otherwise have been lost. Almost

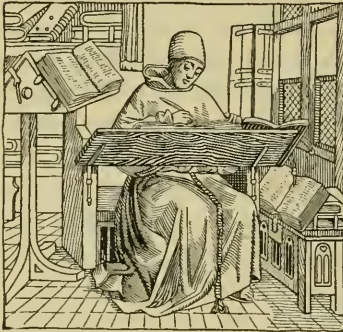


FIG. 80. A MONK COPYIST. (From a manuscript of the fifteenth century)

all the remains of the Greek and Latin classics that we possess have come to us through the agency of the monks. They became also the chroniclers of the events of their own times, so that it is to them we are indebted for a great part of our knowledge of the early mediæval centuries. Thus the scriptorium, or writing-room of the monastery, held the place in mediæval society that the great publishing house holds in the modern world.

The monks became, further, the almoners of the pious and the wealthy, and distributed alms to the poor and needy. Everywhere the monasteries opened their hospitable doors to the weary, the sick, and the discouraged. In a word, these retreats were the inns, the asylums, and the hospitals of the mediæval ages.

III. THE RISE OF THE PAPACY

370. The Empire within the Empire. Long before the fall of Rome there had begun to grow up within the Roman Empire an ecclesiastical state, which in its constitution and its administrative system was shaping itself upon the imperial model. This spiritual empire, like the secular empire, possessed a hierarchy of officers, of whom deacons, priests or presbyters, and bishops were the most important. The bishops collectively formed what is known as the episcopate. There were four grades of bishops, namely, country bishops, city bishops, metropolitans (or archbishops), and patriarchs. At the end of the fourth century there were five

patriarchates, that is, regions ruled by patriarchs. These centered in the great cities of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

Among the patriarchs, the patriarchs of Rome were accorded almost universally a precedence in honor and dignity. They claimed further a precedence in authority and jurisdiction, and this was already very widely recognized. Before the close of the eighth century there was firmly established over a great part of Christendom what we may call an ecclesiastical monarchy.

Besides the influence of great men—such as Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, and Nicholas I—who held the seat of St. Peter, there were various historical circumstances that contributed to the realization by the Roman bishops of their claim to supremacy. In the following sections we shall enumerate several of these favoring circumstances. These matters constitute the great landmarks in the rise and early growth of the Papacy.

371. The Belief in the Primacy of St. Peter and in the Founding by him of the Church at Rome. It came to be believed that the apostle Peter had been given by the Master a sort of primacy among his fellow apostles. It also came to be believed that Peter himself had founded the Church at Rome, and had suffered martyrdom there under the emperor Nero. These beliefs and interpretations of history, which make the Roman bishops the successors of Peter and the holders of his seat, contributed greatly to enhance their reputation and to justify their claim to a primacy of authority over all the dignitaries of the Church.

372. Advantages of their Position at the Political Center of the World. The claims of the Roman bishops were in the early centuries greatly favored by the spell in which the world was held by the name and prestige of imperial Rome. Thence it had been accustomed to receive commands in all temporal matters; how very natural, then, that thither it should turn for command and guidance in spiritual affairs. The Roman bishops in thus occupying the geographical and political center of the world enjoyed a great advantage over all other bishops and patriarchs. The halo that during many centuries of wonderful history had gathered

about the Eternal City came naturally to invest with a kind of aureole the head of the Christian bishop.

373. Effect of the Removal of the Imperial Government to Constantinople. Nor was this advantage that was given the Roman bishops by their position at Rome lost when the old capital ceased to be an imperial city. The removal, by the acts of Diocletian and Constantine, of the chief seat of the government to the East, instead of diminishing the power and dignity of the Roman bishops, tended greatly to promote their claims and authority. It left the pontiff the foremost personage in Rome.

374. The Pastor as Protector of Rome. Again, when the barbarians came, there came another occasion for the Roman bishops to widen their influence and enhance their authority. Rome's extremity was their opportunity. Thus it will be recalled how, mainly through the intercession of the pious Pope Leo the Great, the fierce Attila was persuaded to turn back and spare the imperial city (sect. 333); and how the same bishop, in the year 455 of the Christian era, also appeased in a measure the wrath of the Vandal Geiseric and shielded the inhabitants from the worst passions of a barbarian soldiery (sect. 334).

Thus, when the emperors, the natural defenders of the capital, were unable to protect it, the unarmed pastor was able, through the awe and reverence inspired by his holy office, to render services that could not but result in bringing increased honor and dignity to the Roman See.

375. Effects upon the Papacy of the Extinction of the Roman Empire in the West. But if the misfortunes of the Empire in the West tended to the enhancement of the reputation and influence of the Roman bishops, much more did its final downfall tend to the same end. Upon the surrender of the sovereignty of the West into the hands of the emperor of the East, the bishops of Rome became the most important personages in western Europe, and, being so far removed from the court at Constantinople, gradually assumed almost imperial powers. To them were referred for decision the disputes arising between cities, states, and kings. Especially did the bishops and archbishops throughout the West in

their contests with the Arian barbarian rulers look to Rome for advice and help. It is easy to see how greatly these things tended to strengthen the authority and increase the influence of the Roman bishops.

376. The Missions of Rome. Again, the early missionary zeal of the Church of Rome made her the mother of many churches, all of whom looked up to her with affectionate and grateful loyalty. Thus the Angles and Saxons, won to the faith by the missionaries of Rome, conceived a deep veneration for the Holy See and became its most devoted children. To Rome it was that the Christian Britons made their most frequent pilgrimages, and thither they sent their offering of St. Peter's pence. And when the Saxons became missionaries to their pagan kinsmen of the Continent, they transplanted into the heart of Germany these same feelings of filial attachment and love.

377. Result of the Fall of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria before the Saracens. In the seventh century all the great cities of the East fell into the hands of the Mohammedans.¹ This was a matter of tremendous consequence for the Church of Rome, since in every one of these great capitals there was, or might have been, a rival of the Roman bishop. The virtual erasure of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria from the map of Christendom left only one city, Constantinople, that could possibly nourish a rival of the Roman Church. Thus did the very misfortunes of Christendom give an added security to the ever-increasing authority of the Roman prelate.

378. The Popes become Temporal Sovereigns. A dispute about the use of images in worship, known in church history as the "War of the Iconoclasts,"² which broke out in the eighth century between the Greek churches of the East and the Latin churches of the West, drew after it far-reaching consequences as respects the growing power of the Roman pontiffs. Leo the Isaurian, who came to the throne of Constantinople A.D. 716, was a most zealous iconoclast. The Greek churches of the East having been cleared of images, the emperor resolved to clear also the

¹ See Chapter XXXIX.

² *Iconoclast* means "image breaker."

Latin churches of the West of these "symbols of idolatry." To this end he issued a decree that they should not be used. The bishop of Rome, Pope Gregory II, not only opposed the execution of the edict, but by the ban of excommunication cut off the emperor and all the iconoclastic churches of the East from communion with the Roman Catholic Church. Though images—paintings and mosaics only—were permanently restored in the Eastern churches in 842, still by this time other causes of alienation had arisen, and the breach between the two sections of Christendom could not now be closed. The final outcome was the permanent separation, in the last half of the eleventh century, of the Church of the East from that of the West.

In this quarrel with the Eastern emperors the Roman bishops formed an alliance with the Frankish princes of the Carolingian house. Never did allies render themselves more serviceable to each other. The popes consecrated the authority and enhanced the power and prestige of the Frankish rulers; these in turn defended the popes against all their enemies, imperial and barbarian, and, dowering them with cities and provinces, laid the basis of their temporal power.

Such in broad outline was the way in which grew up the Papacy, an institution which, far beyond all others, was destined to mold the fortunes and direct the activities of Western Christendom throughout the mediæval time.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

THE FUSION OF LATIN AND TEUTON

379. Introductory. The conversion of the barbarians and the development in Western Christendom of the central authority of the Papacy prepared the way for the introduction among the northern races of the arts and the culture of Rome, and hastened in Italy, Spain, and Gaul the fusion into a single people of the Latins and the Teutons, of which important matter we shall treat in the present chapter. We shall tell how these two races, upon the soil of the old Empire in the West, intermingled their blood, their languages, their laws, their usages and customs, to form new peoples, new tongues, and new institutions.

380. The Romance Nations. In some districts the barbarian invaders and the Roman provincials were kept apart for a long time by the bitter antagonism of race and by a sense of injury on the one hand and a feeling of disdainful superiority on the other. But for the most part the Teutonic intruders and the Latin-speaking inhabitants of Italy, Spain, and France very soon began freely to mingle their blood by family alliances.

It is quite impossible to say what proportion the Teutons bore to the Romans. Of course the proportion varied in the different countries. In none of the countries named, however, was it large enough to absorb the Latinized population; on the contrary, the barbarians were themselves absorbed, yet not without essentially changing the body into which they were incorporated. Thus, about the end of the fourth century everything in Italy, Spain, and France—dwellings, cities, dress, customs, language, laws, soldiers—reminds us of Rome. A little later and a great change has taken place. The barbarians have come in. For a time we see everywhere, jostling each other in the streets and markets, crowding each other in the theaters and courts,

kneeling together in the churches, the former Romanized subjects of the Empire and their uncouth Teutonic conquerors. But by the close of the ninth century, to speak in very general terms, the two elements have become quite intimately blended, and a century or two later Roman and Teuton have alike disappeared, and we are introduced to Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen. These we call Romance peoples, because at base they are Roman.

381. The Formation of the Romance Languages. During the five centuries of their subjection to Rome, the natives of Spain and Gaul forgot their barbarous dialects and came to speak a corrupt Latin. Now, in exactly the same way that the dialects of the Celtic tribes of Gaul and of the Celtiberians of Spain had given way to the more refined speech of the Romans, did the rude languages of the Teutons yield to the more cultured speech of the Roman provincials. In the course of two or three centuries after their entrance into the Empire, Goths, Lombards, Burgundians, and Franks had practically dropped their own tongues and were using that of the people they had subjected.

But of course this provincial Latin underwent a great change upon the lips of the mixed descendants of the Romans and Teutons. Owing to the absence of a common popular literature, the changes that took place in one country did not exactly correspond to those going on in another. Hence, in the course of time, we find different dialects springing up, and by about the ninth century the Latin has virtually disappeared as a spoken language, and its place been usurped by what will be known as the Italian, Spanish, and French languages—all more or less resembling the ancient Latin, and all called Romance tongues, because children of the old Roman speech.

382. Ordeals. The agencies relied upon by the Teutons to ascertain the guilt or innocence of accused persons show in how rude a state the administration of justice among them was. One very common method of proof was by what were called ordeals, in which the question was submitted to the judgment of God. Of these the chief were the *ordeal by fire*, the *ordeal by water*, and the *wager of battle*.

The ordeal by fire consisted in taking in the hand a piece of red-hot iron, or in walking blindfolded with bare feet over a row of hot ploughshares laid lengthwise at irregular distances. If the person escaped unharmed he was held to be innocent. Another way of performing the fire ordeal was by running through the flame of two fires built close together, or by walking over live brands.

The ordeal by water was of two kinds, by hot water and by cold. In the hot-water ordeal the accused person thrust his arm into boiling water, and if no hurt was visible upon the arm three days after the operation, the party was considered guiltless. In the cold-water trial the suspected person was thrown into a stream or pond; if he floated, he was held to be guilty; if he sank, innocent.

The wager of battle or trial by combat was a solemn judicial duel. It was resorted to in the belief that God would give victory to the right. Naturally it was a favorite mode of trial among a people who found their chief delight in fighting. Even religious disputes were sometimes settled in this way.¹

¹ Ordeals are found among all primitive peoples. For proof by ordeal among the Hebrews, see Num. v. 11-31 and Josh. vii. 16-18. The combat between David and Goliath, being an appeal to the judgment of Heaven, possesses the essential element of the judicial duel. We also find an ordeal in the test proposed by Elijah to the prophets of Baal, — 1 Kings xviii. 17-40. It was the same among the Greeks. Thus, for instance, in Sophocles' *Antigone* the watchman is made to say, "Prepared we were to take up red-hot iron, to walk through fire."

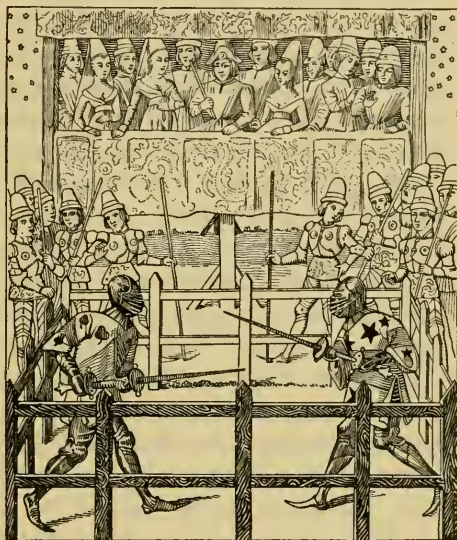


FIG. 81. TRIAL BY COMBAT. (From a manuscript of the fifteenth century; after *Lacroix*)

The ordeal was frequently performed by deputy, that is, one person for hire or for the sake of friendship would undertake it for another; hence the expression "to go through fire and water to serve one." Especially was such substitution common in the judicial duel, since women and ecclesiastics were generally forbidden to appear personally in the lists.

383. The Revival of the Roman Law. Now the barbarian law system, if such it can be called, the character of which we have merely suggested by the preceding illustrations, gradually displaced the Roman law in all those countries where the two systems at first existed alongside each other, save in Italy and in southern France, where the provincials greatly outnumbered the invaders. But the admirable jurisprudence of Rome was eventually to assert its superiority. About the close of the eleventh century there was a great revival in the study of the Roman law as embodied in the Justinian code, and in the course of a century or two this became either the groundwork or a strong modifying element in the law systems of almost all the peoples of Europe.

What took place may be illustrated by reference to the fate of the Teutonic languages in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. As the barbarian tongues, after maintaining a place in those countries for two or three centuries, at length gave place to the superior Latin, which became the basis of the new Romance languages, so now in the domain of law the barbarian maxims and customs, though holding their place longer, likewise finally give way almost everywhere, in a greater or less degree, to the more excellent law system of the Empire. Rome must fulfill her destiny and give laws to the nations.

References. EMERTON, E., *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chap. viii, "Germanic Ideas of Law." LEA, H. C., *Superstition and Force: Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal and Torture*. MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Mediæval Civilization*, pp. 310-325. For the spread of the Latin speech and the formation of the Romance languages, see ABBOTT, F. R., *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, pp. 3-31. For the contribution made by the Germans to civilization, see ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. v. For the influence of the Roman law upon the law systems of Europe, see HADLEY, J., *Introduction to Roman Law*, lect. ii.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST

384. The Era of Justinian (A.D. 527-565). During the fifty years immediately following the fall of Rome, the Eastern emperors struggled hard and sometimes doubtfully to withstand the waves of the barbarian inundation which constantly threatened to overwhelm Constantinople with the same awful calamities that had befallen the imperial city of the West. Had the New Rome—the destined refuge for a thousand years of Græco-Roman learning and culture—also gone down at this time before the storm, the loss to the cause of civilization would have been incalculable.

Fortunately, in the year 527, there ascended the Eastern throne a prince of unusual ability, to whom fortune gave a general of such rare genius that his name has been allotted a place in the short list of the great commanders of the world. Justinian was the name of the prince, and Belisarius that of the soldier. The sovereign has given name to the period, which is called after him the "Era of Justinian."

385. Justinian as the Restorer of the Empire and "The Law-giver of Civilization." One of the most important matters in the reign of Justinian is what is termed the "Imperial Restoration," by which is meant the recovery from the barbarians of several of the provinces of the West upon which they had seized. Africa, as we have seen (sect. 356), was first wrested from the Vandals. Italy was next recovered from the Goths and again made a part of the Roman Empire (A.D. 553). It was governed from Ravenna by an imperial officer who bore the title of Exarch. Besides recovering Africa and Italy from the barbarians, Justinian also reconquered from the Visigoths the southeastern part of Spain.

But that which gives Justinian's reign a greater distinction than any conferred upon it by the achievements of his generals was

the collection and publication by him of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the "Body of the Roman Law." This work embodied all the law knowledge of the ancient Romans, and was the most precious legacy of Rome to the world. In causing its publication Justinian earned the title of "The Lawgiver of Civilization."

Justinian also earned renown as one of the world's greatest builders. He rebuilt with increased splendor the Church of Santa



THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER JUSTINIAN

Sophia, which, founded by Constantine the Great, had been burned during a riot in his reign. The structure still stands, though the cross which originally surmounted the dome was in 1453 replaced by the Moslem crescent. In its interior decorations this edifice is regarded as one of the most beautiful creations of Christian art.

386. The Empire becomes Greek. Less than a generation after the death of Justinian, the Arabs, of whom we shall tell in the following chapter, entered upon their surprising career of conquest, which in a short time completely changed the face of the entire East. The conquests of the Arabs cut off from the Empire those provinces that had the smallest Greek element, and thus rendered the population subject to the Emperor more homogeneous, more thoroughly Greek. The Roman element disappeared, and though the government still retained the imperial character impressed

upon it by the conquerors of the world, the court of Constantinople became Greek in tone, spirit, and manners. Hence, instead of longer applying to the Empire the designation *Roman*, many historians from this on call it the *Greek* or *Byzantine* Empire.

387. Services rendered European Civilization by the Roman Empire in the East. The later Roman Empire rendered such eminent services to the European world that it justly deserves an important place in universal history. First, as a military outpost it held the Eastern frontier of European civilization for a thousand years against Asiatic barbarism.

Second, it was the keeper for centuries of the treasures of ancient civilization and the instructor of the new Western nations in law, in government and administration, in literature, in painting, in architecture, and in the industrial arts.¹

Third, it kept alive the imperial ideal, and gave this fruitful idea and this molding principle back to the West in the time of Charlemagne. Without the later Roman Empire of the East there would never have been a Romano-German Empire of the West (sect. 399).

Fourth, it was the teacher of religion and civilization to the Slavic races of eastern Europe. Russia forms part of the civilized world today largely by virtue of what she received from New Rome.

References. GIBBON, E., *Decline and Fall*, chaps. xl–xliv (on the reign of Justinian; chap. xlv deals with Roman law). OMAN, C. W. C., *The Story of the Byzantine Empire*, chaps. iv–viii; and *The Dark Ages*, chaps. v, vi. HODGKIN, T., *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. iv, "The Imperial Restoration." *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., Art. "Justinian I," by James Bryce. BURY, J. B., *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (a work of superior scholarship). HARRISON, F., *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages* (a brilliant lecture). *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. ii, chaps. i, ii. SEIGNOBOS, C., *History of Mediæval and Modern Civilization*, chap. iii.

¹ This instruction was imparted largely through the mediation of the Italian cities, and particularly of Venice, which throughout almost all the mediæval time were in close political or commercial relations with Constantinople.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE RISE OF ISLAM

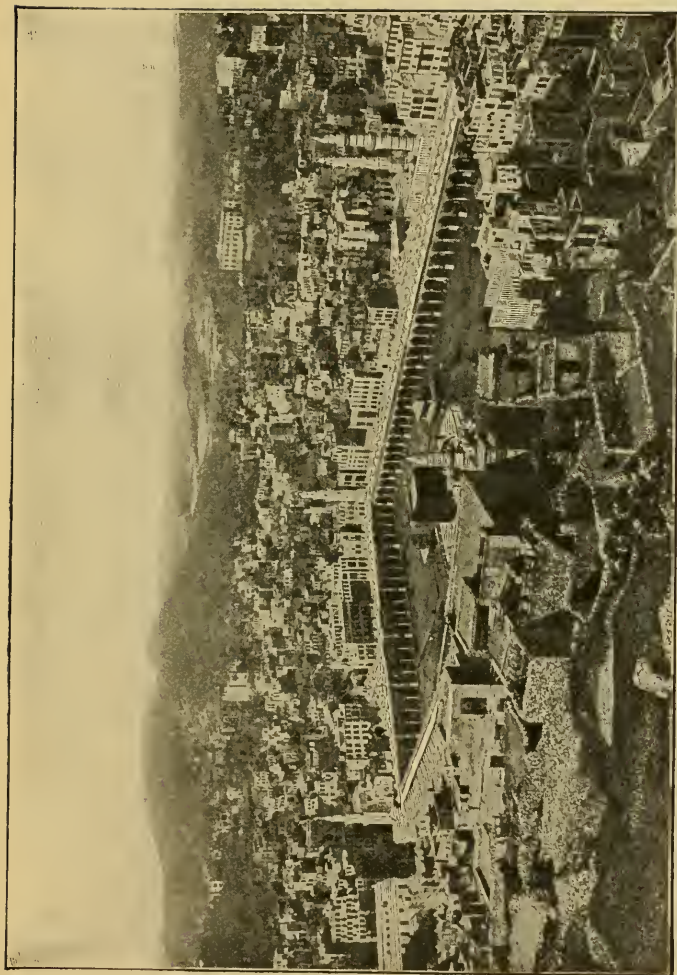
We have seen the Teutonic barbarians of the North descend upon the Roman Empire and wrest from it all its provinces in the West. We are now to watch a similar attack made upon the Empire by the Arabs of the South, and to see wrested from the emperors of the East a large part of the lands still remaining under their rule.

388. The Religious Condition of Arabia before Mohammed. Before the reforms of Mohammed the Arabs were idolaters. Their holy city was Mecca. Here was the ancient and revered shrine of the Kaaba, where was preserved a sacred black stone that was believed to have been given by an angel to Abraham. To this shrine pilgrimages were made from the most remote parts of Arabia.

But though polytheism was the prevailing religion of Arabia, still there were in the land many followers of other faiths. The Jews especially were to be found in some parts of the peninsula in great numbers. Through them the Arab teachers had become acquainted with the doctrine of one sole God. From the Christian converts dwelling among them they had learned something of the teachings of Christianity. It was from the Jews and Christians, doubtless, that Mohammed learned many of the doctrines that he taught.

389. Mohammed. Mohammed, the great prophet of the Arabs, was born in the holy city of Mecca, probably in the year 570 of the Christian era. In his early years he was a shepherd and a watcher of flocks by night, as the great religious teachers Moses and David had been before him. Later he became a merchant and a camel driver.

Mohammed possessed a soul that was early and deeply stirred by the contemplation of those themes that ever attract the religious mind. He declared that he had visions in which the angel Gabriel



Courtesy of the *National Geographic Magazine*

FIG. 82. THE CITY OF MECCA AND THE SACRED KAABA. (From a photograph)

appeared to him and made to him revelations which he was commanded to make known to his fellow men. The essence of the new faith which he was to teach was this: There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet.

For a considerable time after having received this commission, Mohammed endeavored to gain adherents merely by persuasion; but such was the incredulity which he everywhere met, that at the end of three years' preaching his disciples numbered only forty persons.

390. The Hegira (A.D. 622). The teachings of Mohammed at last aroused the anger of a powerful party among the guardians of the national idols of the Kaaba, and they began to persecute Mohammed and his followers. To escape these persecutions Mohammed fled to the neighboring city of Medina. This *Hegira*, or "flight," as the word signifies, occurred A.D. 622, and was considered by the Moslems as such an important event in the history of their religion that they adopted it as the beginning of a new era, and from it still continue to reckon historical dates.

His cause being warmly espoused by the inhabitants of Medina, Mohammed now assumed along with the character of a lawgiver and moral teacher that of a warrior. He declared it to be the will of God that the new faith should be spread by the sword. Within ten years from the time of the assumption of the sword by Mohammed, Mecca had been conquered and the new creed established widely among the independent tribes of Arabia.

391. The Koran and its Teachings. The doctrines of Mohammedanism, or Islam, which means "submission to God," are contained in the Koran, which is believed by the orthodox to have been written from all eternity on tablets in heaven. From time to time Mohammed recited to his disciples portions of the "heavenly book" as its contents were revealed to him in his dreams and visions. These communications were held in the "breasts of men," or were written down upon potsherds and the ribs of palm leaves. Soon after the death of the prophet these scraps of writing were religiously collected, supplemented by tradition, and then arranged chiefly according to length. Such was the origin of the sacred book of Islam.

The fundamental doctrine of Islam is the unity of God: "There is no God save Allah" echoes throughout the Koran. To this is added the equally binding declaration that "Mohammed is the prophet of Allah."

The Koran inculcates the practice of four cardinal duties. The first is prayer; five times every day must the believer turn his face toward Mecca and engage in devotion. The second requirement is almsgiving, or payment of the so-called holy tax. The third is keeping the fast of Ramadan, which lasts a whole month, throughout which period no food must be eaten during the day. The fourth duty is making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Every person who can possibly do so is required to make this journey.

392. The Conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. For exactly one century after the death of Mohammed the caliphs or successors of the prophet¹ were engaged in an almost unbroken series of conquests. Persia was subjugated and the authority of the Koran was established throughout the land of the ancient fireworshippers. Syria was wrested from the Eastern Roman Empire and Asia Minor was overrun. Egypt and North Africa, the latter just recently delivered from the Vandals, were also snatched from the hands of the Byzantine emperors.

By the conquest of Syria the birthplace of Christianity was lost to the Christian world. By the conquest of North Africa, lands whose history for a thousand years had been intertwined with that of the opposite shores of Europe, and which at one time seemed destined to share in the career of freedom and progress opening to the peoples of that continent, were drawn back into the fatalism and the stagnation of the East. From being an extension of Europe they became once more an extension of Asia.

393. The Invasion of Europe; the Battle of Tours (A.D. 732). Thus, in only a little more than fifty years from the death of Mohammed his standard had been carried by the lieutenants of his successors through Asia to the Hellespont on the one side and

¹ Abu-Bekr (A.D. 632-634), Mohammed's father-in-law, was the first caliph. He was followed by Omar (A.D. 634-644), Othman (A.D. 644-655), and Ali (A.D. 655-661), all of whom fell by the hands of assassins. Ali was the last of the so-called orthodox caliphs.

across Africa to Spain on the other. At each of these points Europe was threatened with invasion. As Draper pictures it, the Crescent, lying in a vast semicircle upon the northern shore of Africa and the curving coast of Asia, with one horn touching the Bosphorus and the other the Strait of Gibraltar, seemed about to round to the full and overspread all Europe.

The first attempt at invasion of the continent was made in the East, where the Arabs vainly endeavored to gain control of the Bosphorus by wresting Constantinople from the hands of the Eastern emperors. Repulsed from Europe at its eastern extremity, they succeeded in gaining a foothold in Spain. Roderic, the last of the Visigothic kings, was hopelessly defeated in battle, and all the peninsula, save some mountainous regions in the northwest, quickly submitted to the invaders. By this conquest some of the fairest provinces of Spain were lost to Christendom for a period of eight hundred years.

A few years after the conquest of Spain the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees and established themselves in Gaul. This advance of the Moslems beyond the northern wall of Spain was viewed with the greatest alarm by all Christendom. In the year 732 of the Christian era, just one hundred years after the death of the prophet, the Franks, under their leader Charles Martel, and their allies met the invaders upon the plains of Tours in central Gaul and committed to the issue of a single battle the fate of Christendom and the future course of history. The Arabs suffered an overwhelming defeat and soon withdrew behind the Pyrenees.

The young Christian civilization of western Europe was thus delivered from an appalling danger such as had not threatened it since the fearful days of Attila and the Huns (sect. 332).

394. Golden Age of the Arabian Caliphate. At first the caliphs ruled from the city of Medina; then for almost a hundred years (A.D. 661-750) they issued their commands from the city of Damascus; later they established their court on the Lower Tigris at Bagdad,—the representative of the ancient Babylon,—which city for a period of more than five hundred years was a brilliant center of Arabian civilization.

The golden age of the caliphate of Bagdad covered the latter part of the eighth and the ninth century of our era, and was illustrated by the reigns of such princes as Al-Mansur (A.D. 754-775) and the renowned Harun-al-Rashid (A.D. 786-809). During this period science and philosophy and literature were most assiduously cultivated by the Arabian scholars, and the court of the caliphs presented in culture and luxury a striking contrast to the rude and barbarous courts of the kings and princes of Western Christendom.

395. The Dismemberment of the Caliphate. "At the close of the first century of the Hegira," writes Gibbon, "the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe." But in a short time the extended empire, through the quarrels of sectaries and the ambitions of rival aspirants for the honors of the caliphate, was broken in fragments, and from three capitals—from Bagdad upon the Tigris, from Cairo upon the Nile, and from Cordova upon the Guadalquivir—were issued the commands of three rival caliphs, each of whom was regarded by his adherents as the sole rightful spiritual and civil successor of Mohammed. All, however, held the great prophet in the same reverence, all maintained with equal zeal the sacred character of the Koran, and all prayed with their faces turned toward the holy city of Mecca.

396. The Civilization of Arabian Islam. The Saracens were co-heirs of antiquity with the Teutonic peoples. They made especially their own the scientific accumulations of the ancient civilizations and bequeathed them to Christian Europe. From the Greeks and the Hindus they received the germs of astronomy, geometry, medicine, and other sciences. The scientific writings of Aristotle, Euclid, and Galen, and Hindu treatises on astronomy and algebra were translated from the Greek and Sanskrit into Arabic, and formed the basis of the Arabian studies and investigations. Almost all the sciences that thus came into their hands were enriched by them, and then transmitted to European scholars.¹ They devised

¹ What Europe received in science from Arabian sources is kept in remembrance by such words as *alchemy*, *alcohol*, *alambic*, *algebra*, *alkali*, *almanac*, *azimuth*, *chemistry*, *elixir*, *zenith*, and *nadir*. To how great an extent the chief Arabian cities became the manufacturing centers of the mediæval world is indicated by the names which these places

what is known from them as the Arabic or decimal system of notation,¹ and gave to Europe this indispensable instrument of all scientific investigations dependent upon mathematical calculations.

In the lighter forms of literature—romance and poetry—the Arabs produced much that possesses a high degree of excellence. The inimitable tales of the *Arabian Nights*, besides being a valuable commentary on Arabian life and manners at the time of the culmination of oriental culture at the court of Bagdad, form also an addition to the imperishable portion of the literature of the world.

All this literary and scientific activity found expression in the establishment of schools and libraries. In all the great cities of the Arabian empire, as at Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova, centuries before Europe could boast anything beyond cathedral or monastic schools, great universities were drawing together vast crowds of eager young Moslems and creating an atmosphere of learning and refinement.

In the erection of mosques and other public edifices the Arab architects developed a new and striking style of architecture,—one of the most beautiful specimens of which is preserved to us in the palace of the Moorish kings at Granada,—a style which has given to modern builders some of their finest models.

References. The Koran is our chief source for a knowledge of Islam as a religion. The translation by Palmer is the best. MUIR, W., *The Life of Mohammed* and *The Rise and Decline of Islam* (these works are written in an unfriendly and unsympathetic spirit). SMITH, R. B., *Mohammed and Mohammedanism* (has a short bibliography). SPRENGER, A., *The Life of Mohammed*. IRVING, W., *Mahomet and his Successors*. GIBBON, E., *The Decline and Fall*, chaps. l–lii. MARGOLIOUTH, D. S., *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*. FREEMAN, E. A., *History and Conquests of the Saracens* (a rapid sketch by a master). SYED AMEER ALI, *The Spirit of Islam* and *Short History of the Saracens*. POOLE, S. L., *Studies in a Mosque*. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., Arts. "Mahomet," "Mahomedan Institutions," "Mahomedan Law," "Mahomedan Religion." *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. ii, chaps. x–xii.

have given to various textile fabrics and other articles. Thus *muslin* comes from Mosul, on the Tigris, *damask* from Damascus, and *gauze* from Gaza. Damascus and Toledo blades tell of the proficiency of the Arab workmen in metallurgy.

¹ The figures or numerals employed in their system, with the exception of the zero symbol, they seem to have borrowed from India.

CHAPTER XL

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

397. Introductory. We return now to the West. The Franks, who with the aid of their confederates withstood the Saracens on the field of Tours and saved Europe from subjection to the Koran, are the people that first attract our attention. Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, their king, second of the Carolingian line (sect. 357), is the imposing figure that moves amidst all the events of the times,—indeed, is the one who makes the events and renders the period an epoch in universal history.

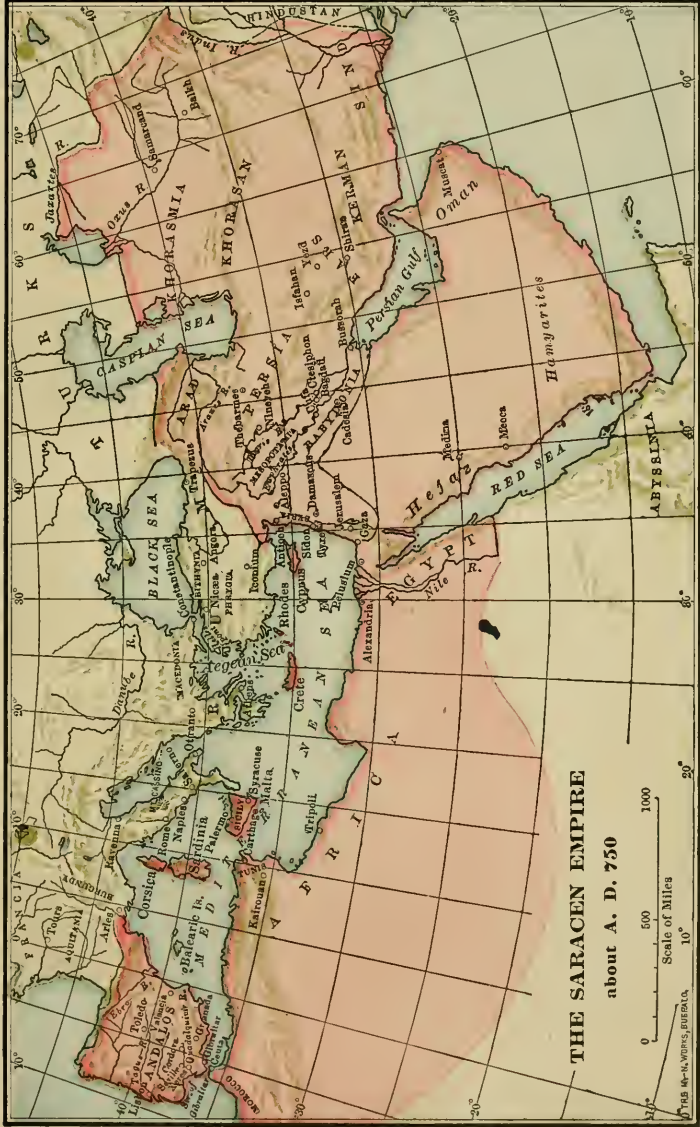
398. The Wars of Charlemagne. During his long reign of nearly half a century Charlemagne so extended the boundaries of his dominions that they came to embrace the larger part of western Europe. He made over fifty military campaigns, among which were those against the Lombards, the Saracens, and the Saxons.

Among the first undertakings of Charlemagne was a campaign against the Lombards in Italy, whose king, Desiderius, was troubling the Pope. Charlemagne wrested from Desiderius all his possessions, shut up the unfortunate king in a monastery, and placed on his own head the famous "Iron Crown"¹ of the Lombards.

In the year 778 Charlemagne gathered his warriors for a crusade against the Mohammedan Moors in Spain. He crossed the Pyrenees and succeeded in winning from the Moslems all the northeastern corner of the peninsula. These lands thus regained for Christendom he made a part of his dominions, under the title of the Spanish March.²

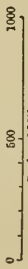
¹ So called because there was wrought into it what was believed to be one of the nails of the cross upon which Christ had suffered.

² As Charles was leading his victorious bands back across the Pyrenees, the rear of his army, while hemmed in by the walls of the Pass of Roncevalles, was set upon by the



THE SARACEN EMPIRE

about A. D. 750



Scale of Miles
10'

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

But by far the greater number of the campaigns of Charlemagne were directed against the still pagan Saxons. These people were finally reduced to permanent submission and forced to accept Charlemagne as their sovereign and Christianity as their religion.

399. Restoration of the Empire in the West (A.D. 800). An event of seemingly little moment, yet in its influence upon succeeding affairs of the very greatest importance, now claims our attention. Pope Leo III having called upon Charlemagne for aid against a hostile faction at Rome, the king soon appeared in person at the capital and punished the disturbers of the peace of the Church. The gratitude of Leo led him at this time to make a most signal return for the many services of the Frankish king. To understand his act a word of explanation is needed.

For a considerable time a variety of circumstances had been fostering a growing feeling of enmity between the Italians and the emperors at Constantinople. Just at this time, by the crime of the Empress Irene, who had deposed her son, Constantine VI, and put out his eyes that she might have his place, the Byzantine throne was vacant, in the estimation of the Italians, who contended that the crown of the Cæsars could not be worn by a woman. In view of these circumstances Pope Leo and those about him conceived the purpose of taking away from the heretical and effeminate Greeks the imperial crown and bestowing it upon some strong and orthodox and worthy prince in the West.

Now, among all the Teutonic chiefs of Western Christendom there was none who could dispute in claims to the honor with the king of the Franks, the representative of a most illustrious house and the strongest champion of the young Christianity of the West against her pagan foes. Accordingly, as Charlemagne was participating in the solemnities of Christmas Day in the basilica of St. Peter at Rome, the Pope approached the kneeling king, and placing a crown of gold upon his head proclaimed him Emperor and Augustus (A.D. 800).

wild mountaineers (the Gascons) and cut to pieces before he could give relief. Of the details of this event no authentic account has been preserved; but long afterwards, associated with the fabulous deeds of the hero Roland, it formed a favorite theme of the tales and songs of the Trouveurs of northern France.

The intention of Pope Leo was, by a sort of reversal of the act of Constantine the Great, to bring back from the East the seat of the imperial court ; but what he really accomplished was a restoration of the line of emperors in the West, which three hundred and twenty-four years before had been ended by Odoacer (sect. 335).

We say this was what he actually effected ; for the Greeks of the East, disregarding wholly what the Roman people and the Pope had done, maintained their line of emperors just as though nothing had occurred in Italy. So now from this time on for centuries there were, most of the time, two emperors, one in the East and another in the West, each claiming to be the rightful successor of Cæsar Augustus.

This revival of the Empire in the West was one of the most important matters in European history. It gave to the following centuries "a great political ideal," which was the counterpart of the religious ideal of a universal Church embodied in the Papacy, and which was to shape large sections of mediæval history.

400. Charles the Great as a Ruler. Charlemagne must not be regarded as a warrior merely. His most noteworthy work was that which he effected as a legislator and administrator. He ruled his Empire with the constant solicitude of a father. The character of his government is revealed by his celebrated Capitularies. These were not laws proper, but collections of decrees, decisions, and instructions covering matters of every kind, civil and religious, public and domestic. They show what were Charlemagne's ideas of what his chiefs or his subjects needed in the way of advice, suggestion, or command.

Charlemagne, particularly after his coronation as Emperor, exercised as careful a superintendence over religious as over civil affairs. He called synods or councils of the clergy of his dominions, presided at these meetings, and addressed to abbots and bishops fatherly words of admonition, reproof, and exhortation.

Education was also a matter to which Charlemagne gave zealous attention. He was himself from first to last as diligent a student as his busy life permitted. He never ceased to be a learner. In his old age he tried to learn to write but found that it was too

late. Distressed by the dense ignorance all about him, he labored to instruct his subjects, lay and clerical, by the establishment of schools and the multiplication and dissemination of books through the agency of the copyists of the monasteries. He invited from England the celebrated Alcuin, one of the finest scholars of the age, and with his help organized what became known as the Palace School, in which his children and courtiers and he himself were pupils.

401. The Death of Charlemagne (814); Results of his Reign. Charlemagne enjoyed the imperial dignity only fourteen years. He died in 814. By the almost universal verdict of students of the mediæval period, he has been pronounced the most imposing personage that appears between the fall of Rome and the fifteenth century. His greatness has erected an enduring monument for itself in his name, the one by which he is best known,—Charlemagne.

Among the results of the reign of Charlemagne we should note at least the two following. First, he did for Germany what Cæsar did for Gaul,—brought this barbarian land within the pale of civilization and made it a part of the new-forming Romano-German world.

Second, he kneaded into something like a homogeneous mass the various racial elements composing the mixed society of the wide regions over which he ruled. Throughout his long and vigorous reign that fusion of Roman and Teuton of which we spoke in an earlier chapter went on apace. He failed indeed to unite the various races of his extended dominions in a permanent political union, but he did much to create among them those religious, intellectual, and social bonds which were never afterwards severed. From his time on, as it has been concisely expressed, there was a Western Christendom.

402. Division of the Empire; the Treaty of Verdun (843). Charlemagne was followed by his son Lewis, surnamed the Pious (814–840). Upon the death of Lewis fierce contention broke out among his surviving sons, Lewis, Charles, and Lothair, and myriads of lives were sacrificed in the unnatural strife. Finally, by the famous Treaty of Verdun, the Empire was divided as follows: to

Lewis was given the part east of the Rhine, the nucleus of the later Germany; to Charles, the part west of the Rhone and the Meuse, one day to become France; and to Lothair, the narrow central strip between these, stretching across Europe from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, and including the rich lands of the lower Rhine, the valley of the Rhone, and the larger part of Italy. To Lothair also was given the imperial title.

This treaty is celebrated not only because it was the first great treaty among the European states, but also on account of its marking the divergence from one another, and in some sense the origin, of two of the great nations of modern Europe,—Teutonic Germany and Romanic France. As shown by the celebrated bilingual oath of Strassburg,¹ there had by this time grown up in Gaul, through the mixture of the provincial Latin with German elements, a new speech, which was to grow into the French tongue,—the firstborn of the Romance languages.

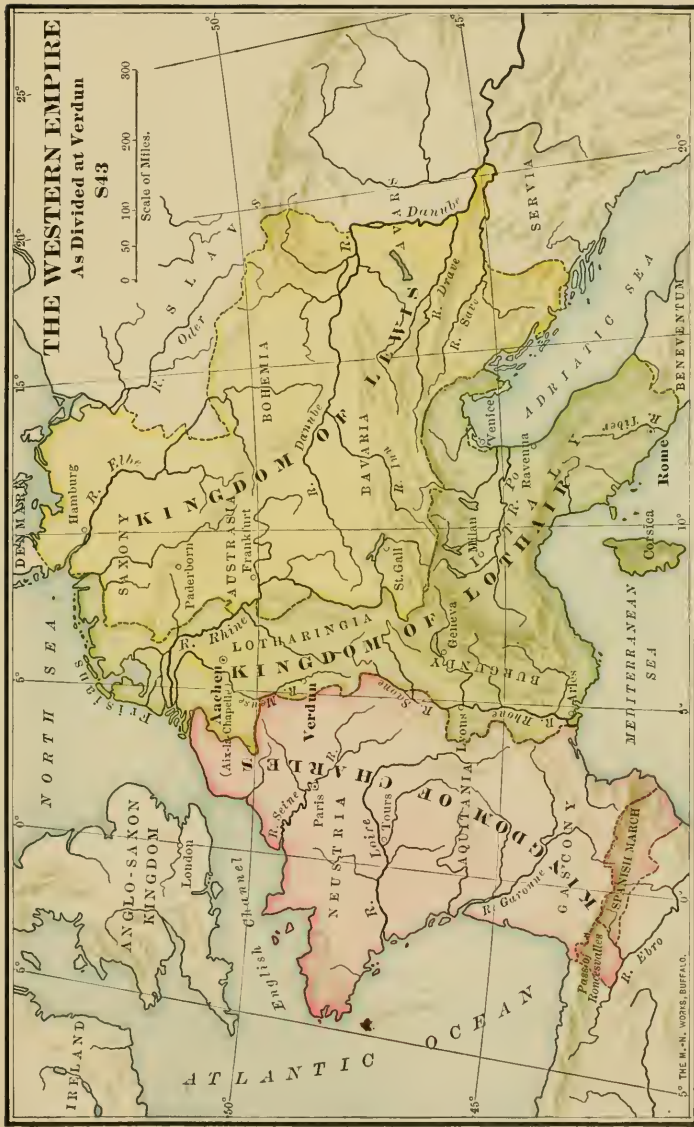
In the year 962 a strong king of Germany, Otto the Great, again revived the Empire (for a generation no one had borne the imperial title), which now came to be called the *Holy Roman Empire*. Respecting the great part that the idea of the Empire played in subsequent history we shall speak in another volume.

References. EGINHARD (Einhard), *Life of the Emperor Karl the Great* (translation by William Glaister recommended). Einhard was Charles' confidential friend and secretary. HODGKIN, T., *Charles the Great*, and MOMBERT, J. I., *History of Charles the Great* (the first is the best short biography in English). BRYCE, J., *The Holy Roman Empire*, chaps. iv, v (gives a clear view of the import of the restoration of the Empire). EMERTON, E., *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chaps. xii-xiv. WEST, A. F., *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools*, and MULLINGER, J. B., *The Schools of Charles the Great*. ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. vii. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. ii, chaps. xviii, xix, xxi. DAVIS, H. W. C., *Charlemagne*.

¹ This was an oath of friendship and mutual fidelity taken by Lewis and Charles just before the Treaty of Verdun (in 842). The text of the oath has been preserved both in the old German speech and in the new-forming Romance language. It is interesting as affording the oldest existing specimens of these languages.

THE WESTERN EMPIRE As Divided at Verdun S43

Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 500 800



5° THE M.-N. WORDS, BUFFALO.

APPENDIX

A. SOURCE BOOKS

DAVIS, W. S., *Readings in Ancient History*, 2 vols. THALLON, I. C., *Readings in Greek History*. FLING, F. M., *A Source Book of Greek History*. WEBSTER, H., *Readings in Ancient History*. MUNRO, D. C., *A Source Book of Roman History*. MONROE, P. M., *Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period*. ROBINSON, J. H., *Readings in European History*, vol. i, chaps. i-vii.

B. TOPICS FOR CLASS REPORTS

Chapter I. 1. The relation of domesticated animals to man's advance in civilization: SHALER, N. S., *Domesticated Animals*, pp. 103-151; DAVENPORT, E., *Domesticated Animals and Plants*, chap. i. 2. The making and the use of fire: MASON, O. T., *The Origin of Invention*, chap. iii, and *First Steps in Human Culture*, chaps. i, ii; FROBENIUS, L., *The Childhood of Man*, chap. xxvii. 3. The origin of writing: HOFFMANN, W. J., *The Beginnings of Writing*; MASON, O. T., *First Steps in Human Culture*, chap. xxi; TYLOR, E. B., *Anthropology*, chap. vii; KEARY, C. F., *The Dawn of History*, chaps. xii, xiii. 4. The dawn of art: REINACH, S., *Apollo*, pp. 1-9; PARKYN, E. A., *Introduction to the Study of Prehistoric Art*, chaps. iii, iv.

Chapter II. 1. The unity of the human race: RATZEL, F., *The History of Mankind*, vol. 1, pp. 3-5. 2. Physical characteristics as a basis of classification: HADDON, A. C., *The Races of Man and their Distribution*, pp. 1-6.

Chapter III. 1. Characteristics of Egyptian art: REINACH, S., *Apollo*, pp. 17-22. 2. Industrial arts: MASPERO, G., *Egyptian Archaeology*, chap. v. 3. Dwellings of the poor and of the rich: MASPERO, G., *Egyptian Archaeology*, pp. 2-28. 4. The market and the shops: MASPERO, G., *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, chap. ii. 5. The Tell el-Amarna letters: BREASTED, J. H., *History of Egypt*, pp. 332-337, 382-389, 393; BALL, C. J., *Light from the East*, pp. 86-94.

Chapter IV. 1. French excavations at Tello: HILPRECHT, H. V., *Explorations in Bible Lands*, pp. 216-260. 2. American excavations at Nippur: PETERS, J. P., *Nippur*, vol. ii, chaps. ii-x; HILPRECHT, H. V., *Explorations in Bible Lands*, pp. 289-568. 3. The temple archives: JASTROW, M., *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 316-318. 4. Moral maxims and penitential psalms: JASTROW, M., *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 464-465, 469-474. 5. Excavations and discoveries at Nineveh: LAYARD, A. H., *Nineveh and its Remains*. 6. Assyrian art: REINACH, S., *Apollo*, pp. 23-27. 7. A royal hunting adventure: MASPERO, M., *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, chap. xiv.

Chapter V. 1. Israel in Egypt: PETRIE, W. M. F., *Egypt and Israel*, chap. ii. 2. The Song of Deborah (Judges v): SCHMIDT, N., *The Message of the Poets*,

pp. 354-362. 3. Some Hebrew laws concerning the poor and the bondsman: Exod. xxii, 25-27; xxiii, 10; Deut. xv, 7-15; xxiv, 6, 10-13.

Chapter VI. 1. Phœnician commerce and its influence upon the progress of civilization: KELLER, F., *Colonization*, pp. 28-30, 38-39. 2. The Tyrian purple dye: RAWLINSON, G., *The Story of Phœnicia*, pp. 5, 6, 275-282. 3. A Phœnician adventure — the circumnavigation of Africa: RAWLINSON, G., *The Story of Phœnicia*, chap. xii. 4. Cræsus and Solon: Herodotus, i, 29-33 (retold in Church, *Herodotus*, pp. 3-10).

Chapter VII. 1. Persian character and public and private life: RAWLINSON, G., *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. iii, chap. iii, pp. 164-247. 2. The Royal Road from Susa to Sardis: Herodotus, v, 52-54. 3. The Parsees, the modern representatives of the ancient fire-worshippers: see *Encyc. Brit.*, vol. xx (11th ed.), under "Parsees."

Chapter VIII. 1. The old Chinese civil-service competition examinations: MARTIN, W. A. P., *The Lore of Cathay*, chap. xvii; DOOLITTLE, J., *Social Life of the Chinese*, chap. xv-xvii. 2. The worship of ancestors and filial piety: MARTIN, W. A. P., *The Lore of Cathay*, chap. xv; LEGGE, J., *The Religion of China*, lect. ii, pp. 69-95; GILES, H. A., *The Civilization of China*, pp. 75-77.

Chapter IX. 1. The nature and features of the land as factors in Greek life and history: GROTE, G., *History of Greece*, vol. ii, pp. 153-157; HOLM, A., *History of Greece*, vol. i, pp. 29, 30; ABBOTT, E., *History of Greece*, vol. i, pp. 19-23; BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, pp. 4, 5. 2. The marble quarries of Paros: MANATT, J. I., *Ægean Days*, chap. xvii, "Paros the Marble Island."

Chapter X. 1. Tales of Crete — Minos, Theseus, and Ariadne: HARRISON, J. A., *The Story of Greece*, chap. viii. 2. Change in the opinion of scholars in regard to the historical elements in Greek legends: BAIKIE, J., *The Sea-kings of Crete*, chap. i. 3. Summary of excavations and discoveries in Crete: HALL, H. R. H., *Ægean Archaeology*, chap. ii. 4. The palace at Cnossus: MOSSO, A., *The Palaces of Crete*, chaps. iv, v. 5. Ægean art: MOSSO, A., *The Palaces of Crete*, chap. xiii; HALL, H. R. H., *Ægean Archaeology*, chap. vii.

Chapter XI. 1. Delphi and the oracle: RICHARDSON, R. B., *Vacation Days in Greece*, pp. 24-33. 2. The Olympic Festival: GARDINER, E. N., *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, chap. ix; GARDNER, P., *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. ix. 3. Gymnastics: BLÜMNER, H., *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. viii. 4. Demeter and Persephone, and the Eleusinian mysteries: FRAZER, J. G., *Spirit of the Corn and of the Wild* (The Golden Bough), vol. i, chap. ii; FAIRBANKS, A., *Mythology of Greece and Rome*, chap. vi, pp. 171-183; GAYLEY, C. M., *Classic Myths* (consult index). 5. The Greek doctrine of "divine envy": consult Herodotus (Rawlinson's trans.) by index under "Cræsus," "Polycrates," and "Artabanus."

Chapter XII. 1. Argos and King Pheidon: HOLM, A., *History of Greece*, vol. i, chap. xvii, pp. 202-208; BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, chap. iii, pp. 139-144. 2. The Helots of Laconia: Thucydides, iv, 80; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, xxvii; GROTE, *History of Greece*, vol. ii, chap. vi, pp. 291-298.

Chapter XIII. 1. The trade of the Pontus, or Euxine: CURTIUS, E., *History of Greece*, vol. i, pp. 439-441. 2. Relations of a colony to its mother city:

CURTIUS, E., *History of Greece*, vol. i, pp. 496-500. 3. The Delphic oracle and Greek colonization: Herodotus, iv, 150-153, 156-159; CURTIUS, E., *History of Greece*, vol. ii, pp. 49, 50. 4. Tales of the tyrants Cypselus, Polycrates, and Periander: Herodotus (consult index).

Chapter XIV. 1. The environment of Athens: TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. ii. 2. Story of Solon and Crœsus: Plutarch, *Solon*, xxvii, xxviii. 3. The Council and the Assembly (Ecclesia): TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. xiii. 4. Dwelling houses: GULICK, C. B., *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. iii. 5. The occupations of farming and herding: GULICK, C. B., *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. xvii. 6. The Athenian vase trade ("One of the most interesting phenomena in the history of ceramic art is the absorption of the market of the world by Attic wares."): *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, No. xi, pp. 224 ff., "The Distribution of Attic Vases"; FOWLER, H. N., and WHEELER, J. R., *Greek Archaeology*, pp. 471-506.

Chapter XV. 1. The Delphic oracle given the Athenians at the beginning of the Persian War: Herodotus, vii, 140-143. 2. The trireme: GULICK, C. B., *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. xv, pp. 199-205. 3. Themistocles in council and in battle at Salamis: Plutarch, *Themistocles*, xi-xv.

Chapter XVI. 1. The walls of Athens and the Piræus: BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, pp. 330-332, 377. 2. Aristides the Just; his ostracism: HARRISON, J. A., *The Story of Greece*, pp. 317-321. 3. The public buildings of Athens: REINACH, S., *Apollo*, chap. vi; FOWLER, H. N., and WHEELER, J. R., *Greek Archaeology*, pp. 144-150, 155-157. 4. "A Day in Athens": TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chaps. vi, vii; BLÜMNER, H., *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. v, pp. 179-201. 5. Trades and manufactures: GULICK, C. B., *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. xviii, pp. 227-238. 6. Various classes of the population: TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. iv. 7. Civic duties of citizens: GULICK, C. B., *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. xvi. 8. The things seen in a walk about your own city which remind you of the contributions of Greece to our civilization.

Chapter XVII. 1. The Athenian army and navy: TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. x. 2. The condemnation of the Athenian generals after the battle of Arginusæ (406 B.C.): see any comprehensive history of Greece. 3. "Festivals and the Theaters": TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. xii. 4. "An Athenian trial": TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. xiv. 5. The trial and condemnation of Socrates: GROTE, G., *History of Greece*, vol. vii, pp. 140-172.

Chapter XVIII. 1. The youth and training of Demosthenes: PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, A. W., *Demosthenes*, chap. i. 2. Imperialism vs. Home Rule, or, Was Demosthenes' policy of opposition to Philip wise? MAHAFFY, J. P., *Problems in Greek History*, chap. vii, "Practical Politics in the Fourth Century." 3. Alexander's visit to the oracle of Zeus Ammon: WHEELER, B. I., *Alexander the Great*, chap. xxi. 4. Alexander's letter to Darius: BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, pp. 761, 762. 5. "The Marriage of Europe and Asia": WHEELER, B. I., *Alexander the Great*, chap. xxx, pp. 476-479.

Chapter XIX. 1. The Museum and Library at Alexandria: MAHAFFY, J. P., *Greek Life and Thought*, chap. ix, pp. 192-197. 2. Rhodes as a center of Hellenistic culture: HOLM, A., *History of Greece*, vol. iv, chap. xxii; MAHAFFY, J. P., *Story of Alexander's Empire*, chap. xx (last part). 3. The Stoics and the Epicureans: MAHAFFY, J. P., *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 256-264. 4. The Grove of Daphne at Antioch: LEW WALLACE, *Ben Hur*, bk. iv, chaps. v, vi.

Chapter XX. 1. Greek art as a reflection of Greek history: GARDNER, P., *Principles of Greek Art*, chap. xix, "Art in Relation to History." 2. Building material and methods: FOWLER, H. N., and WHEELER, J. R., *Greek Archaeology*, chap. ii, pp. 96-108. 3. The Great Altar of Zeus Soter at Pergamum: REINACH, S., *Apollo*, pp. 69, 70; FOWLER, H. N., and WHEELER, J. R., *Greek Archaeology*, pp. 181-183, 284-286. 4. Attic art: TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. xvi. 5. Greek painting and mosaic: FOWLER, H. N., and WHEELER, J. R., *Greek Archaeology*, chap. ix; GARDNER, P., *Principles of Greek Art*, chap. xii.

Chapter XXI. 1. Sappho: MANATT, J. I., *Aegean Days*, chap. xxv, "Lesbos and the Lesbian Poets." 2. Presentation of a Greek drama at Athens: TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. xii. 3. Pindar: MAHAFFY, J. P., *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 91-96.

Chapter XXII. 1. The life of Socrates: HOPKINSON, L. W., *Greek Leaders*, pp. 79-101; LEONARD, W. E., *Socrates: Master of Life*, pp. 31-61. 2. Ex-tempore declamations by the Sophists: WALDEN, J. W. H., *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, chap. xi.

Chapter XXIII. 1. Greek education: BLÜMNER, H., *Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. iii; GULICK, C. B., *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. vii; TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. ix. 2. Student days: WALDEN, J. W. H., *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, chap. xiv. 3. Social life and entertainments: GULICK, C. B., *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. xiv; TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. vii. 4. Greek slavery: BLÜMNER, H., *Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. xv. 5. Funeral customs: TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. xv.

Chapter XXIV. 1. Geographical conditions tending to make the history of Italy different from that of Greece: FREEMAN, E. A., *Historical Geography of Europe*, vol. i (text), pp. 7-9. 2. "While the Grecian peninsula is turned towards the east, the Italian is turned towards the west" (Mommsen); show the influence of this geographical fact on the history of each land.

Chapter XXV. 1. The family cult and the *patria potestas*: JOHNSTON, H. W., *The Private Life of the Romans*, pp. 28-32; WILKINS, A. S., *Roman Antiquities*, chap. iii. 2. The Roman character: WILKINS, A. S., *Roman Antiquities*, chap. i. 3. The position of women: JOHNSTON, H. W., *The Private Life of the Romans*, pp. 64-66. 4. Prehistoric Rome: LANCIANI, R., *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, chap. ii, "The Foundation and Prehistoric Life of Rome."

Chapter XXVI. 1. Legend of the Fabii: Livy, ii, 48, 49. 2. Virtues prized by the early Romans as shown by the stories of their heroes (Mucius Scævola, Cincinnatus, Lucius Junius Brutus, Marcus Curtius, etc.): find these tales by use of the indexes of available histories.

Chapter XXVII. 1. Was the action of the Roman Senate in the affair of the Caudine Forks honorable? LIVY, ix, 2-11; HOW, W. W., and LEIGH, H. D., *History of Rome*, pp. 108-110. 2. Tales of the Pyrrhic War: PLUTARCH, *Pyrrhus*. 3. The system employed by the Roman engineers in tunneling mountains: LANCIANI, R., *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, pp. 61-62.

Chapter XXVIII. 1. Hannibal's passage of the Alps: POLYBIUS, iii, 50-56. 2. The battle of the Metaurus (207 B. C.): CREASY, E. S., *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. iv. 3. Change effected in Roman life and manners through contact with corrupt Hellenism: MOMMSEN, T., vol. ii, bk. iii, chap. xiii, pp. 480-491; PLUTARCH, *Marcus Cato*; SEIGNOBOS, C. (Wilde ed.), *History of Ancient Civilization*, chap. xxii.

Chapter XXIX. 1. Roman slavery: JOHNSTON, H. W., *The Private Life of the Romans*, chap. v, pp. 87-111. 2. Marcus Livius Drusus, the champion of the Italians: consult by index any comprehensive history of Rome. 3. Cicero and his friends as admirers of things Greek: MAHAFFY, J. P., *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, chap. vi. 4. The conspiracy of Catiline: CHURCH, A. J., *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*, chap. vii. 5. Causes of the fall of the Republic: HOW, W. W., and LEIGH, H. D., *History of Rome*, chap. xxxi; SEIGNOBOS, C. (Wilde ed.), *History of Ancient Civilization*, pp. 274-278.

Chapter XXX. 1. The significance of the defeat of Varus by the Germans under Arminius, A. D. 9: CREASY, E. S., *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. v. 2. The life of the court under the early Empire: FRIEDLÄNDER, L., *Roman Life and Manners*, vol. i, pp. 70-97. 3. Means of communication: FRIEDLÄNDER, L., *Roman Life and Manners*, vol. i, pp. 268-322; DAVIS, W. S., *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, pp. 80-105.

Chapter XXXI. 1. Pompeii and what we have learned of Roman life from its remains: MAU, A., *Pompeii: its Life and Art*. 2. Letters, books, and libraries: JOHNSTON, H. W., *The Private Life of the Romans*, pp. 287-298. 3. An election campaign in Pompeii: ABBOTT, F. F., *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*, pp. 3-21. 4. The Hadrian Wall in Britain: BRUCE, J. C., *The Roman Wall*. 5. The spread of Christianity in the first two centuries: FRIEDLÄNDER, L., *Roman Life and Manners*, vol. iii, chap. ii, pp. 186-214. 6. The catacombs: LANCIANI, R., *Pagan and Christian Rome*, chap. vii. 7. Zenobia, "Queen of the East": WRIGHT, W., *An Account of Palmyra and Zenobia*.

Chapter XXXII. 1. Motives underlying the Diocletian persecution of the Christians: MASON, A. J., *The Persecution of Diocletian*, chap. iii. 2. The Council of Nicæa: CARR, A., *The Church and the Roman Empire*, chap. v. 3. The founding of Constantinople: OMAN, C. W. C., *The Byzantine Empire*, pp. 13-30. 4. Julian and the pagan restoration: CARR, A., *The Church and the Roman Empire*, chap. vii; GARDNER, A., *Julian the Philosopher, and the last Struggle of Paganism against Christianity*. 5. Efforts of Diocletian to fix prices of provisions and wares: ABBOTT, F. F., *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, pp. 145-178.

Chapter XXXIII. 1. Alaric the Goth: BRADLEY, H., *The Goths*, chap. x, pp. 84-98. 2. St. Jerome: CARR, A., *The Church and the Roman Empire*, chap. xiv. 3. St. Augustine and his *City of God*; CARR, A., *The Church and the Roman Empire*, chap. xv; CUTTS, E. L., *Saint Augustine*, chap. xx,

pp. 184-194; DILL, S., *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, pp. 59-73. 4. Causes of the downfall of the Empire in the West: HODGKIN, SEELEY, and BURY, as cited above in "References," p. 232; DAVIS, W. S., *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, chap. viii.

Chapter XXXIV. 1. Roman art: REINACH, S., *Apollo*, pp. 87-94. 2. Education of the Roman boy: JOHNSTON, H. W., *The Private Life of the Romans*, chap. iv. 3. The gladiatorial combats: JOHNSTON, H. W., *The Private Life of the Romans*, pp. 242-264; FRIEDLÄNDER, L., *Roman Life and Manners*, vol. ii, chap. i, pp. 41-62. 4. Roman luxury: FRIEDLÄNDER, L., *Roman Life and Manners*, vol. ii, chap. ii; DAVIS, W. S., *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, pp. 152-187. 5. Character and motives of Roman benefactions: ABBOTT, F. F., *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, pp. 179-204.

Chapter XXXV. 1. Life and work of Cassiodorus; his state papers: HODGKIN, T., *Theodoric*, chap. ix, pp. 160-173. 2. The German conquest of Gaul: ADAMS, G. B., *The Growth of the French Nation*, chap. ii.

Chapter XXXVI. 1. The religion of the Germans and their conversion: SEIGNOBOS, C., *History of Mediæval and Modern Civilization*, chap. ii. 2. The *scriptorium* and the labors of the monks as copyists, chroniclers, and authors: PUTNAM, G. H., *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*, vol. i, pp. 3-81. 3. The monasteries as industrial colonies: CUNNINGHAM, W., *Western Civilization (Mediæval and Modern Times)*, pp. 35-40.

Chapter XXXVII. 1. The spread of the Latin speech and the formation of the Romance languages: ABBOTT, F. F., *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, pp. 3-31. 2. The contribution made by the Germans to civilization: ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. v. 3. The influence of the Roman law upon the law systems of Europe: HADLEY, J., *Introduction to Roman Law*, lect. ii.

Chapter XXXVIII. 1. Justinian as a builder; St. Sophia: OMAN, C. W. C., *The Byzantine Empire*, chap. viii, pp. 106-111; GIBBON, E., *Decline and Fall*, chap. xl (consult table of contents). 2. Introduction into Europe of the silk industry: GIBBON, E., *Decline and Fall*, chap. xl (consult table of contents). 3. The Hippodrome and the "Blues" and the "Greens": OMAN, C. W. C., *The Byzantine Empire*, chap. ii, pp. 22-25; chap. vi, pp. 75-80; MUNRO, D. C., and SELLEY, G. C., *Mediæval Civilization*, pp. 87-113.

Chapter XXXIX. 1. Mohammed: CARLYLE, T., *Heroes and Hero-worship*, lect. ii, "The Hero as Prophet." 2. Some teachings of Islam: GILMAN, A., *The Saracens*, chap. xv; SEIGNOBOS, C., *History of Mediæval and Modern Civilization*, chap. iv.

Chapter XL. 1. Charlemagne and his court: DAVIS, H. W. C., *Charlemagne*, chap. x. 2. A letter of Charlemagne summoning an abbot with his men to a general assembly: OGG, F. A., *A Source Book of Mediæval History*, pp. 141-144. 3. Alcuin and the Palace School: WEST, A. F., *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools*, chap. iii. 4. The import of the restoration of the Empire: BRUCE, J., *The Holy Roman Empire* (8th ed.), chaps. iv, v, xxi (a subject for the advanced student). 5. The things needed to be done, which Charlemagne did: ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, pp. 154-169.

INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

NOTE. In the case of words whose correct pronunciation has not seemed to be clearly indicated by their accentuation and syllabication, the sounds of the letters have been denoted thus: \bar{a} , like *a* in *gräy*; \acute{a} , like \bar{a} , only less prolonged; \check{a} , like *a* in *häv*e; \grave{a} , like *a* in *fär*; a , like *a* in *all*; \bar{e} , like *ee* in *meet*; \acute{e} , like \bar{e} , only less prolonged; \check{e} , like *e* in *ënd*; \acute{e} , like *e* in *thère*; \bar{e} , like *e* in *èrr*; \bar{i} , like *i* in *pīne*; \acute{i} , like *i* in *pīn*; \bar{o} , like *o* in *nôte*; \acute{o} , like \bar{o} , only less prolonged; \check{o} , like *o* in *nöt*; \acute{o} , like *o* in *òrb*; \bar{oo} , like *oo* in *mōon*; \acute{oo} , like *oo* in *foot*; \bar{u} , like *u* in *ūse*; \acute{u} , like the French *u*; æ and œ have the same sound as *e* would have in the same position; c and ch , like *k*; ç , like *s*; \bar{g} , like *g* in *gēt*; \acute{g} , like *j*; ç , like *z*; ch , as in German *ach*; κ (small capital), like *ch* in German *ich*; \bar{n} , like *ni* in *minion*; \bar{n} denotes the nasal sound in French, being similar to *ng* in *song*.

- Abraham, Hebrew patriarch, 35
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 A chæ'an League, 116
 A chæ'ans, 56
 A chil'lēs, 60
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 Æ gē'an civilization, the term, how used, 57 n. 1. See Contents
 Ægean Sea, islands in, 55
 Æ gos pot'a mī, capture of Athenian fleet at, 103
 Æ ò'li ans, the, 56
 Æ'o lus, 65 n. 1
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