



THE STORY OF
THE ANCIENT
NATIONS



WESTERMANN

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL
Washington, D. C.



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TWENTIETH CENTURY TEXT-BOOKS

THE STORY OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS

A TEXT-BOOK FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL
Washington, D. C.

BY

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PREFACE

There is no other branch of history taught in our High Schools in which so much new material has come to light during the past forty years as in ancient history. No other of the larger divisions of historical study has been so rarely presented in our Universities by men well acquainted with the primary sources of information and abreast of the changes which each year's excavations have brought. Much of the best source material is not yet available, in translated form, to the teacher. As a result the High School teacher of ancient history is, to an unusual degree, at the mercy of his text-book and the more scholarly histories which may be at his command.

This text-book has been written with the desire to put into the hands of High School teachers and pupils, in simple and concrete form, the story of the development of ancient civilization as it appears in the light of the historical material recently discovered. It is the outcome of more than a decade of teaching, both in High School and University classes, during which the writer's respect for the spirit of the Greek and Roman world and his interest in its achievement have continually ripened with increased acquaintance.

The attempt has been made to present the progress of ancient civilization as a continuous and unified process. The writer has felt it necessary to give, in simple terms, as much of the business and social background as the limited space afforded by the crowded High School curriculum might permit. The pupil must, above all, become acquainted with the great historic figures of antiquity and their place in the world's work; but these historic personalities must be seen as moving in an atmosphere of real life. Otherwise they move as puppets without background or scenery and no amount of clever and epigrammatic characterization can vitalize them.

Wherever possible, quotations have been taken from the pages of ancient rather than modern historians for the reason that the former are usually more simple in expression as well as more valu-

able historically. The illustrations, with the exception of a few carefully selected restorations, are almost entirely drawn from ancient sources.

It is a pleasure to the author to feel that the general character of this text-book is in close accord with the suggestions embodied in the recent report of the Committee of Five of the American Historical Association embodied in their booklet upon the "Study of History in Schools." This agreement, however, was not of his designing, as the text was completed before the report appeared.

The writer is grateful to many friends for suggestions made by them which have taken form here and there in the text. He has been materially helped, both in proof-reading and in pedagogical criticism, by Professors Fred Duncalf of the University of Texas, August Krey of the University of Illinois (formerly of the South Division High School of Milwaukee), and Jesse Wrench of the University of Missouri, and he gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to them.

The publishers deserve mention for their patience and the careful and competent criticism to which they have continually subjected this book in the process of its growth. It has undergone searching and thorough review at the hands of the following: Mr. J. Herbert Low, Manual Training High School, Brooklyn, New York; Mr. A. C. Shong, Principal West Division High School, Milwaukee, Wis.; Mr. J. R. H. Moore, Manual Training High School, Indianapolis, Indiana; Mr. P. T. Campbell, Public Latin School, Boston, Mass.; and Miss Abby Barstow Bates, Morris High School, New York City. Their knowledge of the needs and difficulties of the pupil of High School age has been an invaluable aid to the writer. He, however, is alone responsible for the entire work and desires merely to thank them for their interest and assistance.

W. L. WESTERMANN.

March, 1912.

Madison, Wis.

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THE STORY OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS

INTRODUCTION

1. Ancient History and Its Important Nations.—It has taken thousands of years for man to develop from his early state of savagery and helplessness to the condition in which we now live. In order to understand thoroughly our present life, it is necessary to study the slow growth of mankind through these past ages. This story or record of the past life and development of man is the science called history. That part of the story which is commonly called "Ancient History" covers over 4,000 years, extending from the time when first we know of men through reliable records, down to about 800 years after the birth of Christ.

It is not necessary, however, to take up the story of all the nations which lived upon the earth during that long stretch of time. We can deal only with those which have done most in developing the ideas that have given to us the present civilized life of Europe and America; for our own American society is so like that of Europe, that it is safe to speak of the two as the European-American civilization of to-day. The nations of ancient times which made the greatest contributions to this civilization were the early Egyptians, the Babylonians, and Assyrians, the Cretans, the Hittites, the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans, and the early Germans. Upon them, therefore, our study will be centered. All of them belong to the White Race of mankind, not to the Yellow or Black Races. It is the White Race which has done the most in advancing the civilization of the world.

2. Kinds of Historical Sources.—The sources from which we learn the events of a people's history, their methods of life and ways of thinking, may be divided into two classes: the monumental and the written evidence.

The monumental sources include all those remains accidentally left to us by any nation, which tell us of the religion, architecture and art, or the dress of this nation, or of any other side of its life. These sources may include the contents of graves, such as bodies, pottery, and implements of many kinds. The statues which are dug up from the ruins of old cities, and the remains of the houses and temples tell us of the artistic skill of the people. Coins are often found where the peoples of antiquity lived, and from these scholars derive information regarding the extent and nature of their commercial life. The pictures painted on the walls of houses or in tombs help us to form some knowledge of the daily life and habits of the race.

The written sources include, first of all, books of every kind, especially histories written by men of these ancient nations. Almost as important is the information we gain from inscriptions. These are records cut into tablets of stone or bronze, or upon the sides of stone tombs and temples. They give us the laws passed by the kings and assemblies, records which at the present day are printed and filed in the government archives. The tomb inscriptions tell us the names and deeds of the kings or the great men whose bodies rested there. On the bases of statues we read the names of the artists who carved beautiful works in stone.

In addition to histories and inscriptions, the stories told by the ancient peoples about their early history may be used, with caution, to complete the picture. These are the legends of their gods and heroes, handed down for centuries by word of mouth. They are generally classed under one head and called "oral tradition." Although not very trustworthy as to the events narrated, they show what these peoples thought about their own past, and sometimes give us vague hints regarding actual events.

3. Prehistoric Ages.—The history of a people really begins at the time when first they become known to us through some reliable written narrative. It is then that individuals and separate events begin to stand out clearly. The life of the races before that time, in what is called the "prehistoric

period," can only be known to us in general outlines. The study of this period is a science by itself, called Prehistoric Archæology.

The prehistoric ages of man's development stretch back for unknown thousands of years. During this time, man was slowly learning by bitter experience to light fires, to



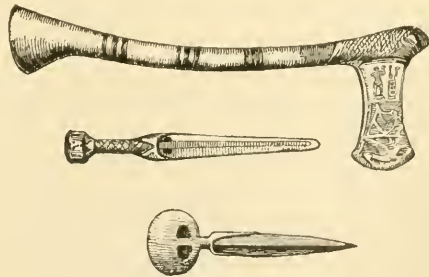
STONE IMPLEMENTS OF THE
PALEOLITHIC AGE.



STONE LANCE-HEAD AND KNIFE OF
THE NEOLITHIC AGE.

cook food, and to tame and make use of some of the gentler animals, such as the dog and the horse. Then came the knowledge of the value of certain kinds of grain, and the raising of crops. This long space of time has been divided by historians into four periods, according to the material used in making hatchets, knives, spearheads, and arrow heads:

1. The Paleolithic or Rough Stone Age.
2. The Neolithic or Polished Stone Age.
3. The Bronze Age.
4. The Iron Age.



ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WEAPONS OF BRONZE.

The change from savage or barbarous ways of living to what we call "civilized" life, did not take place at one time in all parts of the earth. Some tribes of the Philippine Islands, of Australia, Africa, and South America are still using tools made of bone and stone. Even now they are in the state of savagery characteristic of

the Stone Age. Yet, at least 6,000 years ago, the Egyptians were a cultured people, far advanced in the civilization of the Bronze Age and to a limited extent they even used iron tools.

4. Stone-Age Remains in Europe.—The European countries offer the best chance to study the Stone Age, for the museums of Europe contain thousands of articles which tell a little of the life and habits of the Stone-Age men. In



SKETCH OF REINDEER MADE UPON SLATE BY CAVE-DWELLERS OF THE OLD STONE AGE
Found in a cave in France.

the Paleolithic Age, arrow-heads and hatchets were made of chipped flint, very like the arrow-heads of our own American Indians. Those who made them did not even grind down the edges for cutting. With remains of these stone implements, dug up from the gravel-beds in various parts of Europe, archæologists have found the teeth and bones of savage animals which no longer exist on that continent. These are the mammoth, or great, hairy elephant, the rhinoceros, and the hippopotamus. The saber-toothed tiger, the cave bear, and grizzly bear lived in England during the Stone Age. In a cave in France a piece of ivory was found, on which some man of the Stone Age had carved the outlines of a mammoth having great curved tusks and long hair.

From the time when man learned to extract copper from the ore, and shape it for tools and weapons, his advance towards civilized life was much more rapid. Soon he learned to obtain a harder material, by alloying the copper with tin. This gave him bronze implements, which would take a keener edge and keep it longer. When he learned to get iron from the iron ore, man was in a position to master nature and the physical world.

References for Outside Reading

Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, ch. 1, 2; Hoernes, *Primitive Man*, pp. 1-44, 64, 93; Starr, *First Steps in Human Progress*, ch. 1-3, 6, 10, 11; Clodd, *Story of Primitive Man*, pp. 1-101; Joly, *Man before Metals*, pp. 188-252; Tylor, *Anthropology*, ch. 8, 9.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. FIRE-MAKING AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES.—Joly, pp. 188-198; Tylor, *Anthropology*, pp. 260-268; Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, ch. 9.
2. PRIMITIVE METHODS OF GETTING FOOD.—Tylor, *Anthropology*, pp. 206-221.
3. PICTURE WRITING.—Keary, ch. 12; Tylor, pp. 167-175; Joly, pp. 320-326.
4. PRIMITIVE TOOLS AND WEAPONS.—Joly, pp. 222-251; Tylor, ch. 8.
5. PRIMITIVE ART.—Joly, pp. 287-311; Clodd, pp. 52-55.



PART I

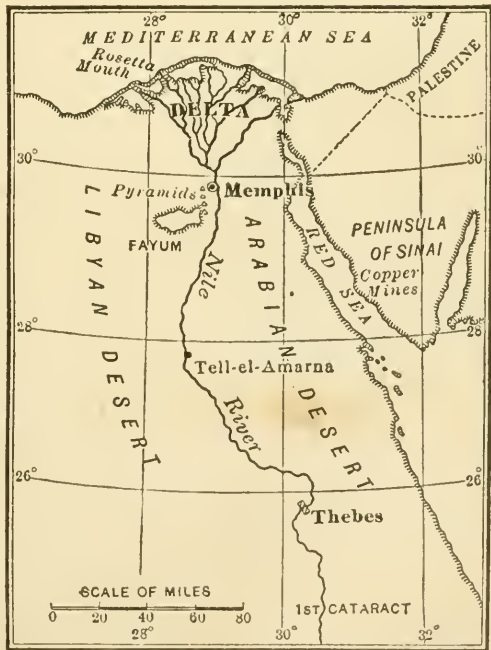
THE EARLY CIVILIZATION OF EGYPT AND WESTERN ASIA

CHAPTER I

ANCIENT EGYPT

5. The Country.—In tracing the development of the human race, the earliest records which we find in written form are those of the peoples who lived in the Nile Valley in Egypt.

Egypt is a long and narrow valley, from 2 to 30 miles in width and about 750 miles long, if one follows its winding course. The Nile river has cut this great bed into the limestone of the desert to a depth of from 600 to 1000 feet. Upon either side of the valley lie the vast spaces of the Libyan and Arabian deserts. Each year, from June to December, the river gradually rises and floods the valley. As it recedes within its banks, it leaves behind a deposit of mud which keeps the soil of the valley ever fertile. The entire area of the strip of valley which can be cultivated is



EGYPT AND THE NILE VALLEY.

about 10,000 square miles, or about the size of the state of Maryland. Because of the yearly floods, the fertility of the country has always been remarkable. In ancient times, wheat and barley gave rich harvests; and the date-palm was a native tree along the Nile. Vegetables, especially beans, peas, and lentils, formed a profitable part of Egyptian farming. The wonderful fertility of the Nile valley explains, to a great extent, why civilization developed in Egypt so early.

6. The People.—At the time when we first hear of them, the Egyptians were a mixed race. The original inhabitants of the land were of the same blood as the Libyans of Northern Africa, and the other peoples who lived in early times about the Mediterranean Sea; but the Egyptian language shows some similarity with the group of languages which is called Semitic. These are the languages related to the Arabian, Syrian, and Hebrew tongues. It is, therefore, supposed that in prehistoric times Egypt was overrun by a race from Asia which spoke a Semitic tongue. Although this race left its mark upon the Egyptian speech, it did not greatly affect the appearance or the character of the Egyptians.

7. Egyptian Records.—In Egypt there still stand many massive stone ruins of temples and tombs, built in ancient times by her industrious and gentle people. The walls of these buildings are covered with pictures, cut in relief, describing the doings of the kings or other great officials. Often these pictures are explained by an inscription which is also cut into the stone.

The Egyptian inscriptions are written in peculiar characters, called hieroglyphs. The hieroglyphs are made up of (1) picture-signs which stand for the name of an object; such as,

 'man';  'men';  'woman';  'women';  'face';

and (2) these same signs, used to represent either a consonant sound, or an entire syllable.

8. The Rosetta Stone.—Up to 1800 A. D., modern historians were unable to read the hieroglyphs. About that time a number of French and English scholars began to

attack the problem of learning their meaning. The most important name among them is that of Champollion, a young Frenchman who worked for years upon this task. The first key to the hieroglyphs was obtained by means of the Rosetta stone, a stone tablet found near the mouth of the Nile, on the Rosetta branch of the river. It contained the same text in the ancient Greek language and in two forms of hieroglyphic writing. The Old Greek could be read, and through it the name of an Egyptian king was deciphered in the Egyptian. It was in 1822 that Champollion gave his first satisfactory explanation of the system of hieroglyphs, and now they can be read with comparative ease and certainty.

9. Nature of the Information.—

The accidents of time have preserved for us but few fragments of the historical annals of the Egyptian kings, which give the events of their reigns year by year. Inscriptions on stone recording treaties made with foreign peoples are but seldom found, and our knowledge of the political life of old Egypt is therefore scanty. But the inscriptions and the tomb pictures give us a great mass of trustworthy information about the life of the people, their habits, their religion, and the duties of some of the higher officials in the government.

10. The Idea of the City-State.—

In the early steps out of savagery, men united for mutual protection into *tribes*. These tribes were groups of people who thought that they were all descendants of some one ancestor. Blood kinship was, therefore, the chief idea in the tribal organizations.



A PORTION OF THE ROSETTA STONE.

The upper part is written in hieroglyphs, the middle in the later cursive Egyptian script, the lower part in Greek.

The tribal organization develops into what we call a *state*, when the leader of one tribe conquers neighboring tribes, and keeps in the possession of his own tribe a considerable extent of territory.

In Egypt and the other countries which we shall study, the tribes began very early to group themselves at particular points into cities. The people who lived in the country round about these places, as far as the power of the chieftain or king of the place extended, were considered to be subjects or members of the city organization. This is different from our own idea of the city, in which a man is not a citizen unless he has his dwelling within the city limits. These organizations which grew up around the ancient cities were called *city-states* or *city-kingdoms*.

11. The Starting-point of Egyptian History.—The point from which the historian must start in dealing with Egyptian history is the time at which the whole country, the Delta and the Upper Nile, was firmly united under one ruler. This happened under Menes, who lived about 3400 B. c.¹ The Egyptians called their ruler the “Pharaoh” which means “Great House.”²

Do not think that civilized life began suddenly in the Nile valley in the time of the Pharaoh Menes. During several thousand years before his lifetime, the dwellers along the Nile had passed through the tribal and city-state stage, and formed a unified kingdom of Egypt. They had developed out of the Stone Age life, and were accustomed to make and use bronze tools. It is probable also that by the time of Menes they had marked off the year into 365 days, according to the sun’s course. The year, which began upon the first day of the Nile flood, consisted of twelve months arranged in three seasons. First came the season of the inundation, beginning with the feast of the god Sothis, which fell on July

¹I follow the chronology adopted by Professor J. H. Breasted, of the University of Chicago. Menes may have lived several centuries before this date.

²The Turkish Sultan is called to-day “the Sublime Porte,” or “Gate.”

19, according to our reckoning. The second was the winter season, when the crops were sown. Lastly came the harvest season or summer, when the crops were gathered.

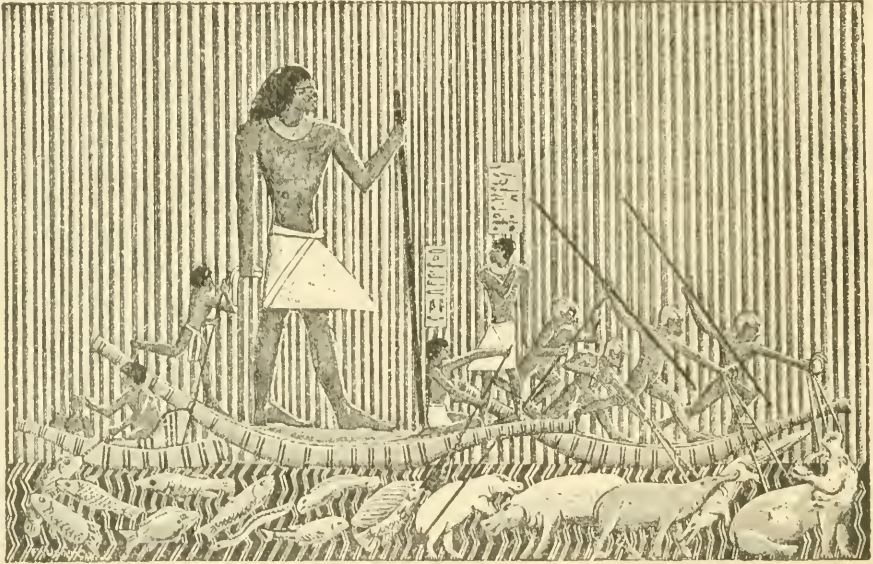
12. Convenient Division into Periods.—An Egyptian priest of ancient times, named Manetho, wrote a history of his country in which he arranged the pharaohs in groups called “dynasties.” Upon the basis of Manetho’s divisions, modern historians treat Egyptian history under the following general periods:

- 3400–2100 B. C. THE OLD KINGDOM—Dynasties one to eleven.
Seat of power chiefly at Memphis.
- 2100–1800. THE MIDDLE KINGDOM—Dynasties eleven to thirteen. Capital at Thebes.
- 1800–1600. TIME OF CONFUSION AND CIVIL WAR—The Hyksos (Shepherd Kings), a foreign dynasty, ruled Egypt for more than a century.
- 1600–1150. THE EMPIRE OF EGYPT AND SYRIA—Dynasties eighteen to twenty-one. Period of the political greatness of Egypt.
- 1150–663. THE DECADENCE OF EGYPTIAN POWER—Dynasties twenty-one to twenty-six.
- 663–525. THE RESTORATION—Dynasty twenty-six. A short period of revived power and active commerce. In 525 B. C., Egypt became a province of the Persian Empire.

13. Government Under the Old Kingdom.—Under the Old Kingdom, which had its center at the city of Memphis, the government was already well ordered. The power of the pharaoh was unlimited. He lived in a great palace which was filled with attendants and courtiers, who waited upon his every need. He was regarded as a god, and was worshipped at a shrine placed before the immense pyramid which was meant to contain his body after death. He had general oversight and the final decision in every important matter which concerned his land and people, whether it was a military campaign, a law-suit over the ownership of land,

or a problem of storing up the water-supply at the time of the inundation.

His country was subdivided into about forty local districts, called "nomes." These were under local governors who looked after the administration of the laws and acted as judges, each in his district. They sent in to the central government each year the taxes from their nomes. Since there was no system of coinage in use, the taxes were paid



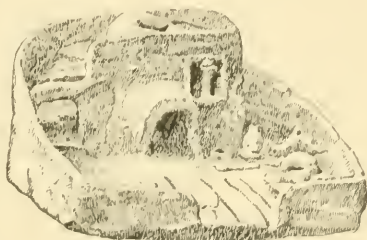
HUNTING THE HIPPOPOTAMUS ON THE NILE.
Relief from an Egyptian Tomb.

in geese, ducks, grain, and cattle. The "Chief Treasurer," who looked after all of these receipts, was one of the highest officials of the central government.

The land belonged either to the king or to his nobles. The great mass of the people worked for them as serfs, and were inherited with the land. Kindly relations seem to have existed between them and their masters, and it is apparent that they were not seriously abused or oppressed.

14. How the People Lived.—The nobles of Egypt lived well, in large houses built with a frame-work of wood covered with mud-brick. The houses had many latticed windows, which were covered over with colored curtains when

the sandstorms blew in from the desert. The rich were waited on by many servants. They delighted especially in their large gardens, planted with fig and palm trees, with artificial fish-ponds among the trees. One of their greatest pastimes was hunting. The relief-pictures from the tombs give us many scenes in which these noble sportsmen are shown hunting the wild birds of the marshes with the throw-stick, a weapon somewhat like the boomerang. In others, they are seen spearing fish from light skiffs, or enjoying the more dangerous sports of harpooning the hippopotamus, or hunting the crocodile. Sometimes they took their wives and children along with them, even upon these trips after big game.



OLD EGYPTIAN HOUSE.

From a model found in an Egyptian tomb.

The life of the mass of poor people was not so attractive. They lived in low and crowded houses made of mud-brick. Each house contained but one room, the next house being built up against it with only a single wall between. Blocks of such hovels were separated from each other by narrow alleys rather than streets. It is not possible that these homes could have been very clean.

The working-people busied themselves in the fields as farm-hands, helping to produce the big crops of wheat and barley from which most of the wealth of the country came; or they tended the flocks of sheep, goats, or cattle which fattened in the fields along the Nile. Others fished with nets, or snared birds for a living. The dealers in fish are frequently seen in the reliefs, cleaning the fish and drying them; for dried fish was the chief food of the poor.

15. Beginnings of Foreign Trade.—There was no such thing as money in the form of regular coin, in ancient Egypt. The trading was done by the exchange of one thing for another. On the reliefs we can see the people bartering a fan or a necklace for a bundle of onions, or a rough piece of pottery for a dried fish. In the reign of Snefru (about 2900

B. C.), the last pharaoh of the third dynasty, we find evidence of the beginnings of trade with foreign countries. This ruler, as the records tell us, built a ship 170 feet long, and sent a fleet of 40 ships up the Phœnician coast to obtain



EGYPTIAN BARTERING A NECKLACE FOR ONIONS.

The man upon the right has a fan.
Egyptian relief.

cedar from the woods of Mt. Lebanon. He also developed the copper mines in the Sinai peninsula, and may be regarded as the first Egyptian king to engage extensively in enterprises which lay beyond the narrow boundaries of Egypt.

mid of Snefru, explorers have found the tombs of some of the nobles of his court. The statues of one of these nobles named Rahotep, and of his wife Nefert, may still be seen in the Museum at Cairo, in Egypt. The portraits are evidently quite true to life, and picture a typical Egyptian couple of the higher class. In all the history of Egypt, her artists never showed as great skill and freedom in expressing in stone the human face and figure, animal and plant life, as in this period. Their work in wood-carving was equally good. The portrait-statues were made wonderfully life-like by inserting stones to represent the whites and pupils of the eyes. The artist always tried to be true to life, rather than to express beauty.

16. **Art Under the Old Kingdom.**—Near the pyramid of Snefru, explorers have found the tombs of some of the nobles of his court. The statues of one of these nobles

named Rahotep, and of his wife Nefert, may still be seen in the Museum at Cairo, in Egypt. The portraits are evidently quite true to life, and picture a typical Egyptian couple of the higher class. In all the history of Egypt, her artists never showed as great skill and freedom in expressing in stone the human face and figure, animal and plant life, as in this period. Their work in wood-carving was equally good. The portrait-statues were made wonderfully life-like by inserting stones to represent the whites and pupils of the eyes. The artist always tried to be true to life, rather than to express beauty.



STATUES OF RAHOTEP AND HIS WIFE, NEFERT.

17. **The Religion of the Egyptians.**—In their religious

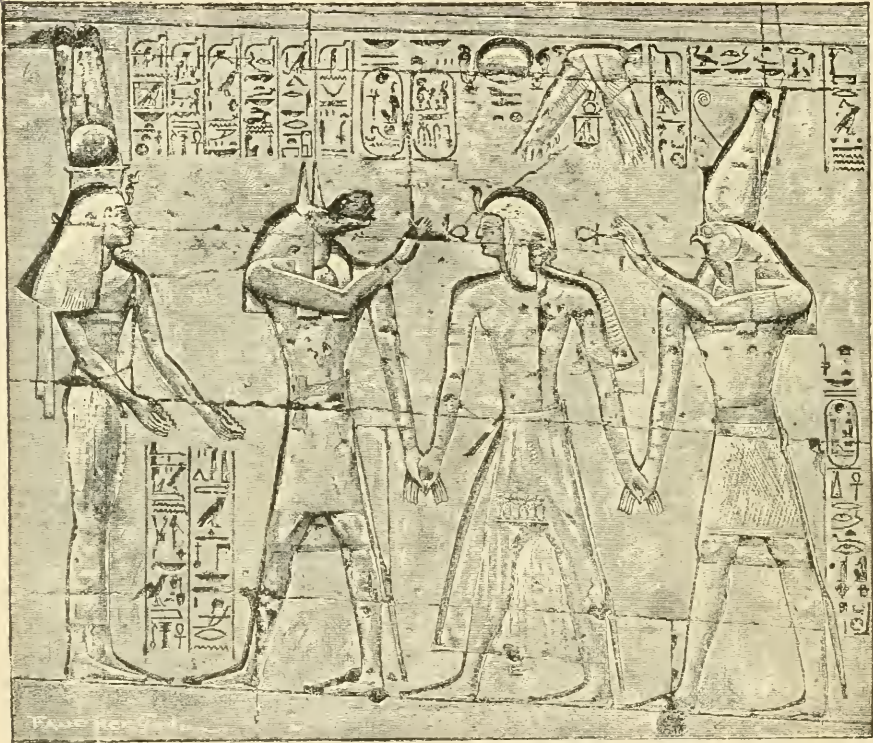
ideas the Egyptians, even in the time of the Old Kingdom, had advanced far beyond the primitive worship of animals and lifeless things, such as bark, sticks, stones, and claws. They had a great number of gods, many of them worshipped in the forms of men or women, but considered to be much greater and stronger than human beings. This worship of many gods is called polytheism. Each village had its local deity, to whom the villagers looked for help in time of danger; and in addition there were greater deities, whose worship became general.

The Egyptian gods often appear on the reliefs in animal as well as in human forms. This does not mean that the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom worshipped animals, but they thought that these typified the powers of certain gods. Hence arose many curious pictures of the gods and goddesses, one god as a hawk-headed man, another having a human body with a baboon's head, another having a crocodile's head, one goddess wearing the head of a lioness, another that of a cat. Later in the history of Egypt her religion became debased, and the animals themselves received worship from the lower classes of the people.

18. The Attempt to Simplify the Religion.—Early in the period of the Old Kingdom the worship of certain gods began to spread, as in the case of Osiris and Horus, of Re, and of Ammon, the local god of the city of Thebes; and many of the gods of smaller places lost their importance. Often the local god was combined with the greater god, as in the later period, when Ammon of Thebes became the national god over all others, and was worshipped as Ammon-Re. Sometimes three of the gods were combined into a group, called a trinity, as in the case of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Of this trinity, the Egyptians made one family, the goddess Isis becoming the wife of Osiris, Horus becoming his son. This marks an attempt to systematize and simplify the confused array of gods.

Then arose the well-known legend of Osiris and his wicked brother Set. It related how Set, the Evil One, put Osiris into a chest and threw it into the Nile. It floated out to

sea, but the faithful wife Isis found it at last. She buried Osiris, and kept the spot secret. However, Set found the place, tore the body to pieces, and scattered these over the land of Egypt. Isis hunted until she found them all, burying each member where she found it. In those places men built temples to Osiris, and worshipped him. Later, when Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, grew to manhood, he punished



HORUS AND ANUBIS LEADING RAMESES II.
Relief from a temple at Abydos.

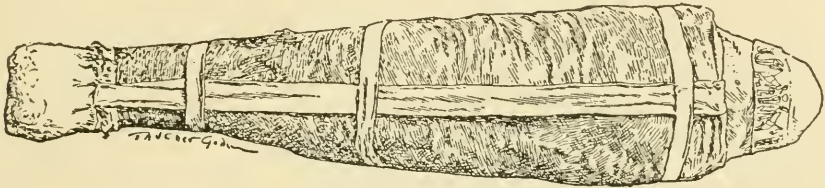
Set in a terrible fight, and took away from him the rule over Egypt. Osiris became the ruler of the realm of the dead. By this legend the Egyptians sought to explain why Osiris was worshipped in so many places.

19. Why the Egyptians Embalmed Their Dead.—The Egyptians of the Old Kingdom were the first people to develop a belief in the life after death. They pictured the future life as very like the life led by a man upon earth.

They thought that in life there were two parts to every man, his body itself, and the living force in that body, which they called the "ka."¹

This ka accompanied the body through life, and clung to it after death. Since the body was the home of the ka, it was necessary to preserve the body after death, so that the ka, or living force, might still have its old abiding place. So the dead person was embalmed, and a tomb built for him which was to be his eternal home.

Since the dead led the same life in the next world as in this one, the Egyptians put food and drink in the tomb



MUMMY WRAPPED IN ITS SWATHINGS.

for the ka of the dead relative. The pharaohs and great nobles left large endowments in their wills for the support of priests whose duty it was to see that the dead received enough food.

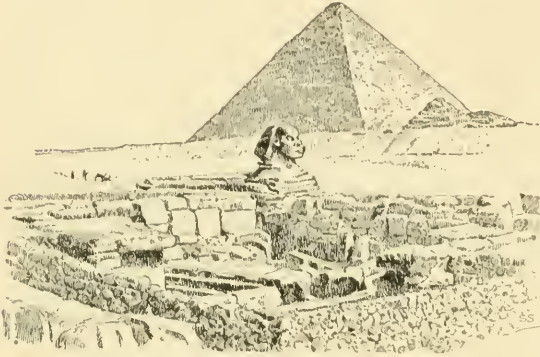
The will of an unknown noble of the Fourth Dynasty contains the following clause:

This is the decree which I have made concerning it. I have not given to any of my brothers, my sisters, or my daughter's children, inferior or assistant priests of the dead, the right to take lands, people, or anything which I have conveyed to them for the purpose of making mortuary offerings to me therewith, excepting to make offerings to me therewith. These are to be made in my eternal tomb, which is at the pyramid Great-is-Khafre.

This means that the property cannot be used for any other purpose than to make offerings to the dead noble, and cannot be bequeathed or sold by the heirs.

¹ To the Egyptian this did not mean the soul, which was a separate thing, called the "ba."

20. The Pyramids.—The pharaohs, of course, demanded more magnificent tombs than common mortals, so they caused their subjects to build for their memories the massive pyramids which still stand along the Nile. These great tombs, whose mighty bulk is the admiration of all travelers in Egypt, stand to-day, and will stand for ages to come, as memorials of the power and greatness of the pharaohs of the Old Kingdom. The pyramid "Great-is-Khafre" stands



PYRAMID OF KHUFU, THE SPHINX, AND THE TEMPLE OF THE SPHINX.

in the group of pyramids about five miles west of the Nile, opposite the city of Cairo.

The greatest and best known of the pyramids is one in the same group built by Khufu (Cheops), the first pharaoh of the fourth dynasty

(2900 B. C.). Herodotus, a Greek traveler of the fifth century B. C., gives us the following information about its construction, which he got from the Egyptian priests:

They worked in relays of one hundred thousand men, continuously, each relay for three months. The people spent ten years upon the ramp over which they dragged the stones, a work not less, in my judgment, than that of building the pyramid itself * * *. The ten years, I mean, were expended upon this ramp, and the work upon the mound upon which the pyramids stood, and upon the chambers underground * * *. The time occupied in building the pyramid itself was twenty years. (Herodotus, II, 124.)

Herodotus is probably right in regard to the number of men and the time employed in building this gigantic tomb. Its base covered thirteen acres and it measured 481 feet in height, and 755 feet on each side at the base. A careful

estimate shows that in its construction about 2,300,000 stone blocks were used, of an average weight of two and one-half tons. No other single building containing so much stone has ever been constructed in the world's history. The tower of the Metropolitan Life Building in New York, one of the tallest structures in our country, is less than 200 feet taller.

Not far from the pyramid of Khufu is another work from the time of the Old Kingdom, the great stone Sphinx, with the head of one of the ancient pharaohs and the body of a lion, which is the symbol of the pharaoh's might.

21. What the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom Did for the World.—

When we make a summary of the knowledge attained by the ancient Egyptians before the year 2100 B. C., we realize what great progress they had made toward the civilization of our own time. They lived under an organized government which could give its citizens peace and protection. They traded among themselves, and even with foreign nations, but as yet without the aid of a money currency. They could manufacture tools and weapons of copper, bronze, and even of iron. They had the knowledge and skill necessary to carry out the gigantic engineering and architectural tasks of building a pyramid such as that of Khufu. In the arts, they had learned to make wonderfully



RUINS OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF ANCIENT THEBES.

fine portraits in the hardest kinds of stone. They knew how to build comfortable homes, how to enjoy life as civilized beings. They had a system of writing, and a literature of their own. The worship of their many gods satisfied the inborn need of man for a religion—the belief in some power, stronger than man himself, which rules the universe.

References for Outside Reading

Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, ch. 3; Hommel, *Civilization of the East*; Breasted, *Ancient Egyptians*, ch. 3, pp. 83-102, ch. 6; Baikie, *Story of the Pharaohs*, ch. 1, 2, 3; Maspero, *Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, ch. 1-6; Maspero, *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology*; Budge, *The Dwellers on the Nile*; Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, Vol. 1.

Topics for Written or Oral Report

1. THE PYRAMIDS.—Use the index in the books cited above and the articles in the *Encyclopaedia* upon "Pyramids."
2. SHOPPING IN EGYPT.—Maspero, *Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, ch. 2.
3. LIFE OF AN EGYPTIAN NOBLE.—Maspero, *Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, ch. 6.
4. EARLY EGYPTIAN ART.—Baikie, pp. 53-58; Breasted, *Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 95-102; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, ch. 3, pp. 85-110, and ch. 6.
5. EGYPTIAN INDUSTRIES.—Maspero, *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology*, pp. 272-304.
6. RECRUITS FOR THE EGYPTIAN ARMY.—Maspero, *Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, ch. V.

CHAPTER II

THE SPREAD OF EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION

22. The Middle Kingdom. 2100-1800 B. C.—The end of the Old Kingdom of Egypt is a period of decline of the power of the pharaohs, and of increased power among the nobles. This lasted from about 2500 to 2100 B. C., but by the time of the rise of the eleventh dynasty, which begins the Middle Kingdom, a great change had taken place. The capital city of the pharaohs was no longer at Memphis, but at the more southern city of Thebes. Instead of building pyramids, the pharaohs of Thebes had immense statues of themselves sculptured out of solid rock, some of which towered to a height of fifty feet.

The rule of the pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty was very capable. They fought with the negroes who lived to the south of them in Nubia. After beating the African tribes back to a point far south of the second Nile cataract (about 1850 B. C.), Usertesen III set up a decree cut upon stone slabs, which reads:

This is the southern frontier, fixed in the eighth year of his Majesty Khékure (Usertesen III), ever-living. Let it not be permitted to any negro to pass this boundary northward, either on foot or by boat, nor any herds of the negroes. When any negro comes to trade in the land of Aken, or on any business, then let him be well treated.

23. Egypt Comes into Touch with Other Peoples.—The period of the Middle Kingdom is the time in which the Egyptians began to develop their trade with the races outside the Nile valley. They traded with the people who lived on the island of Crete, learning from them, and teaching them in turn. Usertesen III made an invasion of Syria, but for what purpose we do not know. The inscription just quoted

gives a hint of the trade with the Nubians. The commerce with southern Arabia by way of the Red Sea was made easier and increased, by building a canal which connected the Nile and the Red Sea.

24. The Great Reservoir in the Fayum.—Not only did these pharaohs develop the trade of their country with for-



TWO COMPANIES OF NEGRO SOLDIERS IN THE EGYPTIAN ARMY.

Wooden models found in a tomb.

eign peoples, but they strove equally to develop the agricultural possibilities of Egypt itself. The proof of this lies in the construction of a great reservoir in the district called the Fayum. By constructing a vast dam, the overflow of the Nile at the flood time was diverted into a natural lake, and the water thus retained was used to irrigate the Fayum district and the Delta, during the time when the river was low. A system of dikes was built, making it possible to reclaim for cultivation 27,000 acres of swamp land.

So well was this work done, that the dam was still in use 1700 years later, as Strabo, a Greek geographer of the time of Christ, tells us in his works. The importance of the problem of irrigation for Egypt was recently shown, when, in 1906, the English government re-built the great dam at Assuan near the first cataract of the Nile. The mud deposited in Lower Egypt by the Nile during many centuries had so raised the level of the soil that the area covered by the annual flood had been much reduced. By raising the height of the dam and regulating the outflow of the water, over

1,000,000 acres of land have been reclaimed for cultivation.

25. The Period of Hyksos Rule, 1800-1600 B. C.—For about 200 years after her excellent administration under the kings of the twelfth dynasty, Egypt fell under the rule of an Asiatic people, called the Hyksos. During these two centuries, until the Hyksos were driven out, there was little progress in Egypt. In the end, these years of subjection to a foreign race proved to be an excellent thing for the country, for in the wars which were fought with the Hyksos, the peace-loving Egyptians developed a more martial spirit. Their archers developed into skilled and dangerous marksmen, and they learned from the Hyksos the use of horses in war and in farming. After this time, the pharaohs are shown on the walls of their tombs as fighting from chariots drawn by spirited horses.

26. The Conquest of Syria.—The greatest service of the Hyksos, however, was to bring the countries of Egypt and Syria into



EXTENT OF THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE, 1500 B. C.

closer relation. Before this time Egypt had been a kingdom confined to the Nile valley. - Now, as they drove back the Hyksos, the Egyptians were compelled to march into Palestine and Syria. The tendency to travel and trade beyond the bounds of Egypt which was already apparent at the time of the Middle Kingdom, was greatly increased. By conquests along the Mediterranean Sea, the pharaohs of the

eighteenth dynasty extended their sway over Palestine and Syria, as far north as the Euphrates river, and these lands were made to pay tribute to Egypt.

Thus the Egyptian Empire was formed, with foreign lands under the pharaoh's domination. These years of conquest strengthened the power of the pharaohs at home, even beyond what it had been in the time of the Old Kingdom. The common people had no voice at all in the government, and the nobles, too, were entirely subservient to the monarch's will. Through the growth of the Empire, the civilization which Egypt had been so long developing was spread into western Asia, and foreign ideas were brought into the Nile valley to broaden and enrich Egyptian life.

27. Thothmes III.—The greatest of the conquerors was Thothmes III (about 1500 to 1450 B. C.) He made seventeen campaigns into Syria to punish the princes who rebelled, or to exact the tributes, when these were not promptly paid. Thothmes himself was a great warrior and an inspiring leader, and is to be remembered as the founder of the first great empire in the history of the world. One of the inscriptions tells of his valor thus:

The king himself led the way of his army, mighty at its head, like a flame of fire, the king who wrought with his sword. He went forth, none like him, slaying the barbarians, bringing their princes as living captives, their chariots wrought with gold bound to their horses.

The cities of Palestine and Syria fell before his onslaughts. The ancient and powerful city of Babylon, far down upon the Euphrates, purchased his good will by sending presents of lapis lazuli. The chieftains of the island of Cyprus sent him tribute. From the Palestine country the richest spoils were carried back to Egypt. The booty from the great city of Megiddo included:

340 living prisoners; 2,041 mares; 191 foals; 6 stallions; a chariot wrought with gold, its pole of gold, belonging to the chief of Megiddo; 892 chariots of his wretched army; a beautiful suit of bronze armor, belonging to the chief of Megiddo; 200

suits of armor belonging to the wretched army; 502 bows; 1,929 large cattle; 2,000 sheep; 20,500 goats.

28. Amenhotep III.—Under Amenhotep III, who ruled from 1411 to 1375 B. C., Egypt enjoyed the most brilliant years in her history. Her foreign subjects had been beaten into submission by the previous kings, and all the civilized world of that time paid court to win the friendship of the great Pharaoh Amenhotep. Messengers and embassies passed back and forth, with letters and gifts, between the Egyptian ruler and the kings of Cyprus, of the Hittites, of the Mitani, of Babylon, and of Assyria. For the first time we see the game of politics played between different nations, on a scale so large that we may speak of it as world politics.

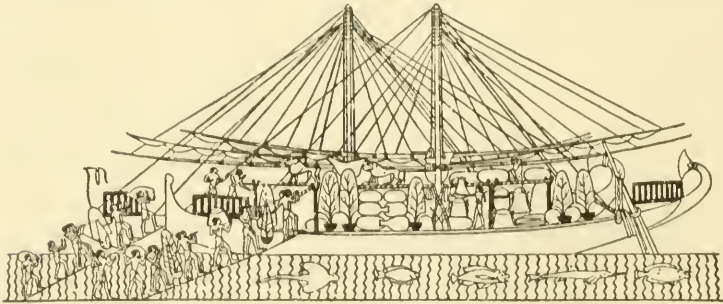
By conquest and by treaties, Amenhotep extended the power of Egypt so that it was felt along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers far down into Mesopotamia. In order to strengthen his power, he married a daughter of the king of the Mitani. The letters which give us this information were found in Egypt in 1888, at Tell-el-Amarna. They are not written in the Egyptian language, but in the wedge-shaped writing of the Babylonians. This shows clearly that, though Egypt was really the great ruling power of the day, the influence of Babylon was really much greater in Asia than that of Egypt, since the Babylonian language was employed for the correspondence even of an Egyptian king.

29. The Trade and Wealth of Egypt.—During the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B. C., Egypt was the political and commercial center of the civilized world. From all the neighboring countries the booty taken in war, and the tribute paid in times of peace was shipped up the Nile. From Cyprus the subject king sent pure copper and lead in bars to be used in the manufacture of articles in Egypt. From distant Babylon came precious stones, especially lapis lazuli, and woods of many kinds. From the Hittites the tribute was chiefly in gold and silver. The spoils of Palestine included silver and gold vessels of rarest workmanship; chairs,

couches, and tables of ebony or ivory inlaid with gold; vessels of bronze; and statues of ebony and silver.

One of the reliefs of Thothmes III shows two vessels being loaded with the products of Punt. The inscription with it reads:

The loading of the ships heavily with marvels of the country of Punt. All goodly fragrant woods of God's-Land. Heaps of myrrh-resin with fresh myrrh trees, with ebony and pure ivory, with green gold, with cinnamon-wood, with incense and eye-cosmetic, with apes, monkeys, dogs, and with skins of the southern panther, with natives and their children. Never was



SHIPS OF QUEEN HATSHEPSET, AUNT OF THOTHMES III.

It is being loaded at Punt with myrrh-trees, apes, and other products.

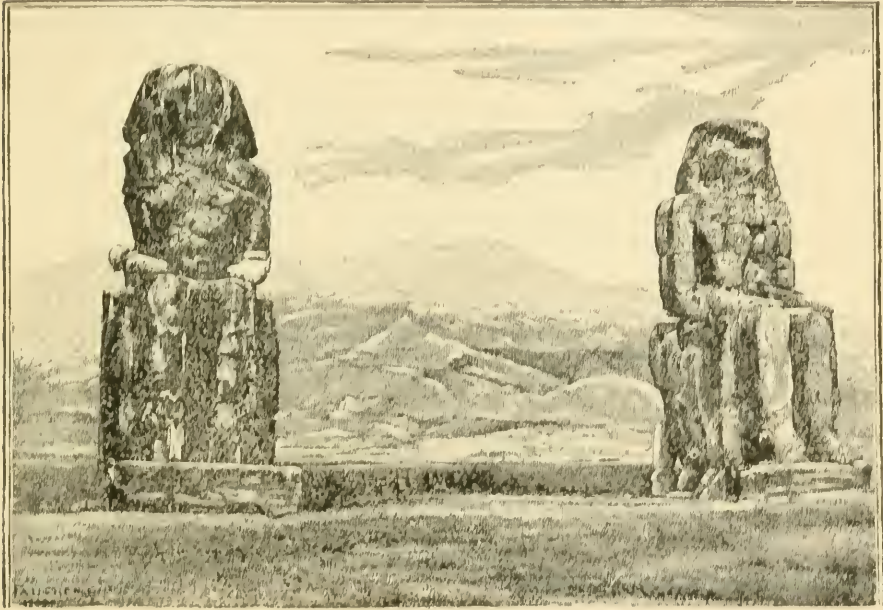
brought the like of this for any king who has been since the beginning.

These are products of inner Africa, Arabia, and possibly India, which came into Egypt by way of the Red Sea.

30. How the Pharaohs Used this Wealth.—With these immense resources the pharaohs began to beautify their capital, Thebes. They built magnificent temples, whose gigantic marble columns still stand in broken grandeur, at Luxor and Karnak. The gates of the temples glittered with gold and silver, and the bright colors used upon the stone heightened the gorgeous effect of the whole. The massive entrances were approached between rows of rams, sculptured in stone. Two colossal statues of Amenhotep are still standing, the only remains of one of his great temples. In memory of their victories, the conquering pharaohs

set up tall shafts, called obelisks, cut from a single piece of stone, and often standing over a hundred feet in height.¹

31. The Attempt at a Religious Reformation.—At the death of Amenhotep III, the Egyptian empire was at the summit of its strength. He was followed by Amenhotep IV, (1375–1358 B. C.), who called himself Ikhnaton. In him a dreamer came to the throne, a religious enthusiast



REINS OF THE COLOSSAL STATUES OF AMENHOTEP III AT THEBES.

who believed in the might of One God, named Aton. He tried to make this God the Supreme Deity of the Empire, as he believed him to be the Supreme Lord of Creation. The following hymn was composed by Ikhnaton himself to honor the God Aton:

How manifold are all thy works:
 They are hidden from before us,
 O thou sole god, whose powers no other possesseth.
 Thou didst create the earth according to thy desire while
 thou wast alone.

¹ One of the obelisks of Thothmes III is now standing in Central Park, New York City.

It is the history of all peoples that in developing their religious ideas they begin in primitive times with polytheism. Gradually, as they become more civilized, they move forward toward the idea of a single Divine Power. This movement had been going on slowly in Egypt. It is seen in the organization of the multitudinous deities into triads and enneads (groups of nine), and in the gradual ascendancy of Ammon-Re. But the monotheistic teaching of Ikhnaton was far ahead of the development of his people, and therefore it gained no hold upon the mass of the Egyptians, and after Ikhnaton's death it was swept away in the reaction led by the strong priesthood of the old gods. Thereafter the Egyptian religion became set and unchangeable. It showed no signs of further development, and finally disappeared altogether, after the birth of Christ, waning before the greater truth of Christ's teachings.

32. Rameses II Restores the Empire.—While Ikhnaton was occupied in forcing his religious ideas upon his people, the northern frontiers in Syria were broken through by the warlike Hittites. The subject princes in Palestine revolted, and the foreign possessions of the empire seemed lost.

At the end of this same century, however, the empire in Palestine and Syria was partially restored. From the time of Rameses II (1292–1225 B. C.), the energetic and warlike pharaoh who accomplished this, we have copies, both in Egyptian and in the Babylonian tongue, of the treaty which he made with the Hittites, after years of fighting in Syria. It was engraved on a silver tablet, but only copies of it have survived. Extracts from it read:

Copy of the silver tablet which the great chief of Kheta (the Hittite land) caused to be brought to Pharaoh, to crave peace from the majesty of Rameses II, the Bull of Rulers * * *. There shall be no hostilities between them, forever. The great chief of Kheta shall not pass over into the land of Egypt, forever, to take anything therefrom. Rameses, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not pass over into the land of Kheta, to take anything therefrom, forever.

The treaty shows that the power of Egypt in Syria was not so great as it had been under Amenhotep and Thothmes. Far from sending tribute to the pharaoh, the Hittite chief-tain treats with Rameses on equal terms. The land of Syria was divided between these two powers, and Rameses



RAMESES II IN HIS CHARIOT OF WAR
The Pharaoh's lion goes into battle with him.
From a relief in a temple.

took the eldest daughter of the Hittite prince as one of his wives.

33. The Decline of the Empire.—After the reign of Rameses II, a gradual decline can be traced in the power of Egypt. The pharaohs had given too much land and other wealth to the temples of the gods. These were all free from taxation, and brought no income to the government. Great sums of money were spent in the building of gorgeous temples. Thus the whole religious system became a heavy economic burden upon the state; and this was one cause of the state's decline.

In the time of Rameses III (about 1198–1167 B. C.), the peoples of the northern Mediterranean and of the Ægean islands came down from the north. They broke the Hittite power, and were only driven back at the very Delta of

the Nile itself. Egypt fell first under the sway of Libyan, later under that of Ethiopian rulers. During one period, from 660 to 525 B. C., she saw a revival of her old commerce and political freedom. Then the country fell under the sway of the Persian king, Cambyses (525 B. C.). Since that date, the patient Egyptians have always lived under foreign domination.

By the year 1100 B. C., Egypt had done her great work for civilization. After that time she seemed incapable of further progress. Her artists only copied the work of earlier eras, seeing things always in the old way. Her religion remained set and unchanged. Yet she had given much in the three thousand years of her greatness, and must be studied along with Babylon, Greece, and Rome, as one of the four great nations of ancient times whose past has most helped to make our own present.

References for Outside Reading

Breasted, *Ancient Egyptians*, ch. 16, 17, 18; Baikie, *Story of the Pharaohs*, ch. 7, 8, 9; Sayce, *Ancient Empires of the East*, pp. 36-49; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, ch. 16, 17, 18; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, Vol. I, ch. 7-10; Vol. II.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. THOTHMES III.—Baikie, ch. 7; Breasted, *Ancient Egyptians*, ch. 16.
2. PALACES AND TEMPLES OF THEBES.—Baikie, pp. 162-166; Breasted, *Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 255-262; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 337-350.
3. QUEEN HATSHEPSET.—Baikie, pp. 107-117; Breasted, *Ancient Egyptians*, ch. 15.
4. NEGLECT OF THE EMPIRE IN SYRIA BY AMENHOTEP IV.—Baikie, ch. 9; Breasted, *Ancient Egyptians*, ch. 19.
5. EXCAVATION OF AN EGYPTIAN ROYAL TOMB.—*Century Magazine*, Nov., 1905, article by N. C. Greene, "A Great Discovery in Egypt."

CHAPTER III

BABYLONIAN CIVILIZATION

34. The Scene.—At the head of the Persian Gulf lies a long stretch of fertile land which, like the Delta of Egypt, was built up by mud deposits brought down from the northwest by the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. It is named Babylonia, after the city of Babylon, which in time became the greatest and most powerful in that fruitful region. The country to the northwest of this, lying between and along the Tigris and Euphrates, was called by the Greeks Mesopotamia, “Amid the Rivers.”

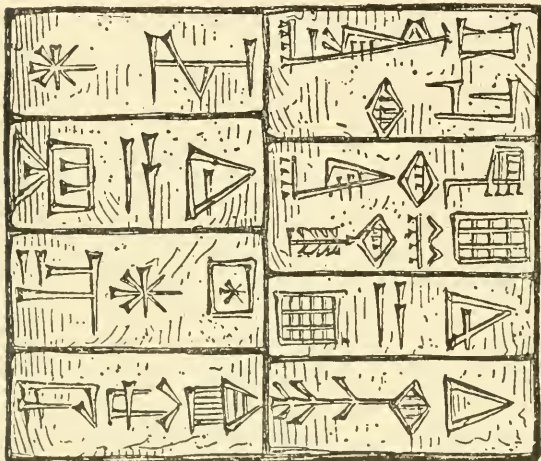
The archæologists find in Babylonia the first indications of civilized life at a period quite as early as in Egypt itself. In both lands it was the extreme ease with which crops could be grown that explains why the step from barbarism to more enlightened ways of living was taken so much earlier than elsewhere. Quite independently, each of the other, the Babylonians and the Egyptians worked out those first hard problems of refined living which raised them to the plane of civilized nations.

35. Sources of Our Information.—Until early in the nineteenth century, nothing was known of the early history of the Babylonian land or of its people. Since then excavations have been made on the sites of its ancient cities, which have afforded us a little knowledge of this remote past, just as the deciphering of the hieroglyphs enabled us to learn Egyptian history.

Babylonia has no stone and very little wood. The ancient inhabitants therefore were compelled to build their houses of brick. For the outer layers of their finest buildings, such as palaces and temples, they used brick baked hard in a kiln, such as we employ; but the brick used in the

inner part of the walls and in all the lesser buildings and houses were merely dried hard in the sun. Therefore their cities easily crumbled, and where they once stood huge mounds of earth now rise above the level stretch of the plain.

The excavators who dig into these mounds are able to reconstruct the plans of the great palaces. They have found

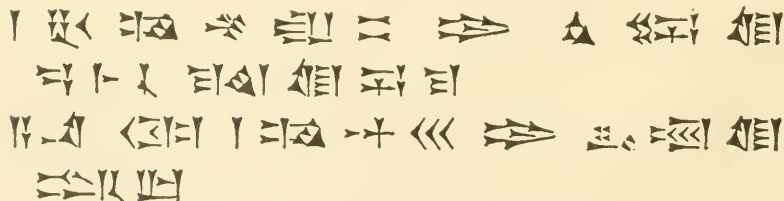


ANCIENT BABYLONIAN WRITING.

The cuneiform writing is not fully developed.

many statues and relief-pictures which adorned the walls; but most important of all, they have discovered immense numbers of clay tablets covered with the peculiar characters of the Babylonian writing. Originally their system was one of picture-writing, as in Egypt; but the picture signs had gradually changed until

they became a series of wedge-shaped marks, each standing for a syllable. After the Latin word "cuneus," which means "wedge," they are called cuneiform inscriptions.



BABYLONIAN CUNEIFORM WRITING.

It reads: "Hammurabi, king of Babylon, summoned his forces, and against Rim-Sin, king of Ur, he marched."

They were cut into marble walls of palaces, upon tablets of bronze, or were pressed upon moist clay with a stylus. The clay was shaped into tablets about six inches long, or into cylinders. When these were baked to the hardness

of brick, the records upon them would, of course, last forever.

The historian has therefore at his disposal the great royal inscriptions which recount the deeds of the ancient kings; and upon clay tablets and cylinders, the letters and business contracts of the people.

36. The People.—Scholars tell us that the Babylonian language and civilization are Semitic in character. The original home of the Semites lay in Arabia. It is impossible to tell anything about the people who lived in Babylonia before the Semites from the Arabian desert began to overrun the valley. By the year 3500 B. C., the Semites were in full possession of the country, and had changed their wild desert habits for the settled agricultural life which had developed along the rivers. The continuous development of the people of western Asia was interrupted by two other great migrations of the Semites from Arabia. The second occurred from about 2400 to 2100 B. C., the third and last from 1500 to 1300 B. C. These Semitic waves served to make the life of the nations of western Asia essentially Semitic in its character.

37. The City-Kingdoms.—The earliest inscriptions which we have fall between 4000 and 3000 B. C. Though few and scanty, these show that the land was not a single state, but was divided into little city-kingdoms. Among these were Ur, Uruk, Kish, and Agade. The kings of these city-states fought with each other for supremacy; and those who were conquered became princes subordinate to the victor. Thus the city-states gradually became organized into larger kingdoms.

The most important of these was Agade. Sargon I¹ ruled here about 2800 B. C., and brought a great stretch of country, including Babylonia and Upper Mesopotamia, under his control. His conquests probably took him as far west as the Mediterranean Sea, as the follow-

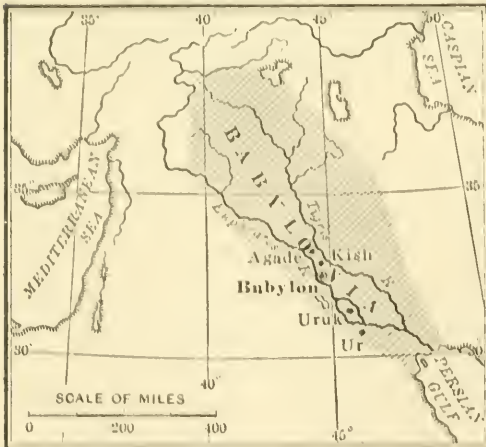
¹ His life-time is placed by some authorities at 3800 B. C. But the Babylonian king Nabunaid (555 B. C.), who set his date so early, seems to have made a great miscalculation.

ing quotation from a Babylonian chronicle would indicate:

Over the countries of the sea of the setting sun he passed [probably the Mediterranean], and for three years at the setting sun all lands his hands subdued.

Although his conquests were not formed into a permanent and enduring state, they served to spread the Babylonian tongue and knowledge over western Asia into Syria. Later kings remembered the glory of Sargon's conquests, and strove to imitate him.

38. Babylon Becomes the Ruling City.—When the second incursion of Semitic nomads swept over the Euphrates and Tigris valleys, the new tribes conquered the country, learned to live the life of the people of the river-valley, and adopted their civilization. They made the city of Babylon, on the Euphrates river, the center of their power. The



BABYLONIAN KINGDOM OF HAMMURABI.

princes of the other cities became their vassals. For over two thousand years thereafter, Babylon remained the most influential city of western Asia, even when it fell under the subjection of rulers from other cities.

39. King Hammurabi (1958-1916 B. C.).—Of the kings of that dynasty which built up the fame of Babylon, Hammurabi

is best known to us. In 1901 a tablet of stone, eight feet high, was found at Susa, which contained a copy of the code of laws set up by him to guide his people. It shows that he was a warlike king who brought the whole of Babylonia under his hand. "The king, who is pre-eminent among city-kings, am I." He tried to look after

the welfare of his people by building canals, one of which connected the Tigris and Euphrates. Concerning these, his inscription says:

When the gods Anu and Bel gave me the land of Babylon to rule, * * * I dug out the Hammurabi canal, which bringeth abundance of water unto the land.

The words of the king himself show that he had a high conception of the duties of a ruler. He expresses the hope that his people will say of him:

Hammurabi indeed is a ruler who is like a real father to his people. He has established prosperity for the people for all time, and given a pure government to the land.

40. Code of Hammurabi.—The law code of Hammurabi contains about 280 different sections, dealing with all manner of questions which might come up in the administration of justice in his land. Though many of these seem strange from the standpoint of our modern law, they nevertheless show that ideas of justice were, even at that early day, clearly defined and expressed.

The following law fixes the punishment for bribery:

If a man bear witness in a case, for grain or money, he shall himself bear the penalty imposed in that case.

The reward for the return of a fugitive slave was fixed:

If a man seize a male or female slave, a fugitive, in the field, and bring that slave back to his owner, the owner shall pay him two shekels of silver.



HAMMURABI RECEIVING HIS LAWS FROM THE SUN-GOD.

From a stone slab found near Agade.

Breaking into the mud-brick houses is punished with death:

If a man make a breach in a house, they shall put him to death in front of that breach, and they shall thrust him therein.

The old Semitic law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," appears here long before the same idea was expressed by the Hebrews in their Mosaic Law:

If a man destroy the eye of another man, they shall destroy his eye. If one break a man's bone, they shall break his bone. If a man knock out a tooth of a man of his own rank, they shall knock out his tooth.

41. System of Farming.—Most of the land of Babylon was owned by the kings or rich nobles, or belonged to the temples of the gods and their priests. It was let out in small tracts to tenants, who paid one-half or a third of the produce as rent. On such terms the peasants could not have made more than a bare living. Although slaves were used in tilling the soil, most of the tenants were freemen. Among the poor, in a season of bad crops, the father of a family was often forced to sell his wife, son, or daughter into slavery to pay his debts; but the laws of Hammurabi provided that they should only serve as slaves for three years, and then become free.

From the earliest historic times, Babylonia was intersected by canals, using a system of irrigation made necessary by the lack of rainfall. The laws required the tenant to pay strict attention to his irrigating ditches, so that the crops in the adjacent fields might not be flooded.

42. Industry and Trade of the Babylonians.—There was plenty of work in the busy Babylonian cities to occupy the people. The making of bricks must have been a very important industry, since there was no other material with which to build. Many were engaged in the weaving of rugs and cloth, and workers in leather and metals are mentioned in the inscriptions. The laborers made contracts

with their employers, receiving their food, and from four to six shekels¹ a year, in pay.

The articles of trade which passed out of Babylon, up and down the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, or by caravan across the deserts, were various. First, came the products raised in the country, the grains, dates, and sesame-oil. In addition, Babylon exported the products of her industries, woollen and linen garments embroidered in colors, and cut stones, especially the blue lapis lazuli, which the Egyptians prized highly. The merchants who handled this trade were chiefly Babylonians.

Among the imports into Babylonia, in the period down to Hammurabi, were the following: teak-wood from India, cedar from the Syrian mountains, metals and stone from the mountain districts of Persia, spices from Arabia, and gold from Egypt. The extent of this trade was from India, or possibly China, in the east, to the Mediterranean Sea in the west, and Egypt in the south.

43. Old Babylonian Life.—The old Babylonian cities were surrounded by tall, heavily built walls. As the traders passed in and out of the gates with their wares, they paid a tax at the custom-house situated there. This went to the king to pay the expenses of his court and government. On entering the city, traders and other travelers passed through narrow and dirty streets between rows of low houses built of mud-brick, with flat roofs made of mud mixed with reeds.

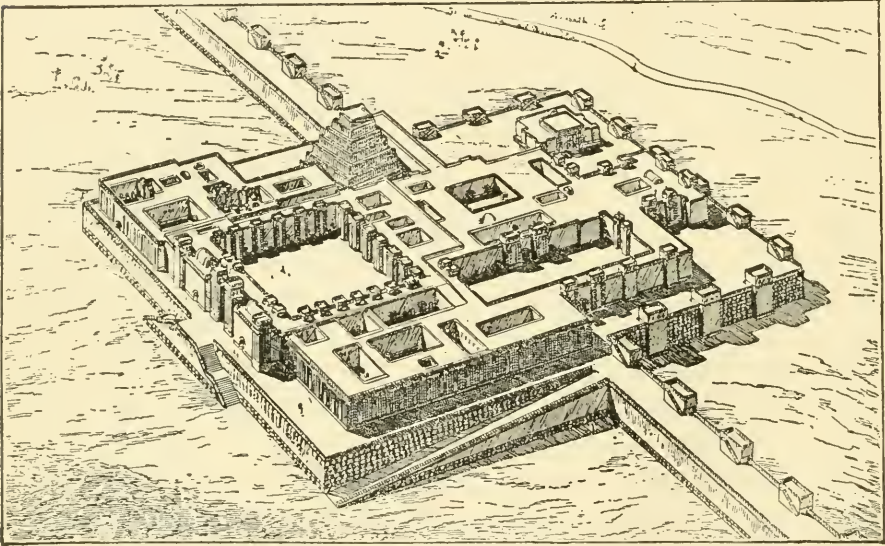
The Babylonians drank both beer and wine, and there were many wine-shops along the streets to tempt the thirsty passers-by. But the laws of Hammurabi protected these from being cheated by the owners of the shops. One of the duties of the wine-sellers was to keep bad characters away, as is shown by this decree of Hammurabi's Code:

If outlaws collect in the house of a wine-seller, and he do not

¹ The shekel is a weight of silver which contains about as much silver as thirty-five cents in our money. Its actual value, that is, the amount it would purchase, it is hard to estimate; but it was certainly far higher than the amount indicated by our own money value.

arrest these outlaws and bring them to the palace, that wine-seller shall be put to death.

44. Babylonian Temples and Palaces.—There were no hills in the Babylonian plain. The royal palaces were made prominent by being built upon brick platforms, which rose to a height of forty or forty-five feet above the plain. These palaces had very thick and heavy walls, and were but one



RESTORATION OF A PALACE OF AN ASSYRIAN KING WITH PLATFORM TEMPLE.

It is built on the old Babylonian plan.

story high. The rooms were small and dark, since the walls were not pierced by windows, and but a little light came from the great open courts about which the rooms were arranged.

On the same platform as the palace, or upon one similar in construction, stood the Babylonian temple. It had the peculiar shape of a series of brick platforms, resting one upon the other, each story being smaller than the one below it. The platforms numbered from three to seven, and were covered with enameled bricks, each story in a different color. One of the temples at Babylon is supposed to have been about 250 feet high.

45. The Religion.—Just as in Egypt, the temples in different localities were devoted to the worship of different gods—that is, the religion was polytheistic—and the importance of the worship of each god usually depended upon the political importance of his particular city-state. As in Egypt, too, the religion became organized as the country itself became unified.

To the Babylonians, the powers of the gods expressed themselves in the activities of nature, in earthquakes and in storms, in the movements of the sun, the moon, and the stars. Consequently the priests of old Babylonia were greatly interested in the study we call astronomy. This led them to mark off the year into months and weeks. Indeed, our whole system of noting time is derived from them, through the Romans. The Babylonians were the first to divide the day into twelve hours, and therefore the divisions on the dials of our watches are really inherited from them.

46. Babylonian Mythology.—The Babylonians had a literature connected chiefly with their religion, consisting of hymns and stories of their gods and heroes. The best known of these is the epic of the hero, Gilgamesh, whose deeds are told in twelve books. In one of these occurs the story of the flood which was sent by the gods upon the earth. It tells how one man, a favorite of the gods, built an ark and thereby saved himself and his family and wild and tame beasts of the field.

The whole epic of Gilgamesh is so like the story of the Greek hero, Hercules, that some authorities declare that the Greeks became acquainted with this Babylonian myth, when their own mythology was forming, and shaped their legend according to that of the Babylonians. The literature of the Hebrews, in the Old Testament, was also influenced by a knowledge of the Babylonian stories of the creation and of the flood.

47. Extent of the Babylonian Influence.—Future excavations in the Babylonian country will add greatly to our present knowledge of its history. It is not yet possible to tell

just how Babylonian civilization spread over western Asia. The Tell-el-Amarna letters indicate that not only the tongue of Babylonia, but also its life and ideas, were firmly rooted in Syria and Palestine in the period of Thothmes III, when Egypt first began her expansion to the north.

By the year 1500 B. C., the civilization of western Asia was well grounded. The Babylonians had used their system of writing for several thousand years, and their language had grown to be the one best known in the lands of western Asia. The city-states had become consolidated into larger units, still but loosely bound together. In architecture, the Babylonians knew the use of the arch, and how to use their clay-brick to the best advantage.

Their chief contribution to the progress of peoples, however, must be found in their legal and business ability. The law code of Hammurabi had much to do with shaping the ideas of justice among the other peoples of the East, especially among the Hebrews. The laws relating to business contracts show that Babylonian commerce was well regulated, and upon an orderly business basis. Babylonian merchants monopolized the carrying of goods from the regions east of them, as far as India, to the Mediterranean Sea and to Egypt.

References for Outside Reading

Goodspeed, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 1-13, 25-36, 71-117; Sayce, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, ch. 1, pp. 44-62, ch. 5; Budge, *Babylonian Life and History*, ch. 8, 10; Sayce, *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*; Winckler, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, ch. 14; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 732-60; Sayce, *Ancient Empires of the East*, pp. 90-118, 146-178.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. IRRIGATION IN BABYLONIA.—Winckler, pp. 135-9.
2. BABYLONIAN LETTER-WRITING.—Sayce, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, ch. 10; Budge, pp. 104-8; Maspero, pp. 723-32.
3. EPIC OF GILGAMESH.—Maspero, pp. 564-89.
4. THE TELL-EL-AMARNA LETTERS.—Tiele, *Western Asia*; Nie-

buhr, *The Tell-el-Amarna Period* ("Ancient East" series); see Index, "Tell-el-Amarna," in the histories of Egypt by Breasted and Baikie.

5. USES OF CLAY IN BABYLONIA.—Sayce, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 90-93, 137-139, 208-213.

6. EDUCATION IN BABYLONIA.—Sayce, *Social Life Among the Assyrians and Babylonians*, ch. 3.

CHAPTER IV

THE PEOPLES WHO SPREAD THE CIVILIZATION OF THE EAST

48. Hittites and Cretans.—In their earlier historic periods, down to 1500 B. C., both the Egyptians and Babylonians had gone their own way, with only such contact and chance to learn from one another as their external trade gave them. Apart from them, two other peoples made themselves so powerful in the world of the eastern Mediterranean that we must study them briefly, and learn what place to give them in the growth of the ancient world. These peoples are:

1. The race called the *Kheta* by the Egyptians, or *Hittites* in the Old Testament;
2. A people who lived in the islands of the Ægean Sea, whose ancient name we do not know. They are variously called *Cretans*, *Minoans*, or *Mycenæans* by our modern scholars.

49. Present Lack of Knowledge About the Hittites.—Remains of the Hittite civilization have been found from Smyrna in the west, eastward into Mesopotamia, and southward into Syria. The chief center where their inscriptions are now found is between the Halys and Euphrates rivers, in the central portion of Asia Minor, which was evidently the real home of the Hittite tribes.

No one has as yet succeeded in finding out the meaning of the many Hittite inscriptions found in this region. Thorough knowledge of the growth of the Hittite civilization is, therefore, not to be gained at present, but must wait until some scholar learns to read their language, and until further excavations have been made on the sites of their ancient cities.

50. Political Importance of the Hittites.—It is not possible to say with what ancient peoples the Hittites are akin.

About 2000 B. C., they passed out from central Asia Minor into Mesopotamia and into Syria, conquering the native princes there. The treaty of the silver tablet made between Rameses II and Khetasar, prince of the Hittites (see § 32), makes evident their political importance in the time of the Egyptian Empire. This was an offensive and defensive alliance; that is, each power was bound to give active help to the other in case of need. The monarchs of the Egyptian Empire thereby recognized the Hittites as a people of equal standing and power with themselves.

51. The Hittite Civilization.—The sculpture of the Hittites is done in low relief upon stone slabs. The figures seem crude and stiff when compared with the work done by the Egyptians and Babylonians of the same period. Their earlier works, however, show a strength which was not gained by imitation of Babylonian models; but from about 1200 B. C. they seem more dependent upon Babylonian and Assyrian artists.



A HITTITE WARRIOR.
From a Hittite relief.

The Hittites had progressed far enough to have a written language of their own, and an independent skill in sculpture and in building.

They are to be reckoned as one of the peoples through whom the civilization of Egypt and Babylon passed over to Europe by way of Asia Minor. They came into contact with the Cretan civilization of the Ægean islands, and through the Cretans passed on to the later Greeks some of those things which the East had learned. In spite of our inability to read their inscriptions, recent excavations have made it evident that their influence in shaping ancient civilization and spreading it westward was very great.

52. Cretan Civilization.—Excavations carried on during the past forty years at various places in the peninsula of Greece, upon the site of ancient Troy in northern Asia Minor, and on the Ægean islands, especially Crete, have brought to

light a civilization in many ways as refined as that of the Egyptians and Babylonians. In Crete the development of this life has been traced back in unbroken line beyond 4000 B. c., to a time when bronze weapons were unknown and the Cretans were still in the Stone-Age phase of civilization.



AREAS IN WHICH HITTITE AND MYCENEAAN-CRETAN REMAINS ARE FOUND.

Crete, therefore, must be regarded as the cradle and center of this life, and the term "Cretan Civilization" is the one we may best employ to designate it. The time of its greatest development extends from 3000 to 1000 B. c.

53. The Story of King Minos.—The Hellenic, or Greek, people who later came to rule the Greek peninsula, the Ægean islands, and a large part of the Mediterranean coast, retained in their traditions a number of stories of the power of Minos, an ancient king of Cnossus in Crete. In one of their myths they told how Minos had prayed to Poseidon, the Greek god of the ocean, to send him a bull from the sea, which he promised to offer up as a sacrifice to Poseidon. When the bull appeared in answer to his prayer, he was so amazed at its beauty that he refused to kill it. For this

defiance of the god, a curse was sent upon him in the form of the Minotaur (Minos-bull), a monster half-man and half-bull. This terrible scourge was kept by the king in the Labyrinth, a building with a maze of winding passages so intricate that one who entered could not find his way out. There the bull lived, feeding upon human flesh. The people of the Greek city of Athens were subject to Minos, and were forced to send each year a tribute of seven boys and seven girls to satisfy the Minotaur. This continued until Theseus, one of the heroes of Greek mythology, went as one of the victims. The Cretan princess Ariadne, who loved him, gave him, when he entered the Labyrinth, a sword and a long thread. With the sword Theseus killed the Minotaur, and following the thread backward through the maze of halls, he came out in safety.



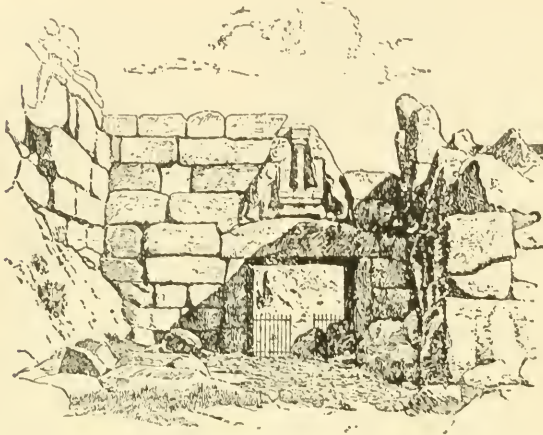
CRETAN SEAL REPRESENTING THE MINOTAUR.

54. Recent Excavations in Crete.—Historians long thought that this was a legend without the slightest historical foundation. Excavations begun in 1899 at Cnossus, however, have shown that the legend is based upon two historic truths; namely,¹ that there were powerful kings in Crete in early days, and that the Greeks knew them through the connections of war and trade.

Cnossus was found to be the center of a civilization which could vie with the old Egyptian in refinement of living, and even surpass it in some forms of its expression. The palace of the king was a great structure, covering a space about 400 feet square and displaying great skill in building and in the art of decoration. The ruins of other palaces, almost as large and quite as fine in construction, have been excavated in other parts of the island.

55. The Excavations of Schliemann.—About thirty years before the time when the discoveries were made at Cnossus, excavations made in Asia Minor and in Greece by the famous German scholar, Henry Schliemann, had furnished most important evidences of a life very similar to that discovered

later in Crete. At Mycenæ, in the Peloponnesus, Schliemann laid bare the foundations of a large palace, the entrance to which was through a long passage between heavy stone walls. Thus an attacking enemy would be forced to endure a fire of arrows from two sides before he could reach the



LION GATE AND ENTRANCE TO THE PALACE AT MYCENÆ.

gates. The gateway itself as it stands to-day gives an idea of the remarkable strength of this old palace. The stone which forms its top is 15 feet long, and about 7 feet thick; above this are the famous Lions, which guard the entrance. They are sculptured on a triangular piece of limestone, com-

paratively thin, set into the heavier stones of the wall. Architecturally, this is designed to lighten the weight upon the massive stones of the gate.

In a number of covered graves located just inside the gateway, Schliemann found nineteen bodies of the royal dead of old Mycenæ, with gold ornaments, richly jewelled diadems, and other articles of value buried beside them. Because of the importance of his discoveries at Mycenæ, Schliemann called this civilization "Mycenæan"; and this name is still used to distinguish the type of the Cretan culture found upon the mainland of Greece from that of its original home in Crete.

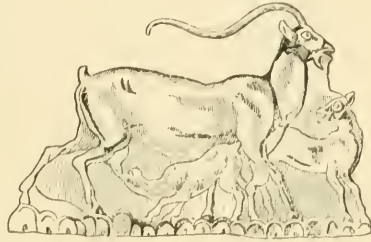
56. Character of the Cretan-Mycenæan Civilization.—The excavations in Crete have brought to light many examples of a Cretan form of writing, which no one has as yet been able to read. We must depend, therefore, upon the "monumental" evidence for a description of the life of this people. The immense size of the palaces, especially those in Crete,

conclusively proves that the governments were strong monarchies. At Mycenæ, gold and silver cups of beautiful workmanship were found in the graves. Beside the dead bodies of the Mycenæan princes lay gold face-masks which seemed to attempt a likeness of the dead. A great number of plates of thin gold with charming designs of conventionalized plants and butterflies beaten in were found. These were used as decorations on the garments of the royal persons in the graves. The old Greek poets who wrote the *Iliad* were right in calling the place "golden Mycenæ."

All of these remains at Mycenæ speak of a luxury and refinement which is even more clearly shown in the great palaces of Crete. In the palace at Cnossus, on the lower floor, a long, wide corridor was uncovered. Leading off from it were eighteen smaller corridors, the store-rooms for grain and wine which were placed in great jars sometimes five feet in height. Small, secret treasure-chests were sunk into the stone floors, but these had long ago been robbed of their contents.

The great throne-room of the king of Cnossus, where his court of justice met, would hold several hundred of his subjects. The palace was supplied with a bathing room; and remains of a system of drainage pipes of tile show that the Cretans had some idea of sanitary arrangements, at least for the palaces.

57. Cretan-Mycenæan Art.—The artistic skill of the old Cretan people is shown in the many vases which have been excavated at various places, in wall-paintings from the palace at Cnossus, in the gold and silver ornaments of Mycenæ, and in porcelain ware, as delicate as the finest porcelain manufactured to-day. The colors used on their painted vases were soft, and the designs highly artistic.



CRETAN WORK IN FINE PORCELAIN.

Wild goat and its young.



PAINTED CRETAN
VASE.

It cannot be denied that the Cretans learned much from the older civilization of Babylonia and of the Nile valley, yet whatever they borrowed they always made over and gave to



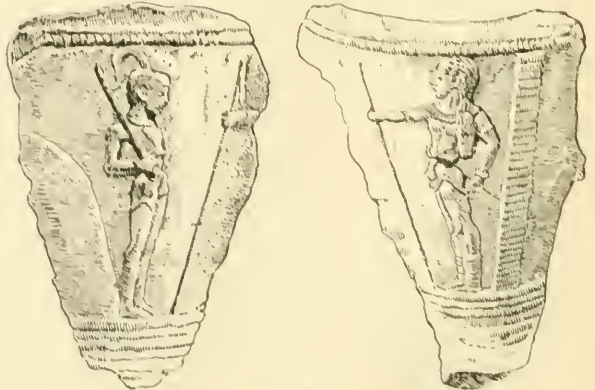
YOUNG CRETAN GIRL.

From a wall-painting in the palace at Cnossus.

it a touch of individuality. Thus their civilization is quite distinct from its forerunners. This individuality is best seen in the freedom of design in their wall-paintings and vase-paintings, and in the absolute lack of that conventionality which very early appeared in the art of Babylonia and Egypt. The walls of certain halls in the palace at Cnossus were decorated with pictures of bulls, drawn with life-like vigor. Other wall-paintings showed bull-fights with torreadors leaping over the backs of

the maddened bulls as they charged.

58. The Trade Relations of the Cretans.—In very early times, the people of Crete began to trade with the other islands of the Aegean Sea. Even in the time of the Old Kingdom of Egypt, trade existed between Crete and the Nile valley. Cretan pottery of this early time is found in Egypt, and stone bowls of Egyptian manufacture are found in Crete.



CRETAN VASE OF HARD STONE.

Cretan soldier receiving orders from an officer.

In the time of the Egyptian Empire (1600–1150 B. C.), the relations between the two countries were most friendly, and the trade very active.

In consequence of this trading, the Cretans accepted much

of the culture of the Egyptians, more, perhaps, than from that of the Hittites and Babylonians. Their trade over sea extended until it reached the center of Europe by way of the Ister (Danube) and the rivers of Russia which empty into the Pontus (Black Sea). From these regions they received copper, tin and iron, hides and wool.

59. Influence on Greece.—The Mycenaean type of this civilization which we find in Greece differs somewhat from that in Crete. For example, the palaces at Mycenæ and Tiryns are strongly fortified. Those in Crete are not. It seems probable, therefore, that the people of Cretan civilization in Greece were thrown with the Hellenes (Greeks), a ruder people, racially different from themselves, and that the result was a mixed civilization.

The Cretan influence on the Hellenes is most clearly seen in their religion; for the earliest myths in the Greek religion are connected with Crete. There, as the Hellenes thought, the greatest of their gods, Zeus, was born. The Cretan king, Minos, became a half-god to the Greeks, and judge of the dead in Hades.

60. Decay of the Mycenaean-Cretan Power.—The Mycenaean and Cretan people were most active and powerful from about 2000 to 1500 B. C. Then came a gradual decay. The causes of this decline are probably connected with the advance of the Hellenic tribes. New bands of these uncivilized but warlike tribes pushed down from the north into Greece. They defeated the rulers of the Mycenaean civilization at Mycenæ and Tiryns, and burned their palaces. Some of the Hellenes pushed on into Crete, and there the Cretans fell before them. Gradually the entire standard of life was changed and lowered by the influence of the uncivilized Greek warriors; but out of the Oriental-Ægean culture of the Cretans grew finally that wonderful civilization of ancient Greece which gave so much to the world.

References for Outside Reading

THE HITTITES.—The most authoritative reference for the Hittites is the small pamphlet by Messerschmidt, *The Hittites*, in the "Ancient

East" series. See also Sayce, *The Hittites*, and Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*.

THE MINOANS: Baikie, *The Sea Kings of Crete*; Hawes and Hawes, *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece*; Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, pp. 83-105, ch. 7; Mosso, *The Palaces of Crete*, ch. 5, 6, 13, 17; Schuchardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, pp. 176-274. 'Tsountas' and Manatt's and Schuchardt's works are to be used by the pupil merely to gain an idea, through the illustrations, of the artistic side of the Cretan-Mycenaean civilization. If the journals are available, read the short accounts of the excavations in Crete in the *Scientific American Supplement*, 1907 (vol. 64), pp. 34-5, and in *Classical Journal*, Feb. 1908.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

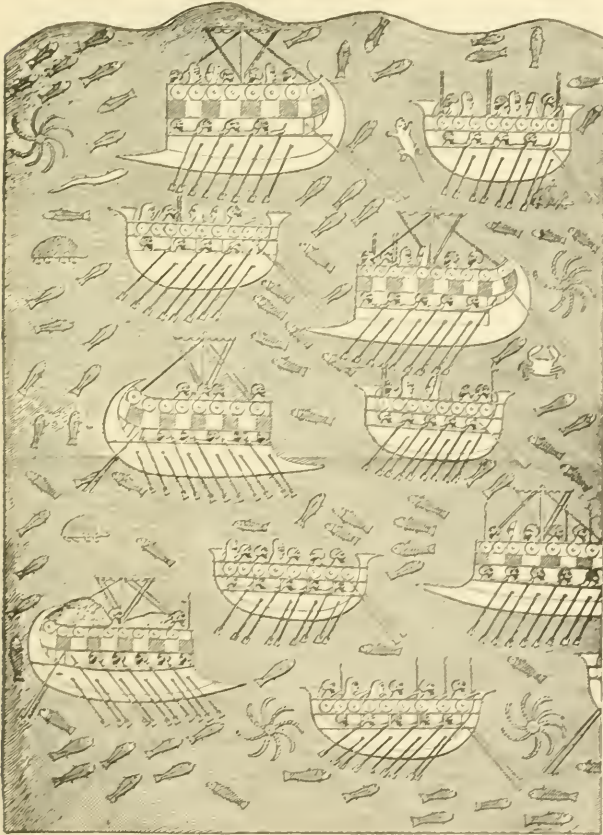
1. SCHLIEMANN.—See the *Encyclopædias* and the introduction to Schuchardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*.
2. BULL-BAITING IN CRETAN TIMES.—Mosso, ch. 11.
3. THE VAPHIO CUPS.—Tsountas and Manatt, p. 7, pp. 226-28.
4. DR. EVANS AND THE PALACE AT CNOSSUS.—Baikie, ch. 4, 5; Hawes and Hawes, ch. 4, 5.
5. HITTITE ART.—Sayce, *The Hittites*, ch. 6; Messerschmidt, pp. 50-56. (Study the illustrations).
6. TRADE OF THE HITTITES.—Sayce, *The Hittites*, ch. 8.
7. HITTITE MANNER OF DRESS.—Messerschmidt, pp. 33-36.

CHAPTER V

THE PHŒNICIANS AND HEBREWS.—THE GROWTH OF
TRADE WITH THE WEST

61. **The Land of Phœnicia.**—The strip of land lying along the coast of the eastern Mediterranean,

stretching from Egypt to the westward bend of Asia Minor, was early settled by Semitic peoples. A few miles back from the coast rise the Lebanon mountains. This narrow strip the Greeks called "Phœnicia," which means the "Land of Purple"; for in the waters along the coast the inhabitants fished for a kind of shellfish, that furnished them with a fine purple dye. This dye was used in coloring



PHŒNICIAN FLEET OF AN ASSYRIAN KING.
From an Assyrian relief.

cloths, and it was through the trade in these goods that the early Greeks came to know the Phœnicians.

The history of this strip of country is determined by its

geographical position. Lying directly on the route between the two great powers, Egypt and Babylonia, its cities served as exchange ports for the trade between them. In the expansion of either of these powers, the Phœnician towns, which remained independent of each other, ruled each by its own kings, were often the bone of contention. They could, therefore, be independently powerful only in the periods when the two greater powers were politically weak.

Their position made them also the natural ports of exchange for the products of the East which went by sea to the West. The wares of the East came by caravan from Babylon and the other cities along the lower Tigris and Euphrates. The Phœnician cities furnished the nearest outlet to the sea. Since the chances of attaining any political power were small, their inhabitants contented themselves with the position of merchants and carriers of trade, and furnished the fleets for the great rulers of the inland empires, such as Babylonia, and later, Assyria and Persia.

62. Semitic Colonies in the West.—Of the Phœnician merchant towns, Sidon and Tyre are the two most worth remembering. Before 1200 B. C. historical records say little about them, and we conclude that they were as yet unimportant. The merchants who then ruled the eastern Mediterranean were the Cretans. About 1100 B. C., there came a great decline in the power of the Cretans, and of the Hittites, Egyptians, and Babylonians as well. This gave the merchant cities of Phœnicia an opportunity to develop. They occupied a part of Cyprus, and from there began to take over the trade with the Ægean islands and with the Hellenes on the peninsula of Greece.

It is impossible to know how and when the Semitic colonies were planted in the western Mediterranean, yet when the first information reaches us about this part of the world, the coast line is already fringed with colonies of Semitic origin. All the coast of northern Africa, the southern coast of Spain as far west as Gades, the Balearic islands, Sardinia, and the northwestern coast of Sicily are lined with cities which claim Phœnician towns as their mother-country.

It is hard to believe that the few small cities of Phœnicia could have had enough population to colonize on so large a scale. They might, however, have furnished the leaders of the colonies and the important merchant-class, and have drawn the remaining settlers from Palestine and Syria.

63. The Phœnician Trade with the West.—Whatever the actual relations between them may have been, it is quite true that these Semitic cities and trading-posts of the West received on the ships of Tyre and Sidon the products of the East. Among these exports were cloths from the looms of the East, dyed at Sidon or Tyre, glassware, and pottery. These the western cities offered in exchange to the barbarous tribes around them for the products of the West. For example, they obtained tin from Britain, and lead and silver from the mines of Spain.

The Old Testament gives us an admirable picture of the exchange of the markets of Tyre.

2. And say unto Tyrus, "O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles. Thus saith the Lord God; O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty.
12. Tarshish [Spain] was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs.
16. Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making; they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen, and coral, and agate.
24. These were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in blue clothes, and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar, among thy merchandise. (Ezekiel, XXVII.)

64. Influence of the Phœnicians.—It was through the Phœnicians, after the decline of the Cretan culture, that the Greeks kept in touch with the knowledge and skill of the Babylonians and Egyptians. The Greeks, therefore, regarded the Phœnicians as the inventors of writing and of

the manufacture of glass, as the first people to work the metals into artistic ornaments and utensils, and as the originators of the system of measures and weights which they used. In this the Greeks were wrong, for the Phœnicians had learned these things from the Babylonians. Their genius lay in taking the ideas of others and adapting them for use in their trade; but they were in no sense inventors. Their art distinctly shows that they copied



ENGRAVED PHŒNICIAN
GEM.

The Egyptian symbols, the winged sun-disk, sacred beetle, and hawk-headed gods, all show the Egyptian influence.

The importance of the Phœnician towns lies in the fact that they were the pioneers who headed the Semitic movement which brought the western Mediterranean into contact with the rich life of the East. They educated the undeveloped peoples of the West, as far as Spain, in the manual skill of the civilized East. The influence of the Semitic colonization of the West was not otherwise important. The colonies, with the single exception of the great city of Carthage, never united into powerful states which could influence the less civilized tribes around them. Planted primarily for trading purposes, they disappeared as the western tribes developed, and left but little trace of their stay in the life of western Europe.

Egyptian and Babylonian, and later, Greek models.



HEBREW WOMEN AND CHILD OF THE
PEASANT CLASS.

From an Assyrian relief, time of Sennacherib.

65. History of the Hebrews.—Much more important than the Phœnicians in the history of the ancient world are the Semitic tribes called the Hebrews. During the last great wave of Semitic migration they settled in Palestine, about 1150 B. C., when the Hittite power was broken, and the Egyptians had lost their hold upon Syria. Politically, the Hebrews never became a great power. But in the field of religion their importance is greater than that of any other people with whom we shall deal, for they early developed the idea that there is but one God (monotheism), and retained that belief against the polytheistic teachings of all the peoples round about them.

66. Moses and the Covenant with God.—The history of the Hebrews is the history of their religion. They believed that, in the time of their wanderings before they settled in Palestine, God had appeared to Moses, their leader, upon Mount Sinai, and had through him made a covenant with the tribe of Israel. Jehovah was to be the God of Israel, and Israel was to be the chosen people of Jehovah. The people of Israel were to follow the commands of God, which he declared to Moses, and their lives were to be guided by the Ten Commandments which formed the basis of the covenant made with Moses.

67. The Formation of the Kingdom of Israel.—When first they settled in Palestine, the Hebrews were not a nation, but only a number of related tribes which did not fight or act in unity. As they moved in, tribe by tribe, they gradually conquered and absorbed the Canaanites, who occupied the country before them. But, because of lack of union, they fell under



MAP OF ANCIENT PALESTINE.

the yoke of the Philistines, who lived along the sea-coast of lower Palestine. From the bondage of the Philistines they were released by the warrior Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin.

The Old Testament is our only source of knowledge for the early history of the Hebrews. It tells the story of the siege of Jabesh by the Philistines, and how the elders of the city sent messengers throughout all Israel for aid. The Israelites were so disheartened that they could only bewail the coming destruction of Jabesh. When Saul returned with his herds from the pasture-lands and heard the story, "the Spirit of God came upon Saul and his anger was kindled greatly. And he took a yoke of oxen and hewed them in pieces, and sent them throughout all the coasts of Israel by the hands of messengers, saying, 'Whoever cometh not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so shall it be done unto his oxen.' And the fear of the Lord fell upon the people, and they came out with one consent." (I Samuel, XI: 6-7.)

Under Saul's leadership the Philistines were routed and Jabesh freed from its enemies. Saul was chosen king by the people of Israel.

68. Kingdom of Israel under David and Solomon.—The consolidation of the two great divisions of the Hebrews, Israel and Judah, was completed by David, the successor of Saul. Because of his beauty and ability to play the harp, he pleased Saul, and was chosen as his armor-bearer. After Saul's death he became king, first of Judah, then later of Israel also. The kingdom of Israel now extended "from Dan even to Beersheba." The date of founding of the united kingdom is about 1000 B. C.

David made Jerusalem his capital, and there his son and successor, Solomon, built his palace and temple to Jehovah, which gradually became the central point of the Hebrew worship. Under these two kings, Israel became a great state in that region, though it was far from attaining the power or territorial extent of the great empires which had been built up by Babylonia and Egypt.

The death of Solomon occurred about 930 B. C., and was followed by a division of his realm into the kingdoms of

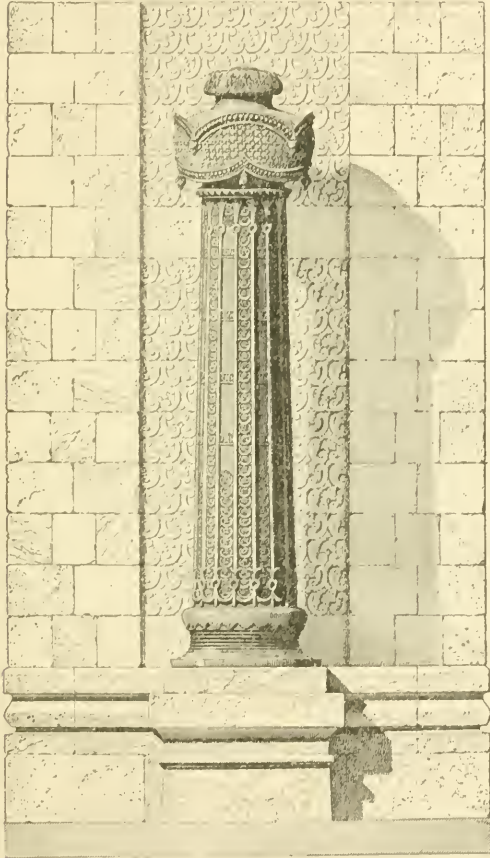
Israel and Judah. Never again were the two united as a free and single nation. The political unity of the Hebrews was, therefore, of short duration and of little importance, excepting in its effect upon the religion. Its real value was

that it helped to bring about a lasting religious unity of all the Hebrew people. Jehovah became the God of the nation, and His worship centered in the sanctuaries established by the kings, especially at Jerusalem. It brought in, also, something of the civilization of the greater world outside of Palestine, the civilization of Babylon and Egypt.

69. The Need of a Religious Revival.—It is scarcely credible that the idea of God as we think of Him, the sole and all-powerful deity of the universe, should be immediately accepted by all the Hebrews in the primitive stages of their development.

While the Hebrews were going through the process of absorbing the older Canaanite population of the country, they also adopted some of their gods. After the time of Solomon the contact with Babylonia and Egypt brought in still other religions among them. Beside Jehovah, Baal, the Canaanite god, had an altar and worship, even in Jerusalem.

And all the people of the land went into the house of Baal,



RESTORATION OF A BRONZE COLUMN FROM THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM.

Restored by Chipiez.

and brake it down; his altars and his images brake they in pieces thoroughly. * * * (II Kings, XI: 18.)

Even some of the Hebrew kings were unable to reach and keep this great idea of Jehovah as the jealous God who would not permit belief in any other god. The people seemed to be turning away from Jehovah. This went so far that Manasseh, who became king of Judah about 685 B. C., reared up altars to Baal * * * and worshipped all the host of heaven and served them * * * and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards: he wrought much wickedness in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger. (II Kings, XXI: 3, 6.)

70. The Work of the Prophets.—After the time of Solomon and the division between the people of Judah and Israel, the two kingdoms were hard beset by the Syrians and the smaller neighboring peoples. In addition to the cruel devastation of continuous wars, there came the "pestilence after the manner of Egypt," and years of drought, when the orchards and the crops failed to yield. Out of this misery of the Hebrews arose their great prophets. They combated the primitive ideas which still remained among their people, especially in regard to the worship of numerous local and foreign gods. They went about prophesying that God would destroy both Judah and Israel, because the people worshipped false gods. The prophets declared that the rich oppressed the poor, and even those who worshipped Jehovah did not understand His real nature. Passionately the prophet Amos, a herdsman who lived about 750 B. C., cried out:

Woe to them that are at ease in Zion * * * Woe unto you that desire the day of the Lord! to what end is it for you? the day of the Lord is darkness and not light. (Amos, V: 18; VI: 1.)

He bade his people

"seek good * * * and not evil, that ye may live; and so the Lord, the God of Hosts, shall be with you."

71. The Reformation under Josiah.—The forebodings of the prophets seemed real enough when Samaria, the chief city of Israel, was captured by the king of the Assyrians, in the year 723 B. C.,¹ its inhabitants led away as captives, and tribute imposed upon Israel. Only the kingdom of Judah remained free.

The people themselves now felt that the prophets had warned them justly and that their misfortunes were due to



ISRAELITES BEARING TRIBUTE TO AN ASSYRIAN KING.

From an Assyrian relief.

the wrath of Jehovah at their wickedness. But when they tried to appease Him they did so by reviving old and savage customs, such as the sacrifice of human beings. The prophet Jeremiah rose about 626 B. C., inspired, as he felt, to announce the words of Jehovah and rebuke the people for hoping to please Him by human sacrifices.

And they have built the high places of Tophet * * to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire; which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart. (Jeremiah, VII: 31.)

With the accession of Josiah as king of Judah, a new

¹ I follow the date given by Olmstead, "Sargon of Assyria," p. 46. His proof seems to me to be valid (II Kings, XVII: 1-6).

period begins in Hebrew religious history. In 621 B. C., he carried out the reformation so long demanded by the prophets.

And he put down the idolatrous priests, whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah, and in the places round about Jerusalem; them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the hosts of heaven. (II Kings, XXIII: 5.)

72. Importance of this Event.—More than ever the worship of Jehovah was concentrated in Jerusalem. "The men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem," through their king, renewed the old covenant with Him, to abide by His laws, as they appeared in the agreement with Moses. Thus the reformation of the religion was carried out, and the victory of the worship of one God assured in Judah. Because of the importance of monotheism as an advance in the thought and spirit of men, the act of Josiah is of great importance. The Hebrew conception of the one God differs from the other monotheistic teachings of ancient times because it was not worked out by learned men, who thought deeply on religious matters. It was a belief which developed and spread through an entire people. Though few in numbers, they gave that belief to the western part of the world after the birth of Christ in the Christian religion, and, later, through Mohammedanism, to a great part of the East. In this fact lies the great importance of the Hebrew people.

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PHœNICIA: Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, ch. 7; Sayce, *Ancient Empires*, pp. 178-209; the *Encyclopædias*, article "Phœnicia"; Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 54-70; Rawlinson, *Story of Phœnicia*, ch. 1-13.

THE HEBREWS: Seignobos, ch. 8; Day, *Social Life of the Hebrews*, pp. 87-98, 207-224; Cornill, *History of the People of Israel*, pp. 1-115; Kent, *The Divided Kingdom*, pp. 159-198; Smith, *Old Testament History*, ch. 7-9, 12-14.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. TRADE OF THE HEBREWS.—Cunningham, pp. 40-53; Day, pp. 68-74.
2. THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM.—Kent, *United Kingdom*, ch. 13; see article in *Encyclopædia* entitled "Temple at Jerusalem."
3. THE PROPHET ISAIAH.—Kent, *Divided Kingdom*, pp. 151-158; *Encyclopædias* under "Isaiah."
4. VILLAGE AND CITY LIFE OF THE HEBREWS.—Day, *Social Life*, ch. 5.
5. PHŒNICIAN TRADE ABOUT 600 B.C.—Rawlinson, *Story of Phœnicia*, ch. 10.
6. MINING BY THE PHŒNICIANS.—Rawlinson, pp. 310-312.

CHAPTER VI

THE END OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORIENTAL NATIONS

73. The Beginnings of Assyria.—Among the Semitic tribes which occupied Mesopotamia during the early invasions, that of the Assyrians established itself west of the Tigris river and north of Babylonia. Their chief city was Ashur, named after their tribal god. From Ashur the Assyrians gradually extended their power eastward across the Tigris river.

While the Babylonian kingdom was at its height, the princes of Ashur were tributary to the Babylonian monarchs. Since Mesopotamia was the highway by which Babylonian trade passed to Syria and to Egypt, the Babylonian kings watched the rise of any new power in that region with a jealous eye. The Assyrians, who were a rough and hardy



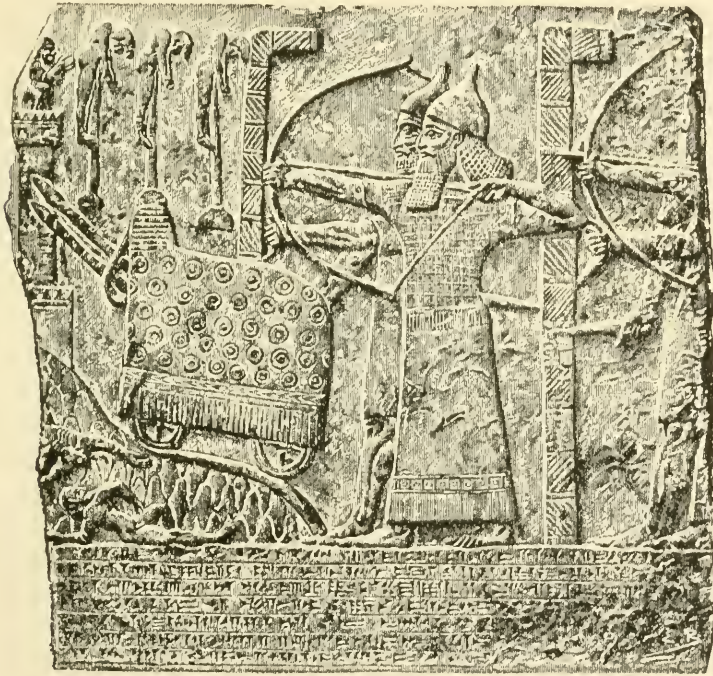
ASSYRIAN KING HUNTING LIONS.

From an Assyrian relief.

race, passionately fond of hunting wild beasts, cruel in war as they were in the chase, had long since adopted the civilization of Babylonia, including its system of cuneiform writing; and about 1300 B. C., they entered upon a long struggle with Babylon for the supremacy over the Mesopotamian country and its trade-routes.

74. The Assyrian Empire.—This series of ceaseless wars

was broken by the last of the great waves of Semitic migration which flooded Mesopotamia and Northern Babylonia (about 1100 B. C.). It was several centuries before the power of Assyria recovered from this invasion of uncivilized Semites, but in the ninth century, B. C., she again began to extend her sway over Mesopotamia. The real founder of the Assyrian Empire is Tiglath-Pileser, IV, who ruled from 745 to 728 B. C. His conquests carried him southward into Syria and Palestine. After a three-year siege the great city of Damascus was conquered, and Tiglath-Pileser was free to lead his armies



TIGLATH-PILESER BESIEGING A WALLED CITY.

Assyrian relief.

against Babylon. Here, too, he was successful, and became king of Babylon in the place of its native rulers, uniting Babylonia and Mesopotamia under one rule, in the year 728 B. C.

75. The Great Assyrian Rulers. Sargon.—After Tiglath-Pileser there came four strong Assyrian kings, Sargon (722–705 B. C.), Sennacherib (705–681 B. C.), Esarhaddon

(681-668 B. C.), and Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.). When Sargon became king, all the new territory conquered by Tiglath-Pileser revolted. By years of fighting, he brought the revolting territories of Babylon and Samaria under thorough subjection, and Samaria was made into a "province" of the Assyrian kingdom. On the walls of his palace Sargon had a record of his deeds inscribed, from which the following extract is taken:

With the help of the sun-god who aided me to vanquish my enemies, I besieged, I occupied the town of Samaria, and I brought into captivity 27,280 persons. I took them to Assyria, and in their stead I placed men to live there whom my hand had conquered. I instituted over them my lieutenants as governors, and I imposed on them tributes as over the Assyrians. Thus was the Kingdom of Israel destroyed as an independent state.

It was Sargon, too, who gave the final blow to the broken kingdom of the Hittites. Though the Hittite tribes at that time were divided into petty principalities and were not politically dangerous, the city of Carchemish controlled the main highway between Asia and Egypt. Therefore, for the commercial advantages to be gained, Sargon took the city, and with it immense booty.

76. Sennacherib.—During the reign of Sennacherib, Babylon again attempted to shake off the rule of Assyria. Sennacherib marched against the city, captured it in the year 689 B. C., and utterly destroyed it. He then tried to put his favorite Assyrian city, Nineveh, in its place as the center and leader of the cities of western Asia in trade as well as in culture. In the Old Testament the hatred which Assyrian oppression aroused in the Hebrews finds expression in prophecies of the ruin of Nineveh:

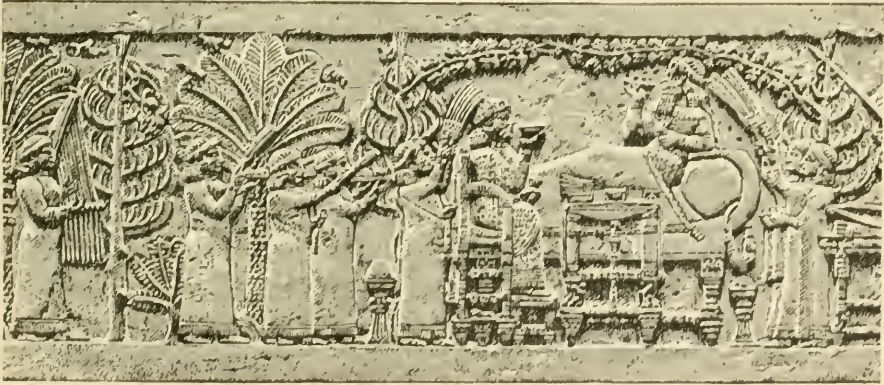
Woe to the bloody city! It is all full of lies and robbery. And it shall come to pass, that all they who look upon thee [Nineveh] shall flee from thee, and say: Nineveh is laid waste * * * who will bemoan her? (II Nahum, III: 1, 7.)

It was Sennacherib who carried the arms of Assyria south-

ward against the kingdom of Judah. Although he compelled Hezekiah, king of Judah, to pay him tribute, he was not able to take the city of Jerusalem. From Sennacherib's palace comes the following inscription:

Hezekiah, king of Judah, did not submit to my yoke. Forty-six of his cities and strong fortresses I besieged, I plundered, I captured. Himself I made like a caged bird in the midst of Jerusalem, the city of his royalty. He consented to the payment of tribute: 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver.

77. Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.—The reign of Esarhaddon was marked by a milder policy toward the subjects of Assyria, and a general peace which had been unknown before in the bloody annals of Assyrian rule. The king appreciated the greatness of the Babylonian civilization, and re-built the city of Babylon. The only addition to Assyrian territory made by Esarhaddon was Egypt, which remained for ten years under Assyrian rule.



ASHURBANIPAL BANQUETING WITH HIS QUEEN. (Assyrian relief.)

Note the lute-player, servants bringing dishes, and servants with fans.

In Ashurbanipal, the decline of the warlike energies of the Assyrian royal line is very apparent. Unlike his predecessors, he did not appear in person on the battlefield. His interest lay rather in collecting the ancient writings of the Babylonians, and having them copied upon clay tablets. In his palace at Nineveh, the excavators found the library which he had brought together. Much of our knowledge of

Babylonian and Assyrian life and history is due to the scholarly zeal of Ashurbanipal.

78. Character of Assyrian Civilization.—The talents of the Assyrian people were shown only in military and in political affairs. In all other lines they took up the ideas of the Babylonians, and added nothing new. Their alphabet and their form of writing show only slight changes from those of the Babylonians. Their dependence upon the cultured life of Babylon is remarkably illustrated in their architecture. Since the Babylonians, of necessity, built their palaces, temples, and houses of sun-dried brick, the Assyrians did likewise, although they had, close at hand, excellent stone for building material.

In warfare they were terribly cruel. The royal annals of Assyria are filled with accounts of the taking and burn-



ASSYRIANS FLAYING THEIR CAPTIVES.

The Assyrian artist expresses distance by placing one figure above another.

ing of cities, and the pictures in relief on the walls of their palaces testify to the barbarous tortures inflicted upon Assyria's enemies. When they conquered a new territory, or reconquered a tributary state which had revolted, the Assyrian kings "deported" the leading men of that vicinity and placed them in some far-off region of the empire.

79. Assyrian Deportations.—An example of this practice is to be found above in Sargon's account of his conquests in Samaria. Since the ablest men were thus transported into distant lands, the poorer classes at home were left with-

out leaders who might arouse and guide the spirit of revolt against the domination of Assyria. After the system of deportations had been carried on by successive rulers for over a century, another important result must be noted. The peoples of western Asia, Babylonians, Assyrians, Armenians, Syrians, and Hebrews, seemed to lose the feeling of separate nationality. They grew accustomed to foreign rule. National differences disappeared, and the Assyrian Empire thus prepared the way for all the great empires which, in the following centuries, were built up out of the many different races of western Asia.

80. Assyrian Provincial Government.—The problem of governing the many and ill-assorted nations which fell under Assyrian sway was a difficult one. In the time of the Egyptian and Babylonian Empires the conquered territories had been allowed to remain under their local rulers, but were forced to send tribute to their conquerors. Under this system the conquered peoples were always ready to revolt as the opportunity came. The Assyrians put into practice a new method of ruling the nations they conquered, which is called the "provincial" system. In order to lessen the chances of revolt, instead of allowing a local prince to rule his own country, the Assyrian king put an Assyrian official in charge as governor, with other Assyrians to help him in the administration. This is clearly shown in the quotation from Sargon's palace previously given: "I instituted over them [the Israelites] my lieutenants as governors." Thus the conquered lands were incorporated into the Assyrian Empire as "provinces," as parts of a compact and unified organization.

81. The Fall of Assyria.—The provincial system was a great advance toward the development of the imperial form of government. It was the first system which made a great and permanent empire possible. After the fall of Assyria the idea was adopted with little change by the Persians, whose empire covered about the same territory as the Assyrian. From them it was handed on to the Romans, and by their genius was moulded into the great provin-

cial system of the Roman Empire, which we shall study later.

The Assyrian organization was far from being a perfect one. It was only an advance over earlier forms. Its chief weakness lay in the fact that it took the strength of the conquered peoples in oppressive taxes. It sought, not to govern the dependent nations for their own welfare, but to make the Assyrians rich. As a consequence the hatred against Assyria grew stronger as time went by. About 606 B. c., the Babylonians combined with the Medes, who



THE FOUR GREAT KINGDOMS IN 600 B. C.
Egypt, Lydia, Babylonia, and Media.

dwelt east of Assyria, took the city of Nineveh, and overthrew forever the sway of Assyria. So completely was the mighty capital destroyed, that its very location was forgotten, and remained unknown until the nineteenth century, when the excavators brought to light the remains of the palaces of the hated city, Nineveh.

82. The Sum of Her Work.—The important work of Assyria may be summed up as follows:

1. She adopted and scattered by force of arms the civilization which Babylon had developed.
2. She leveled the nations, by her conquests and deportations, so that national feeling was overcome, and the East was prepared to follow any foreign conqueror.

3. She developed the provincial form of government, which was better suited than any previous one had been, to rule an empire of vast extent.

83. The Four Great Kingdoms of the East.—After the decline and overthrow of Assyrian leadership, three great kingdoms arose in western Asia, the Babylonian, the Median, which lay in the highlands east and north of the Tigris river, and the Lydian, in Asia Minor. In this period, also, the power and commerce of Egypt revived, so that she takes a place beside the states mentioned, as the fourth great power which existed in the year 600 B. C.

In all these peoples' veins ran the blood of an early population mixed with that of the invading Semites. The Assyrian deportations had helped to obliterate local ties. Since the strong Oriental nations had always been prone to conquer and expand, it was only a question as to which of these four peoples should take the place left vacant by Assyria as leader and ruler of the East.

84. The New Babylonian Empire.—After the fall of Assyria, Necho, the energetic pharaoh of Egypt, attempted to lay hold of Palestine and Syria, and add it to the Egyptian domain. This is a revival of the Egyptian state policy of controlling the wealth and trade routes of Syria, that dates from the time of Thothmes and Rameses. But Necho met a worthy opponent in Nebuchadnezzar¹, who ruled in Babylon from 605 to 561 B. C. This energetic king defeated the forces of Necho, and drove them back into Egypt. Syria and Palestine then fell into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar. The kings of Judah refused to pay the tribute which the Babylonian king demanded of them and finally, in the year 586 B. C., Jerusalem itself was taken and destroyed. With this catastrophe the Jewish people ceased to exist as a political nation. Only in their religion could their nationality express itself.

¹The name of this king was Nabu-kudur-uzur, but he is best known under the name given above, which was used by the Hebrews in the Old Testament.

85. Nebuchadnezzar Rebuilds Babylon.—Although Esarhaddon had rebuilt Babylon after its destruction by Sennacherib, the city had lost much of its former prestige and glory. Nebuchadnezzar took great pride in re-building it, and making it surpass the old city in beauty and comfort.

The most essential work in the revival of Babylon's power was that of putting the irrigation canals in good order. This the king did upon a magnificent scale. His restoration of the prosperity of the city was so thorough that Babylon again assumed its old position of intellectual leader in the East, and retained for over 1500 years some measure of its early commercial importance.

86. Herodotus.—The Greek historian Herodotus, who visited Babylon in the fifth century B. C., has described it as follows:

The city is divided into two portions by the river, which runs through the midst of it. This river is the Euphrates, a broad, deep, swift stream. The city wall is brought down on both sides to the edge of the stream; thence, from the corners of the wall, there is carried along each bank a fence of burnt brick. The houses are mostly three and four stories high: the streets all run in straight lines, not only those parallel to the river, but also the cross streets which lead down to the water-side. At the river end of these cross streets are low gates in the fence that skirts the stream, which are, like the great gates of the outer wall, of brass, and open on the water. (Herodotus, I: 180.)

The two parts of the city were connected by bridges which rested upon stone supports. They were so arranged that the upper structure of the bridge could be removed at night. Among the great sights of Babylon were the hanging gardens which Nebuchadnezzar built to please his queen, a Median princess.

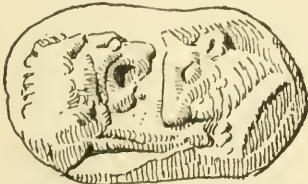
87. The Kingdom of Lydia.—The Lydian kingdom, lying in Asia Minor west of the Halys river, arose after the strength of the Hittites had declined. The language spoken in Lydia was not a Semitic tongue, but was closely related to the Indian and European group of languages, called the Indo-European, which includes the languages of India and most

of the European tongues, for example the Greek, Latin, and German, as well as the French, Spanish, and English, which are derived from these. It is used as a group name to distinguish these similar languages from the Semitic group.

It is probable that the tribes which brought in the Lydian tongue came over into Asia Minor from Europe. They lived with the old native population, and took up the civilization of their new home, but retained their own speech.

Out of this mixture of races arose the Lydian people, with their capital at Sardis. From 600 to 550 B. C. the Lydian kings, Alyattes and Cræsus,¹ brought under their sway all of Asia Minor as far east as the Halys river. They also conquered the wealthy Greek cities which occupied the western edge of Asia Minor. This connection of the Greeks with the Oriental nations was destined to have momentous results for both peoples, but these are best studied in connection with Greek history.

88. The Development of Money Coinage.—The rivers and mountains of Lydia were rich in gold, and the Lydians were active as merchants. To them is due the invention of metal coins, one of the greatest steps in the development of business in the world's history. From the earliest times men had traded with their neighbors. In ancient Egypt they exchanged one article directly for another (the system of barter). It is necessary, however, in



LYDIAN GOLD COIN OF
CRÆSUS.
(Enlarged.)

complex business dealings to have a common "medium of exchange." That is to say, in trading under the primitive system, a fisherman might have fish to sell and a man who made shoes might want some fish; but if the fisherman did not want shoes just then, they could not strike a bargain. Hence arose the use of valuable metals, gold, silver and bronze, as "mediums of exchange." The metals were put into shape convenient for

¹ It is the fabled wealth of this Cræsus which has given us our modern phrase, "as rich as Cræsus."

handling, especially into rings, and were made in standard weight. Now when the shoemaker went to buy from the fisherman, he weighed out to him a certain number of bronze rings. The fisherman could keep the bronze rings until he needed some cloth. He would then go to the weaver and weigh out to him the number of rings which would equal the value of the cloth. Both the Egyptians and the Babylonians used such weights in the exchange of goods. The "shekel" of the Babylonians is one example.

By this means trade could be carried on more easily between distant countries. One difficulty, however, remained, namely, that the metal bars and rings had to be weighed at each exchange, because they could easily be mixed with other substances and their value diminished. The Lydians were the first to strike upon the idea of "coinage." This means that the state takes over the exclusive right to strike off metal pieces. It makes them in certain fixed sizes and weights and stamps upon them the coat-of-arms, perhaps, also, the name of its king. The quality and weight of the gold, silver, or bronze in the coin are thus guaranteed by the state. Business is thus made easier and more secure. This idea of the Lydians was adopted by the Greeks of Asia Minor, then by the Greeks of Europe, and from them it has come down to us.

89. The Medes and Persians.—The language of the Medes, and that of the related tribes to the southeast of them, the Persians, is of the Indo-European group. Their religion, too, and the fundamental ideas which their civilization presents, mark them as apart from the Semitic and Mediterranean races which we have studied.

When the Assyrian Empire was destroyed, its territory was divided among the Medes, the Lydians, and the Babylonians, the Halys river forming the boundary between the Median and the Lydian kingdoms. In the year 553 B. C., Cyrus, king of the Persians and a subject of the Median king, revolted against his overlord; and three years later, he defeated and captured him. Thus the leadership in the

East fell to a fresh and vigorous people, the Persians, under a king of great ability.

Against this Cyrus, who is justly called the Great, the Babylonians, Lydians, and Egyptians combined. Cyrus first marched against Crœsus of Lydia, crossed the Halys river, and defeated the wealthy and powerful Lydians (546 B. c.). The Lydian kingdom was made a part of Persia, and with it the Greek cities in western Asia Minor. In 539 B. c. Babylon, too, was captured by Cyrus. The Babylonian territory thus added to Cyrus' dominion included the countries subject to Babylon, namely, Syria and Palestine. Under Cambyses (529-522 B. c.), who succeeded Cyrus upon the Persian throne, Egypt also succumbed to the advancing power of the Persians. Under the great Darius (521-485 B. c.) the attempt was made to bring the country of Greece under Persian rule, but as this war chiefly concerned the Greeks, it must be considered under the history of that people.



A PERSIAN ARCHER.

From a frieze of painted tiles found at Susa.

90. Extent and Culture of the Persian Empire.—After the conquests just enumerated, the Persian Empire included all the ancient peoples whose history we have so far traced, excepting those of the Ægean islands. It was a vast extent of territory, stretching from Egypt and the Mediterranean



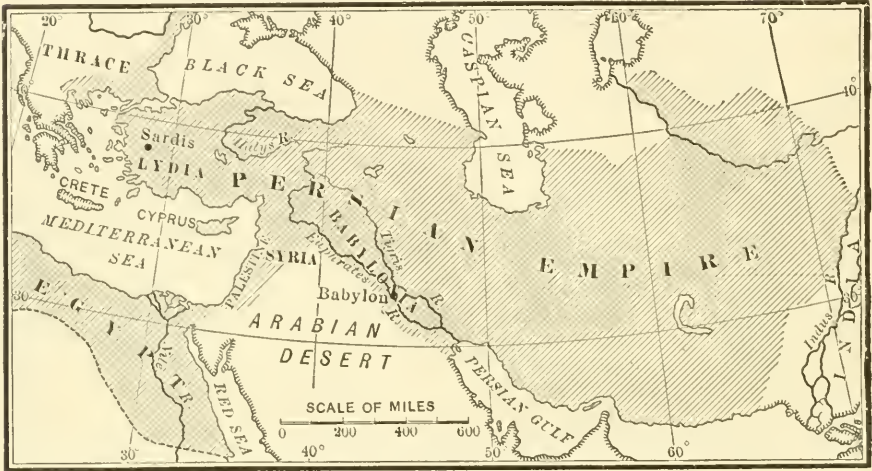
KING DARIUS PIERCING A REBEL WITH HIS LANCE.

From a Persian seal.

sea in the west, to the Indus river in the east, from the Persian Gulf and the Arabian desert in the south, to the Caspian and Black seas in the north. The distance from

east to west was somewhat greater than that from New York to San Francisco.

In its territory, therefore, the Persian Empire sums up the ancient history of western Asia. It was the first all-inclusive world empire. In other respects, also, it brings



EXTENT OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE IN 500 B. C.

to an end the historical development of the nations in that part of the world. Although the Persians were more akin to the people of Europe than to the Semitic and other peoples whom they conquered, they were unable to resist the spell of the old Babylonian life. Their own national ideas and peculiar talents were not strong enough to change the long-established culture of the land and people whom they ruled, and, as the Assyrians had done before them, they adopted the views and mode of life characteristic of the old Babylonians.

91. Government and Language.—The method by which the Persians governed their vast empire was that which the Assyrians had evolved and used. The provinces (called by the Persians, satrapies) were ruled over by Persian governors, the satraps. Their rule was far better than that of the Assyrians, because they were less cruel and more thoughtful of the welfare of the subject lands.

The Persian method of writing shows again how their

national life was unable to escape the Babylonian influence. In commerce and in government reports the Persian Empire made use of the Syrian and the Babylonian languages, quite as much as the native Persian tongue; and when the Persian language was used, it was expressed in the Babylonian cuneiform writing.

Before the Persian conquest the Babylonian civilization had not extended eastward beyond the head of the Persian Gulf. It was, perhaps, the greatest service performed by the Persian Empire that it brought within the circle of this cultured life the territory from Media to India. The further story of Persia is closely connected with that of the Greeks in Europe. It centers round the attempt to conquer Greece, and to carry into Europe the Oriental-Babylonian civilization which Persia represented. How this attempt failed will be the subject of our study when we deal with the Greeks.

92. Summary of the Advance in Civilization Made by the Egyptian and Western Asiatic Peoples.—In the period extending from about 4000 to 500 B. C., the races living in Egypt and western Asia had done much to advance man's knowledge, as is shown by the following statements:

1. The Egyptians and Babylonians had learned the art of writing and of preserving the records of their thoughts and history.

2. They had determined the length of the year, and marked the passage of time by the course of the moon and the sun.

3. They had learned to make weapons and tools out of harder metals, first of bronze, then of iron.

4. They lived in cities of large size, and had learned to build comfortable houses as well as large and beautiful palaces and temples.

5. In business, they had developed overland and oversea trade, and the Lydians had begun the system of coinage which made this extensive trade much easier.

6. In religion, the Hebrews had developed the worship of one God, which was destined to supplant the old polytheistic beliefs and prevail in a great part of the civilized world in the form of Christianity.

7. The form of the state in which men lived had changed from the little city-state of the pre-historic Egyptian and Babylonian periods, to the wide extent of the mighty Persian Empire, with its complicated government.

Much had already been done. There remained much more to do, as must always be the case so long as man progresses and develops. Too great power rested in the hands of the rulers, and the governments were run for them and their favorites, rather than for the people. The great mass of their subjects were satisfied and uncomplaining if they got enough to eat. Consequently, there was little ambition or desire on the part of the common people to think and act for themselves. Literature and art were bound to the service of the rulers, to laud their great deeds in verse and song, and to decorate their palace walls. Excepting among the Hebrews, religious thought had become bound by the traditions of the past, and the rules of the priests. Civilization had advanced wonderfully in the period which we have studied; but with the good accomplished for mankind, evil conditions had developed which were so strongly set in the lives and thought of the Oriental races that the world could hope for but little further progress through their agency. The further advance in civilization could only be gained by the aid of new and fresh peoples with new ideas.

References for Outside Reading

ASSYRIA: Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, ch. 4, 6; Maspero, *Egypt and Assyria*, ch. 14, 16, 18, 19; Goodspeed, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 223-264, 314-320; Sayce, *Ancient Empires*, pp. 123-178; Winckler, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 286-310; Sayce, *Assyria, Its Princes, etc.*, ch. 2; Olmstead, *Sargon of Assyria*.

PERSIA: Sayce, *Ancient Empires of the East*, ch. 5; Seignobos, pp. 69-75; Benjamin, *Story of Persia*, ch. 1-8.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. ASSYRIAN WARFARE.—Sayce, *Assyria, Its Princes, Etc.*, pp. 124-128; Maspero, *Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, ch. 18, 19, 20.
2. ASSYRIAN HUNTING.—Look at the pictures in Maspero, and criticize the drawing of wild animals.

3. PRIVATE LIFE OF AN ASSYRIAN.—Maspero, *Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, ch. 12.
4. NEBUCHADNEZZAR AND DANIEL.—Book of Daniel in the *Old Testament*, ch. 1, 2.
5. HEBREW ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM BY SENNACHERIB.—II Kings, ch. 18, verses 13-37, ch. 19.
6. DARIUS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.—Sayce, *Ancient Empires*, pp. 247-250.

PART II

THE HISTORY OF GREECE

CHAPTER VII

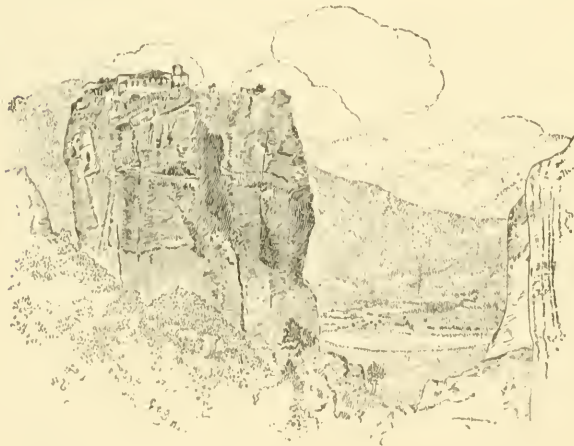
HELLAS AND THE HELLENES

93. The Importance of the Greeks.—The people living in the smallest of the three Mediterranean peninsulas, the one we call Greece, speak of themselves to-day as Hellenes, and call their country Hellas. These were the names which they used in ancient times also, but the Roman writers called them Greeks, as we do. We are to study now the history of this Hellenic or Greek people, and to see in what ways they took up the civilization of Egypt and Babylonia, and how many new and important additions they made in the centuries of their greatness. They have left their stamp even upon the life of to-day; and we must acknowledge that we are indebted to the ancient Greeks for much that is good in our civilization.

94. The People.—In prehistoric times, the peninsula of Greece was occupied by a people probably akin to those who lived originally in Egypt, in Crete, in Northern Africa, in Spain, and in Italy. It is not possible to tell when the Hellenic tribes moved down from the north and occupied the peninsula, nor can the historian tell whence they came. The language, however, which the Hellenes spoke is of the general Indo-European group. It is, therefore, related to the languages of the people of India, of the Germans, of the Italian tribes, and of the Celts of Gaul and Spain. The Hellenes intermarried with the native population so that the Greek race of history is of the combined blood of the two; but the earlier

inhabitants adopted the Indo-European language and the customs which the Hellenes brought in with them.

95. Nature of the Country.—The present kingdom of Greece is of about the same extent as the Hellas of old, a country almost equal to West Virginia in size, and in about the same latitude. Its climate varies greatly in different parts; but because of the influence of the surrounding sea it is in general mild, especially in the valleys and along the coast. To-day one may see tropical fruits, such as lemons and oranges—fruits unknown to the ancient Greeks—growing in the valleys of Sparta. The air is bright and clear, with months of almost cloudless weather. The landscape is



MOUNTAIN AND VALLEY LANDSCAPE IN THESSALY.

broken by ranges of high and treeless mountains surrounding valley lands, through which small rivers run down to the sea. There are no great stretches of prairie, as in the Middle West of our own country, nor are there plateaus which

gradually ascend to the mountains. The low valleys lie between masses of immense bowlders, and the way from one valley to another leads over these, through passes which are not easy for horses or men to travel. This physical fact has a tendency to cut off the valley districts from communication with one another.

96. Its Effect on the Development of the Hellenes.—It is in large measure due to this physical feature of the country that the Greeks were never able to unite to form a single great Hellenic nation. Trade between the districts separated by the mountains was difficult. Those which had an outlet upon the sea could trade more easily by boat than by

pack-trains over the mountain-passes. This fact tended to make the Greeks well acquainted with the sea at a very early period in their history.

Some of the valleys are quite fertile, but these form a small portion of the area of the entire peninsula. Therefore, as the population grew, the Greeks were forced to import their grain and other food supplies in large quantities, by ship, from other countries. Large and small bays and inlets cut into the coast of Greece, and give the country a greater extent of shore-line, compared to its size, than any land we know.

97. The Hellenes on the Sea.—The waters around Greece are comparatively calm. To the east and south many islands led the sailors step by step toward Asia, and without losing sight of land they passed from one of these islands to another, gradually colonizing them. The coast-line, broken into gulfs and bays; the difficulty of trading by way of the mountains; and the small extent of the fertile strips of valley; all of these features tended to make the Hellenes a sea-going people; and trade with the islands of the *Ægean* brought them early into contact with the Oriental nations.

The journey around the *Peloponnesus* was dangerous for the sailing and rowing vessels, and this fact caused the western coast of Greece to develop much later than the eastern. Moreover, there was no civilized people in Italy from whom the Hellenes of the west could learn, as those of the east picked up the ways of the Orient through the *Phœnicians*.



COAST-LINE AND MOUNTAINS OF THE PELOPONNESUS.

98. Early Religious Beliefs.—The religion of the Hellenes, when they came into the Balkan peninsula, was that of a

wandering people of shepherds and hunters. Their gods were the protectors each of some one activity or phase of the life of the people. Apollo, for example, watched over their herds. Hestia was the goddess who protected the hearth. Hermes, too, was a god who looked after the herds



BUST OF HERMES, THE GOD OF THE
STREETS.

From a Greek Vase-painting of
about 400 B. C.

as well as the streets and their traffic. Above all the other deities, and mightier than they, was Zeus, the god of the sky and the clouds and the storm.

The ancient Hellenes thought that these gods might live in stones, in trees, or in animals. Hence these objects, as the dwelling-places of the gods, received the worship from the people. In some places the wolf was worshipped as Apollo, in others as Zeus. Athena,

the goddess of wisdom, was worshipped as a snake. All these are the remains of a much earlier and more savage worship of stones and other things without life, or of animals, as gods. When the Hellenes first appear in history, they had passed this crude form of worship; yet the barbarous custom of human sacrifice to the gods still remained in certain localities.

99. The Tribal System.—The chief occupations of the early Greeks were hunting and the pasturing of cattle, mainly sheep and goats. These furnished them with milk, cheese, meat, and wool for their clothes. As the number of the people increased in the small valley districts, they were forced to take up the planting of grains and vegetables; for the same amount of ground when planted with such crops will support a greater number than if it is given over to pasturing alone. The smallness of the valleys had also the effect of breaking up the race into small tribes, the members of which believed that they were of one blood and descended from a single ancestor. The tribes were further divided into phratries, or brotherhoods, and families,

where the relationship was closer than that of the whole tribe.

From the idea of blood kinship arose the important law of the "blood feud." If a man of one tribe was killed by a man of another, all the members of his tribe were religiously bound to avenge the murder. This would have caused a never-ending series of murders between different tribes and families within the tribe itself, had it not been for the system of "blood fines." By this system the nearest relatives of the dead man might give up their claim of revenge for a certain price. This might be paid in cattle, arms, or other articles of value, and the payment ended the feud.

100. The Organization of the Tribe.—The basis of the tribe was the body of the



EARLY MYCENÆAN-GREEK VASE-PAINTING.
Warriors Departing to Battle. A Woman Bewails their Departure.

warriors, who must be full tribesmen. At their head stood the chieftain, or king, called "basileus" by the Greeks. He was the judge of the tribe, and the leader in war.

By the side of the basileus was the Council of Elders, the old and experienced men who had passed the fighting age. They advised the king in matters relating to the tribe, and helped him to decide disputes according to the tribal customs.

101. Advance of the Hellenes, 1300-1000 B. C.—Excavations have shown that the Cretans had built mighty palaces in Greece, at Mycenæ, at Tiryns, at Orchomenos in Bœotia, and in other places. From these centers, they ruled the native population as their overlords. About 1300 B. c., a movement from north to south began among the Hellenic

tribes which finally resulted in the overthrow of these Mycenaean centers of Greece. No doubt their rulers had become too luxurious in their living, and had lost their war-like energy. In this condition of decay, it was inevitable that they should lose their leadership to a more energetic and war-like people. Before their palaces were taken and burned, the Cretans from their outposts in Greece had taught the Hellenes something of their own artistic skill, and had given them a glimpse of the higher and more cultured life which they themselves enjoyed.

102. The Ægean Islands Occupied.—As the Hellenic tribes increased in numbers, the land no longer sufficed for the allotment of ground to the young men. This condition forced them to go out upon the islands of the Ægean. Gradually these were filled up with Hellenes, and the older Cretan population was either rooted out or absorbed into the new, adopting their customs and language. An inscription from Egypt in the time of Rameses III (about 1150 B. C.) tells us that the “islands were restless.” Everything points to this time as belonging to the period when the Greeks spread over the Ægean islands. From these islands it was but one further step to occupy the coast land of Asia Minor. The whole movement must have occupied several centuries before its completion.

103. The Chief Greek Tribes.—Several centuries after these movements, when the Hellenes themselves began to take an interest in their past, they found that the many Greek tribes fell naturally into four large groups, the Æolian, Dorian, Ionian, and Achæan. In the attempt to explain these names and the kinship of all the Hellenic tribes, they imagined that these were all descended from one hero, Hellen. The Æolians and Dorians, as they thought, were descended from his sons, Æolus and Dorus, the Ionians and Achæans from his grandsons, Ion and Achæus.

104. The Dorian Migration (about 1000 B. C.).—The ancient Greek writers tell a confused story of a final great movement among the Greeks which entirely changed the geographical position of the various tribes. They relate that the



GREECE, THE ÆGEAN SEA ASIA AND MINOR



SHOWING THE GENERAL RELATIONSHIP BY TRIBES.

Thessalians had once lived in Epirus, but something occurred which drove them over the Pindus range into the valley which has ever since been called after them, Thessaly. The Bœotians, an Æolian tribe, were forced out of Thessaly and occupied the Bœotian plain. The movement of the Thessalians also drove out the Dorians, who left a portion of their tribe in the little state of Doris in Central Greece; but the greater part moved into the Peloponnesus, conquered the people living there, and made a large part of the country Dorian.

This tradition is in its main outlines correct. The earliest books of the Greek people, the epic poems called the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, locate the tribes in a different position from that which they held in historic times; and thus it is evident that some general shifting of tribes had taken place. The movement is generally put at about 1000 B. C., and is called the Dorian Migration.

105. The Coast of Asia Minor Becomes Greek (1000 B. C.).
—This final shifting of the Greek tribes brought about a renewed exodus eastward and completed the settling of the sea-coast of Asia Minor. The western and southern coast was studded with Hellenic cities, and falls into three sections, according to the general tribal character of the colonists. In the north, from the Troad to the Hermus river, including the island of Lesbos, the emigrants were mainly Æolians and Achæans. This strip was called Æolis, and the dialect there spoken was the soft and liquid Æolian Greek. Farther to the south was Ionia, settled by Hellenes of the Ionian tribe, who occupied, also, the large islands of Chios and Samos. The Ionian cities of Ephesus, Magnesia, and Miletus soon became populous; and the development of their manufactures and trade with the inland Lydians and Carians soon made them more prosperous and important than any cities in Greece itself.

South of Ionia, the coast-line, with the islands of Cos and Rhodes, was settled with Dorian cities. Crete had already been overrun by men of the same tribe. The relation between the Dorians in Crete and those in the Peloponnesian

city of Sparta is clearly proven by the similarity of their political institutions, as seen in later times.

References for Outside Reading

Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 98-102, 106-08; Oman, *History of Greece*, pp. 1-5, 19-28, 47-51; Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 1-5, 39-46; Abbott, *History of Greece*, Vol. I, ch. 1.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. THE GREEK IDEA OF THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD.—Fairbanks, *Mythology of Greece and Rome*, ch. 2.
2. TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE OF GREECE.—*Encyclopedias* under "Greece."
3. PRIMITIVE GOVERNMENT AMONG THE GREEKS.—Work out from the *Iliad*. (Lang, Leaf and Myers, pp. 22-29, 381; Fling's *Source Book*, pp. 13-16) the various parts of the old tribal government.
4. ZEUS, FATHER OF GODS AND MEN.—Fairbanks, *Mythology of Greece and Rome*, pp. 88-97.
5. APOLLO AS GOD OF LIGHT, OF AGRICULTURE, AND OF THE HERDS.—Fairbanks, *Mythology of Greece and Rome*, pp. 126-130, especially p. 128.
6. PHŒNICIAN INTERCOURSE WITH GREECE.—Bury, pp. 76-79.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY HELLENIC CIVILIZATION AS SHOWN IN THE HOMERIC POEMS

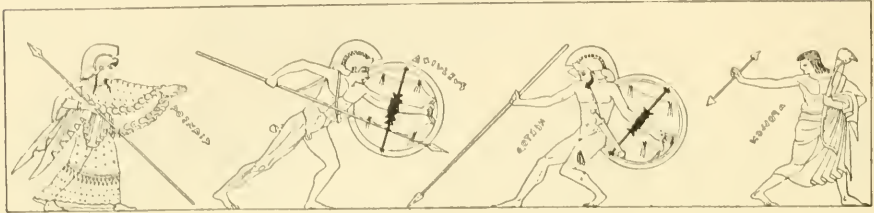
106. The Age of Epic Poetry.—The excavations of their palaces in Crete and in Greece have told us the story of the Cretan people, whose greatness stretched over a long period of time perhaps ending about 1000 B. C. For the next centuries, from 1000 to 700 B. C., we have little archæological evidence upon which to found our knowledge of the Hellenic race, which succeeded the Cretans in Greece and in the Ægean Islands. In place of this we take the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, two epic poems which gradually assumed shape during these centuries, and learn from them something of the social life and government of the age in which they were written.

By 700 B. C., the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were completed, almost in the same form in which they are read to-day. The *Iliad* tells a story of events which occurred in the tenth year of the war of the Greeks against Troy. The manner of its opening shows clearly that the author was certain that his hearers knew all the story up to that point. Every Greek knew the tale of how Paris, son of Priam of Troy, went to "lovely Lacedemon," and stole Helen, "fair among women," from her husband Menelaus. All knew the rest of the tale, how "wide-ruling Agamemnon, leader of the hosts," gathered the Greek warriors against Troy-land to take revenge upon Priam and his son Paris.

107. Story of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—The *Iliad* tells the tale of the wrath of the god-like Achilles, who had been angered by the treatment accorded him by Agamemnon, leader of the Greek host. Achilles refused to assist in the fighting; but when his beloved friend, Patroclus, was killed by the Trojan warrior, Hector, he returned to the fray and

slew Hector under the walls of Troy. The story closes with the account of the ransoming of Hector's body and the mourning of the Trojan women over his fate.

The *Odyssey* recounts the ten years' wandering and the



ACHILLES SLAYING HECTOR.

Greek Vase-painting of about 500 B. C. The figures are Athena, Achilles, Hector, Apollo.

adventures of the crafty Greek hero, Odysseus, on his homeward journey after Troy had been captured. When, at last, disguised as a beggar, he reached his island home of Ithaca,

he slew the insolent suitors who were bothering his faithful wife, and the two were happily reunited.



ODYSSEUS SLAYING THE SUITORS.

From a Vase-painting of about 450 B. C.

108. The Authorship of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

—When the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, because of their marvelous beauty, had become the great national poems of the Greek peoples, men began to inquire about Homer, who was said to have written them. They

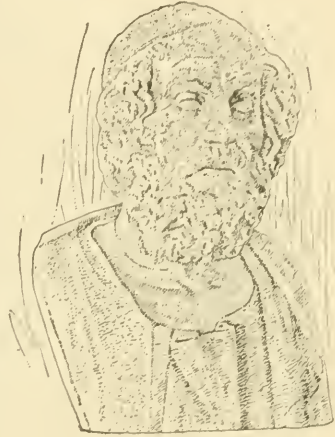
thought that he was a blind singer, and in the fourth century B. C., an unknown sculptor carved a head of Homer as he thought the blind poet might have looked. This was for centuries accepted as the authentic portrait of the writer of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

It is now generally believed that the *Iliad* grew out of a number of songs telling the deeds of the Greek heroes, all woven around an original story, the Wrath of Achilles. These songs were written by different bards, or recitationists, and handed down from generation to generation. There probably was one poet of greater genius than the rest who worked them over, and put them into their present form. He must have lived sometime before 700 B. C., but we cannot prove who he was, nor that his name was Homer.

109. Government in the Epic Poems.—The Homeric poems arose in a chaotic period of change and unrest—a time of movement and migration among the Greeks. This unsettled condition is reflected in the government of the Greeks in the camp about Troy, which may be taken as fairly typical of the government of the age.

The rule was in the hands of an hereditary king; but this royal power was much restricted by the nobles called “elders,” or “sceptered chiefs,” who formed the king’s council. Yet the king was commander-in-chief in war, high priest at the public sacrifices, and supreme judge in the primitive court of the time.

When any very important action was on foot, after the king had discussed it with his Council (the Boulé), the Agora, or assembly of the fighting men who supported the state, was called. The business was placed before this body and explained by the king and the nobles, who alone had the right to debate. Then the folk shouted its approval or dissent. Once, in the *Iliad*, a man of the common folk dared to speak his mind, and, although he was beaten from the Assembly, the incident shows that the common people were finding their voice in the government.



STUDY OF HOMER.

By an Artist of the Fourth Century B. C.

110. Slavery.—The treatment of slaves, especially as shown in the *Odyssey*, demonstrates that the men of the time were merciful. No example of cruelty to a slave is to be found in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. The slaves were usually captives taken in war, or those stolen in their childhood by Phœnician traders. They served about the palace as domestic servants, or out in the fields as shepherds and farm-hands. The gentle and kindly feeling existing between master and servant may be seen in that passage in the *Odyssey* where Odysseus makes himself known to two of his men, both herdsmen:

They threw their arms round wise Odysseus and passionately kissed his face and neck. So likewise did Odysseus kiss their heads and hands. (Palmer's translation, p. 335.)

111. Estimate of the Homeric Civilization.—The Homeric poems are artistic works of great beauty. The genius displayed in their composition shows that the time was one in which civilization was already well advanced, although the life of the Hellenes was much simpler than that of the Cretans, whose leadership they had usurped in Greece and the Ægean Islands. The Homeric chieftains knew noth-



OLD GREEK VASE-PAINTING OF THE EARLY HOMERIC PERIOD.

It Represents a Festal Chorus of Men and Women.

ing of the realistic wall-paintings which decorated the Cretan palaces, nor of the fine gem-cutting of the Cretans. Their life was less magnificent, and their artistic work more crude; hence, when they got hold of a fine Mycænæan or Cretan

shield embossed with figures, they thought it must be the work of some god.

Yet the Hellenes of this age show an ability to express their own individuality and taste in a way which marks them as quite apart from the other nations of ancient times. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* display a freshness which literature had never before shown. In government, democracy, which means "the power of the people," was beginning to manifest itself in the Homeric assembly of warriors.

112. The Unifying Effect of the Poems.—The popularity and influence of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* among the Greek people were very great. At first the poems were recited by travelling elocutionists and later were eagerly read. They came to be regarded as the national poems of all the Hellenes, and they were finally used as text-books in Greek schools. Thus they aided greatly in developing a feeling among the Hellenes that, whatever their tribal differences might be, they were nevertheless all one people.

The unifying effect of these poems is best seen in the Greek religion. Among the many local deities of the Greek tribes, those gods who appeared prominently in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were soon regarded as the national, or common, Hellenic gods. In the poems they were represented as being very like men and women, although larger and more beautiful. They felt anger and pain, like human beings, and were often jealous of each other. They differed from men only in their grandeur and in being immortal.

113. The Greek Oracles.—The Greeks thought that the gods expressed their will to men by signs; for example, when Zeus, the greatest of the gods, caused the thunder to roll it signified that he was angry. Even in the time when the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were being written, certain places were beginning to be regarded as especially favorable spots at which worshippers might question the gods and learn their will. At these sacred places the "oracles" developed, which played so important a part in the political and social life of the Greeks.

Among the famous oracles was that of the mighty god

Zeus at Olympia in Elis, where, later, the great Olympic games were held. But the chief god of the oracles was Apollo, to whom Zeus had given the power of prophesying the future. Before 600 B. C. the authority of the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, in central Greece, was recognized wherever Greek was spoken. From every quarter of the Greek world statesmen and merchants came to ask the advice of Apollo before beginning any important undertaking. This advice was obtained from the mutterings of a priestess, who was supposed to be inspired by the god and to reveal his will. Even Cræsus, the wealthy and powerful king of Lydia, sought to obtain the good will of Apollo by sending rich gifts to his shrine at Delphi. So the oracles became the centers of Greek religious feeling. Like the Homeric poems, they formed a bond of union in the scattered life of the Greek world.

References for Outside Reading

Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 102-05; 112-21; Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. 3, 4; Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 65-79; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, ch. 2; Fling, *Source Book of Greek History*, ch. 1; Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, ch. 3, 9, 14-16.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. DESCRIBE THE FIGHT BETWEEN ACHILLES AND HECTOR.—*Iliad*, Bk. 22, preferably in the Lang, Leaf, and Myers' translation.
2. THE FUNERAL GAMES IN HONOR OF PATROCLUS.—*Iliad*, Bk. 23.
3. THE DEATH OF THE SUITORS.—*Odyssey*, Bks. 21 and 22.
4. THE WOMEN OF THE HOMERIC AGE.—Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, pp. 117-138.
5. HECTOR AND ANDROMACHE.—*Iliad*, Bk. 6; Lang, Leaf, and Myers, pp. 122-127.
6. ODYSSEUS AND THE CYCLOPS.—*Odyssey*, Bk. 9.

CHAPTER IX

THE SPREADING OF THE GREEKS ALONG THE MEDITERRANEAN SHORE

114. What Colonization Means.—We have already seen how the Greeks, toward the end of the Cretan age, filled the islands of the Ægean Sea and the coast of Asia Minor. When the people of any country increase so rapidly in numbers that the land will not support them, the surplus population must move out and settle in other countries less thickly populated. If the new settlements remain dependent upon the old country or even keep a close connection with it and do not adopt the customs, language, and government of the new country, they are called colonies.

115. Causes of the Greek Colonizing Movement.—The Phœnicians had been the great colonizers of the Mediterranean Sea. Their object had been to establish posts upon the sea-coast as centers of trade with the natives of the less civilized countries. When the Hellenes began to expand over the Ægean Islands and into Asia Minor (see §105), they soon took from the Phœnicians the trade which they had held in these regions, and the Phœnicians were forced to look for other opportunities in the western Mediterranean. The chief cause of the Hellenic colonization of this era lay in the fact that Greece was over-crowded and that there was not enough food to support the increasing population. Other causes are to be found in the Hellenic love of adventure in new lands, and trouble in the party politics of the home cities. Religious persecution, which played such an important part in the colonizing of our own country, was not a factor in Greek colonization. In the later part of the movement many colonies were founded with an eye to controlling the trade of the new country for the mother-city.

116. Method of Colonization.—The time of this movement of expansion extends from about 800 to 500 B. C. The Greek cities were now beginning to manufacture articles, especially pottery in the form of jars, bowls, and drinking cups. They had learned by experience the value of colonies, that they could buy raw products cheaply of the natives there and sell to them at a profit the goods manufactured at home out of these raw materials.



ATHENIAN
VASE.

End of the
Fifth Cen-
tury. Aphro-
dite riding
on a swan.

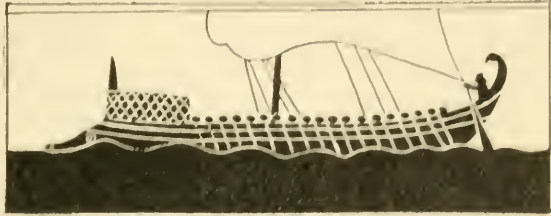
The method of colonizing differed from that of modern times. When a noble in one of the Greek cities found it impossible to live longer at home in peace, he would go to one of the oracles, usually to that of Delphi. Here he would ask the permission of the god to settle in some definite place, if he had already chosen the site. If not, he would ask the god to advise him where to locate. The priests of the god would explain the curious answers received from the oracle and indicate, more or less vaguely, the spot where the colony should settle. Not all of the colonists were drawn from a single city. Adventurers, and those who were politically discontented, came from cities near and far; but the colony always retained a feeling of love and kinship for the city where all these people met for the expedition.

The leader of the colony, usually chosen from the nobility of the mother-city, carried the sacred fire from the hearth of the mother-city to the new land. He organized the government on the pattern of that of the old home and laid out the new city according to a regular plan, usually rectangular, the principal streets crossing each other at right angles. The proper amount of land was given to the gods for temples, and the remainder parcelled out to the colonists by lot. After his death the colony's leader was held in sacred memory and worshipped as a hero.

In the course of 200 years, from 750 to 550 B. C., the coasts of the Propontis and the Black Sea in the east, and of lower

Italy and of Sicily in the west, were studded with cities of adventurous and prosperous Greeks. A number of colonies were founded in Egypt, in Gaul, and in Spain. These grew rapidly and soon became wealthier than the older cities of the Greek peninsula.

117. The Colonies of Lower Italy.—At an early date Greek settlers began to make the short journey



GREEK SHIP WITH ONE BANK OF OARS.
Vase-painting.

across to lower Italy. The rich soil of this country attracted those who were laboring for a bare living in Greece. The Achæans were especially active in developing this place, and their colonies, Sybaris and Croton, soon became extremely wealthy, so much so that "Sybarite" became a term used to designate a man who lived too luxuriously. Tarentum was colonized by political refugees from Sparta, and became rich and powerful by reason of the adaptability of the country round about for stock-raising. On the western coast of Italy were Cyme, founded by Chalcidians of the island of Eubœa, and its colony, the New-City (Naples). This was the north-

ernmost extent of Greece in Italy, and this area was soon called "Magna Græcia," or Great Greece. The Ionian city of Phocæa in Asia Minor sent out a colony to Massilia in Lower Gaul, which became the sea-port of the Greek trade with Gaul and Germany.



SILVER TETRACHM
OF SYRACUSE.

Chariot with Figure of
Victory above it.

118. Syracuse and the Trade of Corinth.

—Of the many Greek colonies in Sicily, the great city of Syracuse, founded from Corinth, was the most important. Its situation was excellent, with two fine harbors, so that it became a great factor commercially and politically in the history of Greece. It retained close and friendly relations with Corinth throughout its history as a free city. Through

Syracuse and the colonies in the Ionian Sea, Corinth controlled the trade to the west, for her two harbors on the Gulf of Corinth and the Ægean Sea gave her a privileged position.

On the northern coast of Africa the Greek city of Cyrene became wealthy through its trade with the native tribes of the coast and the desert, and by the sale of a medicinal plant called silphium.

119. How Chalcidice was Colonized.—The Euripus, the narrow sound between Eubœa and the Greek mainland, was at this period the chief route of travel and trade between the southern and northern districts on the east coast of Greece. The cities of Chalcis and Eretria situated on this sound, had naturally developed into important trading cities. In the extension of their trade to the north they found it wise to plant colonies on the peninsula which took the name Chalcidice, from the city of Chalcis. The greatest Eubœan colony in this district was Olynthus. Chalcis took an active part also in the colonization of Sicily.

Inspired by the trade advantages in Chalcidice, the rising emporium of Corinth stepped boldly into this Eubœan sphere, and planted her colonies. The important city of Potidæa long retained a feeling of loyalty to Corinth as its mother-city.



SILVER DRACHMA, OF
TRAPEZUS (Enlarged.)
Bunches of grapes on a
table.

120. The Black Sea Colonized by Miletus.—To the brilliant Ionian merchant city of Miletus is chiefly due the credit of colonizing the edge of the Black Sea. She is said to have sent out, in all, 80 colonies. Trapezus and Sinope on the southern shore opened up to her wares the market of all the country lying back of them. They sent back fish, timber, and other products in return. Her colonies on the Tauric Chersonesus (modern Crimea) and the northern shore exchanged the raw products of southern Russia (skins, grain, and metals) for her manufactured goods. The Dorian city of Megara on the Isthmus of Corinth, then a flourishing

trading center, placed a colony at the mouth of the Bosphorus leading into the Black Sea. This city, first called Byzantium, later Constantinople, was throughout antiquity and is to-day an important commercial and military strategic point. Her trade grew to great proportions in the export of



VASE-PAINTING OF THE SIXTH CENTURY B. C.

King Arecesilas of Cyrene Oversees the Weighing and Storing of Silphium.

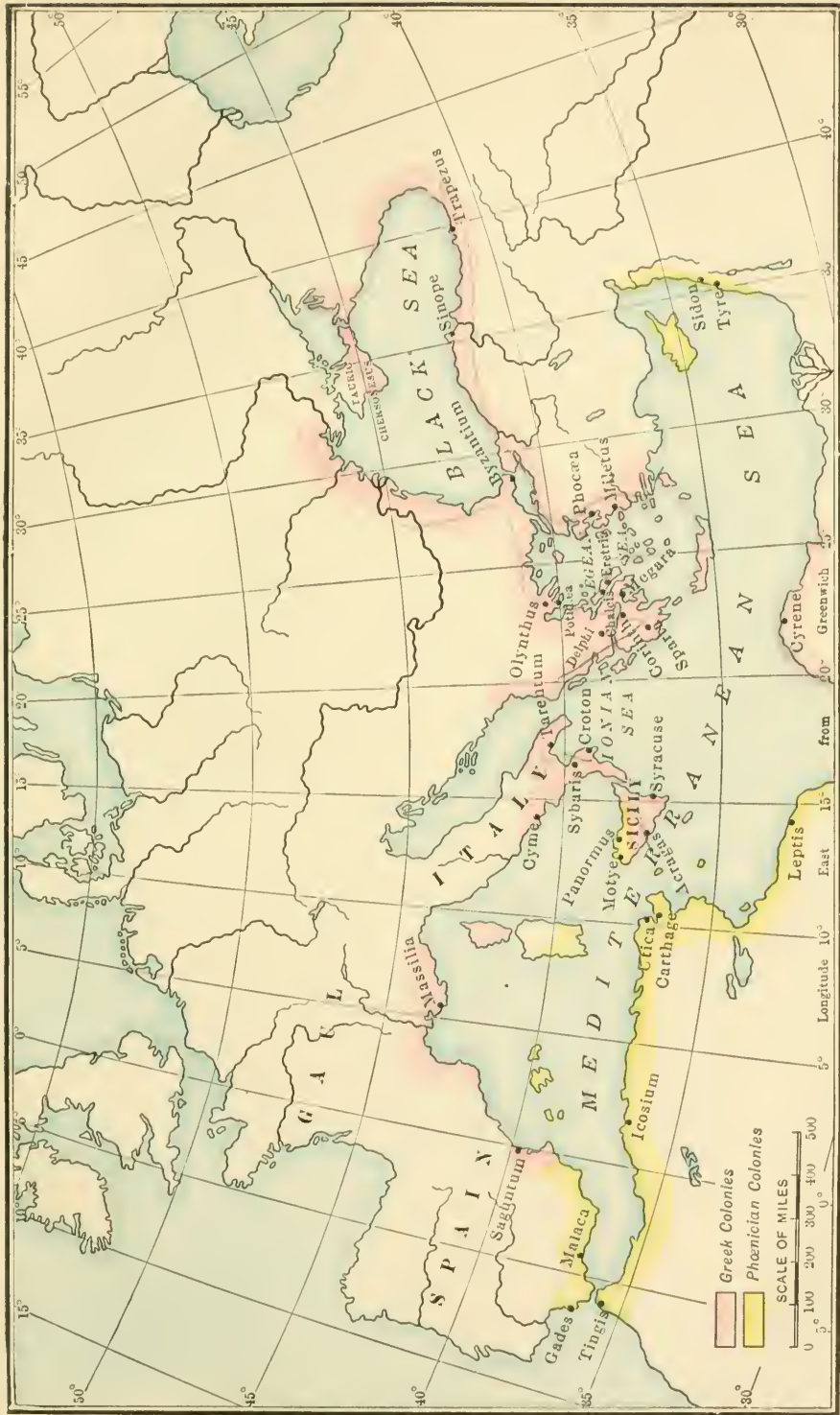
fish, which appeared in great schools in the Bosphorus at certain seasons. Holding the key to the Black Sea, the situation of Byzantium gave her control of the export of cereals from all this country to Greece.

This northern trend of colonization was thus chiefly from Ionian sources such as Miletus and the Eubœan cities. A few of the most important colonies, including Potidæa and Byzantium, were Dorian.

121. Legends Arise out of the Colonizing Movement.—The old Greek myth of Jason and his voyage in the ship

Argo in quest of the golden fleece reflects the awe and terror of the earliest traders sailing into the unknown regions of the Black Sea. Jason had been persuaded to make a vow to get the golden fleece, which hung from an oak tree in the grove of Ares in Colchis, guarded day and night by a sleepless dragon. On the way, the Argonauts, the heroes of the *Argo*, had numerous adventures, and were compelled to fight with peoples living along the coast. They were forced to pass between rocks which could crash together and crush to pieces anything caught between them. The Argonauts first sent a dove flying through. When they saw the rocks close too late to catch the dove, they dared to attempt the passage. Only the rudder of their ship was grazed as the rocks met behind them. The myth is well known which tells how Jason was helped by Medea, the daughter of the Colchian king. Aided by her magic cunning, he was able to yoke the brazen-hoofed, fire-breathing bulls and plough the fields of Ares. From the teeth of a dragon which he sowed upon the field, warriors sprang up to kill Jason; but this danger also he escaped. Medea gave him a potion which put to sleep the dragon watching the fleece. Then Jason took the golden fleece of the ram, and fled with Medea back to Greece. Such is the interesting legend which the imaginations of the old Greeks built up from the wondrous tales of their earliest traders in the Black Sea.

122. Results of the Movement.—The most important result of this 200 years of colonization was to widen the meaning of the term Hellas. It no longer meant only Greece itself, the *Ægean* islands, and coast of Asia Minor; it now included all the Greek cities which clung about the edge of the Mediterranean and the Black Seas. In a sense, the world about the Mediterranean became a Greek world, except within the region controlled by the great Phœnician city of Carthage. As a second result we may note the spread of Greek culture and influence, especially toward the west. The emigrating Greeks took with them their spirit of enterprise and spread their ideas among the peoples of the west. The Romans, for example, came into contact with the Greeks of Cyme



AREAS OF GREEK AND PHOENICIAN COLONIZATION ABOUT 550 B. C.

and Naples, and learned much from them. A third result was the bringing of the Greeks in Sicily into direct competition with Carthage. The Phœnicians here had amassed great wealth by building up an immense trade with the peoples of the western Mediterranean. Were they to be driven out of this field by the Greeks as their forefathers had been driven from the eastern Mediterranean? We shall see that years of bloody fighting were spent in trying to settle this struggle in the new world of the western Mediterranean.

The older cities of Greece shared, of course, in the financial gain which came to the colonies from the rapid growth of trade in the land around them. Yet the time soon came when they could not vie in wealth with some of the new cities of the west, such as Sybaris and Syracuse.

The whole Greek nation was developed and matured by the knowledge it gained from dealing with new peoples and seeing new countries. The difference between themselves, as Greeks, and the other nations with whom they came into contact, was sharply defined. They came to call all non-Greeks by the general term "barbarians," or foreigners, and the feeling that they themselves were members of separate and distinct tribes and cities began to decline, because the needs of trade and colonization brought the Greeks of many tribes together in distant lands. Thus the national impulse was strengthened by the knowledge that all the Greeks of that widening world had a common religion and common interests as opposed to outsiders. This sense of unity was needed to counteract that other tendency toward tribal jealousy and hatred which appears early among them as a result of the sharp physical divisions of their country.

References for Outside Reading

Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 108-11; Fling, *Source Book*. ch. 2; Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. 9; Bury, *History of Greece*, ch. 2; Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 86-91; Shuckburgh, *Greece*, pp. 37-42.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. STORY OF THE GREEK COLONY AT CYRENE AND THE ORACLE AT DELPHI.—*Herodotus*, Bk. IV, ch. 150–159.
2. FISHING IN THE BLACK SEA.—Fling, *Source Book*, pp. 37–38.
3. THE COLONIES OF CROTON, SYBARIS, AND TARENTUM.—Fling, *Source Book*, pp. 30–32; Bury, p. 103.
4. DEVELOPMENT OF SHIPS IN THE AGE OF COLONIZATION.—Bury, pp. 109–110.

CHAPTER X

DEMOCRACY DEVELOPS IN ATTICA

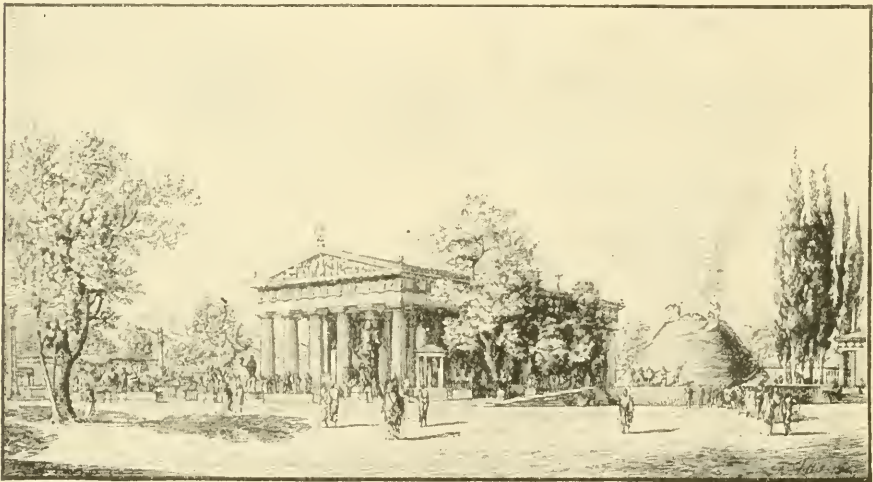
123. General Development of City-States.—During the Epic Period and the time of expansion, the Hellenes were rapidly acquiring knowledge of how to govern themselves. As had been the case in the Orient, the political form which first developed was that of the small city-state. The voting was all done in the city, all the official buildings were there, the gods of the entire state had their temples there, and people who lived outside the city, even on the very borders of the state, were still regarded as citizens of the city. Thus, in the little state of Attica, even men living upon the sea-coast or back in the mountains were Athenians i. e., members of the city of Athens.

124. Effect Upon Greek History.—The peculiar form of the country, broken as it was into small valleys, furthered the growth and separate life of these small city-states. Therefore, they did not easily merge into one great empire as those in Babylonia and Egypt had done. This fact brings out the greatest peculiarity of the political life of the Greek people, and one which is noticeable throughout their history. They all spoke the same language and felt themselves to be Hellenes, and in the face of any great danger they met it as one nation, but when the danger had passed, they usually fell to fighting desperately—one state against another.

Yet the maintenance of the small city-state had its good results; and it was through the Greek city-states that democracy was first brought into the world. In them it was impossible for the kings to be very powerful or to oppress their subjects because the people were too close to their monarchs. In most of the states they began to curtail the royal powers, and in some the kings were driven out entirely, the power going into the hands of the citizens of the

state. As a result, the historian finds in Greece several forms of government existing at the same time in states which were close neighbors. Two of these city-states we shall study more particularly, because of their importance, and because of the marked contrast in their development. The first is Athens, in central Greece, the second is Sparta, in the Peloponnesus.

125. Conditions Which Helped the Feeling of Unity.—The feeling of unity among the Hellenes was made stronger by the colonization movement, and still further developed by the spread of the Homeric poems. These became the



GREAT TEMPLE AND ALTAR OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA.
A Restoration from *Curtius und Adler, Olympia*.

national possession of all the Greek world. The epic stories of the gods and goddesses were known everywhere, and by this means the Greek religion became a national one. As the religion became unified, certain temples and shrines consecrated to local gods assumed a place as *Panhellenic* (that is, including all Greeks) meeting-places. They were, therefore, an expression of the unifying national tendency of Greek history.

126. The Sacred Games Develop the National Feeling.—Another element which was powerful in forming the national Hellenic spirit lay in the religious games celebrated in honor

of the Greek gods. Of these the most famous were those held every four years at Olympia in Elis, on the banks of the Alphæus river. To the Olympic Games came the best athletes from all the cities of the Greek world. The festival lasted for five days,



THE STADIUM RACE. (210-Yard Dash.)

From a Vase-painting.

the first being devoted to the sacrifices and prayers to the gods, the others to the contests. The most important of the foot-races was the stadium race, or dash through the length of the stadium, which was about 210 yards. In addition

there were contests in wrestling and boxing; horse races, of which the chariot race with four horses was the most exciting; and the pentathlon, the five-fold contest.

In this each athlete showed his prowess in five events, jumping, running, throwing the discus, hurling the spear, and wrestling.

No one was allowed to enter these games unless he could qualify under certain eligibility rules. He must be of true Hellenic birth, with no disgraceful act reflecting on his name.

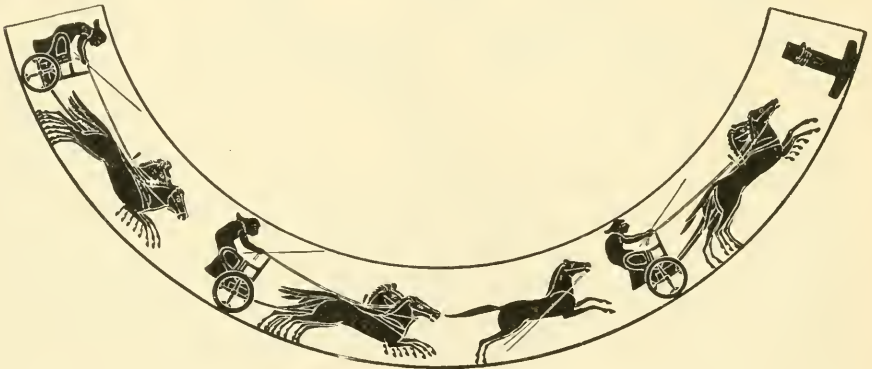


BROAD JUMP WITH WEIGHTS.

The Judge is Preparing to Measure the Distance.
Vase-painting.

He had to take an oath that he had trained ten months for the event. The only prize offered was a wreath of olive leaves which the victor wore, and a palm branch which he carried in his hands. But the interest in the games and the enthusiasm over a victory were so great that the winner often received a money prize and many public privileges when he returned to his native town.

127. Pindar, the Poet of the Sacred Games.—Not only at Olympia were such festivals held. Every four years the Greeks met in the sacred precinct at Delphi to celebrate the Pythian games in honor of Apollo. As the years went by, these sacred places were built up with magnificent temples in



FOUR HORSE CHARIOT RACE.
Nearing a Turning-post. Vase-painting.

marble, race-courses with marble seats for the spectators, gymnasiums, and other buildings of great beauty. The space between the buildings was filled with marble and bronze statues of the victors. During the period of the games, the temple grounds were gay and resplendent, packed with visitors from every quarter of the world where the Greeks were known.

About 500 B. C. the sacred games were at the height of their importance and the kings and people of the free Greek cities engaged the ablest poets of the time to celebrate with choral songs the names of the winning contestants. The greatest of these poets was Pindar (522–452 B. C.), from the Bœotian city of Thebes. We have still a number of his odes

in praise of Pythian and Olympian victors. They show that Pindar was a master-poet, who knew how to write verses of ringing power. But the simple and weird Greek music, which went with them, is gone, as well as the setting and excitement of the scene and the victory. It is, therefore, almost impossible to give any idea of their beauty in an English translation.

128. End of the Monarchy in Attica.—During the time of the colonization movement the nobles in Attica grew very powerful. First they cut down the privileges and powers of the king in various ways (about 800–650 B. C.). Then they limited his term of office to ten years. Finally, they restricted him to one year of office, and left him only his religious duties.

This meant, of course, that the monarchy was ended. In the place of the old kingly office, there were now nine chief magistrates, called Archons, elected for the term of one year. The three most important were the Chief Archon, the War Archon (Polemarch), and the King Archon, who had general supervision of the state religion. The remaining six Archons had charge of the courts in the state, heard disputed cases, and gave decisions upon them.

129. The Discontent of the Lower Classes.—All the offices in the state, and all the power, lay in the hands of the nobles. They had kept the lower classes of citizens out of the Assembly, while they and their followers passed the laws. The judicial system, too, was in the hands of the nobles. Punishments fell heavily upon the lower classes, while the nobles who transgressed the laws were let off easily. In addition to these causes for complaint the poorer classes in Attica were finding it harder to make a living than before. Prices were higher and wages about the same. Attica had not taken part in the colonization movement, and only a few of the noble families were engaged in trade with other countries. While these were becoming quite rich, the common people were growing poorer. Since a man could be made a slave for a debt, or sell his children into slavery to cancel his debt, many of the commons had become slaves

to the rich. These were the political and economic causes of the discontent of the lower classes. This discontent expressed itself in a demand for new laws which would give the poorer classes greater rights in the state, and relieve them from the burden of their debts.

130. Draco and the Writing of the Laws, 621 B. C.—The first concession of the rich nobles was that the laws by which the people were to be judged and punished should be written down; and, accordingly, a noble named Draco was given power in the year 621 B. C. to codify them. Only a few fragments of his laws are known, but these show that the old severity of punishment was not lessened. People were still enslaved for debt. Draco's laws on the punishments for murder form the best part of his code. They helped to do away with the old "blood-feud," and to establish life on a higher and more settled plane. This codification is an important step, because it shows that Attica was keeping up with the other Hellenic cities which were at about this time writing down their laws.

131. Solon and His Social Laws, 594 B. C.—The code of Draco failed to correct the conditions which caused distress among the poorer people. As their situation grew worse, popular complaints became louder. At last the aristocrats were compelled to grant the poorer citizens greater rights in the state. Solon, a man of aristocratic descent, was appointed sole legislator for a year, to change the laws, and to do away with the reasons for comp'aint. Parts of the poems of Solon in which he tells of his work for the state may still be read.

His first task was to correct the economic troubles. This he did by passing the following general laws:

1. All debts resting upon land were cancelled.
2. All the Athenian citizens who were enslaved because of debts were freed. It was decreed that no one thereafter could be enslaved for debt by mortgaging his body to cover the loan.

132. He Founds the Democracy.—Solon's greatest and most lasting work was the change he brought about in the

government of Attica. He formed a new council of the state, the Council (Boulè) of 400. This body was made up of 100 men from each of the four Attic tribes. Its duty was to prepare all business which was to come before the Assembly of the people.

Even before Solon's time the people had been divided into four classes according to their yearly income. These four classes he retained, but he admitted the lowest class, the Thetes, to the Assembly. It is true that he did not allow the Thetes to run for office in the state, but they could help choose the magistrates from among the candidates of the upper classes. He allowed them also to sit on the Popular Juries which he established to hear trials and fix penalties in the courts. So the people thereafter had the right to choose, in the Popular Assembly, the men who should rule them, and through the Popular Juries, the power to punish magistrates for official wrong-doing. Hence Solon is to be remembered as the statesman who founded *government by the people* in Europe.

133. The Tyranny of Pisistratus and His Son, 560-510 B. C.

—The people did not at first know how to appreciate the rights thus given them, and the struggles in the state continued. Three parties were formed: (1) the Plainsmen, rich landowners in the state; (2) the Shoremen, who were the traders living near the coast; and (3) the Hillmen, the shepherds and small farmers of the hills. About 560 B. C. a noble named Pisistratus took advantage of these commotions, and put himself at the head of the Hillmen. With their aid he obtained enough influence to rule the state, although he had no official position. The machinery of government established by Solon went on undisturbed, but Pisistratus held the real power.

Such a political boss the Greeks called a "tyrant." The tyrant may be defined as a man who takes the supreme powers in the state without any legal right to them. His rule might be very beneficial to the state, as that of Pisistratus certainly was.¹

The word "tyrant" has gained its present meaning through the cruelty of some of the Greek rulers who held the tyranny in their city-states.

134. Advantages of the Tyranny.—Pisistratus was rigorous in his demands upon the people for money. The revenue which came in as taxes he spent in beautifying the city, especially the Acropolis, with public buildings. Upon his invitation poets and artists came to Athens, there to make public their verses, or to exhibit their skill as painters. In every possible way Pisistratus tried to push the trade of his native city. He established colonies on the Hellespont, and made Athens take a prominent position in the Delian League, a religious organization of all the Ionians, which had its center in the sacred island of Delos. Pisistratus died in 527 B. C. His son retained the power for seventeen years, but was driven out of the state in 510 B. C.

135. Clisthenes Completes the Democracy, 508 B. C.—After two years of civil strife, a noble named Clisthenes, as leader of the popular party, introduced changes into the government, which forever put an end to the clan fights of the Hill, Shore, and Plain. He did this by breaking up the old four tribes of the state into ten. Each of the ten tribes took in a district from each of the three divisions of Hill, Shore, and Plain, and the men who had formerly been enemies, and of different parties, were forced to vote together in the same tribe.

The Council was increased by Clisthenes from 400 to 500 members, fifty from each of the ten tribes. Each tribe was to furnish its quota for the army of the state. A board of ten generals (Strategi) was elected annually, each Strategus having command of the troops of his tribe.

In addition to these changes Clisthenes established the peculiar law of ostracism. Each year the Assembly was permitted, if it saw fit, to send one man from the state for ten years. To do this, 6,000 votes must be cast, and the man who received the highest number was ostracized. It was no disgrace to him. He did not lose his property as would have been the case had he been banished. At the end of the ten years the man ostracized might return and take up his duties as a citizen. This law was intended to enable the state to rid itself of one man, when two powerful politicians

were dividing the votes between them, and bringing the state to civil war. Furthermore, the chances of a tyranny were lessened by this institution of ostracism.

After the work of Clisthenes, the Attic democracy lacked only one condition to make it complete, namely, that the Thetes should be eligible to all the state offices. This step was taken in the fifth century, shortly after the Persian Wars. Then democracy, the rule of the people, became an accomplished fact.

136. Development from Monarchy towards Democracy general throughout Greece, 800-600 B. C.—In many other city-states of Greece the same conditions had existed as in Athens, and the same sort of development had been going on. Through the broadening influence of trade and colonization the nobles and the common people had awakened, the nobles to a sense of their power, the common people to a realization of their poverty and the cruelty of the laws of debt. In the years 800 to 700 B. C. the nobles had overthrown the rule of the kings in Corinth, in the Bœotian towns, in Eretria, and in Chalcis on the island of Eubœa, in Mitylene, in Ephesus, and in many other places.

Precisely as in Athens, the rule of the nobles, which followed that of the kings, proved even more oppressive to the common people. As in Athens, discontent prevailed, and the result was the establishment of tyrannies, like that of Pisistratus, under men who led the popular movement against aristocratic rule. From 600 to 500 B. C. able tyrants held sway in Mitylene, Corinth, Sicyon, and other city-states.

The course of the development at Athens must, therefore, be regarded as typical of what was going on throughout Greece. But in no other city did the idea of popular government appear so early or develop so far or in so effective a form. The glory of this work belongs to Athens above all cities, and to Solon above all Athenians.

References for Outside Reading

Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 138-140; Fling, *Source Book*, pp. 77-97; Plutarch, *Life of Solon*; Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. 10-12; Bury, *History of Greece*, ch. 4, 5; Botsford, *History of the Orient and Greece*, pp. 41-56, 70-77, 80-86.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. CHARACTER OF SOLON.—Plutarch, *Life of Solon*.
2. HOW PISISTRATUS MADE HIMSELF TYRANT.—Fling, *Source Book*, pp. 86–94; Plutarch, *Life of Solon*; Herodotus, Bk. I, ch. 59–64.
3. THE STORY OF SOLON AND CRÆSUS.—(This reported meeting of Cræsus and Solon cannot possibly be true, but the story is typically Greek.) Herodotus, Bk. I, ch. 29–33, 86.
4. GREEK ATHLETIC CONTESTS.—Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, pp. 91–98.
5. STORY OF POLYCRATES, TYRANT OF SAMOS.—Herodotus, Bk. III, ch. 39–46, 120–125.

CHAPTER XI

DEVELOPMENT OF SPARTAN LIFE AND OF SPARTAN LEADERSHIP IN THE PELOPONNESUS

137. The City-State of Sparta.—Since the time of the migration of the Dorians from northern Greece into the Peloponnesus, the valley of the Eurotas river and the Greeks who had originally lived there were ruled by their Dorian conquerors. The entire district, called Laconia, or Lacedæmon, was not as large as the state of Delaware. Its capital was Sparta, situated upon the Eurotas about 30 miles north from the sea.

The country is very easily defended, as it is bounded upon both sides by masses of rough mountains, the passes of which can be held by a small body of troops. Yet, in a land so easily defended, a military state developed, strongly organized for defense. The strict military discipline of Sparta, which will be described later, was needed in order to keep the ruling class in power over its subjects.

138. Classes in Sparta: the Helots.—When we first hear of the Spartans, we find the inhabitants divided into three classes, the Spartans, the Pericæci, and the Helots.

The Helots form the lowest class. They tilled the soil of their Dorian masters, and turned over to them a certain amount of the produce. Yet they were not absolute slaves, because they could not be sold by their masters, nor could they be released from bondage, being bound to the soil which they cultivated.

The readiness of the Helots to revolt shows that their condition must have been very hard. Yearly the state officials declared war upon them, so that a Helot might be killed whenever he seemed dangerous. A body of secret police, made up of young Spartans, went about the country, spied upon the Helots, and killed those who showed signs of dis-

content. The Spartan state was never free from the danger of a terrible revolt from this oppressed class.

139. The Pericæci.—This was a much more privileged class than the Helots. The name itself means “those dwelling round about.” It included the tradesmen, sailors, and farmers who conducted the business necessary to the support of the state. The Pericæci could own property, and, indeed, often become wealthy; but they did not have civil rights; that is, they could not vote in state affairs, or hold state offices. They were used by the Spartans as heavy-armed soldiers, and never betrayed the trust which the state put in them. On the whole, they seem to have been content with their lot.

140. The Spartans.—These were the conquerors who held in subjection the Helots and Pericæci. They alone had citizen rights. Supported by the Helots and Pericæci, they had nothing to do but attend to the needs of the state, and their duty was to defend it from enemies without and within.

The numbers of the full-blooded Spartans probably never ran far beyond 10,000 men. The Helots and Pericæci were far more numerous, so that it was necessary for the Spartans to be ever on the watch. On this account, their state system became one in which usefulness in war, and ability to fight, was the greatest demand placed upon its citizens. To attain this end, the state trained its men from childhood to the grave.

141. Spartan Training.—Our chief authority on the Spartans is Plutarch, a Greek writer who lived about 100 A. D. He relates, in his *Life of Lycurgus*, that every male child born in a Spartan family was examined by the old men of the state. If it was sick or deformed, it was hurled to its death in a deep cavern in the mountains. If it was healthy and strong, the child was allotted a share of land for its support. At seven years of age the state officers took in hand its education.

142. The Education of a Spartan Boy.—Spartan schooling consisted of athletic and military exercises, the singing of martial songs, and the recitation of warlike verses. In order

to give boys the ability to judge men and their actions, they were asked such questions as these: "Who is the best man in the city?" "What do you think of such an action?" The answers were to be brief and pithy, and the reasons for the answer stated. A foolish answer was punished, a good one praised. From the well-known brevity thus developed in the Spartans we get the phrase, a "Laconic saying."

In order to harden their bodies, the boys wore little clothing, and were forced to go around bare-footed. They slept in companies on beds which they themselves made of reeds gathered upon the banks of the Eurotas.

143. Development of the Spartan Spirit.—Spartan boys were trained by the young men, who sometimes bade them forage for food. The boys then roamed about and stole whatever they could take without detection. If caught, they were severely punished. To illustrate their pride and bravery, Plutarch tells, in the *Life of Lycurgus*, the doubtful story of a boy who had stolen a young fox and hidden it under his tunic. Rather than let this be known he allowed the fox to tear out his bowels with its teeth and claws. Plutarch believes this story, "for," he says, "I, myself, have seen several of the youths endure whipping to death at the foot of the altar of Artemis." This last is undoubtedly a true statement. It clearly shows that spirit in enduring pain which is still called "Spartan fortitude."

144. Education of Spartan Girls.—In order to produce a healthy race, the Spartans rightly thought that their women must be physically strong. So the Spartan girls were given the same kind of training as the boys. Their physical training consisted of gymnastic exercises, contests in running, wrestling, and throwing the javelin and the discus. At certain festivals they danced and sang in the presence of the boys and young men. At these times they sang praises of the brave men among the citizens, and made mocking remarks about those who were bad or cowardly.

In other parts of Greece women were kept in seclusion. Men like Plutarch, the Bœotian, and Plato, the Athenian philosopher, who lived about 400 B. C., had only words of

praise for the courage and the character of Sparta's lovely women. The spirit produced in them by their training was a noble one. A Spartan mother was told that she had lost five sons in a certain battle. "That is not what I wish to know," she said. "Did we win the battle? Then let us give thanks to the gods."

145. Simplicity of Spartan Living.—The Spartan laws did not allow a citizen to go into business life. In order to keep down the desire to accumulate wealth, the Spartans coined iron money only. This tended to limit trade between Sparta and the other cities of Greece. Thus the Spartans kept their customs from being changed by imitation of the ways of the other Greeks.

Spartan houses were roughly built, one of the laws providing that the ceilings should be cut out with no other tool than an axe, and the doors with the saw alone. This made it impossible to develop a taste for finely-paneled ceilings and doors neatly carved.

146. The Public Mess.—The chief means of keeping the Spartans from indulging in luxurious living was the institution of the public mess, called the "Phiditia." On a few state occasions the men were allowed to eat at home, but usually they ate in common, old men and young men together. The laws forced each Spartan to supply for the general mess a certain amount of food, consisting of such simple things as figs, cheese, grain, and wine. In addition to this a small sum of money was required from each man for the purchase of meats. The staple food was a black and heavy soup, which other Greeks than the Spartans did not seem to find very palatable.

They ate at rough tables in groups of fifteen. In order to heighten the feeling of unity in each group, a new member at any table could only be admitted by unanimous vote of the group.

147. The Spartan in War.—The stern and rigid training just described kept the military power of the state in a continuous state of high efficiency. The Spartan citizens formed the nucleus of this fighting machine. As hoplites

(heavy-armed foot-soldiers), they fought with the spear and sword as weapons. Their protective armor consisted of a helmet, breast-plate of leather, and metal greaves, or shin guards, and a shield.

When the Spartans were led forth to war by one of their kings, the strictness of their discipline was somewhat relaxed, and they were better fed than when leading their barrack-life at home. Just before a battle they prepared themselves almost as if for a festival. They combed their long hair carefully, set garlands upon their heads, and advanced with cheerful faces to the fight. For several hundred years they had the reputation of being the greatest warriors among the Hellenic people.



A GREEK HOPLITE.
Vase-painting.

148. The Double Kingship.—The Spartan system of government shows clearly the three elements which we have seen in the Homeric state: the Kingship, Council, and Assembly. This form of the Homeric limited monarchy was retained at Sparta with little change until the Greek states were conquered by Rome in the second century B. C.

The royal power was even more limited than in Homeric times; for instead of one king, Sparta had two. It is not possible to explain how this divided power arose. The kingships were hereditary in two royal families. Like the Homeric kings, the kings of Sparta were commanders-in-chief of the state forces. Once in the field they had absolute power of life and death over their subjects; but in time of peace their powers were greatly limited. Like the Homeric kings, they were the high-priests, and directed the solemn sacrifices of the state. But the judicial power held by the Homeric kings had been taken away from them, excepting in matters of family relations, such as the adoption of children, and the marrying of heiresses.

149. The Senate.—This was a legislative body composed of 30 life-long members including the two kings. The remaining 28 were chosen by the Spartans from those over 60 years of age. For this reason the body was called the "Gerousia," or Council of Elders. This body discussed all important matters of state, and prepared new laws. If the popular assembly passed a law not to the state's advantage, the Gerousia might annul it.

150. The Assembly.—This provision greatly weakened the power of the popular assembly, called the Apella. This assembly consisted of all the Spartans over 30 years of age. They met each month and voted by acclamation upon matters set before them by the officials called Ephors. They approved the decision of the Ephors and Gerousia in questions of peace and war, and elected their magistrates, the members of the Gerousia, and the five Ephors. In case there were two claimants to one of the kingships, they decided the dispute. As in the Homeric Agora, the citizens had not the right of debate. The Apella forms the democratic element of the Spartan system, the Gerousia the aristocratic. It is apparent that the direct influence of the Apella was not great.

151. The Ephors or Overseers.—Indirectly, however, the Spartan folk had the controlling voice in state affairs. This they gained through the Ephorate, a separate board of five "overseers" which was elected for a year's term by the Apella. With the introduction of this board, the likeness ceases between the Homeric government and its Spartan survival. In the general change from monarchy through aristocracy to democracy, which was going on throughout Greece from about 800 to 500 B. C., the Spartan citizens were in constant danger from the Helots. For this reason they did not dare to pass through any form of revolution such as overthrew the kings in other states. Hence the Spartan government always remained conservative. The kings were kept, but many of their duties were taken over by this new board of overseers, which represented the people.

The Ephors were empowered to summon the Gerousia and the Apella, and to direct their meetings. They could call

the kings to account before them and punish them for misdeeds. The education of the Spartan youth was under their guidance. They took over some of the old judicial powers of the kings and became the highest court in the state. In fact, they were well named when called the "overseers of the state."¹

152. Dependence of the Spartan upon the State.—The organization of the Spartan government was determined by the necessity that each member should at all times be ready to fight and die for the state. From the cradle to the grave the state had absolute sway over the individual. It determined his manner of living, and decided the time at which he should marry. In many other ways it limited his freedom. So completely was the single man sunk in the idea of the state, that the dead Spartan did not even have his name inscribed upon a tombstone, unless he died on the field of battle. In death as in life he was a unit in the Spartan state, rather than a separate person.

153. Results of the System.—The result of this was a military spirit which ably fulfilled its mission. The Spartan troops were for centuries the best in Greece, and the power of Sparta was feared and respected abroad.

In its singleness of aim, and the simplicity of the life it taught, the Spartan state was a splendid organization. But it did not allow for the development of each man's individual tendencies and talents. Everyone must be a soldier, whether he liked it or not; and thus the life was one-sided. Because of her organization, Sparta did not produce great painters, great sculptors, deep thinkers in philosophy and science—fields in which the rest of Greece has done so much for the world.

154. Expansion of Sparta.—The demand for new land to allot to her citizens forced Sparta into wars with her western

¹The old Greek historians referred the founding of the Spartan system of government to a single law-giver named Lycurgus. It is not probable that these institutions were the work of a single man or a single time. The name of Lycurgus is not mentioned in the earliest Spartan songs, so that there is much doubt that such a law-giver lived at all.

neighbor, Messene. The first of these occurred some time about 750 B. C., and ended with the defeat of the Messenians. They revolted in the next century (about 650 B. C.), but, after a hard struggle, were entirely subjugated, and most of the Messenians were made Helots. It is in this war that Tyrtæus, the Spartan general, wrote his spirited songs of war. Excepting for those fragmentary poems, little historical information about these struggles has come down to us, though many legends are told illustrating the desperate courage shown upon both sides.

About the time of the later Messenian War, trouble arose between Sparta and the old state of Argos, lying north of Laconia along the Ægean coast. Although the Argives had developed a considerable power in the seventh century, under the leadership of their king Pheidon, the superiority of Spartan tactics and discipline finally proved victorious. The Argive state was crippled, but not entirely destroyed.

155. The Peloponnesian League.—By the year 500 B. C., all the Peloponnesian city-states, excepting Argos and the cities of Achaia, were in a military league, in which the acknowledged leader was Sparta. The Peloponnesian League, as it was called, was an alliance in which the members were



EXTENT OF THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE.
500 B. C.

bound to supply troops and money for any war waged in their common interest. The Spartan kings were commanders-in-chief of the troops of the league, and representatives from all the states met in Sparta to decide questions of peace and war. This organization vastly increased Sparta's influence.

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Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*; Xenophon, *Polity of the Lacedaemonians*; Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, ch. 11; Bury, *History of Greece*, ch. 3; Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. 7, 8; Fling, *Source Book of Greek History*, pp. 54-77; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 78-84.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. TYRTÆUS.—Capps, *Homer to Theocritus*, pp. 145-6; Bury, pp. 127-8; Fling, pp. 56-58.
2. WHAT DID PLUTARCH THINK OF THE SPARTAN CHARACTER?—Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*.
3. THE SPARTANS AT THERMOPYLÆ. — *Herodotus*, Bk. VII, ch. 201-233.
4. RIGHTS OF THE SPARTAN KINGS.—*Herodotus*, Bk. VI, ch. 56-60; (in Fling's *Source Book*, pp. 63-66).
5. AN EARLY SPARTAN BATTLE WITH THE ARGIVES.—*Herodotus*, Bk I., ch. 82.

CHAPTER XII

THE WESTWARD EXPANSION OF PERSIA THREATENS TO DESTROY GREEK CIVILIZATION

156. The Importance of the Æolian and Ionian Cities.—The Hellenes who occupied the coast of Asia Minor rapidly learned what the Lydians and other people of Asia Minor could give them of the knowledge of Egypt and Babylonia. Their cities grew so rapidly in size and in wealth, that the principal cities of the mother-land, Corinth, Eretria, Argos, Sparta, and Athens, could not compare with them. From 650 to 500 B. C., we must regard Miletus, Ephesus, Mitylene, and other cities in Ionia as the leaders of Greece in culture and power.

The trade of these cities extended from the eastern end of the Black Sea to the most western Greek city, from Trapezus to Massilia in Gaul. They shipped the goods received from these regions to distant ports. Their trade with the inland cities of Asia Minor was quite active and profitable. As we have seen, Miletus was the greatest trading center because of the number of her colonies on the Pontus.

157. Æolian-Ionian Poetry.—The wealth which the Æolians and Ionians collected gave them time to devote to the pleasures which a knowledge of art and literature gives to life. Inspired by contact with the higher development of Egypt and Babylon, they produced works in literature which, in tone and point of view, were absolutely unlike anything produced by the Oriental civilization. The greatest of these works were the epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. For these alone the Hellenes of Asia Minor will be remembered so long as men read and enjoy the better forms of literature.

About 700 B. C. the ability to compose the long epic tales of heroes and their deeds was lost. The poets then began to write lyric poetry. Lyrics are poems composed as songs, to be recited to the accompaniment of a lyre, a kind of harp. They are always short, and differ in character from epic poems in giving the deepest emotions and thoughts of the poet himself. The greatest of the lyric poets of the Æolian-Ionian school was a woman named Sappho, who lived in Mitylene in 600 B. C. Only a few of her love-songs still survive, but these are exquisite in every line, and justify the high praise bestowed upon her by ancient writers, who had a great many more of her poems to read. The Æolic Greek is a dialect wonderfully soft and liquid in its sound. Sappho was able to take advantage of this, and to put her verses together so that they have a musical quality attained by very few poets.

The poet Alcæus lived at the same time in Mitylene, and was a friend of Sappho, whom he thus addresses: "Chaste Sappho, violet-tressed, softly-smiling." He threw himself into the political struggles of his native city against the tyrant who controlled it. The best of the fragments of his poetry which we have is one upon the "Ship of State," which has been imitated by many poets since his day.

Out of this period came the fables of Æsop, which are so well known even to-day. About Æsop himself we know very little. The tradition tells us that he was a crippled slave who lived in Samos about 550 B. C. The fables are stories told, probably for centuries, by the people of Asia, and they had come to the Greeks of Asia Minor through their contact with the Orient.

158. The Ionian Philosophers.—Not only did the Ionians produce great poetry and give to the world new literary forms and modes of expression, but from 600 to 450 B. C., there arose among them a group of thinkers who may be said to have been the founders of scientific study. The Egyptians and Babylonians had studied astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic, but only for their practical results or in their relation to religion. The Ionian thinkers, however,

tried to find out the truth about the meaning and causes of natural phenomena, merely for the sake of knowing the truth.

These philosophers believed that all things in the universe sprang from one single material; and then they asked "What is this material?" Thales of Miletus (about 600 B. C.) said that everything was developed out of water. Heraclitus of Ephesus (about 500 B. C.) believed that this original element was fire. From the teachings of Anaxagoras, who lived about 450 B. C., we can see how rapidly they advanced in knowledge of the earth and its surroundings. He taught that the earth was round; that the moon had mountains and valleys like the earth and was inhabited by living beings; that the sun

and stars were glowing, fiery masses, but that the moon received its light from the sun.

Thus the Ionian philosophers thought and disputed about the nature of the universe. Many of their ideas were wrong, but through these ideas and all this discussion, they learned to think freely and without fear. The world learned with them and from them.

159. Cyrus and the Ionian Greeks.—When the Lydian king, Cræsus (see § 88), conquered the Greek cities of Asia Minor, their accustomed life continued almost without a change. Cræsus was impressed by the art and literature of the Greeks, favored them in many ways, and sent gifts to their great temples at Ephesus and at Delphi.



FRAGMENTS OF A COLUMN DEDICATED
BY CRÆSUS IN THE TEMPLE OF
ARTEMIS AT EPHESUS.

When Cyrus the Great conquered Cræsus, the Greek cities of Asia Minor also fell under his rule. Cyrus had tried to induce them to help him to conquer Cræsus, but they refused. Now they tried to get from him favorable terms of alliance.

When their ambassadors came to Cyrus, he told them the following pointed story:

A certain piper, observing some fishes sporting in the sea, began to play to them, hoping that they would, of their own accord, come out upon the shore. Disappointed in this hope he threw out his nets, caught a great number, and brought them to land. Seeing them leap about, he said. "You may be quiet now, since you refused to come out to me when I played to you." (Herodotus, I, 141).

160. Westward Expansion under Darius.—When Darius became the Persian king in 521 B. C., the Persian Empire was, in extent of territory, in organization, and in the size and equipment of its armies, the greatest power which the world had yet seen. Darius wished to keep up the glorious record of his predecessors and add more territory to his great empire. Since Egypt had been conquered, the next conquest which seemed to beckon him was that of the country across the Hellespont, called Thrace. This land was richly productive of grain, and had silver and gold, all of which the Persians desired. In 512 B. C. Darius conquered Thrace as far west as the Strymon river, and added it, in the form of a satrapy, to the Persian Empire.

This brought the mighty Persian Empire and the numerous little city-states of the Greeks face to face. The Greeks knew that the time had come when they must fight for their liberty. The struggle which resulted, called the Persian Wars, was one of the momentous crises in the world's history. Persia had completely adopted the Oriental culture. She represented the fullest possible growth of the ancient civilization of Egypt and Babylon. Rooted deeply in the traditions of the past, unable to put forth new branches, the Persian civilization was incapable of producing new fruits, like an old tree that has lost its power to bear.

The Hellenes, on the other hand, were a people fresh and youthful. They had already shown great ability. They were giving to the world new ideas of literature and art. In government, as in the field of thought, the right of the individual to express himself, by his vote or by his writing,

was being acknowledged. If the Persians should conquer the Hellenes, would they not impose upon western Europe the old Oriental view of life? Would they not stop this free growth, which promised so much for the world's advance?

161. Importance of the Struggle.—When the Persians and the Greeks once started to fight, it was a war which could end only in the subjection of one type of civilization, the western or the eastern, to the other. The struggle was not continuous, but broke out again and again, and lasted about one hundred and fifty years—until a young Macedonian hero, Alexander the Great, led the Hellenic forces into western Asia (334 B. C.), overthrew the Persian Empire, and carried the western thought and energy of the Hellenes over all the Persian domain, to the cities of Asia Minor and Egypt, thence to Babylonia and over the mountains of Persia to the distant banks of the Indus River.

162. Expedition of Darius Against Athens.—In the year 500 B. C., the Ionian Greeks attempted to break away from the rule of the Great King of Persia, and regain their former freedom. Athens sent twenty ships and a small body of troops to their aid. After six years of fighting, Miletus, the heart and center of the revolt, was retaken by the Persians (494 B. C.), and the rebellious city destroyed. It never again reached the position of wealth and influence which it held before this event.

The desire of Darius to conquer the Greek peninsula was now strengthened by the feeling that, unless he did so, the Greeks of Asia Minor would continue to revolt and hope for aid from their countrymen in Europe. The dignity of the Persian Empire also demanded that Athens should be punished for her boldness in sending troops to aid the Ionians. Accordingly, in 490 B. C., Darius sent a small body of troops, numbering about 30,000 men, against Athens. They sailed in transport ships directly from Asia Minor across the Ægean Sea.

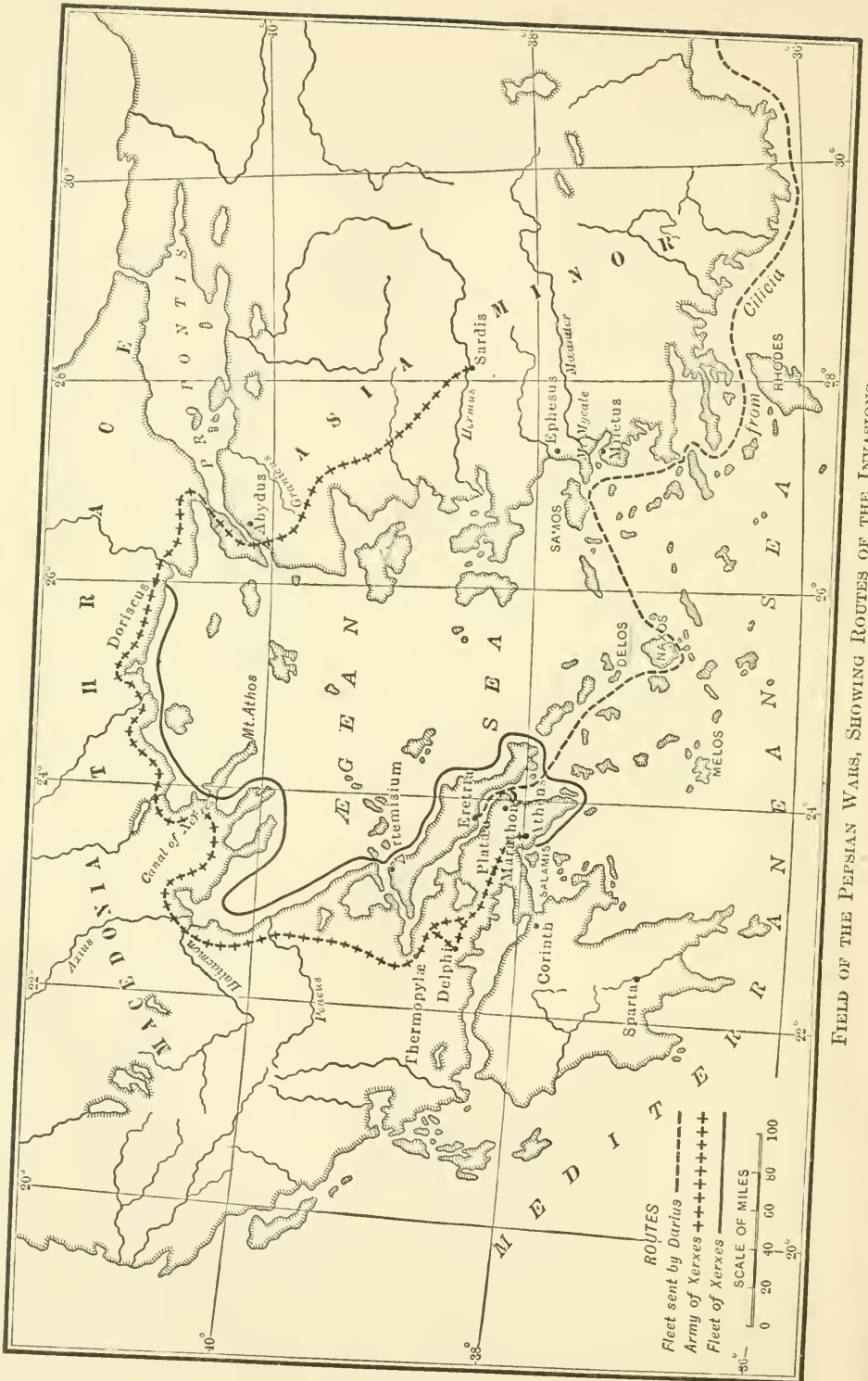
163. The Athenian Forces.—The Persian troops landed upon the plain of Marathon in northern Attica. The Spar-

tans did not send aid to Athens in time, and the Athenian troops, numbering about 10,000 men, were forced to meet the Persians with the assistance of only a few soldiers which the neighboring town of Plataea could send.

The great body of the Athenian army was composed of heavy-armed foot-soldiers, called "hoplites." They were chosen only from the three highest classes of Athenian citizens, since the Thetes, or lowest class, could not serve. The hoplite fought with a long lance, which had a sharp iron head fitted into a wooden shaft, and a short, heavy sword worn upon his left side. He wore no stockings or trousers, but protected the front of his legs by shin guards and thigh guards. These were made of metal, padded upon the inside, and were strapped around the legs. The breast-plate which covered his chest and back was usually made of leather, strongly re-enforced with metal plates. It buckled or laced in front. The remaining protective armor consisted of a helmet of bronze and a large shield. The helmet had cheek-pieces, which could be removed, and sometimes a metal strip to guard the nose.

164. The Battle of Marathon, 490 B. C.—The historian Herodotus¹ tells us how the Athenian hoplite force was drawn up on the day of the battle by their leading general, Miltiades, in three divisions, left, center, and right. He says that from their position facing the sea the Athenians ran downhill, for the distance of a mile, and drove the Persians back by the fury of their onslaught. Common sense tells us that he has exaggerated the distance they ran, else they would have been exhausted before they met the Persians.

¹The story of the Persian Wars was written by a Greek named Herodotus, between 430 and 420 B. C. Fortunately we have his history in its entirety. He writes in a simple and interesting fashion, and loves to tell stories as he goes along, such as the one quoted above about Cyrus the Great.



FIELD OF THE PERSIAN WARS, SHOWING ROUTES OF THE INVASIONS.

Herodotus pays this tribute to the Athenian courage:

They were the first Greeks that I know of who ran to attack an enemy. They were the first also who endured the sight of the Median [Persian] dress and the men who wore it. For up to that time even the name of the Medes was, to the Hellenes, a thing fearful to hear.

This, too, is an exaggeration on the part of Herodotus, but it shows how the reputation of the Athenians rose because of the victory which they won over the army of Persia upon that day. The battle of Marathon was to the Persians, in view of their limitless resources, but a skirmish; but its moral effect upon the Greeks was great, since they had seen how fearlessly the Athenians attacked a superior force of the dreaded Persians.

165. Themistocles and the Making of the Navy.—The generals of Darius sailed back to Asia with their troops. Both the Greeks and the Persians understood that the honor of Persia now demanded the conquest of Greece. They knew also that the next expedition would be upon a far greater scale. Because of a revolt in Egypt the Persians were not ready to move until 481 B. C., after Darius had died, and his son Xerxes had become the Great King.

At this crisis in Greek history a statesman of genius arose, one able to foresee impending dangers long before other men, able to plan the right means of rescue, able to make other men follow out his ideas. This was Themistocles of Athens. For years he tried to impress upon the Athenians the necessity of building a great navy. He saw that Athens could only thus, in the end, beat back the Persian attack; and only as a naval power might she hope to compete successfully for the trade by sea which alone could make the city rich and great.

Since the hoplite force could not safely be reduced, the plan of Themistocles made it necessary to make use of the fourth class of citizens, the Thetes, as rowers on the ship-benches. If they were used in the protection of the state, they must also have the right to hold the offices in the state. Their political privileges would have to be extended, a pro-

gram to which the aristocrats were naturally opposed. Themistocles made use of the vote of ostracism against his leading opponents, until one by one they were sent out of



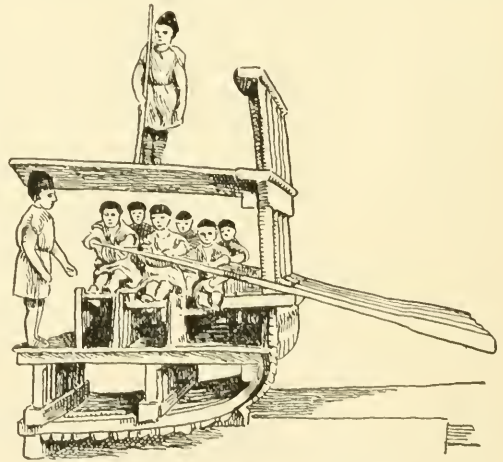
PIECE OF POTTERY FOUND AT ATHENS
WITH THE NAME AND DEME OF
THEMISTOCLES UPON IT.

It is a Vote Cast for his Ostracism.

the state. The last of these to go was the noble Aristides, whose ostracism was voted in the year 482 B. C. He and the others who were ostracized were allowed to return and fight for their fatherland two years later.

166. The Athenian Fleet.—

The Athenians then went energetically about the construction of their fleet. Before the threatened invasion came they had fully 180 battleships ready for service. These ships were propelled by oarsmen who rowed in groups of three. The three seats of each group were arranged obliquely, the inner ones a little in advance and a little higher up than the outer. For this reason the ships were called triremes, or "three-bankers." The Greek warships were long and narrow, ranging from 100 to 120 feet in length, by 15 to 17 in width. Their sides rose only a little way above the water, not more than 8 or 10 feet. The crew usually numbered 200 men, including 174 rowers, about a dozen hoplites, a few archers, and the ship's officers. The fighting force of the Athenian navy, therefore, was about 36,000 men.



SUPPOSED ARRANGEMENT OF ROWERS ON A
TRIEME.

Modern Model.

The maneuvering of the ships demanded great skill and practice upon the part of the rowers. The method of disabling an enemy's ship was to ram it directly in the side

with the sharp edge of the prow. When struck in this manner a ship would sink in a few minutes. A ship could also be disabled by running close along her side and shattering the oars. She would then be as crippled as a bird with a broken wing.

167. Xerxes' Plan of Campaign.—The "Great King," Xerxes, made the most careful and complete preparations for the subjection of Greece. Since the plan of sending a small body of troops straight across the Ægean had failed in the attack of 490 B. C., Xerxes decided to move to the attack with a great land force along the coast of Thrace, aided by a fleet which had to sail parallel to it, and he went to the trouble of sending engineers and laborers to cut a canal for his ships behind the dangerous headland of Mt. Athos.

At the time when Xerxes moved against the motherland, the Carthaginians agreed to attack the Greek cities on the island of Sicily. Carthage was a Phœnician colony, Semitic in its religion and life. In the West it represented what Persia represented in the East, the old culture of western Asia. So these two greatest powers of the world at that time were moving in from east and west to crush the budding life of Greece between them. This fact is what gives the battles which ensued their great importance in history.

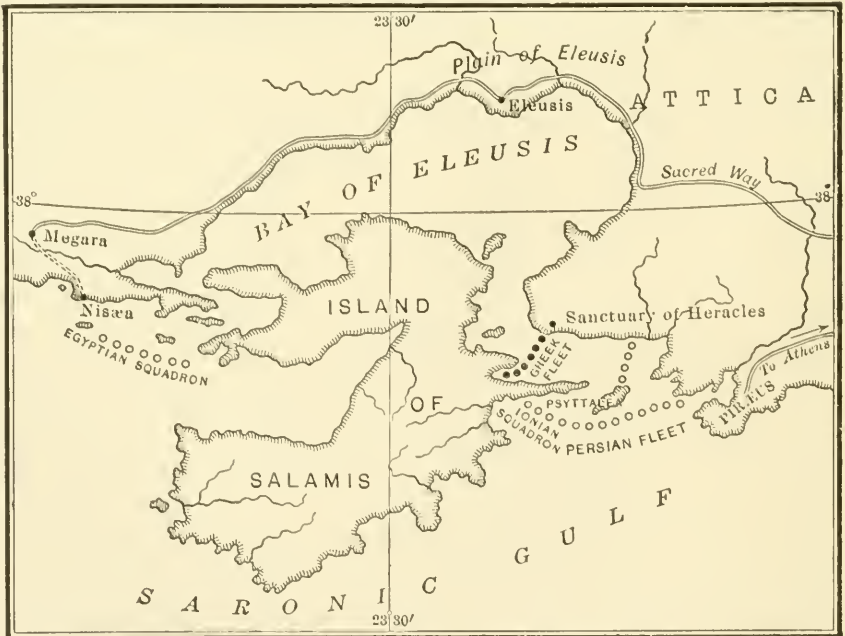
168. The Congress at the Isthmus of Corinth.—The army of Xerxes was a vast one, even according to our modern ideas. A low estimate places the number of his land troops at 100,000 men, of his ships at not less than 500.¹ The Greeks heard with terror of these preparations. Representatives from most of the city-states met on the Isthmus of Corinth in 481 B. C. to settle a plan of defence. They agreed to put an end to all their wars with each other. Furthermore, they agreed that, if any state did not join in the national war against Persia, they would make war upon it

¹ Herodotus (VII, 60) gives the number of the land forces at 1,700,000 men, of the triremes (VII, 89) at 1207. Such a force, at least of land troops, is manifestly impossible. It could not possibly be fed, nor even the half of that number.

and dedicate one tenth of the booty from that state to the god Apollo at Delphi.

This meeting is one instance which shows that when the Greeks were forced by some great danger they could combine and act as one nation. Then the feeling that they were of one Hellenic blood, that same feeling which manifested itself in the sacred games, became powerful. Unluckily for Greece, however, the feeling of separation into city-states was stronger than this.

169. The Great Battle at Salamis, 480 B. C.—After an heroic attempt at Thermopylæ to keep back the host of the invaders, the Persian forces moved by land and sea down upon Attica. In their despair the Athenians sent messengers to the oracle at Delphi for the advice of the god. The



MAP OF THE BATTLE-FIELD OF SALAMIS.

answer of the oracle was that they were to desert the city and take protection within their "wooden walls." Many thought that this meant that they must move out on their ships into the west. But Themistocles told them that the

god intended them to fight within their "wooden walls," and meet the enemy bravely upon the sea. Accordingly, the fighting men and rowers went on board the fleet and Athens was abandoned to destruction at the hands of the Persians.

The allied troops of the Hellenic cities were rapidly losing heart, but Themistocles kept up their failing courage. By a trick he forced the fleet of the Greek allies to meet the Persians in the narrow strait which separates the island of Salamis from Attica. The situation chosen by Themistocles favored the Hellenic fleet, for the greater number of the Persian ships was of no advantage to Xerxes, since only a portion of them could be brought into the narrow passage at one time. For twelve hours the Persians kept up the battle, fighting under the eyes of the Great King, with great bravery. Finally, their fleet was almost destroyed, and Xerxes sailed back to Asia Minor with its shattered remnants.

At about the same time—the Greek historians say upon the same day—the Carthaginian troops in Sicily were defeated by the troops of the Greek cities at the battle of Himera. The Hellenes of Sicily were led by Gelo, the tyrant of Syracuse. The Persian land force in Greece was defeated in the next year at the battle of Platæa in Bœotia, and the fleet suffered another great defeat off Mt. Mycale in Asia Minor.

170. Results of the Victory.—The superiority of the Greeks over the Persians as soldiers had been demonstrated on land and sea. The victory was due somewhat to the fact that the Greeks had better armor than the Persians, and a better organization. More than all else, however, it was the genius of Themistocles, his farseeing plans, and his leadership at the decisive moment, which had saved the Hellenes from Persian rule.

The victory brought Athens into prominence among the cities of Greece, because of the ability and patriotism she had shown in the time of danger. It gave the Hellenes a feeling of unity such as they had never known before. Had they not fought side by side against a common foe? It gave them a realization of their superiority over the old

civilization of the East. But they could only explain their victory by thinking that the gods had aided them. In their gratitude they dedicated a part of the Persian spoil to Apollo, the god at Delphi, and to Zeus at Olympia. The



MAN CARRYING A CALF TO A SACRIFICE.

Statue of about 525 B. C.

next generation saw the building of beautiful temples in many Greek cities, most of all in Athens, and the erection of wonderful statues to the gods as an expression of the thanks of the Hellenes for the assistance which the gods seemed to have given them.

For the development of European civilization the victory of the Greeks had one very important result. It gave them the opportunity to advance, unhampered by the old ideas which the Persian monarchy had accepted from Assyria and Babylonia. It made possible throughout all Greece the spread and development of the democratic institutions and personal freedom of action and thought which we have seen originating especially in Athens and the coast-cities of Asia Minor. The new and fresh Hellenic civilization was not to be throttled by the older ideals of the East.

References for Outside Reading

Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 149-156; Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. 15, 17-20; Bury, *History of Greece*, ch. 7; Fling, *Source Book*, ch. 5; Botsford, *History of Greece*, ch. 7; Plutarch, *Lives of Themistocles and Aristides*; Herodotus, Books VI-IX; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 106-123.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. THE GREEK ARMY.—Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, pp. 193-196; Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, pp. 188-199.
2. THE GREEK NAVY.—Gulick, pp. 199-205; Tucker, pp. 197-200.

3. THE BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ.—*Herodotus*, Book VII, 140-225; (in Fling, *Source Book*, pp. 108-117.)
4. ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS.—Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles*; Æschylus, *Persians*, lines 355-520; *Herodotus*, Book VIII, 74-94.
5. THEMISTOCLES' CAREER AFTER THE WAR.—Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles*.
6. THE BATTLE OF PLATÆA.—*Herodotus*, Book IX, ch. 39-85 (in Fling's *Source Book*, pp. 128-136).

CHAPTER XIII

THE DELIAN LEAGUE AND THE GROWTH OF ATHENIAN POWER

171. Continuation of the War Against Persia.—The great battles of Salamis and Plataea did not end the Persian Wars. The Greek cities of Asia Minor were still to be freed from the rule of the Great King, and the Persian garrisons in Thrace driven out. In order to keep the liberty which they had regained, the Greeks in Thrace and Asia Minor needed the protection which could only be gained by united action. For it must not be forgotten that the forces of Persia were still numberless and her power unbroken.

It was necessary, therefore, for the cities of Asia Minor, of the Ægean Islands, and of Thrace to form a league which could meet the situation. The state to which they first looked as their leader was Sparta, which had the troops of the Peloponnesian League at her back, and had been the mainstay of the Hellenic forces at Plataea. But her generals showed a selfish spirit in their dealings with the allied Greeks, and the Spartan government was indisposed to take up military operations as far away from home as would be necessary in leading the offensive war against Persia. This was characteristic of the Spartan conservative spirit.

Accordingly, the cities of the Ægean and Asia Minor looked for another leader. This they found in Athens. Her navy was the largest and most effective possessed by any Greek city, and her reputation had grown remarkably since the day of Salamis. In addition, there was the common tie of blood; for most of the cities needing protection were Ionian; and the Athenians, too, were Ionian by descent. So Athens was requested (478 B. C.) to take over the leadership of the war against Persia, and a league was formed which was to have its meeting place and treasury on the little island of Delos.

172. The Delian League and Aristides.—This Delian League grew out of the old religious league of the Ionians, in which Athens had held a prominent place since the time of Pisistratus. Most of all the new league needed a strong navy. To supply this need the more important members agreed to furnish ships with their complement of rowers, while the smaller cities and islands agreed to give sums of money to Athens to help keep up the fleet. Athens was to be the leader in the war against Persia.

Aristides was chosen as the man fitted by his unquestioned honesty for the task of determining the amount of tribute to be paid by the different cities. It was because of the integrity with which he carried out his task that he was given the name of "the Just."

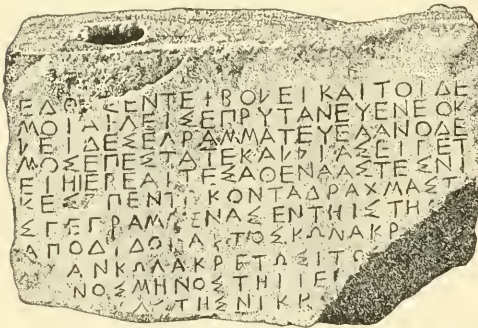
173. The Power of Athens in the League.—The Congress of the Greek states at the Isthmus of Corinth in 481 B. C., and the formation and growth of the Delian League, show that the Greek city-states felt the need of union. They were one people, and in many ways felt themselves to be so. On the other hand, each little state longed to hold itself aloof from any connection with other states which would deprive it of that freedom of action which the Greeks prized so highly. The struggle between these two ideas, the desire of the city-state for independence, and the necessity for political union, is apparent throughout ancient Greek history. It was the misfortune of Hellas that she could never peaceably develop a union of all the states of Greece such as we have in the United States of America.

The organization of the League put great power in the hands of Athens at the outset. Athens built at her own dock-yards and manned by far the greater part of the fleet. In this way the smaller cities of the League were continually strengthening the naval force of the leading city, and weakening their own position in the confederation. By allowing the Athenians to carry on all the campaigns, they were continually training them in the art of warfare, while they themselves were losing both the desire to fight and the knowledge of military science. The board of ten collectors of the

tribute, called "Hellenic Treasurers," was composed of Athenians alone, and the expenditure of the funds was in the hands of the Athenian Assembly.

The tribute had at first been regarded as a voluntary contribution of equal states. Soon Athens came to regard it as a payment which the League members must necessarily make in return for her protection. The form of the confederation was therefore of such a kind that Athens was destined to become the master of the remaining cities, rather than their leader.

174. How the League Became an Empire.—Rapidly the membership of the League grew within the territory bordering on the Ægean Sea, and southward along the coast of Asia Minor. Athens began to bring in by force the smaller cities which had not cared to join voluntarily. Although her generals kept up the aggressive war against Persia until the year 449 B. C., it soon became apparent that the Greek cities, even in Asia Minor, had little more to fear from Persia. When they tried to withdraw from the League, Athens



FRAGMENT OF A DECREE OF THE ATHENIAN BOULÉ AND ASSEMBLY.

Inscribed on Stone.

decided that this could not be allowed. When some of the states nevertheless tried to secede, the Athenian admirals moved against them with their navy and troops, and whipped them into subjection. This was the fate of the island of Naxos, which revolted about the year 467 B. C. Naxos was no longer considered a member of the League. Its autonomy, or right of self-government, was entirely lost, and it became a tribute-paying subject of Athens.

175. How Erythræ Became a Subject State.—An inscription on a stone slab which was found in Athens gives a good example of the process by which many smaller states suffered

this same fate. It is a decree of the Athenian Boulé (Council) and Assembly, *i.e.*, the Upper and Lower Houses, of about the year 460 B. C. It deals with the Ionian city of Erythræ.

The Erythreans must bring contributions to the great Pan-Athenaic festival [held annually at Athens] worth not less than three minæ.¹ * * * The Boulé of the Erythreans, consisting of 120 men, is to be chosen by lot. The men thus chosen must pass an examination in the Boulé upon their qualification for the office; and it shall not be lawful for anyone to be a member who is under thirty years of age. * * * The lots are to be cast for the present Boulé by the Athenian Board of Overseers and the Athenian Commander of the Garrison. In the future the lots are to be drawn by the commander and the Boulé.

The Boulé shall swear the following oath: So far as I am able I shall plan what is best and most just for the State of the Erythreans, and of the Athenians, and of the allies. And I shall not revolt against nor desert the people of Athens or the allies, nor persuade anyone else to do so. I shall not receive any of the exiles who have fled to the Persians nor persuade any one else to do so without the consent of the Assembly and Boulé of the Athenians. Nor shall I drive out anyone now remaining in the city without their consent.

Just as in the case of Erythræ the affairs of many other cities fell under the dictation of the Council and Assembly of Athens, whose power was often represented in these cities, as at Erythræ, by an Athenian garrison with its commandant.

176. Inner Developments of Athens from 480 to 450 B. C.— Even before the invading army of Xerxes had been driven out of Greece it was apparent that some of the cities of the Peloponnesian League, especially Corinth, were jealous of the growing influence of Athens, and afraid of the great fleet which she now controlled. Future events showed that they were right in fearing the great plans of Themistocles.

¹ The mina was equal to about \$18.00 in our coinage; but its real value was much higher, that is, it would buy much more than \$18.00 of our money to-day.

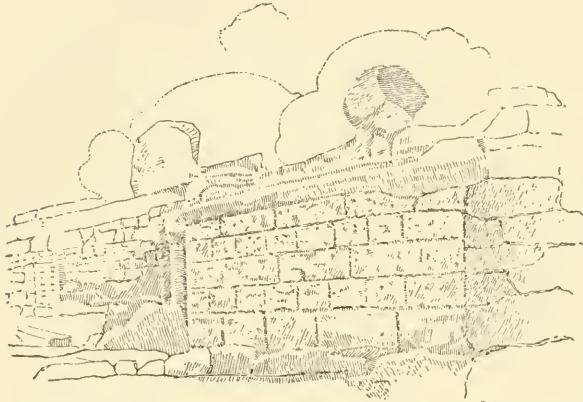
They were right in believing that, if Athens continued to grow, their commerce by sea would certainly be decreased as that of the Attic state increased, and that even their liberty would be endangered. They therefore urged Sparta to hinder the Athenians from rebuilding the walls about the city, which had been destroyed by the Persians.

The city of Athens lies about four miles back from the sea-coast, but Themistocles saw that it could only be great

as a naval power.

He therefore persuaded the Athenians to build powerful walls about the Piræus, which was the sea-port of Athens, and to fit it out with dock-yards and winter sheds for the triremes.

When the Spartans sent an emb

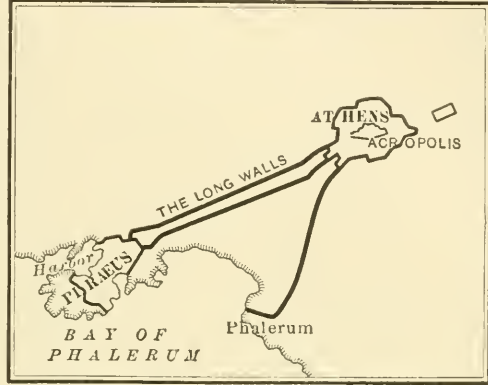


PART OF THE OLD WALLS OF THEMISTOCLES AROUND
ATHENS.

bassy to protest against the rebuilding of the walls about the city itself, Themistocles played a clever trick upon them.

177. How Themistocles Tricked the Spartans.—The story is told by the greatest of ancient historians, the Athenian Thucydides (died after 403 B. C.), who is our best authority on the history of the Greek states from 480 to 411 B. C. According to the story, Themistocles told the Athenians to send him as leader of an embassy to Sparta to discuss this matter of rebuilding the walls. But they were to keep his companions on the embassy at Athens until the wall had been built up to a height at which the city could be defended. “The whole people, men, women, and children, should join in the work” of building the walls. Themistocles accordingly went to Sparta, talked pleasantly with the Spartans, expressing wonder that his colleagues did not come. At length the Spartans became suspicious, and sent

an embassy to Athens to see what caused the delay. But Themistocles was too clever for them, and sent word to the Athenians to keep the Spartans in custody until he returned home. When the walls were high enough, the Athenian embassy came to Sparta. But the Spartans could not do Themistocles and his companions any harm, because they knew that their own embassy was being detained at Athens as hostages for the safety of Themistocles.



LONG WALLS CONNECTING ATHENS AND THE
PIRÆUS.

The fortification of the city was completed in 458

B. C., when the "Long Walls" were finished which connected Athens with the Piræus. These two walls were each about 12 feet thick by 30 feet in height, and the distance between them was 200 feet. Thus the city was connected with the sea by a wide walled street. In case of a siege by land, Athens could always have its food brought in safely by sea. So long as the fleet remained strong enough to uphold the Athenian rule over the sea, the power of Athens would still be unbroken.

178. Party Politics at Athens.—After the Persian invasion there existed in Athens two political parties, the Conservatives or Aristocrats, and the Democrats. The Aristocrats were led by Cimon, the son of Miltiades. His influence was strong because he was the general who led the aggressive war of the Delian League against Persia, and defeated the Persian navy in numerous battles. The political program of Cimon and his party contained the following ideas:

1. To uphold the form of government which then existed, without allowing the Thetes to gain further power in the state.
2. To avoid arousing Spartan and Peloponnesian jealousy

any further. Athens and Sparta were to be team-mates in the leadership of the Hellenes.

3. To treat the allies of the Delian League with all consideration. That is to say, Athens was to avoid increasing her power over the other League members.

The Democratic party was progressive. It wished to develop the state rapidly along all lines, as shown by the following ideas for which the party stood:

1. To develop the Athenian power in the League at the expense of the allies.

2. To pay no attention to the increasing jealousy of Sparta, even to break with her entirely if that became necessary.

3. To carry out the development of the rights of the people, *i.e.*, the democratic program, as it had been begun by Solon and carried further by Clisthenes and Themistocles.

In Pericles, a young noble of the same powerful and aristocratic clan as Clisthenes, the democracy found a great and capable leader.

179. The Spirit of Democracy Grows at Athens.—The strife of these parties resulted in the ostracism of Cimon in the year 461 B. C. Then the ideas of the radical democracy were rapidly put through. The members of the Boulé, and the panels of jurors in the law courts, had long been selected by lot. The board of nine Archons had been added to this list after the time of Clisthenes. All citizens, even the Thetes, were now made eligible to the archonship. The choice of officials by lot is certainly democratic; for it is only a matter of chance which ones of the candidates will be chosen. The rich man has no advantage over the poor nor the intelligent citizen over the unintelligent.

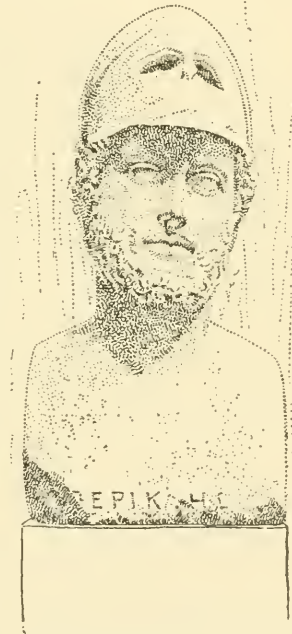
The opportunity of the poorer citizen to stand for the state offices was greatly increased by a new law passed by the Democrats. This law granted a fixed salary to the Archons, and a daily payment for citizens who were serving as members of the Boulé or on the juries. This idea is so common to us that it is hard to realize that the ancient Greeks had not paid their officials before this time. The

Hellenic city-states were founded, however, on the principle that, for the privileges which his citizenship gave him,¹ the citizen owed to the state his services in administration, and in the army. The result of this principle was that the poorer citizens, who lived from what they earned from day to day, could not afford to give up their time to state business, and the wealthier classes ran the state. When payment was introduced the poor citizen could afford to devote time to the state service. This was the most important step yet taken in the growth of the idea of rule by all citizens of the state.

180. The Office of Strategus.—The Attic democracy was now full-grown. Since the Archons were chosen by lot, the office lost much of its influence. The real leadership went over to the Board of Ten Generals, the Strategi, who were elected annually out of the ten Attic tribes. One of those became Chairman of the Board, and was called "The Strategus." He was probably elected by vote of all the Attic citizens, and his power corresponded to that of a president. To this office Pericles was elected year after year. Since he was the leader of the splendid intellectual life of Athens at the time when its people were doing wonderful things, it may be well to know what Thucydides, the historian, thought of him. Thucydides was already a grown man when Pericles died (429 B. C.) and knew him thoroughly well.

He, deriving authority from his capacity and acknowledged worth, being also a man of transparent integrity, was able to

¹ We have a number of honorary offices for which the citizen receives no salary, especially in connection with the school-boards and library-boards of our cities.



ANCIENT BUST OF PERICLES.

control the multitude in a free spirit; he led them rather than was led by them; for, not seeking power by dishonest arts, he had no need to say pleasant things, but, on the strength of his own high character, could venture to oppose and even anger them. When he saw them unseasonably elated and arrogant, his words humbled and awed them; and when they were depressed by groundless fears, he sought to reanimate their confidence. Thus Athens, though still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her greatest citizen. (Thucydides, II: 65.)

181. Athens Tries to Extend Her Empire on Land.—The power of Athens grew year by year. The ambition and energy of her citizens kept pace with her power. No task seemed too great for this single city. Her commerce increased vastly. The two greatest trading cities of Greece, Corinth and Ægina, became alarmed, and looked upon Athens with growing bitterness. In 457 B. C. the island state of Ægina, an old commercial rival, was overwhelmed, and made a subject-member of the Delian League.

The Democratic leaders embarked the state upon a sea of trouble when they attempted to extend the sway of Athens over central Greece (460–446 B. C.). The Spartans could not endure the growth of a land league which would rival their Peloponnesian League in military power and take away from Corinth and Sicyon the valuable trade which they had had with their northward neighbors. So the Spartans sent their armies into Bœotia to help the central states against the Athenian encroachments. From year to year the war was waged and battles fought in central Greece. The Athenian land empire included for a short time Megara, Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, and there was a strong Athenian influence in Peloponnesian Achæa and Argos.

182. The Egyptian Expedition and End of the Land Empire.—But the union of so many states under one head, the idea of subjection of one state to another, ran counter to the desire for freedom among the city-states. Consequently it aroused a general feeling that Athens was a tyrannical oppressor of her allies. Athens also had the aggres-

sive war against Persia still on her hands. As a part of this war, the city sent a great fleet to assist Egypt in revolting against Persia (459 B. C.). The object of the Athenian leaders was to obtain the rich trade from Egypt for their city, no less than to carry on the Persian war. In 454 B. C. the war ended with the complete loss of the Athenian fleet, numbering over 200 ships.

183. Importance of the Date 454 B. C.—There were two clearly marked results of this defeat. The Athenian leaders made it an excuse, on the ground that the Persians might again sail into the Ægean Sea, for removing the treasury of the Delian Confederacy from Delos to the temple of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens. The year 454 B. C. may be regarded, therefore, as the date at which the Delian League is fully transformed into an Athenian Empire; for after this year the annual meeting of the members of the League ceased to be held at Delos, and all business was carried on from Athens.

In the second place, the serious blow to Athenian power in the Egyptian defeat of the year 454 B. C. weakened the state so much that the idea of the empire by land was eventually abandoned. Some of the allies in the Delian League revolted, especially the island of Eubœa, which lay at the very door of Athens. Pericles was forced to give up the hope of extending her power on land and devoted his efforts to maintaining the solidity of the naval empire.

184. Thirty Years Peace.—In the year 445 B. C. Pericles formed a truce with Sparta which was to last for thirty years. Athens agreed to give up the territories she had gained on the mainland of Greece, and the extent of the Peloponnesian League and of the Delian League was defined by naming the allies of each state. Each party agreed that no city-state belonging to the other league should be allowed to join its alliance, but that neutral states should be permitted to join whichever league they might choose.

If these conditions had been adhered to Sparta and Athens might have maintained peace, the one as head of a land league, the other as leader of a naval empire; but this dream

of harmony was thwarted by the commercial jealousy of Corinth.

References for Outside Reading

Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. 22-24; Botsford, *History of the Orient and Greece*, pp. 140-157, 163-179; Bury, *History of Greece*, ch. 8-9; Fling, *Source Book of Greek History*, pp. 144-159; Cox, *Athenian Empire*, pp. 1-41; Grant, *Greece in the Age of Pericles*, ch. 5-6; Abbott, *Pericles*, ch. 4-9; Plutarch, *Lives of Aristides, Cimon, Pericles*; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, ch. 23-28.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. ARISTIDES AND THE FORMATION OF THE DELIAN LEAGUE.—Plutarch, *Aristides*, ch. 23-26.
2. END OF PAUSANIAS AND THEMISTOCLES.—*Thucydides* I, ch. 127-139; Plutarch, *Themistocles* (last part).
3. CAUSE OF THE OSTRACISM OF CIMON.—*Thucydides* I, ch. 98-103; Plutarch, *Cimon* (last pages).
4. APPEARANCE OF ANCIENT ATHENS.—Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, ch. 2; Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, ch. 2.

CHAPTER XIV

THE STATE SYSTEM OF ATHENS AT THE HEIGHT OF HER GREATNESS

185. Importance of the Development of Athens.—The growth and expansion of the city-state of Attica has been followed at some length, because the city used its position of influence in ways which have left a strong impress on the world's life and thought. For several hundred years Athens was the intellectual center of the civilized world. During that time its writers and thinkers produced works of the finest character, which are still read, and still influence the ideas and lives of men. Its sculptors modeled statues in stone and bronze, which must be ranked among the world's masterpieces. It is doubtful whether any nation in the world's history has produced so many men of unquestioned genius, in the same period of time, as lived in the small state of Attica from 480 to 330 B. C. It will therefore be worth our while to learn of the form of the state in which this work was done, and some of the thoughts of its great men, as expressed in literature and other artistic forms.

The fifth century B. C. has been called the "Age of Pericles," because Pericles was the guiding mind of the Attic state during the period of these marvelous achievements.

186. Use of the Tribute Which Came into Athens.—Pericles and the men of his party claimed that they had the right to use the tribute which came in from the allies of the Delian League to beautify Athens, and to further its welfare. So they set about making the city a glorious one to see.

Pericles began immense projects in the way of building and designs for public works, which would employ many arts in their construction, and a long time in their completion. The materials required in their construction were stone, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress wood. The trades which would

be called in to work them out were those of the carpenter, the moulder, the worker in bronze, the stone-mason, the goldsmith, the ivory-worker, painters, embroiderers, and turners. In the transportation of these articles to the city many men would be employed; merchants and sailors and pilots by sea; by land, wagon-makers, horse-breeders, teamsters, rope-makers, flax-workers, workers in leather, road-builders, and miners. (Plutarch, *Pericles*, ch. 12.)

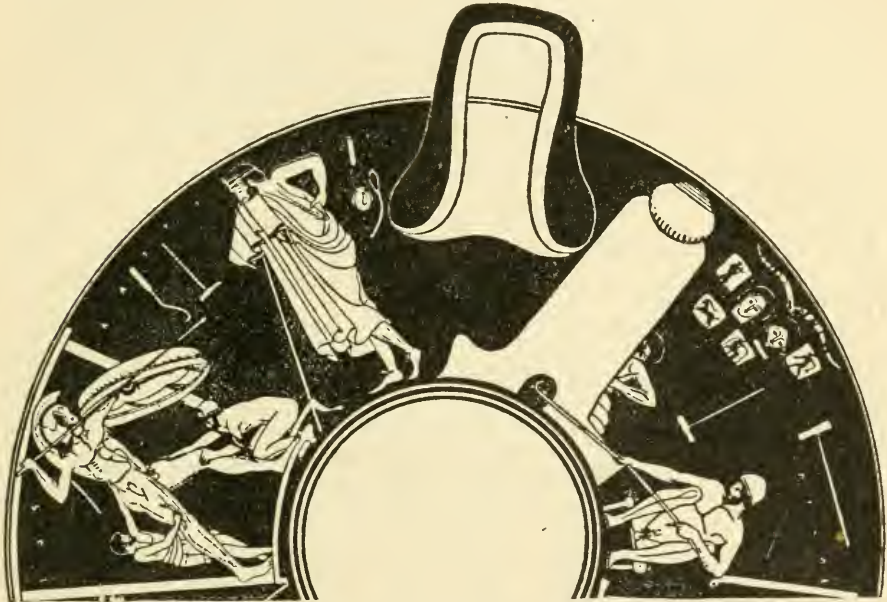
187. The Increase in the Trade of Athens.—The soil of Attica was never very fertile, and now that the city was growing rapidly it became necessary to import grain and other food-products from Egypt, Asia Minor, the Black Sea region, and the West. An Athenian political pamphlet, of about the year 424 B. C., has the following statement of the commercial effect of the naval power of Athens:

It is to this same lordship of the seas that the Athenians owe the discovery, in the first place, of many of the luxuries of life through intercourse with other countries. So that the choice things of Sicily and Italy, of Cyprus and Egypt and Lydia, of Pontus or Peloponnese, or wheresoever else it be, are all swept, as it were, into one center, and all owing, as I say, to their maritime empire. (Xenophon, *Polity of the Athenians*, ch. 2.)

Into the ample harbors of the Piræus sailed the ships of all the Mediterranean world. From the East came woolen goods woven in Sardis and the cities of Phœnicia, and articles of luxury, such as Persian slippers, salves, peacocks, and the fruits of the Persian Empire, apples, dates, and chestnuts.

188. Growth of Manufacturing Industries.—Since Athens was becoming the greatest commercial center of Greece, manufacturing industries sprang up in the city. A suggestion of this, as well as a hint of the retail business, is given by the philosopher Socrates in a talk which he is reported to have had with another Athenian. The conversation is put down by Xenophon, an Athenian soldier and writer, born about 430 B. C., in his *Memorabilia of Socrates*.

Then you are not aware that by the manufacture of one article alone—his barley-meal store—Nausicydes not only maintains himself and his domestics, but many pigs and cattle besides, and realizes such large profits that he frequently contributes to the burden of the public services; while there is Cyrebus, again, who, out of a bread factory, more than maintains the whole of his establishment, and lives in the lap of luxury; and Demeas of the deme of Collytus gets a livelihood out of a



A GREEK BRONZE FOUNDRY.

On the left, two Artists are Finishing a Colossal Bronze Figure.
On the right is the Furnace and its Attendants.

cloak business, and Menon as a maker of fine shawls, and so again, more than half the people of Megara by the making of sleeveless tunics. (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, II, 7.)

Such manufactured articles as these, and most of all, the fine Athenian pots and vases painted by skilled artists, were shipped out as exports and sold wherever a market could be found.

189. The Athenian Citizenship.—In dealing with the Greek democracies we must keep in mind that they were in several ways different from those of the present day. In the

United States, any man born in the land has the privileges of citizenship, generally including the right to hold office, to vote at the election of national, state, and local officials,



SCENE IN A VASE-PAINTER'S STUDIO.

The Goddess Athena and a Goddess of Victory Crown the two Men.
The Woman is not Crowned.

and to express his opinion, by his vote, on changes in the national or state constitution, or on matters pertaining to the affairs of his locality. Even immigrants from other countries may after five years of residence obtain most of these privileges through the process of naturalization.



THE BARBER.

Greek Terra-cotta Figurines.

The Greek city-states were exclusive in their citizenship. At Athens the rule was that only those were citizens whose parents belonged to one of the old clan divisions, which were called Phratries, or Brotherhoods. A boy born of Athenian father and mother had to appear before the men of his deme (township) at the age of eighteen and be accepted by them as a member of that deme. After two years of preparatory military service he became a full Athenian citizen with the right to vote. It was only by a vote passed in each special instance that foreigners could obtain Athenian citizenship, and comparatively few aliens were given its

privileges. The number of male citizens in the lifetime of Pericles was about 35,000. The citizen population, therefore, including the wives and children of these men, was about 100,000.

190. Alien Residents and Slaves.—Of course, as the Attic state kept growing, numbers of aliens came in and settled there. These men were called metics, meaning resident aliens. They paid a tax of twelve drachmas¹ a year for the protection which the state gave them. Most of the business of Athens was carried on by these metics, who numbered about 10,000. With their families they must have included about 50,000 of the inhabitants.

In addition to the citizens and metics, there were the slaves, who had no rights in the state at all. Of this class, which included the household servants, the day-laborers, and workers in the mines, there must have been over 100,000 souls.

191. Difference between Ancient and Modern Democracies.—In one other fundamental feature the democracies of the ancient world differed from those of to-day. We elect representatives who assemble for the purpose of making laws at the state or national capitals. Our Senates and Houses of Representatives, as well as our city councils, are representative bodies, chosen to act in the interests of the people by whom they are elected.

In the ancient city-states which had a democratic form of government, each citizen voted directly in the Assembly of the people on all laws presented. No matter whether a citizen lived in a deme fifteen miles from the city, he must come to Athens to the meetings of the Assembly if he wished to exercise his right to vote. Our present form is called the *representative democracy* as opposed to the ancient form which is called the *pure democracy*. It was the small area of the ancient city-states, and the small number of voters which alone made the system of direct voting possible.

192. The Boule and Assembly.—The 500 members of the Boulé, or Council, were chosen by lot, 50 from each Phylé, or

¹ A drachma was equal to about 18 cents in our coinage; but its purchasing power was much greater.

tribe, according to the reforms of Clisthenes. Since this body was too large to transact business readily, the fifty members from each tribe took turns in acting as a committee of the whole body. This committee was called a "prytany" and prepared business for the larger meetings of the entire Boulé. Each tribe, therefore, held the prytany for one-tenth of the year. A chairman was chosen out of this body to preside for one day. An Athenian was not eligible to the Boulé until he was thirty years of age. (Compare the Constitution of Erythra, § 176.)

The Ecclesia, or Assembly, was the body of all citizens over twenty years of age. It held four regular meetings during the prytany of each tribe, but as many special sessions might be called as the magistrates deemed necessary. The Ecclesia elected the officials, and voted on all bills laid before it. These always came up first before the Boulé, and were there put into form. In the fifth century every form of business came up before these two bodies. They passed upon questions of peace and war; determined whether a new law was needed on any subject; passed all financial bills, and inspected the accounts of the magistrates at the end of their yearly term. In general, it may be said that the entire state was under the direction of the Council and Assembly.

193. A Decree of the Athenian Council and Assembly.—When the cities of the island of Eubœa revolted against Athens in 446 B. C., Pericles was forced to give up his plans for a land empire. In the next year he brought back the entire island under Athenian sway. Of the new alliances made by Athens with the cities of the island, the one with the important city of Chalcis (445 B. C.) has come down to us. It was inscribed on a stone slab which was found on the Acropolis of Athens in 1876. The document gives us a very good idea of the way in which the Boulé and Assembly passed their bills. The following is a part of it:

Decree passed by the Boulé and the Assembly. The tribe Antiochis held the prytany. Dracontides was Chairman. Diognetus made the motion.

The Boulé and the Dicasts (jurors) of the Athenians are to take the following oath:

I will not drive out the Chalcidians from Chalcis. I will not destroy the city. I will not deprive any citizen of his citizen rights without a judicial inquiry, or punish him with exile, or arrest, or put him to death, or take away his property without the consent of the Athenian people. I will not allow a vote to be taken concerning the entire commonwealth or concerning any private citizen unless there has been a regular summons to trial. When an embassy comes from Chalcis, in so far as this is possible, I will bring it before the Boulé and the Assembly within ten days. All this I will grant to the Chalcidians if they be obedient to the Athenian people.

The Chalcidians are to swear the following oath:

I will use neither guile nor deceit to bring about a revolt from the Athenian people, either in word or deed, nor will I follow one who has revolted. And if anyone should revolt, I will report him to the Athenians. I will pay tribute to the Athenians of whatever amount I can persuade them to impose [*i.e.*, the Chalcidians shall have the right to appeal to the Assembly regarding the amount of their tribute]. I will be a strong and upright ally of the Athenians to the very best of my ability. And I will come to the aid of the people of Athens when anyone attacks them and be obedient to them.

All the Chalcidians who are of age shall take this oath.

The decree opens with the date, indicated by giving the prytany and the name of the chairman. Usually the year was also given by mentioning the name of the Chief Archon and the Secretary of the Boulé; but this is lacking in our inscription. It contains useful information, however, on the mutual obligation of the Athenians and their allies.

References for Outside Reading

Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, ch. 12; Botsford, *History of the Orient and Greece*, pp. 172-179; Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, ch. 5, 16; Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, ch. 4, 13; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, sections 42-63; Hammond, *Political Institutions of the Ancient Greeks*, pp. 77-86; Greenidge, *Greek Constitutional History*, pp. 166-204.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. THE STATE LITURGIES.—Harper's or Smith's *Classical Dictionary* under the word "Liturgy."
2. GREEK MANUFACTURES AND TRADES.—Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, ch. 18.
3. ATHENIAN METHODS OF LAW-MAKING AND VOTING.—Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, pp. 206-210; Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, ch. 13.
4. AN ATHENIAN TRIAL.—Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, ch. 14; Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, pp. 211-215.

CHAPTER XV

THE INTELLECTUAL GREATNESS OF ATHENS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

194. The Athenian Drama.—During the time of the Persian sway over Ionia and the war of the Delian League for the liberation of the Hellenic people in Asia Minor, the Ionians lost a great deal of their former commerce with the Persian interior. The Greek cities of the mother-country and those of Italy and Sicily gained in volume of trade as Ionia lost. The business of Athens and Syracuse grew tremendously. As the commercial centers shifted westward, so also the intellectual centers moved. Athens became the source of an intellectual and artistic activity which has given that city a unique place in history.

The literary genius which the Hellenes of Ionia had shown in the Homeric poems and in the Ionian lyric poetry, reached its bloom in the religious drama of the three great Athenian writers of tragedy, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. The Greek tragedy, or "goat song," was so different from our modern drama that it needs some explanation. It arose from the crude dances and songs which were held each spring at the festival of the wine-god, Dionysus, when a goat was offered up to him. A Greek drama consisted of the dialogue between the actors and the choruses, which were recited by a body of twelve (later fifteen) men to the accompaniment of flutes. The parts, whether representing male or female characters, were all taken by men.

195. How the Dramas were Produced.—The Hellenes could not go to the theater any night they wished, for the dramas were given only during the time of three religious festivals, held in December, January, and March. Although regarded as religious in character, they really took the form of dramatic contests, in which rival composers

competed. In general, therefore, they occupied about the same place in Greek religious life as the great Olympic and Pythian Games. The presentations came in the daytime, the tragedies following each other during the mornings, comedies during the afternoons. The spectators took their lunches with them, and sat from daybreak to nightfall on the wooden or stone seats of the theaters, which were open to the sky.

The plays lacked entirely the magnificent stage-settings to which we are accustomed to-day. The acting and the stately movements of the choruses took place in a ring, called the orchestra, which was always surrounded by the seats of the spectators. The only background was a low building with columns in front of it, called the *skené*, from which comes our English word "scene." Here the actors dressed and came out into the view of the audience. It was the great Pericles who saw the immense possibilities for educating his people by means of these dramas. He had a law passed by which each citizen received back from the state the two obols¹ which he paid for admission to the performances.

196. The Dramatist Æschylus, 525-456 B. C.—The Athenian Æschylus, who fought at Marathon and Salamis, is the founder of tragedy, in the sense that he was the one who took a second actor out of the chorus, and thus made it possible to have dialogue between two persons on the stage. He set the general form of the drama, from which it has changed but little through a thousand years.

Of the great number of plays which he wrote, we still have seven. In the *Persians*, which is one of the oldest of them, Æschylus tried his hand at an historical drama. He took for his subject the return of Xerxes from Greece after the defeat at Salamis. Although the chorus and the dialogue are fine, the whole drama seems heavy and without movement. Yet it breathes the spirit of Hellenic pride and thankfulness for the victory over the Persians. The

¹ The "obol" was a small coin worth about three cents. As must always be remembered in dealing with Greek money, the obol would buy much more than its English equivalent.

spirited description of the battle of Salamis, in which Æschylus himself participated, is the best account of that battle that we have. By introducing the ghost of the old king Darius and contrasting his dignity with the passionate grief of Xerxes, Æschylus has been able to contrast sharply the former invincible power of Persia with the ruin of its reputation after the defeat of Xerxes.

197. The Subjects of Greek Tragedy.—For some reason the drama built around an historical incident was not a success. Æschylus thereafter confined himself to dramatizing the mythological stories of the Greek gods and heroes, and these became the standard subjects for Greek tragedy. He based many of his plays upon the stories of the Trojan War. His greatest work that we have is the *Orestes* trilogy. A trilogy is a group of three plays dealing with the same story, each one complete in itself, but all together making a unit. The first play of the *Orestes* trilogy is the *Agamemnon*, one of the greatest tragedies ever written. It depicts the return of Agamemnon from Troy and his murder by Clytemestra, his unfaithful wife. A curse which has brought sorrow and death upon his father, as it now does upon him, rests upon the house of Agamemnon. The second play, the *Libation-Bearers*, tells of the blood-curse which drives the son Orestes to kill his mother in return for his father's murder. Though Orestes is commanded to do this awful deed by the god Apollo, punishment must fall upon him, too. Pursued by the Furies, who represent the pangs of a guilty conscience, Orestes becomes insane. The last play of the trilogy, the *Eumenides*, or *Furies*, tells how the Furies pursued the murderer even into the sanctuary of the god Apollo at Delphi. Then the wretched youth takes refuge with the goddess Athena at Athens. He is tried before the High Court in that city, and the just goddess of Athens gives the deciding vote, which makes him free of guilt. So the great problem of sin and guilt is solved and the curse is raised from the house of Agamemnon.

The strength of Æschylus, his claim to a very high place among the world's greatest dramatists, lies in the sincerity

and depth of his religious feeling, in the grandeur of his ideas, and the forceful beauty of his verses.

198. Sophocles, 497–405 B. C.—Sophocles is no less great as a writer than Æschylus, but in an entirely different way.



SOPHOCLÉS

He perfected the form of tragedy on the lines started by Æschylus. When he added a third actor, there could be three speaking characters on the stage at once, which relieved the stiffness of the dialogue.

The characters of Sophocles are more human than those of the older dramatist. What he loses in grandeur of thought he gains in the human appeal to our emotions. The *Antigone* of Sophocles is still produced from time to time. Despite the changes in taste which centuries have brought, the charm of this tragedy is unimpaired. The story is from the legends of Thebes. A young prince of Thebes led an army against his native city, in which the power was held by his brother. Before the walls

of the city they fought, and both were slain. The new king, their uncle Creon, forbade burial to the rebel brother who had attacked Thebes. This was contrary to the Greek religious teaching, which obliged the nearest relative to see that a dead person was properly buried. So Antigone, sister of the two young men, though still a young girl, determined to carry out the will of the gods, despite the decree of King Creon which pronounced death upon the person who should touch the body. The tragedy depicts, in wonderful lines, the brave and stubborn character of this young girl, and how she met her death for what she deemed right. Creon, the king, was terribly punished for his presumption in trying to uphold a state decree contrary to the eternal laws of heaven. For upon the day of Antigone's death, his son and his wife killed themselves out of grief.

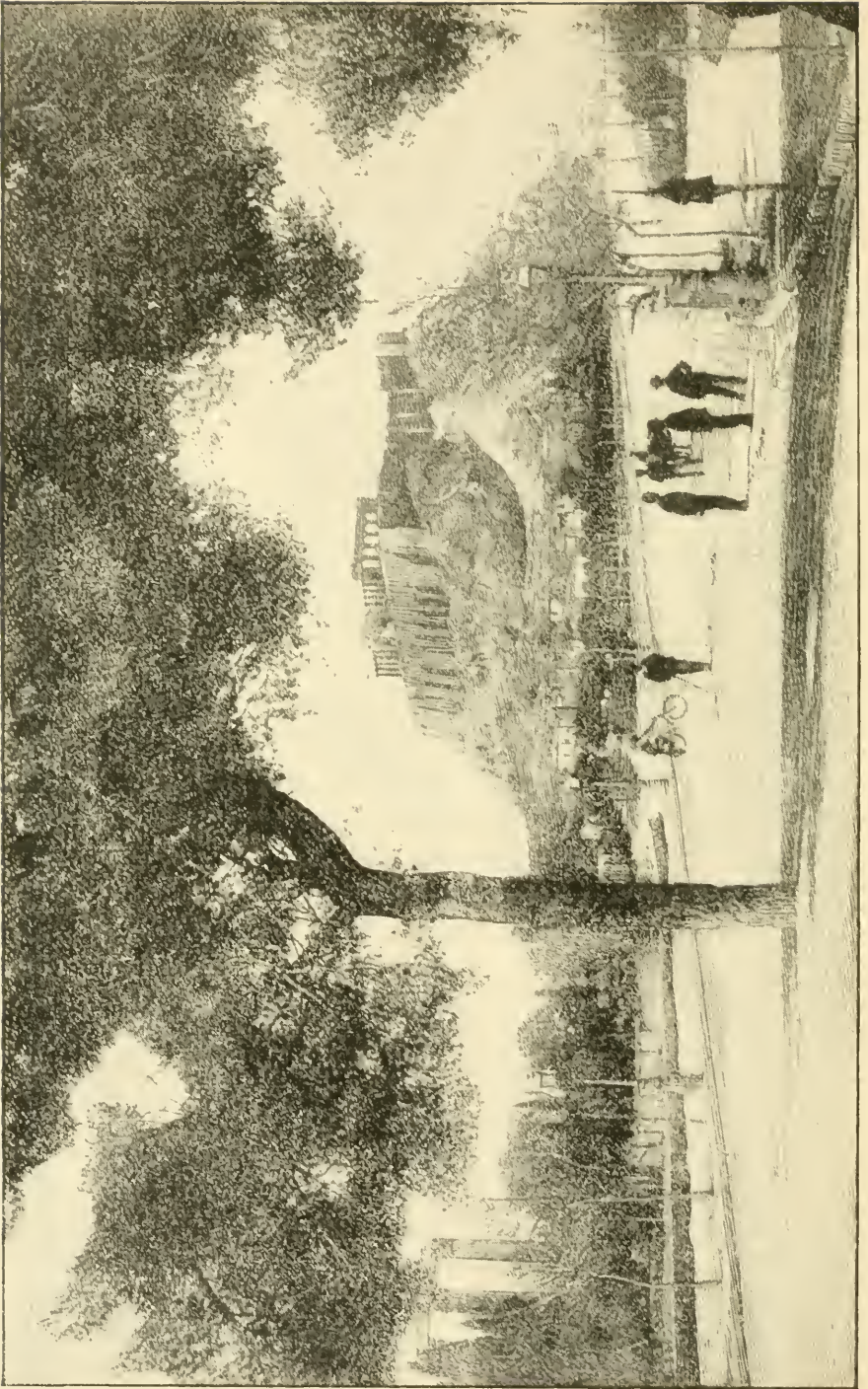
Too late the weak and violent ruler felt the wrath of the gods, and the awful effects of his error. Of the seven extant tragedies of Sophocles, the *Antigone* and the *King Œdipus* are the greatest.

199. The Beautifying of the City: the Acropolis.—No city has ever been more active in erecting temples and other buildings for the use and enjoyment of its citizens than Athens under the guidance of Pericles. In an address before the people of Athens the great statesman expressed his public policy in the following words:

And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; at home the style of our life is refined; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. (Thucydides, II, ch. 38.)

When the Persians took the city in 480 B. C., they destroyed it utterly. When the Athenians returned they began to rebuild it in a manner which expressed nobly their thankfulness to the gods, and their pride in the part which the city had taken in the great victory over the hosts of Xerxes. From the earliest days of the city's history, the Acropolis had been the center of the religious life of Athens, and its inner stronghold. It is a bare rock which rises some 200 feet above the level of the city, and is about 900 feet in length by 500 feet at its greatest width. This eminence, with its beautiful outlook over the Attic plain and the blue stretch of the Saronic Gulf, was a fitting site for the city's glory.

200. Character of Greek Architecture.—The Greeks were endowed by nature with an inborn love for beautiful things, with fine taste, and a sense of harmony such as few peoples have had. In epic and lyric poetry, and in the Athenian drama, this sense of beauty expressed itself in works of perfect beauty; while in architecture its most characteristic form appeared in the temples of the gods. The Greek temple architecture is one of the gifts of Greece to civilization, which has never been lost. All of our cities contain

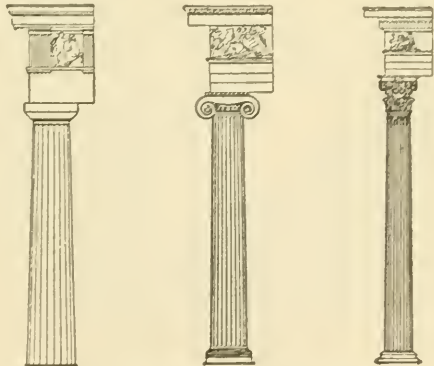


THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY.

buildings in which the stately columns of the Greek temples are used in one form or another to remind us of the ancient Hellenes and their work in the world.

In its simplest form the Greek temple is a dark room, the home of the image of some god, with columns at the front. It was not used, like our churches, as a meeting place of worshippers. Hence it was small and unimposing, but the harmony of its proportions made up for the grandeur which might have been gained by greater size. Its characteristic feature and the source of its beauty lay in the outer columns, which helped to support the roof. As the ideas of the architects developed, they placed these columns entirely around the central room, at the front and rear, and on the sides.

201. The Three Styles, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian.—The column as an architectural support and ornament was not an invention of the Greeks. The heavy columns used in the Egyptian temples and those in the Cretan palaces served as their models. These were developed by the Greeks into three forms, differentiated, most of all, by the capital or top of the column. According to the type of column, the temples were said to be of the Doric, the Ionic, or the Corinthian "order." The oldest of the three is the Doric, and the Corinthian did not come into favor until late in the fifth century. All three orders were used throughout the Greek cities, and the names do not mean that any one order was the exclusive style of a particular Greek tribe.

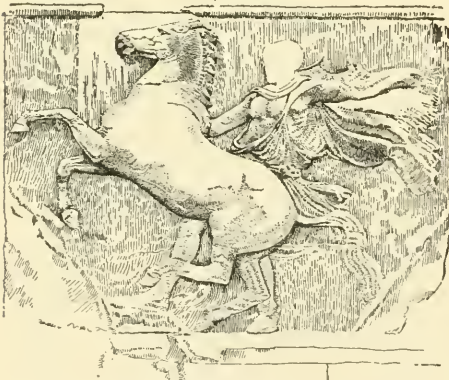


DORIC, IONIAN, AND CORINTHIAN
COLUMNS.

The Doric column is the simplest of the three. It is thick-set in its proportions, giving the appearance of strength and solidity without heaviness. The capital is a square stone slab, somewhat greater in width than the column,

resting upon a smaller stone that tapers into the shaft of the column. In the Ionic order the Greek architects broke away from the severe simplicity of the Doric style. The column is far more slender and delicate than the Doric. The capital is a graceful roll of stone, curling at the ends into snail-like "volutes." The general effect is softer and more elegant than that of the sturdy and manly Doric style. The Corinthian order is a modification of the Ionic, differing chiefly in the decoration of the capital. This is made up of several rows of leaves which curl over slightly at the top. In the later Greek period, and in Roman times, it became very popular.

When we think of a Greek temple of ancient times, we must remember that it was often adorned with large statues set in the "pediment," the triangular space under the roof at each end. We must remember that these figures were colored, the lips and eyes and garments painted. The whole "entablature," that space from the top of the column to the roof, was gayly painted in strong red and deep blue



REARING HORSE FROM THE PARTHENON
FRIEZE.

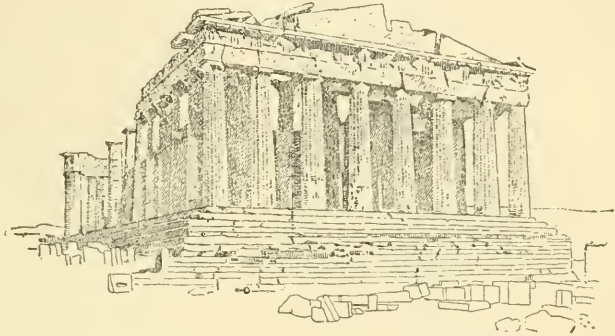
hues. All of this painting has long since faded from those Greek temples which are still standing. In the clear, transparent air of Greece, where the natural coloring of sea, sky, and mountains is intense, the beauty of the temples, so harmonious in their outlines, must have been greatly heightened by the addition of color.

202. The Parthenon.—Of all the beautiful temples which rose upon the Acropolis in the times of Pericles, the most wonderful is that dedicated to the maiden goddess Athena. It is called the Parthenon, the Virgin's Temple. After 2,300 years have passed it still stands, imposing in its shattered grandeur. In 1687 A. D. the Turks were in possession

of Athens, and used the building as a storehouse for powder. The powder was ignited by a cannonball and blew the central portion of the building into fragments. Yet the ruins tell us volumes of that remarkable sense of correct proportion which characterized the Greek idea of beauty.

Begun soon after 450 B. C., the Parthenon was completed about 437 B. C.

It is of the Doric order, 101 feet wide by 227 feet long, surrounded by great columns over six feet in diameter at the base. Its decoration, the making of the pedi-



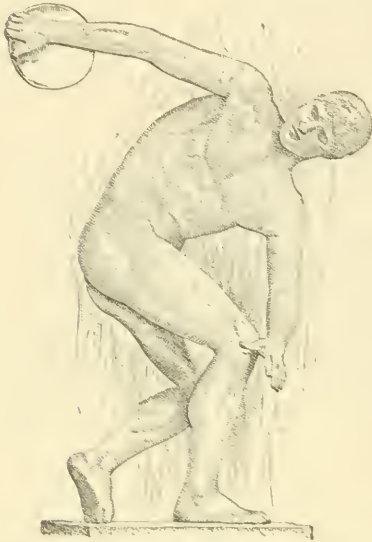
RUINS OF THE PARTHENON AT ATHENS.

ment figures and the great frieze which ran round the outer wall of the temple house, was all under the guidance of the great Athenian sculptor Phidias. The subject of the frieze is the procession of Athenians carrying gifts to the goddess Athena at the great Pan-Athenian festival, which occurred once in four years. This frieze is one of the most interesting remains of Greek art that we have. It contains over 350 figures of men and women and over 125 of horses, each one in a different and individual pose.

But the greatest single feature of the Parthenon was the gold and ivory statue of the goddess Athena, modeled by Phidias. It was a standing figure about thirty-eight feet in height. On the head of the goddess rested a golden helmet; the representations of the face and skin were of ivory, and the eyes were precious stones set in. The goddess stood in the inner temple facing the entrance, a figure of great dignity and majesty. There are left to-day only poor and small copies of this masterpiece, which give no idea of its original grandeur.

203. Sculpture in the Periclean Age: Myron.—In judging the work of the Greek sculptors we are hampered by

the fact that only a few of the original works have been saved. Therefore our judgment is largely based upon copies of the originals made in later times by inferior craftsmen. It is certain, however, that the Greek sculptors expressed ideas of beauty in stone and marble which have never been surpassed through two thousand years of endeavor.



THE DISCUS-THROWER OF MYRON.

Of the sculptors who lived in the Periclean Age, two stand out as preëminent, Myron and Phidias. The elder, Myron, was noted for the realism and naturalness of his figures. He struck boldly away from the path followed by former artists, and by his originality has made his name one of the greatest in sculpture. The works of the older Greek

artists and of the Babylonians and Egyptians were upright figures which stood or sat stiffly, and in a conventional pose. Myron tried to express the human figure in moments of action. Such was his bronze "Discus-thrower," which we have in a number of late stone copies. It was a daring attempt to depict the human body in a strange position, twisted and taut, ready for the throw. The work was a great favorite with ancient art lovers.

204. **Phidias.**—The greatest master among ancient sculptors was the Athenian Phidias. The gold and ivory image of the virgin Athena in the Parthenon, and the great seated statue of the Olympian Zeus, also in gold and ivory, in the huge temple at Olympia, were the most famous of his statues. Visitors to Olympia



COPY OF THE HEAD OF A
STATUE OF ATHENA
BY PHIDIAS.

gazed with awe and wonder upon the majestic figure and benign face of the god. Though we have no adequate copy of it, the admiration of the ancient critics convinces us of its artistic greatness. In it the "noble simplicity and quiet majesty," characteristic of the Greek art of this period, found its finest expression. One ancient writer said he believed that if a man should come before this statue, bowed down with the deepest sorrow and grief that life could bring, he would forget his sorrows as he gazed upon its gentle dignity.

The greatest feature of the art of Phidias was the sincerity of his conception of the gods, of his religious convictions as they were expressed in marble. It was only this depth of feeling in him which made his gods so awe-inspiring, their divinity so manifest.

205. The Circle of Pericles' Friends.—A number of the men of genius who made Athens noted in the ancient world were intimately associated with Pericles. Phidias and Sophocles and the Ionian philosopher Anaxagoras were his close friends. The historian Herodotus, who wrote the story of the Persian Wars, spent some years in Athens, and was a member of the circle which found in Pericles and his wife, Aspasia, its intellectual leaders.

Aspasia, a woman of Miletus, was no less intelligent and inspiring than Pericles himself. She is said to have been very helpful to the great leader in his political work. But the Athenians were not accustomed to have women take any part in the intellectual life of men. Their women stayed at home and attended to the household duties. A feeling, therefore, arose among the people against this freedom of women which Aspasia represented. With this was combined a spirit of uneasiness at the new and progressive ideas which came from this circle of advanced thinkers. They seemed to be undermining the old belief in the gods; and there could be little doubt that the Ionian philosophy and science were doing this.

The political opponents of Pericles made use of this feeling to injure Pericles through his friends. About 437

B. C. the attack began. Phidias was accused of taking gold from the great statue of Athena of the Parthenon. He is said to have died in prison. Anaxagoras, an intimate friend of Pericles, was tried for godlessness and condemned to death, but he fled from Athens and escaped the sentence. The bitterness of party hatred did not spare Aspasia. Her name, too, was dragged into court on a base and unfounded charge of immorality and godlessness. Pericles had to exert all his power to secure an acquittal. Thus Athens repaid the proud and silent man who had guided the policies of the city so long and faithfully.

References for Outside Reading

Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, ch. 14; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 123-149; Botsford, *History of the Orient and Greece*, 179-189; Capps, *Homer to Theocritus*, ch. 8, 9; Tarbell, *History of Greek Art*, ch. 3, 7, 8; Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 367-378; Sophocles, *Antigone* (Plumptre's translation.)

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. STORY OF PROMETHEUS.—*Dictionaries of Classical Antiquities* under "Prometheus"; Fairbanks, *Mythology of Greece and Rome*, pp. 80-81.
2. THE GREEK THEATER.—Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, ch. 12; Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, pp. 112-118.
3. PERICLES AS AN ORATOR.—Read the funeral oration delivered by him in the year 431 B. C.; *Thucydides* II, ch. 34-54 (in Fling, *Source Book*, pp. 178-186, and Bury, pp. 404-407).
4. THE LITERARY ABILITY OF ASPASIA.—The dialogue, "Menexenus" of Plato.

CHAPTER XVI

THE POWER OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE BROKEN: PELOPONNESIAN WAR

206. The Peloponnesian War.—Under Pericles, the Athenian democracy had entered upon a career of intellectual and commercial progress which astonished the other Greek city-states, and aroused their envy. Athens seemed to be the home of a new movement which was about to destroy the old ideas of life that the Greeks had held. Her ambition for empire had threatened also to change the political boundaries of Greece, and to bring about unity upon the mainland as she had brought about unity in that portion of the Greek world which belonged to the Delian League.

As Athens stood for progress and change, so Sparta stood for the old ways and the old thoughts in Greece. The idea of the rule of the people, democracy, was contrary to all Spartan teaching and feeling, contrary to her own demand upon the Spartans for absolute submission of the individual citizen to the will of the state. Out of this contrast arose a war which involved almost all the Greek states. The leaders on the two sides were Athens and Sparta, Athens at the head of the Delian League, Sparta as leader of the forces of the Peloponnesian League. The war lasted, with irregular intermissions, from 431 to 404 B. C., and is called the "Peloponnesian War."

207. Causes and Divisions of the War.—The causes of the war were many and deep-seated. The most important are these:

1. The idea of uniting so many of the Greek states under one head, as Athens had done in the Delian League, was contrary to the old love for independence among the city-states.

2. The growth of commerce at Athens had interfered with the commerce of other cities, especially Corinth. Corinth was a member of the Peloponnesian League, and insisted that the League should take up her cause.

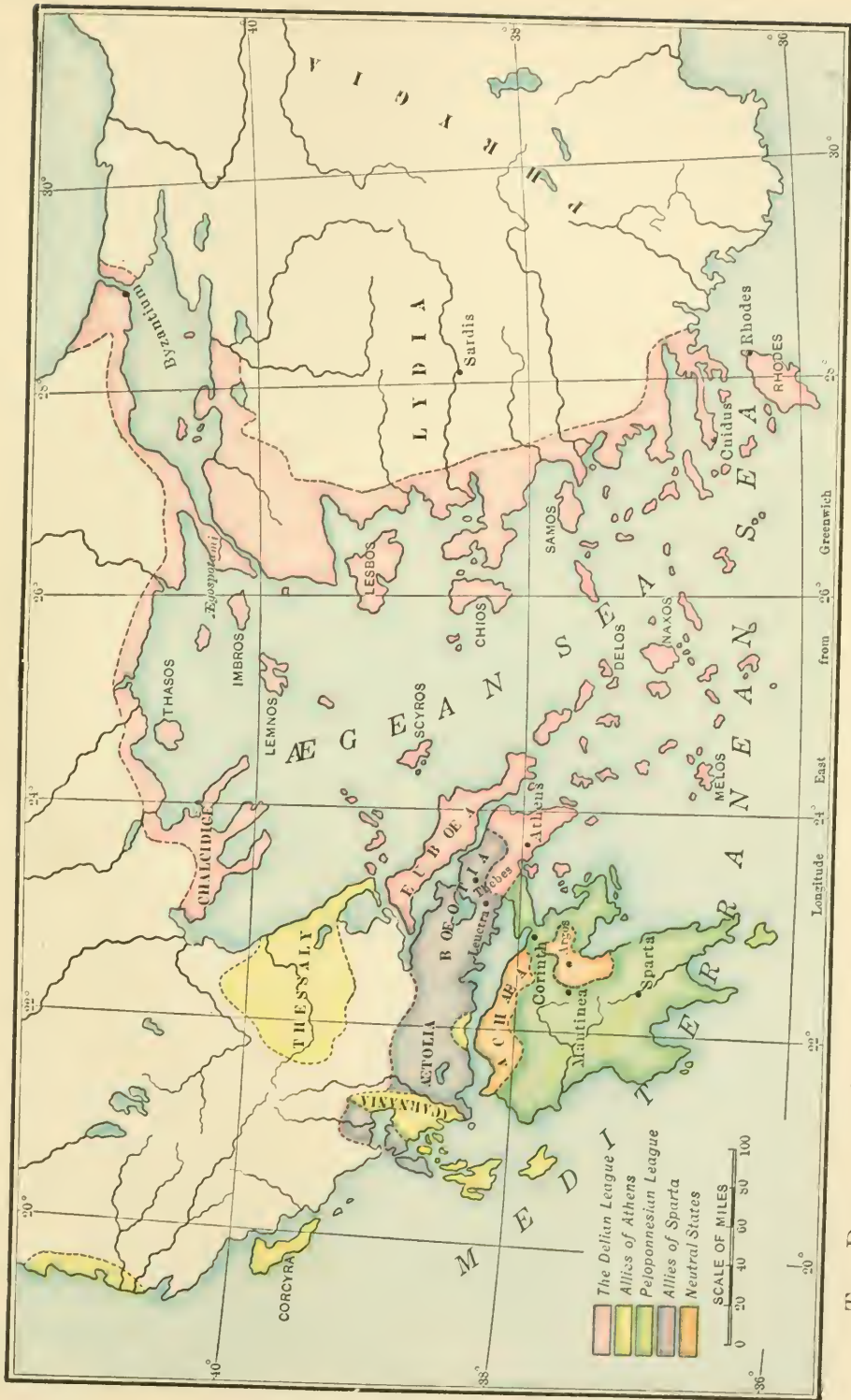
3. The attempt of Athens to form a land empire in central Greece had aroused the fear and hatred of the states around her. They were afraid that they would lose the right to rule themselves.

The Peloponnesian War is divided for convenience into three periods. The first extends from 431 to 421 B. C. The second covers the great Athenian expedition against the merchant city of Syracuse, called the Sicilian Expedition, 415–413 B. C. The final period extends from 412 to 404 B. C. and ends with the surrender of Athens.

208. The Historian Thucydides.—The history of this war was written by an Athenian, Thucydides, who took part, as a general, in the early years of the war. In 424 B. C. he was banished from Athens, and spent the remaining time of the war in gathering material for his history.

Thucydides ranks among the very greatest of the world's historians. Though an Athenian, his work shows but few traces of prejudice in favor of his native city. It is marked by keen judgment, insight into the causes of events and their effects, and a literary style which of itself would have made his book remarkable. In the field of historical writing, as in the drama, in sculpture, and in architecture, Athens produced in Thucydides one of the world's geniuses.

209. First Period of the War, 431–421 B. C.—Pericles, then an old man, was the directing spirit at the outset of the war. His plan of campaign was to use the naval strength of the Delian League to harass the coastline of some of the members of the Peloponnesian League, and to destroy their commerce. Sparta and her followers were strong only upon land. All they could do, therefore, was to march into Attica and ravage the country, burning the crops, and destroying the olive groves, up to the great walls of the city. Meantime the ships of the Athenians brought food from outside into the harbor of the Piræus. So long as Athens



THE DELIAN AND PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUES AND THEIR ALLIES BEFORE THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

retained her supremacy on the sea she seemed invincible; but the fighting strength of the city was lessened by a great plague which broke out in the crowded city in the year 430 B. C., and lasted for several years. In 429 B. C. Pericles himself fell a victim to it, along with thousands of others.

The war dragged on for ten years. It was waged with cruelty and bitterness upon both sides, but without decisive results. At last, when the leaders of the war party, Cleon at Athens and Brasidas in Sparta, had both fallen in the same battle, in the attack upon the Thracian city of Amphipolis which was held by Brasidas, the contestants tired of the endless fighting. In 421 B. C. a treaty was made, called the Peace of Nicias after the Athenian general who negotiated it. This left matters much as they were when the war broke out.

210. The Sophists and the New Teaching.—Just before the Peloponnesian War, there arose in Greece a class of men called Sophists, whose business was that of lecturing and teaching. After the Persian Wars the commercial and political life of the Greeks had grown far broader. With the growth of democracy also, the citizens of Athens felt that they needed a wider education than that afforded by the old subjects, reading, writing, arithmetic, music, and the poems of Homer. The Sophists arose to meet this demand. They traveled about from place to place, teaching for pay, a thing which seemed wrong to many Greeks of that time. Among the subjects in which they gave instruction were rhetoric and the art of public speaking, geometry, the science of military tactics, and the handling of weapons.

Although their teaching was valuable in many respects, the Sophists were regarded by many as men dangerous to the state. For they attacked the Greek religion, saying that it was not founded on common sense. They said that one could never know whether the gods existed or not, and that no standard of right living could be set up which was true for all men.

211. The Opposition to this New Learning: Aristophanes.—

The opposition to the Sophists was voiced in the Greek comedies of that time. With biting wit and ridicule the comedy-writer, Aristophanes, mocked their pretense of knowing so many things, their love of arguing fine points, and their custom of accepting money for teaching. In Aristophanes the remarkable city of Athens gave birth to another genius, a man acknowledged to be unsurpassed in the field of comedy. He was of the aristocratic party, opposed to the desire for empire which Pericles represented. Therefore Pericles, too, became a target for his witty sallies, and Aristophanes called him the "onion-headed Zeus," because of his majestic and dignified bearing and the peculiar shape of his head.

212. Alcibiades, the New Leader.—The Sophists taught that each man must be the judge of his own actions. This doctrine tended to make an act which would be advantageous to one man seem right to him. They urged the individual to look out for himself, with no thought for the rights of others. The result of such teaching was to make men self-seeking and egoistic. The man who became leader of the democratic party at Athens after the Peace of Nicias, Alcibiades, the nephew of Pericles, was a typical product of such ideas. He combined in himself the most prominent virtues and weaknesses of the Greek character. Handsome in person, of brilliant mental powers, he was ambitious for himself first of all, tricky in his political relations, headstrong, and willful.

A story of his boyhood, related in Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, illustrates these last traits.

Another time, as he played at dice in the street, being then but a child, a loaded cart came that way, when it was his turn to throw. At first he called to the driver to stop, because he was in the way over which the cart was to pass. The driver gave him no attention and drove on; the rest of the boys divided and gave him way. But Alcibiades threw himself on his face before the cart, stretched himself out, and bade the carter pass on now if he would. This so startled the man that he pulled

back his horses, while all that saw it were terrified; and crying out they ran to assist Alcibiades.

This ambitious young man realized that his position in political life at Athens would depend upon his bringing the state to some great action which would redound to the glory of Athens, and so add to his own reputation.

213. The Sicilian Expedition, 415-413 B. C.—A part of the Athenians had long been eager to extend their influence to the west, to lay hold of the opportunity which was offered by the continual quarrels of the Greek cities in Sicily, and to build up their commerce, possibly a western empire, on that island. Alcibiades urged the Athenians to send a great expedition to help an allied city which was in trouble. The keen eyes of Thucydides detected their motive and the personal reasons of Alcibiades. He says:

They virtuously protested that they were going to assist their own kinsmen and their newly acquired allies, but the simple truth was that they aspired to the empire of Sicily. * * * Alcibiades was hoping that he might be the conqueror of Sicily and Carthage; and that success would repair his private fortunes, and gain him money as well as glory. (Thucydides, VI, 6, 15.)

The armament sent out by Athens was an immense one considering the resources of the city; it included 134 triremes, besides transport ships, and 5,100 hoplites. The number of oarsmen, soldiers, and officers must have been over 20,000. Alcibiades was named as one of the three generals in charge of the expedition. No sooner had the fleet sailed away than his enemies had him called back, to stand trial for having mocked at the sacred rites of the gods and for having mutilated their images. He knew that to return meant a death sentence; so Alcibiades betrayed his country, fled to Sparta, and helped the Spartans in every way he could.

214. Fate of the Expedition to Sicily.—The expedition lost its real head when Alcibiades deserted. The year 414 B. C. was spent in besieging the city of Syracuse, which was on the verge of surrender when Gylippus, a Spartan general

of great ability, came to conduct the defense. He was so successful that in 413 B. C. the Athenians were forced to send reënforcements, 73 triremes, 5,000 hoplites, and light-armed troops in addition, to aid in the siege. On land and by sea the Athenians now met reverses. At last they determined to escape in their triremes and sail back to Athens, but the Syracusans had blocked up the entrance to the harbor, and there, in the narrow harbor of Syracuse where the triremes had scarcely room to maneuver, the Athenians met a terrible defeat. The troops then tried to cut their way through Sicily by land to a place of safety. But they were overtaken by the Syracusans, and cut down or taken prisoner almost to a man. The defeat of this vast army meant ruin to the political power of Athens. Thucydides has given the following estimate of its importance:

Of all the Hellenic actions which took place in this war, or indeed of all Hellenic actions which are on record, this was the greatest—the most glorious to the victors, the most ruinous to the vanquished; for they were utterly and at all points defeated, and their sufferings were prodigious. Fleet and army perished from the face of the earth; nothing was saved, and of the many who went forth few returned home. Thus ended the Sicilian expedition. (Thucydides, VII, 87.)

215. The Last Period of the War, 412–404 B. C.—With her ships gone and her money scattered, Athens still had the vitality and courage to hold her own for eight long years. Her allies revolted, neutral states joined the Peloponnesian League against her, and her ablest son, Alcibiades, was using his genius to guide the Spartan campaign. These were dark days for Athens.

For a time, when Alcibiades, through a political revolution in his native city, was recalled from banishment, and permitted to come to the aid of Athens (411–407 B. C.), there seemed hope of ultimate victory. The Spartans, however, had at last learned that they could defeat Athens only by meeting her successfully on the sea. They prepared a great fleet and sent it to Asia Minor to bring

the cities of the Delian League to revolt; but the military genius of Alcibiades still wrested victories from them. The Greeks seemed unable to bring the war to an end without outside help, so both sides began to appeal to Persia for aid. Persia was willing to give assistance in the hope that she could regain possession of the coast of Asia Minor. In 408 B. C. the Great King sent his energetic son, Cyrus, a young man less than 20 years of age, to take charge of the western satrapies of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia. At the same time Sparta sent to Asia Minor the ablest general and diplomat she had produced in years, Lysander. These two men agreed to combine their interest against Athens for the advantage of their countries and their great personal ambitions.

Against this combination Alcibiades worked desperately for Athens. In 407 B. C., after an insignificant defeat, he was deposed from his command by the fickle Athenian people. Thus Athens for the second time, at the crucial moment of the war, deprived herself of the services of the erratic genius who might still have saved her.

216. Battle of the Goat-Rivers and the Fall of Athens.—In 405 B. C. Lysander surprised the Athenian fleet at Ægos-potami (Goat-Rivers) on the Hellespont, when the sailors were scattered on shore, and the ships unprepared. Alcibiades, who was living near by, warned the Athenian generals of this very danger, but they paid no attention to him. Almost without a battle, the Spartans captured 160 Athenian triremes. This was the deathblow to the Athenian power on the sea.

The city of Athens was surrounded and blockaded by sea, but only when the people were dying of hunger did Athens surrender (404 B. C.). Corinth and Thebes wished to destroy their hated enemy, but the Spartans were more generous. The terms of peace were that Athens was to give up all her fleet; the Long Walls to the Piræus and the fortifications round the Piræus were to be pulled down; and all the states of the Delian League were to be made free. The war resulted in the sacrifice of the Greek cities of Asia

Minor to Persian rule, and in giving Persia the opportunity of stirring up continual trouble among the free Greek states.

Thus the Athenian Empire, with its promise of Hellenic unity under a great leader, was shattered. Still Athens retained great influence, even politically. As intellectual leader she remained without a rival for over a century; and always, until the ancient pagan world changed into the mediæval Christian world, she retained honor and influence as an intellectual and artistic center.



MEDEA.

A Wall-painting from
Herculanæum.

217. Euripides, the Poet of the New Thought (485–406 B. C.).—In the dramas

of Euripides, the turmoil of the times of the Peloponnesian War at Athens is most distinctly revealed. In his tragedies all the new thoughts of the Sophists are expressed and set before the Athenian people. His plays therefore popularized the religious skepticism of the Sophistic school and, more than any other single agency, spread among the mass of the Greeks the lack of faith in their old gods. They lack the smoothness and artistic harmony of Sophocles' dramas and the deep religious note of the tragedies of Æschylus. But Euripides made the Athenians think. He is the first poet to enter into and attempt to portray the thoughts and emotions of women. An example of this may be seen in his drama called *Medea*.

It deals with the married life of Jason, the hero of the myth of the Argonautic expedition, and Medea, the barbarian sorceress who had saved him. Euripides changed and added to the old tale as he wished. The drama deals with the terrible anger of Medea, when Jason wished to marry another woman, a princess of Corinth. In order to revenge herself upon Jason, Medea sent a gift to the princess, a beautiful robe which was steeped in a potent poison.

When the poor princess put it on, it clung to her skin and burned her to death. Then Medea, knowing that punishment must fall upon her and her children for that deed, killed both of them, although she loved them dearly. Since she was a goddess, she was able to fly away in a chariot drawn by dragons, and find refuge at Athens.

The old mythological stories seem strange in the modern form which Euripides gave them. The people of his own day did not understand him. They preferred the serene and deep sorrow of Sophocles to the wild emotions of the dramas of Euripides. Euripides influenced the stage of the succeeding centuries, however, much more than his two great rivals, Æschylus and Sophocles.

References for Outside Reading

Fling, *Source Book*, ch. 7; Plutarch, *Lives of Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lysander*; Botsford, *Orient and Greece*, ch. 10, 11; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 149-159; Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. 26-34; Bury, *History of Greece*, ch. 10-11; Capps, *Homer to Theocritus*, ch. 10.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF THE SPARTANS AT SPHACTERIA IN 425 B. C.—*Thucydides* IV, 26-41 (in Fling, *Source Book*, pp. 194-204); Bury, pp. 429-438.
2. STORIES ABOUT ALCIBIADES.—Plutarch, *Alcibiades*; Plato, *Symposium* (Jowett's translation), vol. 1, pp. 582 to end.
3. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ATHENIAN ARMAMENT BEFORE SYRACUSE.—*Thucydides* VII, ch. 69-87; Fling, *Source Book*, pp. 213-229.
4. THE FALL OF ATHENS.—Fling, *Source Book*, pp. 232-238.

CHAPTER XVII

THE WESTERN GREEKS ON THE DEFENSIVE AGAINST CARTHAGE: THE FATAL LACK OF UNITY

218. The Carthaginians Invade Sicily.—At the time of the Persian invasion of Greece led by Xerxes (480 B. C.), we noted that the Phœnician city of Carthage made an attack upon some of the Greek cities of Sicily. These two great powers, one in the East and the other in the West, had evidently come to an agreement to attack Greece from both sides, and crush the Greek states between them. In the last years of the Peloponnesian war, when Persia, induced by the desperate strife between Sparta and Athens, again began to interest herself in Greek political affairs, Carthage found the time favorable for carrying out her desire to subdue all of Sicily. The reasons for this design were no doubt primarily commercial. She was compelled, whenever possible, to resist the growth of Greek power in Sicily, in order to protect her cities and her trade in the western part of the island. National pride, and the memory of her defeat in 480 B. C. at Himera, must also have played their parts as motives for the attack. A good opportunity was given to Carthage to begin hostilities through a request for protection sent her by one of the Greek cities which had favored Athens against her Dorian neighbors. In the year 409 B. C., the Carthaginians sent over a great army, which between 409 and 405 B. C. captured almost all the Greek cities along the southern coast of Sicily.

219. Rise of Dionysius.—But this steady advance was checked by a capable though cruel and unscrupulous young man of Syracuse named Dionysius. He made use of the popular outcry in Syracuse against the lack of success of the Greek generals, to make himself tyrant of that city (405 B. C.). This position he was able to maintain until

his death in 367 B. C. His first move was to further his own ambitions by sacrificing the Greek cities already captured by the Carthaginians. The treaty which he concluded

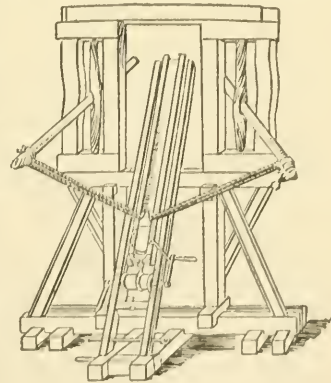
with Carthage acknowledged her as mistress of the cities which she then held. Dionysius was in return acknowledged by Carthage as sovereign of Syracuse.



TERRITORY AND DEPENDENCIES OF DIONYSIUS OF SYRACUSE.

220. His Punic Wars.—After several years spent in establishing his own power, the tyrant of Syracuse proved that his betrayal of the Greek towns was justified. In 398 B. C. he began to drive back the Carthaginian forces toward the west and even to attack them in their own stronghold, the

western end of the island. In four successive wars, coming at intervals during his long life as ruler of Syracuse, though several times near utter defeat, he proved himself a staunch champion of Greek liberty. His success was partially due to the deadly plagues which decimated the Punic armies, but more to his own energy and originality. The catapult is an invention of a corps of engineers who were induced by Dionysius to enter a contest in the building of such machines of war. It was a siege-engine which could throw heavy missiles, either large arrows, or vast stones of three or four hundred pounds weight, to a distance of three or four hundred yards. It was used, much as our modern siege-guns, to make a breach in the wall of a city in order to admit the besieging troops. Dionysius must be given a place beside Miltiades and Themistocles as an important figure in the long war between the western civilization of Greece and the eastern



A BALLISTA, OR STONE-THROWER.

civilization of Persia and Carthage, which broke out again and again in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C.

221. Timoleon Checks another Punic Invasion.—The empire which Dionysius had founded by his prowess in war and his cunning in politics included all of Sicily, except the very western end, and, in addition, the Greek city-states of southern Italy.

The rule of this territory was inherited by his son, Dionysius II, as tyrant. In his lifetime, the sway of Syracuse over the other Sicilian cities, and the possibility of building a single Greek state united against the ever-watchful might of Carthage, were lessened by civil strife in Syracuse itself. This struggle ended in 344 B. C., when the weak and vicious Dionysius the Younger was deposed by a man sent out from Corinth to put a stop to the anarchy in her colony of Syracuse.

The man chosen by the mother city of Corinth, one Timoleon, had held himself aloof from the politics of his native state for many years. His retirement was due to the fact that he had been concerned in the murder of his own brother, who had set himself up as tyrant in Corinth. Timoleon, who had saved the life of his brother in battle, pleaded with him to give back the liberty of his native city, but vainly. In his presence, the tyrant brother was cut down by the swords of two of Timoleon's friends.

Knowing the worth of this man, despite the stain upon him, the Corinthians sent him to set the affairs of Sicily in order (344-336 B. C.). He overthrew the tyrants of the Sicilian cities, and so united their forces that he was able to worst a larger body of Carthaginians at the battle of the Crimisus River in 339 B. C. The mighty Punic city was again attempting to force back the Greeks from the western end of the island, taking advantage of the civil war among the Greeks. After this task had been accomplished, Timoleon modestly retired to private life, living in honor in the city whose power he had, for the time being, restored.

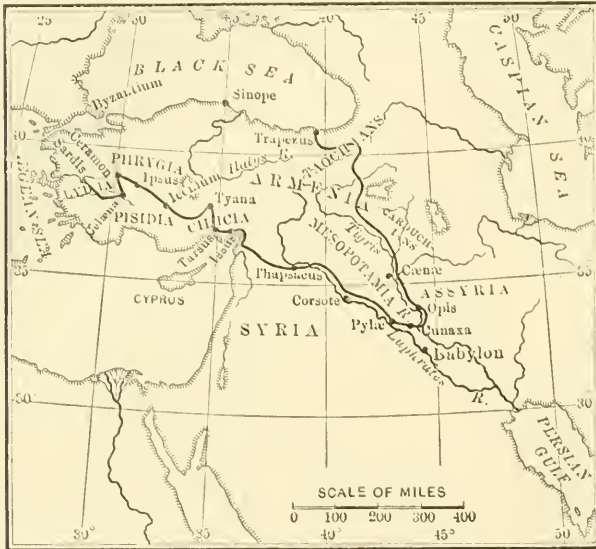
222. Sicily after Timoleon.—We cannot consider the war between the Greeks and Carthaginians for the possession

of Sicily as ended until the Roman republic, as successor to Syracuse, the old leader of the Greek communities, carries the contest to its final issue. At intervals the fighting breaks out anew, success being now with one side, now with the other. In 278 B. C., the reckless and knightly Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, was invited by the Sicilian Greeks to take command of their forces, to end the civil wars in their cities, and to lead them on against the old enemy, Carthage. Though quite successful in his war against the Punic armies, Pyrrhus was unable to keep the loyalty of his Sicilian allies. After two years in Sicily he returned to Lower Italy, where, as champion of the Greek cities of Italy, he met defeat (275 B. C.) before the citizen-militia of the young and vigorous Roman Republic. In dealing with Roman history we shall see how Rome and Carthage fought for twenty-three years, from 264 to 241 B. C., for the possession of Sicily. At the close of this war, called the First Punic War, the fair island fell to Rome and became a province of that state, whereupon its history merges with that of Rome. The story of this mighty struggle is ended by the awful doom meted out by the Roman Senate to the proud Phœnician city in 146 B. C., after three years of the most hopeless and desperate fighting.

223. Greece after the Peloponnesian War.—When Athens surrendered to Lysander in 404 B. C., Sparta was indeed in an enviable position. She had fulfilled the task which she had set herself at the opening of the war, that of freeing the Greeks from the bondage put on them by Athens. But instead of giving the cities of the Delian League the right to rule themselves as they would, Sparta sent to each a military officer called a "harmost," with a garrison of soldiers, to govern in her own interests. The tribute formerly paid to Athens was now paid into Sparta's treasury. The island cities and the other members of the Delian League found that they had merely exchanged Athenian for Spartan rule. But the Spartan state had attained this position by the aid of the Persian king, and upon this aid the maintenance of her power depended. Through Sparta's agency, Persia had

again become a vital factor in Greek politics, and this gives us the key to the political developments of the next thirty years.

224. The March of the Ten Thousand.—Cyrus, the younger brother of the Persian king, Artaxerxes, had been a staunch supporter of the Spartan Lysander in the last years of the Peloponnesian War. This brilliant and am-



ROUTE TRAVELED BY THE 10,000 GREEKS UNDER
CYRUS THE YOUNGER.

bitious young Persian, holding the position of royal governor in Asia Minor, schemed to overthrow his brother, the rightful king, and succeed him. He gathered in addition to a large body of Persian troops, a force of somewhat over 10,000 Greek soldiers, recruited chiefly by an

exiled Spartan general. In the year 401 B. C., Cyrus felt himself equipped and ready for the long march from Sardis against the king at Babylon. An adventurous young Athenian, Xenophon, a pupil of the great Socrates, joined the expedition. He has written a wonderful account of the death of the spirited Cyrus in battle, the murder of the Greek generals, and the escape of the Greeks from Babylonia, in a book called the *Anabasis*, or "March Inland." After Cyrus had been killed, his Persian troops immediately came to an understanding with his brother, the king, and the ten thousand Greeks found themselves surrounded by hordes of Persians near the city of Babylon, almost 1,500 miles distant from Sardis. Lack of proper provisions for

the trip through the desert cut them off from returning as they had come. The Greeks refused to surrender to the king, but started northward through the mountains of Armenia. After eight months, though they suffered intensely from the cold and were harassed by the native mountaineers, they safely reached the Black Sea near the Greek city of Trapezus.

This march is important because it shows the military spirit and resource of the Greek soldiers, and caused the Greeks to see that the power of Persia was not so great as they had supposed. It is another brief chapter in the long history of the Greco-Persian Wars. Coming almost midway between Xerxes' invasion of Greece and Alexander's invasion of Persia, it marks the point at which the Greeks began to talk and plan for an offensive war against the Persian king. Nor did this desire die out until a military genius came, in the person of Alexander the Great, to bring it to fulfillment.

225. Agesilaus and the War in Asia Minor.—The effects of the March of the Ten Thousand were almost immediately felt. For when the Persian king tried to reconquer the Greek cities of Asia Minor, they appealed to Sparta, which had been put in a position of hostility to the king by her support of Cyrus. Sparta bade the Persian governor cease his attempts to subdue the Greek cities. War broke out between the two powers in 400 B. C., and did not entirely cease until 387 B. C. In the years from 396 to 394 B. C., it was carried on very successfully by the lame Spartan king, Agesilaus, who had in mind a plan of marching into the interior of Asia and striking at the heart of the Persian kingdom. In this hope he was disappointed by a new turn in political affairs in Greece, which made his presence at home a necessity.

226. Restoration of Athens' Power.—This event was nothing less than a revolt of the allies of Sparta, who were angered at her increasing insolence, and her selfishness in using the victory over Athens to strengthen herself. The hatred against the Spartan harmosts and the oligarchic govern-

ment, which she everywhere set up, had grown from year to year. The yoke of Athens had not lain so heavily upon the cities of her league as did now the hand of their liberator, Sparta, upon the same cities. The Persians took advantage of this growing hostility to the despotic rule of Sparta, and helped with their money to organize a general Anti-Spartan War (394 B. C.). An Athenian admiral, Conon, in command of a great Persian fleet, annihilated the Spartan naval power off the Peninsula of Cindus. With this defeat the Spartan power over the cities of Asia Minor and of the Ægean Islands was almost entirely destroyed at one blow. In Greece itself, Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Thebes joined in a defensive alliance against Sparta. Athens profited most by the support of Persia. She was able, by the use of money supplied by the Great King, to rebuild the Long Walls and to fortify the Piræus again. She regained a number of her old-time dependencies, especially about the Propontis, and must again be considered one of the powerful cities of Greece.

227. Peace of Antalcidas.—Seeing that she could not fight successfully against Greeks and Persians, Sparta tried in every way to win over Persia to her side. For several years negotiations were carried on with this end in view. Finally, in 387 B. C., the Persian King dictated the terms of a peace between himself, the Spartans, and the other Greek states, which reads as follows:

King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia, and the islands, Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should belong to him; and that the other Hellenic cities, small and large, should be independent, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros. These are to belong to the Athenians, as before. Whichever party to the war will not accept this peace, I [the King] and those who agree with me will make war upon them by land and sea.

This is called the King's Peace or the Peace of Antalcidas, after the Spartan diplomat whose cleverness put the weakened state of Sparta again in a strong position. It is pitiable to see orders thus given to the states of Hellas by that Orien-

tal king through whose realm a small force of 10,000 Greeks had marched unharmed but thirteen years before. This situation was due solely to the bitter hatred of the Greek states one for another. Because of this feeling and the wars it aroused, the plan of Agesilaus for an all-Hellenic movement against Persia had come to naught. Before such a union could be made, the cities of Greece had to lose their independence, and with it something of their sectional bitterness, under a power which could break them all and weld the pieces into the form of a new empire.

228. Examples of Spartan Aggression.—The doom of the Spartan Empire, built upon the ruins and after the model of the Athenian Empire, was only delayed for a term of years. Unable to learn the lesson clearly taught by the revolt of 394 B. C., Sparta continued to follow her former tactless and brutal methods in her desire to extend her sway. Jealous and fearful of the rise of any new power, she interfered to break up a growing federation of cities in the peninsula of Chalcidice. As the Spartan troops marched northward through Bœotia, one of her captains, contrary to all justice and the peace that then existed, suddenly led a force into Thebes (383 or 382 B. C.) and seized the acropolis. He then set up a government which would look after the interests of Sparta, and maintained it with Spartan troops. Four years later, after Thebes had freed herself, another Spartan commander tried to repeat this trick and seize the Piræus by night, much as the Theban citadel had been taken. But the attempt was not successful.

229. How Thebes was Freed, 379–372 B. C.—Just before this event occurred, a number of patriotic Thebans who were living as fugitives in Athens, led by a young nobleman named Pelopidas, came into their native city at the risk of their lives (379 B. C.). Disguised as women, they were admitted to a banquet at which the Theban rulers appointed by Sparta were present. They killed these traitors with their daggers, and then captured the Spartan troops in the citadel. Thus Thebes was freed, though she had to defend herself for the next eight years in Bœotia itself. The attempt to

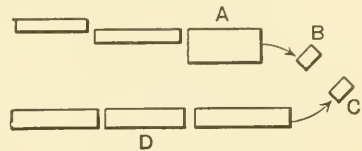
seize the Piræus, recounted above, led to a long and uninteresting war, lasting for six years, between Athens and Sparta. Naturally, as both cities were fighting against the Spartans, the situation led to an alliance between those ancient enemies, Athens and Thebes.

230. The Peace Congress at Sparta.—In the spring of 371 B. C., the Greek states, weary of continual war, sent envoys to a congress which met at Sparta to discuss the terms of a general peace. They agreed that all the cities should be free, as had been stated in the King's Peace, and that the larger cities should withdraw their governors and troops from the smaller places which were thus ruled. Sparta took the oath for herself and her allies. Epaminondas, leader of the Theban embassy, wished in like manner to take the oath for Thebes as representing all Bœotia. This would have given Thebes, in the eyes of the Greek world, a definite right to the position of legitimate head of the Bœotian cities. But this Sparta did not wish. So the aged king, Agesilaus, struck Thebes' name off the list of cities which had signed the peace. This act meant war for Thebes, and that too without the support of Athens, which was growing jealous of the increasing strength of her Bœotian neighbor.

231. Epaminondas.—All Greece knew that Sparta would straightway send her armies into Bœotia to punish the insolence of Thebes. All Greece expected that that punishment would be swift and sure, that Thebes would be utterly destroyed, or lose her leadership among the Bœotian towns. But the Thebans had been expecting this war and were ready for it; for a man of genius had arisen among them to guide the state, and push it into the front rank of the political powers of his time. This was Epaminondas, an intimate friend of that Pelopidas who had freed the city of the Spartan garrison. Well educated, able, and modest, as a man he represents one of the highest types of the Greek gentleman that we shall meet. Like Pericles, he was an eloquent public speaker who seldom talked. His eloquence, therefore, was the more impressive because rarely used,

Aided by Pelopidas, he had trained the Thebans in their defensive wars against Sparta. They had organized a band of 300 hoplites chosen from the best and most athletic of the young men of the city. This Sacred Band, as it was called, was made up of pairs of devoted and true friends who swore to fight and die together. They were led by Pelopidas, who never failed in his staunch devotion to his abler friend, Epaminondas.

232. The Battle of Leuctra.—Although he was inferior to Pericles as a statesman, Epaminondas proved himself a genius in military tactics. Near the town of Leuctra he met the Spartan army, led by King Cleombrotus, and gave it a thorough beating. Out of 700 Spartan citizens, 400 were slain, including the king himself. This surprising result was due to a new method of arranging his troops devised by Epaminondas. Greek armies were accustomed to fight in three divisions, left, center, and right, with the line of battle from eight to fifteen men deep. Battle



FORMATION AT THE BATTLE OF
LEUCTRA.

A, Heavy Attacking Column of Epaminondas; *B*, Sacred Band of the Thebans; *C*, Flanking Column of the Spartans; *D*, Spartan Battle-line.

was joined along the whole line at one time, each side moving forward obliquely in order to execute a flank attack on the end of the opposing line, for this was the side unprotected by the shield. The right was always the position of honor in the line. Epaminondas, however, weakened his right and center and massed his left in a heavy column, fifty men deep, over against the Spartan citizen troops led by their king. His weak center and right advanced somewhat later than the heavy column upon the left, on the theory that the Spartan line would be already broken before they should engage.

The blow struck by the powerful Theban left wing was irresistible. When the Spartan king fell, and many of his followers beside him, fighting as only the Spartans could fight, the Lacedæmonian allies retreated from the field. The novel tactics used by Epaminondas had won the day.

The results of this victory were the end of the despotic empire of Sparta, and the introduction of the attack by a heavy mass of troops. This idea was used, with important changes, by Philip of Macedon and developed into the famous Macedonian phalanx of the time after Alexander.

233. Ten Years of Theban Rule.—Until his death in 361 B. C., Epaminondas was the soul of Theban activity, and Thebes became through his talents the leading state of Greece. He led four invasions into the Peloponnesus to cripple further the influence of Sparta, and built two new cities, Megalopolis and Messene, to watch her and guard against a revival of her strength. As her leadership became more firmly established, just as Sparta had done before her, Thebes lost sight of the fact that her purpose had been to free the other cities from Spartan oppression. More and more she adopted the hated tactics of Sparta. Theban harmosts now ruled in some of the Peloponnesian cities, and Theban influence extended through Thessaly even to Macedonia. In 362 B. C., the continual broils in the Peloponnesus called Epaminondas out at the head of his troops against Sparta for the last time. At the battle of Mantinea, in the very moment of victory, he received a fatal thrust through the chest with a spear. With his death the leadership of Thebes may be said to have ceased, since it was founded on the genius of this man alone.

234. Results of Theban Supremacy.—Though we may honor the genius of Epaminondas, we must nevertheless acknowledge that the results of his life-work were not important or lasting. The one positive thing which he did accomplish was to tear off from the cities of the Peloponnesus the fetters of Spartan rule. This was not, however, an unmixed good, for after the breaking of Sparta's power, civil strife, anarchy, and awful bloodshed mark the history of the old towns of the Peloponnesian League, which formerly had known peace under the stern hand of their leader. Greece needed a leader who could unite these towns, bring in new ideas of government, and put a stop to their petty wars and jealousies. Great and noble

as he was, Epaminondas did not see and meet this need. The main result of the years of fighting during the time of the Spartan and Theban rule was that the Greeks weakened their strength greatly. When the Macedonian kingdom began to expand against them, they were no longer able to meet its attack.

235. Socrates.—There lived at the time of the Peloponnesian War a man whose life-work suggests in some ways the life of Christ. He was a short and comical figure, with bulging eyes, a snub-nose, and high knotted forehead. His face was ugly, but his mind was great, and his soul and his life were clean. This man, Socrates, felt that he had a divine mission to teach young men, and call them to lives of virtue and wisdom. Unlike the Sophists, he never took pay for his teaching. Like the Sophists, he taught that man alone was the proper subject of study for men. So his chief maxim was this, "Know thyself." He taught that a bad action always harmed the man who did it. Now, no man really wishes to harm himself; therefore if a man can tell



BUST OF SOCRATES.

good from evil, he will never do the evil since it will harm him. So he came to the conclusion that virtue is the same as knowledge. Socrates is called the founder of the science of ethics, which is the study of right conduct and character. Xenophon was one of his pupils and he has left us, in the *Memorabilia*, a record of some of the conversations which Socrates held with all kinds of people.

236. Death of Socrates.—The ideas of Socrates were of a kind to make men better. Those of the Sophists tended to remove from men all moral restraint, and to make them utterly selfish in their ambitions. The selfish and unscrupulous Alcibiades is perhaps a typical result of the moral skepticism of the Sophists. Now Alcibiades had been in his earlier years devoted to Socrates, who had saved his

life in battle. When the Athenian state was brought to the verge of ruin by the traitorous conduct of Alcibiades, unthinking people laid the blame for this upon the teachings of Socrates. They wrongly called him a Sophist. In fact, the comic poet, Aristophanes, chose him as the chief character in a comedy called the *Clouds* (produced in 423 B. C.), which ridicules the Sophistic teachings with biting sarcasm.

No doubt Socrates made himself hated by many Athenians because he went about asking questions of men whom he met, and showing them that they were really ignorant. In the despondent times after the Peloponnesian War the popular feeling turned strongly against Socrates. Finally, in 399 B. C., he was brought into court on the charge of "introducing new gods into the city," and "corrupting the youth." Although he might easily have run away, Socrates chose to remain and endure the death-penalty to which he was sentenced. In the prison, surrounded by his disciples, he drank the cup of hemlock poison. Like Christ, he wrote not a line. Through his disciples his moral and religious teachings were written and handed down to us. As in the case of Jesus, his persecution and death set the seal of triumph on his teachings.

References for Outside Reading

Plutarch, *Life of Pelopidas*; Fling, *Source Book*, ch. 8-10; Botsford, *Orient and Greece*, pp. 239-284; Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. 35-40; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 157-164; Bury, *History of Greece*, ch. 12-15; Sankey, *Spartan and Theban Supremacies*.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. SPARTAN RULE OF THE GREEK CITIES AFTER THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, AS SEEN IN THE RULE OF THE THIRTY AT ATHENS IN 404-403 B. C.—Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 505-513.
2. DEATH OF SOCRATES.—End of Plato's *Phædo* in Jowett's Translation, vol. 1, pp. 444-447; Church, *Trial and Death of Socrates*.
3. ACCUSATIONS MADE AGAINST SOCRATES—WERE THEY JUSTIFIED?—Plato's *Apology* (in Jowett or Church); Fling, *Source Book*, ch. 8.
4. HOW THE TEN THOUSAND CAME OUT UPON THE BLACK SEA.—Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, ch. 7 to the end.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE UNITY OF GREECE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST

237. Revival of Athens.—While Thebes was gathering her strength for the revolt against the aggressive policy of Sparta, Athens too seized upon the opportunity offered by the general enmity against Sparta. In the year 377 B. C. a new league was formed, under Athenian leadership, for the protection of the island states and the northern cities against Laconian oppression. The decree passed by the Athenian Boulé and Assembly, at the founding of the new league, was inscribed upon a stone slab which still exists. Following is a translation of parts of it:

In the Archonship of Nausinicus. Callibius, son of Cephisiphon of the deme of Pæania, was Secretary.

In the seventh prytany, which was held by the tribe Hippothontis, under the chairmanship of Charinus, of the deme Athmonon, a decree was passed by the Boulé and the Assembly. Aristotle made the motion.

May this decree be for the weal of the Athenians and the allies of the Athenians. In order that the Lacedæmonians may leave the Hellenes free to live in quiet according to their own constitutions and in secure possession of their property, the assembly has decreed as follows:

If any of the Hellenes or of the barbarians, either those dwelling on the mainland [Asia Minor] or in the islands, excepting those who are under the sway of the Great King, desire to be allies of the Athenians and their allies, they shall be free to do so, living under that constitution which they wish to have. They shall not be compelled to receive a garrison or any Athenian official overseer, nor to pay tribute, but shall stand in the same relation to the Athenians as do the Chians and Thebans and the other allies * * * From the year of the archonship of

Nausinicus on, no Athenian magistrate or private citizen shall be allowed to possess either a house or an estate in the lands of the allies, whether obtained by purchase or under a mortgage * * * If any one shall attack, by land or sea, those who have joined the alliance, the Athenians shall aid them by land and sea to the full extent of their powers * * * The Secretary of the Boulé shall have this decree engraved upon a stone slab and set up near the statue of Zeus the Liberator. The Treasurers of the Goddess [Athena] shall give the money for the inscribing of the decree, to the amount of sixty drachmas.

The names of some of the cities which joined this alliance are then added. Diodorus, a Greek historian, tells us that, all in all, seventy cities entered the league. It was so arranged that Athens had much less power than in the Delian League of the previous century. For example, the other members of the alliance had an assembly which met at Athens; in this assembly Athens had no representative. Any action of the league had to pass this body and also the Athenian Assembly, separately. So Athens could not gain absolute power. The money which was assessed for the defense of the allies was not called a "tribute," but a "contribution." Though the alliance was a loose one, it enabled Athens again to become an important political factor among the Greek city-states.

238. The Macedonians.—North of Thessaly there lived a Greek tribe which had assumed little of that high civilization which characterized the Ionian Greeks in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. and the Athenians in the fifth. Their land, Macedon, lay outside the path from the Orient to the West. The forests still grew thickly in the mountains to the north and west. The people still lived in small villages and had not developed the city life, based upon manufacturing and trade, to be found in the fifth and fourth centuries in the Greek states to the South.

Macedonian life and customs were rude as compared to those of Athens or Corinth. A man was not considered full grown and could not sit at the banquet with his companions until he had killed a wild boar. A cord about the waist

distinguished those who had never killed an enemy in battle. The form of government was very similar to that of the Homeric Greeks. The king's power, like that of an Homeric king, was limited by the nobles, who were called the "Companions," and by the assembly of free Macedonian peasantry. About the time of the Peloponnesian War the modern ideas and the culture of the Athenians began to creep in. The refined Attic dialect began to replace the rude Macedonian Greek as the official speech of the country. Poets and dramatists, among them the great Euripides, were invited to the Macedonian court and there spread Greek culture and ideas.

239. Philip Forms a Nation.

—Over this people a young man named Philip became king in the year 359 B. C. He had spent several years of his early manhood at Thebes as a political hostage. These years gave him an understanding of Greek politics, of the character of the Greeks, and of the needs of Macedon. He saw that Macedon, to become a great state in Greece, needed an outlet upon the Ægean Sea. Internally her scattered tribes must be made to feel that they were a single nation. The latter task



MACEDON IN THE TIME OF PHILIP.

Philip carried through by organizing the Macedonian warriors into a national standing army, to which the old clans each furnished a certain levy. He taught his soldiers the better tactics of the Athenians and Thebans, and introduced better armor. The army and the military career became the center of interest in Macedonian life.

Philip himself was a true Macedonian, a hard fighter and hard drinker, and exceedingly popular with his soldiers. He lived and fought with them, and wrestled and boxed among them. They endured no hardship which he did not also endure. His bitter enemy, the Athenian orator Demosthenes, after Philip's death, paid this tribute to his determination:

What a man we had to fight! For the sake of power and dominion he had an eye put out, his shoulder broken, an arm and a leg injured. Whatever limb fortune demanded, that he gave up, so that the remnant of his body might live in glory and honor.

240. Demosthenes Leads the Opposition to Philip.—The policy of Philip was directed toward getting the seaboard of Macedon, then that of Thessaly, under Macedonian control. He desired thereafter to take in the cities of Chalcidice and the coast towns to the east of it. All of this plan he carried out, using money in bribing his opponents and force where money failed. This policy aroused bitter opposition at Athens, since Philip attacked cities which were allied to her, or those which had formerly been under her power.

In 352 B. C. the young Athenian orator Demosthenes appeared before the people and delivered the first of his orations against Philip. These are known as the *Philippics*, and have given us our common word "philippic," meaning a political invective. The Olynthiac orations of Demosthenes, delivered in the years 349 and 348 B. C., are really to be regarded as in the series of his great *Philippics*. In them he bitterly assails Philip, and urges the Athenians to go to the assistance of the great northern city of Olynthus, which Philip was besieging. But the Athenians had no

longer the power to cope with the great Macedonian. Olynthus opened her gates to Philip in 348 B. C., and the northern coast of the Ægean lay in his hand.

241. Demosthenes as a Statesman.—In the politics of his time Demosthenes stands as a partisan of the old idea of the independence of the Greek city-state. In Philip the tendency toward the unifying of Greece is incorporated in a political genius. The freedom of the city-states meant that the Greek states would continue their petty wars, destructive of property and of human lives, with little gain to themselves. So Demosthenes is the champion of a dying ideal which had worked woe to all the Hellenes for a full century. He did not see, as a great statesman should have seen, that Athens as a leading power was broken forever. He overestimated her strength, and underestimated the ability of Macedon's king and the strength of its resources. His local patriotism for Athens was narrow and short-sighted. He has not therefore gained a place among the great



DEMOSTHENES.

Greek statesmen, yet he deserves honor for having given his life to the ideal in which he sincerely believed. He fought the power of Macedon whenever possible until after the death of Alexander, and at the end poisoned himself to escape falling into the hands of the Macedonian soldiers.

242. Isocrates Advocates Unity.—Even at Athens men were not wanting who saw that the Greeks were uselessly cutting each other's throats. The greatest of these was a Sophist, the Athenian teacher Isocrates. As early as the year 380 B. C., in a formal oration at Olympia, he had urged the Hellenes to lay aside their quarrels and join in a common, Panhellenic attack upon Persia. Throughout his career

he continued to preach this political doctrine. As Philip's power grew, he hoped that this end might be attained under the leadership of Macedon. About the year 345 B. C. he addressed an open letter to Philip urging upon him this great task.

In Demosthenes and Isocrates we see the chief advocates of the two tendencies in Greek politics of the fourth century. The one hoped by a great national enterprise to unite all the Greeks. The other was thinking of his little state and of keeping its freedom at any cost.

243. The Last Struggle against Philip.—By 345 B. C. Philip had firmly established himself in central Greece. He had obtained a vote in the Delphic Amphictyony, a religious league, and could by that means interfere in the politics of all the states of the Amphictyony. The central Greek states, including Athens, Eubœa, Bœotia and the northern states of the Peloponnesus, joined in a last attempt to drive him back into the north. The opposing forces met at Chæronea in Bœotia in the year 338 B. C., and Athens and her allies were routed after heavy losses. Alexander, son of Philip, then eighteen years of age, showed great daring and ability as leader of the Macedonian cavalry upon the field. The battle of Chæronea must be remembered because with this defeat the free Greek states cease to be the most important feature of Greek political history.

244. The Unity of Greece.—In the next year Philip called together a congress of representatives of the Greek states at the Isthmus of Corinth. A general peace was declared, by which all the states were to be free and to retain their own constitutions. A Panhellenic Congress was established, which was to meet in Corinth, and in it each state was to have a representative. The league of Greek states joined in an offensive and defensive alliance with Macedon, in which each agreed to furnish its due levy of troops for the common war against Persia, and Philip was named commander-in-chief of the forces of the league.

This congress at the Isthmus should be remembered in connection with the meeting held there in 481 B. C., when

the states met to defend their freedom and their homes against Persian attack. The congress of 337 B. C. marks the date when the union was again effected, but this time for the purpose of conducting a great offensive movement against the ancient enemy of Greece. As Philip had formed the Macedonians into a nation by giving them a common purpose through their aggressive wars, so he now hoped to bring about a national Hellenic spirit by means of a great war against Persia. In the next year, however, he fell a victim of the dagger of an assassin (336 B. C.) at his own court at *Ægæ*.

The life-work of Philip is full of meaning in Greek history. He made a nation out of the Macedonians and formed the army with which his son was to conquer Persia. In the place of the petty wars of the little Greek states he set a greater purpose by preparing them for a national enterprise which was destined to open up a new world to Hellenic energy and civilization.

245. Intellectual Life in the Fourth Century.

—After the close of the Peloponnesian War Athens became more than ever the exclusive center of the literary and artistic life of Greece. The literary talents of the Athenians turned from the drama and other poetic forms to the writing of prose. The fourth century is the era of philosophic writing, especially in the form of the dialogue, of history, and of oratory.

246. Plato.—The greatest among the disciples of Socrates was the Athenian, Plato, one of the deepest thinkers and most inspiring writers the world has seen. In his *Dialogues* he tried to solve the deepest problems of human life. He makes Socrates the chief speaker in all the dialogues. He shows him sitting with other great men of his time, and puts into his mouth Plato's own thoughts upon love, the immortality of the soul, friendship, and other topics.



BUST OF PLATO.

Plato believed that the things which we see about us are but poor earthly copies of real things, and that these real things exist in the world beyond us—in what we would call Heaven. In this Other World exist the perfect tree, the perfect statesman, perfect courage, and perfect goodness. Men always long to realize these perfect things, but they cannot do so on earth. The soul, he taught, is immortal. Before its birth in human form it existed in the world beyond, and it retains in life a dim memory of the perfect things it then saw.

247. The Ideal State.—The Greek word “philosophy” means a “love of knowledge” and the study embraced many things which are now separate sciences. One of these is the study of politics and government. In his *Republic*, Plato shows what he considered to be the perfect form of government. Naturally, he believed in the little city-state, but it was to be governed by the wise men, those trained in philosophy, and not by the general mass of citizens. Plato’s *Republic* has been the model and inspiration of many similar pictures of what the ideal state should be.¹ As long as men shall think and read, the inspiration of Plato’s thought will last. As an author he is a surpassing artist, a poet in prose. Better dialogues than those of Plato have never been written.

248. Aristotle.—Although born in Stagira, a city in Macedonia, the philosopher Aristotle must be regarded as an Athenian, because he studied in the school of Plato and spent much of his later life at Athens. Plato called him “the mind of the school.” He was a man of wonderful intellect and has been called the “father of the sciences” and “the master of those who know.” He marked off the different fields of man’s knowledge, and tried to put each upon a basis for systematic treatment. In his *Zoölogy* he laid the foundation of the study of the animal kingdom by dividing the animals then known into related classes.

¹Among these are More’s *Utopia* (1516); Bacon’s *New Atlantis* (1624–1629); Bellamy’s *Looking Backward* (1889).

Theophrastus, one of his pupils, carried out the same work in botany.

The greatest service of Aristotle was to determine the principles or laws which underlie the process of correct reasoning, that is, the science called "logic." In preparing for his great work on politics Aristotle made a study of the government of over one hundred and fifty Greek city-states. These studies were known to us only through hearsay until a papyrus manuscript of a single one, the *Constitution of Athens*, was found in Egypt and first published in 1891.

Plato taught his disciples in a garden called the Academy. Aristotle's pupils kept up the work of their master in a place called the Lyceum. These schools were continued, and developed into the universities of the ancient world. They existed without a break until closed by the order of the Roman Emperor Justinian in 529 A. D. If one studies the history of the Middle Ages, one learns of the great influence of these two men, especially Aristotle, upon the thought of that period. Science has, in modern times, far outstripped the work of Aristotle; but all the philosophic thought of today still finds its inspiration in the works of the two great philosophers of the ancient world, Plato and Aristotle.

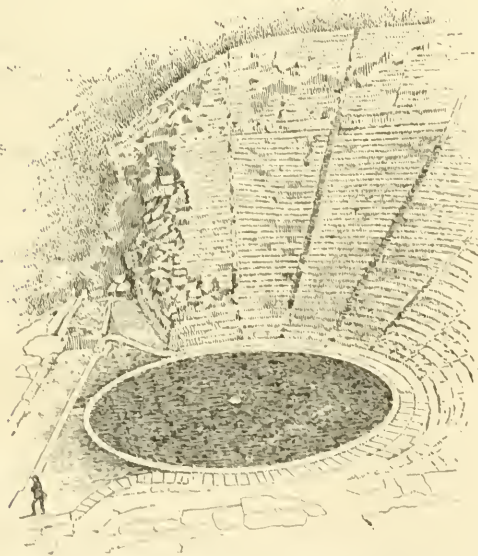
249. Greek Oratory.—In the years from the Peloponnesian War to the death of Alexander, Athens produced, one after another, a succession of able lawyers and orators. The greatest of these were Demosthenes, perhaps the greatest orator of all history, and his political opponent, Æschines. The fiery eloquence of Demosthenes can scarcely be felt in an English translation. The rhythmic swing and balance of his sentences and the beauty of his language are entirely lost. Although classed among the orators, Isocrates was greater as a writer of political editorials and a teacher of rhetoric and oratory. We have seen above how he influenced the spirit of his time by preaching the doctrine of political unity.

250. History: Xenophon.—This period produced a number of historians, but no one who is preëminent. The most

important is Xenophon. A later Greek writer tells the following story about him:

They say that Socrates once met Xenophon in a narrow street, and stretched his staff across it, thus preventing him from passing. Socrates asked him where he could buy things to eat. When he had answered, Socrates questioned him again: "Where will one find fine and noble gentlemen?" When Xenophon hesitated he said: "Follow me, then, and learn." And from that time on he became a disciple of Socrates.

Xenophon's *Memorabilia of Socrates* gives us a glimpse into the life and habits of the master as he walked about Athens, talking with all kinds of people. From his work on the *State of the Lacedæmonians* comes much of the information given in a previous chapter on the Spartan state. His *Hellenic History* is our best source of information on the history of Greece from the year 411 B. c., where Thucydides' history leaves off, to 362 B. c., the battle of Mantinea. Besides these he composed a number of other smaller works. Xenophon is by no means a great writer, but his



VIEW OF THE SEATS AND ORCHESTRA OF THE OLD GREEK THEATER AT EPIDAUROS.

works, especially the *Anabasis* are interesting in style, and very useful because of the information they give.

251. The Art of the Fourth Century.—In poetry little was added in the fourth century to the works of genius produced in the preceding century. In the field of architecture, temples were still erected in the same styles, chiefly Doric and Ionic. Many theaters were built, however, as each

city, large or small, wished to have its own theater erected in stone. One of the largest of these was that erected at Epidaurus, a health-resort in the Peloponnesus. The seats for the audience are still to be seen there, and it is our best example of an old Greek theater.

Among the eminent sculptors of the time the greatest was Praxiteles, who lived about 350 B. C. His statue of Hermes playing with the child



APOLLO PLAYING WITH A LIZARD.

Copy of an Original Statue of Praxiteles.

reverence. The sculptors of the fourth century gave us gods, beautiful indeed, but not august nor divine. Praxiteles, for example, shows us an Apollo who spends his time tormenting a lizard upon a tree trunk. His representations of the goddess Aphrodite were nothing

Dionysus was found in the excavations at Olympia, and is now

in the museum there. It is one of the very few original statues that we have from the hand of any of the Greek sculptors. Its beauty proves that Praxiteles was a sculptor who has never been surpassed in giving a marble figure the appearance of softness characteristic of the living body.

The sculptors of this period still made images of the gods and goddesses, but the gods they depicted were nothing more than human beings idealized. The gold and ivory statues of Zeus and Athena by Phidias came from a real religious belief, inspiring awe and



HEAD OF THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES.

more than statues of beautiful women. In these works we see the decay of the old Greek religion. It no longer has the strength to produce religious works inspired by a real spirit of devotion.

References for Outside Reading

FOR THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.—Plutarch's *Demosthenes*, *Phocion* (first half); extracts from Demosthenes' Orations in Fling, *Source Book*, ch. 11; Botsford, *Orient and Greece*, ch. 15; Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. 42-43; Bury, *History of Greece*, ch. 16; Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 176-180; Curteis, *Rise of the Macedonian Empire*, pp. 1-82; Wheeler, *Alexander the Great*, ch. 7, 8.

FOR THE CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL SIDE.—Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 187-204; Tarbell, *History of the Greek Art*, ch. 9; Capps, *Homer to Theocritus*, ch. 14-16.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. LIFE AND WORK OF DEMOSTHENES.—Plutarch, *Demosthenes*; Smith or Harper's *Classical Dictionaries*, or the *Encyclopedias* under "Demosthenes."
2. THE ART OF PRAXITELES.—Tarbell, *Greek Art*, pp. 218-230.
3. THE MACEDONIAN ARMY.—Curteis, *Macedonian Empire*, pp. 33-36; Wheeler, *Alexander*, pp. 215-217.

CHAPTER XIX

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

252. Economic Condition of Greece.—During and after the Peloponnesian War the conditions of trade and business life in Greece were rapidly changing. The small wars between the states were almost continuous down to the time of Philip's victory at Chæronea. This caused untold suffering and loss of property outside the large cities. These cities, however, increased greatly in size. A conservative estimate gives the city of Athens and the Piræus a population of about 120,000¹ in the time of Philip, and Thebes over 40,000. Olynthus, which had a population of possibly 20,000 in 383 B. C., doubled it in the next thirty years.



AT THE SHOEMAKER'S SHOP.

From a Vase-painting.

These cities were occupied with manufacturing industries and shipped their products to all parts of the Greek world. In Athens we hear especially of the armor and pottery factories. There were also the factories where linen and woolen garments were woven. There were the mills where grain was ground into flour, the shoemakers' shops, and all the small retail shops necessary to city life.

253. Use of Slaves.—From the time of the Persian Wars, the use of slaves as factory hands and in household work increased. The orator Lysias, who was a grown man

¹ Compare sections 189 and 190 where the numbers are given for the entire *state* of Attica

in 400 B. C., employed 120 slaves in his shield factory. Demosthenes' father was a manufacturer of arms and couches. He had two factories, and employed from 20 to 30 slaves in each. Some wealthy men invested their capital in slaves and hired them out as laborers at so much per day.

These slaves were sometimes Greeks who had been captured in the war, more often foreigners kidnapped in their



GREEK FURNITURE.

Couch, Chair, and Foot-stools. From a Vase-painting.

childhood in Asia Minor, along the Black Sea, or in the west. The result of the growth of slave labor was to lower the wages of free labor, and to force many of the lower classes of free men out of employment. The idle class in the cities was increased by the farmers whose crops were destroyed in the continual civil wars of the period. Such men sought work and wages by taking service as hired soldiers, either in the interstate wars in Greece or with the Great King of Persia.

254. Colonization had Ceased.—Before the time of Solon colonization had offered fresh opportunities in new lands to those in the Greek cities who were poor and dissatisfied. But by 500 B. C. the colonization movement had passed. In Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt it was checked by Persia, in Africa and Spain by the business enterprise of the merchants

of Carthage. In central Italy, the advance of Greek trade was blocked first by the Etruscans, then by the advance of the Italians, especially by the growing city of Rome. Indeed, by the time of Alexander, the Greeks of Sicily and lower Italy were hardly holding their own in the West against Carthage and the Italians. The Gauls, Germans, and Scythians, semi-barbarous, strong, and warlike, made colonization toward the north impossible.

It was the task of the men who should help Greece out of its difficulties, first to put an end to political disunion, which Philip had done, then to break down the barriers which hemmed in Greek trade. The Greeks needed new markets to which they could send their manufactured goods and their surplus of unemployed men. It is the great glory of Alexander of Macedon that he supplied these needs by opening the East to Greek enterprise.

255. Boyhood of Alexander.—Because of the adventurous and glorious career of Alexander, even more because of the magnetic charm of his personality, the men who worked with him as well as the later historians of antiquity felt a deep interest in his life. Of all that was written about him we have left only the *Anabasis of Alexander*, by Arrian, a Greek writer of the second century A. D., the *Life of Alexander*, by Quintus Curtius Rufus of the first century A. D., and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*.

In his boyhood Alexander was carefully trained and his mind skillfully prepared for the vast possibilities of his position. He early showed the indomitable spirit, keen observation, and willingness to attempt any task, which made him great as a man. Plutarch tells a story which illustrates these qualities. A vicious but beautiful horse, Bucephalus, was offered for sale to Philip, but none of the servants could mount him. The boy Alexander had noticed that the horse was afraid of the motion of his own shadow. He begged his father to let him try the horse, and turned him toward the sun, so that his shadow fell behind him. Then he leaped upon his back and rode him without mishap. Philip was overjoyed and cried out: "O my son, look thee out a

kingdom worthy of thyself, for Macedon is too small for thee."

The interest which Philip took in his son's training is shown by the fact that he employed Aristotle, the most profound scholar of that day, to give Alexander his training in the higher subjects of learning. Alexander in his later career showed a great interest in advancing the scientific study of the plants and animals in the countries through which they passed. Without a doubt he owed to Aristotle something of the greatness of his plans and breadth of his vision.

256. Appearance and Character.—We have many portraits of Alexander in the form of busts and on coins. They show a finely shaped head, large eyes, sensitive mouth and strong chin. He was said to have been muscular and well-proportioned, and altogether a handsome man. He carried his head bent a little to one side, was blond and fair of skin. In character he is the most attractive figure of antiquity. He had faults, but they only serve to make him human. From his mother, Olympias of Epirus, he inherited a quickness to anger which led him to do cruel



HEAD OF ALEXANDER.
From a Coin.

things; but his remorse for these deeds was as deep as the passion which prompted them. Morally he was clean and self-controlled.

His genius lay in his ability to see the vital point in any situation, either on the battle field or in the question of government, and in his swiftness of decision and action. As a general he undoubtedly ranks with Cæsar and Napoleon. Scholars differ in their judgment of him as a statesman.

257. Beginning of the Persian Wars.—When he came to the throne in 336 B. C., Alexander was but twenty years old. His Greek subjects, and the northern parts of his kingdom, revolted immediately. But he had at his back the veteran army of Philip, amounting to 40,000 men. Like a thunderbolt he struck at central Greece, and the revolt crumbled

away before him. He was elected to all the power which had belonged to Philip as commander-in-chief of the Hellenic troops for the war against Persia. By the year 334 B. c., Alexander had Greece and Macedon well in hand, and had crossed into Asia by way of the Hellespont, to carry out Philip's plan of a great Panhellenic war against Persia.

The causes of the war lay in the ambition of Alexander to do great deeds, in the necessity of using the fighting energy of the Hellenes in some foreign war, and in the hostility between the Greeks and Persians, which had existed since the time of Darius. Back of all this lay the necessity mentioned above of opening up a new field for the export of Greek manufactured goods and an outlet for her unemployed people. In an open letter to King Philip the Sophist Isocrates urged him in the following words to conquer Asia and found cities there:

Colonize there these Greeks who are wandering about in want of daily food, a source of annoyance to all whom they meet. For if we do not stop them from gathering together and furnish them with a sufficient living, before we know it they will be so numerous that they will be no less dangerous to the Hellenes than to the barbarians.

258. Resources of the Persians and the Greeks.—When Alexander had made all the preparations for his expedition, he divided most of his possessions among his friends so that they might have the means to equip themselves and follow him. His friend Perdicas asked him what he had left for himself, and he answered, "My hopes." "In these," said Perdicas, "your soldiers will be your partners." Perdicas and many of his companions refused to accept his gifts. Such was the open-handed generosity by which



PORTRAIT-BUST OF
ALEXANDER.

It is Considered the Best
Likeness that we have.

Alexander bound men to him, and such the enthusiastic loyalty which his fascinating personality inspired.

Of such devotion he had great need, for the design of conquering Persia seemed an impossible one. The Great King ruled a vast territory embracing Asia from the Indus River to the Aegean Sea, which is about the same distance as that from San Francisco to New York. It included also Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. The total area was three-fifths of that of the United States, and its population exceeded 50,000,000. Alexander had but seventy talents (about \$75,000) when he came into Asia. Darius, the King, received an annual revenue equivalent to eleven million dollars¹ from his land tax alone and the hoards of silver and gold in his treasuries ran up into the hundreds of millions.

259. The Persian Army.—The Persian King had under his command a great and well trained navy, recruited from his Phœnician subjects. Alexander's naval force could not compare with it in strength. Darius had a great advantage in the vast number of troops at his disposal. They were collected from all the nations under his rule, but were weakened by a lack of national feeling and the want of a single, able leader. Darius himself was a man of little ability. He tried to make up for the lack of spirit among his native forces by hiring Greek mercenaries to the number of 50,000, with Greek generals; but the troops were compelled to fight under Persian tactics, which fell far behind the Greek science of warfare of that day.

260. Organization of the Macedonian Army.—The army of Alexander numbered 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, for the greater part seasoned veterans of Philip's army under able generals trained in Philip's wars. Of these generals, Parmenio was the ablest, a man devoted to Philip and faithful to his son. The chief unit of the army was the phalanx, a solid formation of heavy-armed foot-soldiers. They were aligned usually eight men deep, and carried an

¹ Remember that these sums were immensely more valuable in ancient times than are the same amounts to-day.

eighteen-foot spear, which was grasped in the left hand about four feet from the butt and back of this by the right.

This heavy-armed force was supported by the light-armed troops who carried a small shield, a sword, and a lance for hurling. Alexander, however, relied chiefly for his victories upon the attack of his heavy cavalry called the "Companions." They were recruited from the Macedonian knights, wore helmets of metal, and leather cuirasses strengthened with metal. They fought with short swords and six-foot lances, riding without saddles. The attack of this body, led by Alexander and inspired by his reckless courage, was always irresistible.

261. Conquest of Asia Minor and Egypt.—It is a mistake to suppose that Alexander left Greece with the intention of hewing out a great world-empire with the sword. He left it as leader of the Hellenes to punish Persia for the ill formerly done to the Greeks. It is possible in its general outlines to follow the growth of Alexander's ideas as his victories led him on, until his ambitions and his deeds brought the great economic needs of the Hellenic business world to fulfillment. The years 334–332 B. C. were spent in brilliant campaigns in which Alexander defeated the King's troops in two great battles—at the Granicus River in north-western Asia Minor, and in 333 B. C. at Issus in Cilicia. To the time of the battle of Issus, Alexander is still no more than the Hellenic leader against Persia. Thereafter he regards himself as the successor of Darius upon the Persian throne. Arrian quotes a letter which Alexander was said to have written shortly after that battle in answer to proposals of peace from Darius:

I am lord of all Asia, and therefore do thou come to me * * *
And in the future, whenever thou sendest, send to me as to the Great King of Asia, and do not write as to an equal, but tell me whatever thy need be, as to one who is lord of all that is thine.

This is the second phase of his career. The third and last is more indefinite and will appear later. In 332 B. C.

his victorious career continued southward through Syria into Egypt, which greeted him as its deliverer from the bondage of Persia.

262. Alexander as Persian King.—While Alexander was busied in Egypt, Darius mustered all the troops available to meet the invader. In 331 B. C. Alexander marched into Asia against him, crossed the Tigris River, and came in sight of the Persian array about fifty miles northwest of the city of Arbela. The numbers of the Persian army are given by the ancient historians as about one million men. This estimate is no doubt far too large, but the Persians must have outnumbered the Greeks at least five to one. Anxiety and awe seized upon even the veteran generals of Alexander as they beheld the camp fires of the enemy gleaming for miles over the plain. Parmenio suggested a night attack to meet the great peril of the battle, but Alexander put his proposal aside. "I never steal a victory," he said. Well might his generals be anxious, for they were in the midst of the enemy's country. Defeat meant the annihilation of the Greek forces.

On the following day the lines drew up for battle. Alexander placed a reserve in the rear to protect his line from attacks on either flank. He planned to make the decisive stroke with the heavy cavalry, the Companions, as was his custom. The terrific scythe-bearing chariots of King Darius bore down upon the Macedonian phalanx, but the horses were shot down by the archers or turned by the bridle before they reached the line. Suddenly Alexander hurled his heavy cavalry at an opening in the Persian center. The phalanx advanced behind them. The great King Darius turned and fled, and his army broke and followed him. Parmenio, who commanded the left wing of the Greek army, was surrounded and in sore trouble, but even here the enemy was driven back before Alexander came up to aid Parmenio.

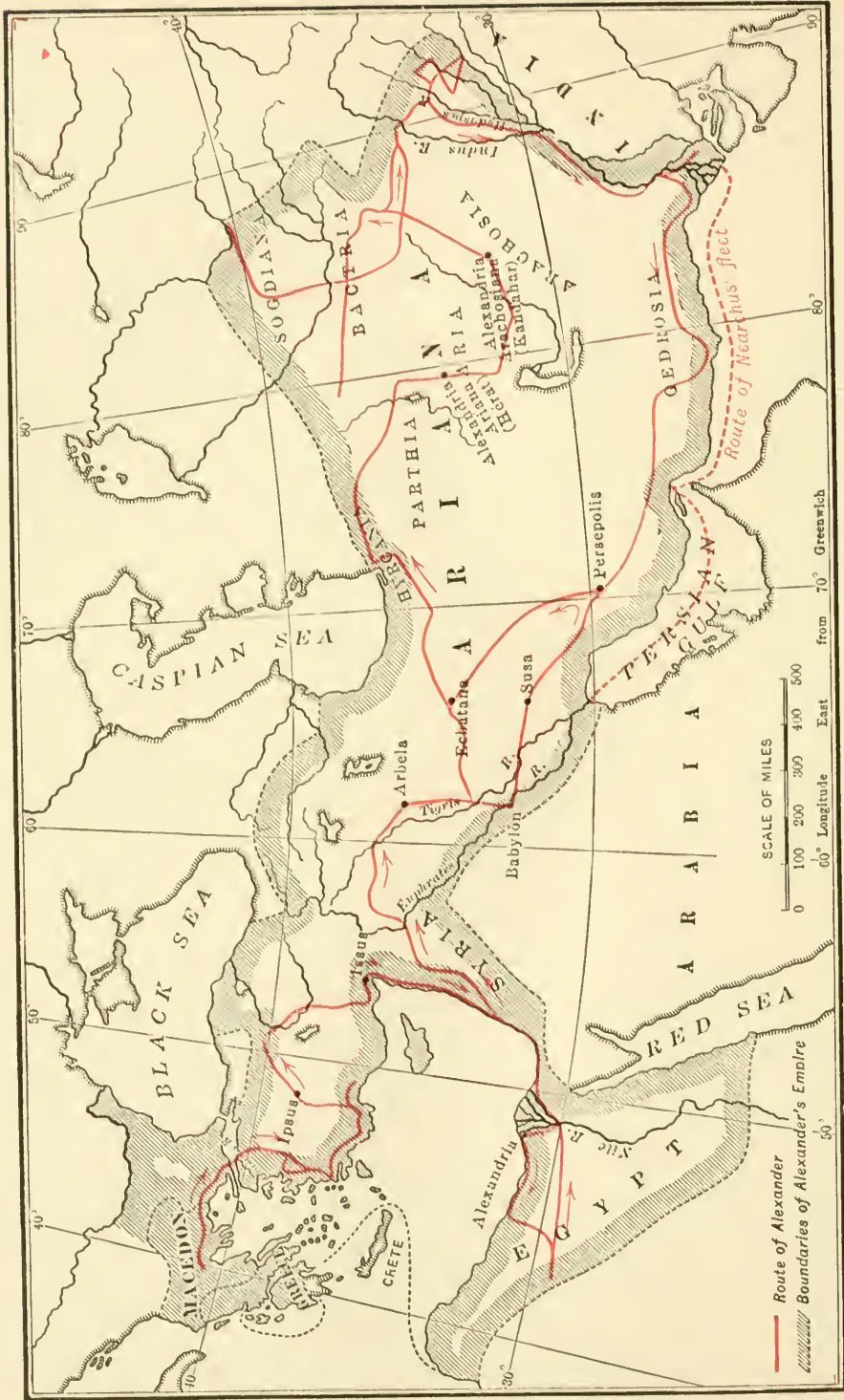
Such was the battle of Arbela. Upon that day the rule of Darius ended in Persia and that of Alexander began. Had the Greeks been defeated, the history of the Orient would have been a different one. The battle is to be ranked

with that of Salamis as one in which world issues were decided. It is another phase of the old international struggle between the East and the West, other manifestations of which we have seen in the Persian invasions of 490 and 480 B. C., and in the Carthaginian attacks upon the Greeks of Sicily. Again the West had conquered.

263. March to the East.—Alexander marched into the great cities of Babylon, Susa, Persepolis, and Ecbatana, and took possession of the treasures of the Persian King located there. Then he continued the pursuit of the fleeing King Darius. In 330 B. C., Darius was murdered by one of his satraps, Bessus, who proclaimed himself king of Persia. Bessus was captured by Alexander, tried by the Persian court, and put to death as a murderer. Darius was buried with royal honors.

Restless and ceaseless marching and fighting was the lot of the Macedonian army from 330 to 325 B. C. It traversed the wide stretches of Hyrcania, Parthia, Sogdiana, and Bactria—countries unknown to the Greeks—and advanced as far east as the Indus River. In this period the schemes of Alexander widened as his conquests extended, and we enter upon the third state of his development. His purpose was to mingle the races of men under his power into one great race, a true world-empire. He himself married the beautiful Roxane, a princess of Bactria, whose father he had conquered. In every way he encouraged his Greek and Macedonian officers and soldiers to take Persian wives in order to promote the good feeling between the two great races among his subjects. Some historians regard this ideal as foolish and impossible. Nevertheless it was a great design, sprung from the brain of one who regarded no difficulty as insurmountable.

264. Change in Alexander.—The vast and ceaseless labors which he had undertaken began in these years to tell upon even the strong constitution of the young Macedonian. A change in his attitude toward himself and his work is clearly noticeable. The Macedonians were always hard drinkers. The necessity for stimulants seemed to increase



EXTENT OF ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE AND THE ROUTES WHICH HIS ARMY TRAVELLED.

its hold upon Alexander, and as it grew the outbursts of passionate anger, which sometimes appeared in his boyhood, were more frequent. In Egypt Alexander had been proclaimed a god by the priests of Zeus Ammon. This was an Oriental custom, to worship their kings as gods. The idea appealed to the mystic strain in the young king's nature. Perhaps, too, he thought it good policy to let the Persians worship him as they had worshipped their kings before him; he did not, however, demand this worship of his Macedonian companions.

The flattery bestowed upon him was not liked by some of the Macedonians who had grown up with him and shared in all his labors and his glory. At a drinking bout his foster-brother, Clitus the Black, the son of his old nurse, reminded him insolently that his power rested upon the blood of the Macedonians who had fought and died for him. In the drink-heated quarrel which followed, Clitus cast in Alexander's teeth the fact that he had saved his life at the Granicus River, and recited an insulting verse from a drama of Euripides. Alexander grasped a spear from an attendant, and pierced Clitus to the heart. The remorse which followed was as complete and overpowering as his anger had been. He was saved from suicide by his officers, but lay for a day and night without food or drink bemoaning the terrible act.

265. Voyage down the Indus.—When he arrived in India at the Hydaspes River, Alexander was met by the forces of the Indian prince, Porus. He defeated Porus, but, struck by the qualities of the man, he left him in possession of his kingdom. Among the many adventures which befell the young King was one brought on by his own reckless bravery. In the attack upon a strong citadel in an Indian city, Alexander led his troops in person. When he and three soldiers were upon the wall the ladder up which they had climbed broke and they were left there alone. Alexander without hesitation leaped down among the enemy and the three soldiers followed him. They were overwhelmed with the arrows and stones of the enemy. Alexander was struck

to the ground by a stone and shot in the breast with an arrow. One of the soldiers was killed, but the other two protected their king until the Macedonians clambered over the wall and saved the three.

Alexander was sorely wounded and there was despair of his recovery. Hearing that the soldiers were afraid that he had died, he had himself carried down the river in a boat. From his couch he waved his hand to the veterans who lined the banks. Their joy broke out in wild cheers, and when he landed they strewed flowers before him—for he insisted upon riding—and crowded up to touch him as he passed.

266. The Return March.—Despite their love for and confidence in their brilliant general, the army mutinied when Alexander proposed a further march into the interior of India. Even he could not move them, tired out and worn as they were by those years of fighting. In 325 B. C. the return march began. Alexander built a fleet of boats, and sent a portion of the troops under the admiral Nearchus on an exploring voyage down the Indus River, around by sea, and up the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Euphrates River. Alexander led the rest of his troops through the Gedrosian desert, a march of sixty days, filled with the terrors of famine, thirst, and disease.

267. Death of Alexander.—The year and a half which remained to Alexander after his return was filled with the toil of reorganizing the conquered territory. Without partiality, he punished the Persian and Greek officials who had been guilty of oppression, theft, or injustice during his absence. He showed clearly that he meant to establish a strong government. He demanded honesty as well as capability from his administrative officials.

In the year 323 B. C., while Alexander's brain was teeming with new designs, including the conquest of Arabia, and the construction of a fleet of 1,000 vessels for the conquest of Africa and Spain, a fever seized upon him. After he had been ill for some days "the Macedonians, supposing he was dead, came with great clamors to the gates, and menaced his friends so that they were forced to admit them, and let

them all pass through unarmed along by his bedside." This was the touching farewell of the veterans to the brilliant young general who had led them on from victory to victory.

268. Economic Effects of the Conquest.—It is impossible to trace all the immediate results of the conquest of Persia, or those more lasting results which transpired after years had passed. The most immediate effects were those felt by the



REMAINS OF THE THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS.

Greek and Persian business world. In Susa Alexander captured the treasures of the Persian King amounting to 50,000 talents, about \$55,000,000. At Persepolis 120,000 talents fell into his hands, a sum amounting to about \$130,000,000. As Alexander had incurred enormous debts in fitting out his army and in maintaining it, most of this money soon came into circulation, and at his death only 50,000 talents remained in the royal treasury.

The addition of so much money to that already in circulation increased business activity in Greece and Asia Minor. In consequence, the price of food-stuffs rose and the value of gold fell until the ratio of gold to silver stood 1 to 11½. Athens and Corinth, especially, took advantage of the business opportunities offered. Under the able guidance of Lyeurgus, the finances of Athens were well regulated. As

in the time of Pericles, new and costly public buildings were erected. The theater of Dionysus beside the Acropolis was rebuilt in stone, and the ruins of it may still be seen at Athens. The stadium, or athletic campus for the Panathenaic and other Attic festivals, was rebuilt. With the growth of private fortunes in the hands of single men, the wealthy expended greater sums on the decoration of their private houses with wall paintings, statues, and other costly adornments.

The conquest was followed by a great increase in Greek trade with the East. This trade depended upon the new Greek colonization movement to Asia Minor, which must be discussed apart. The East, in its turn, learned the modern business methods of the Greeks, and sent its own wares to Greece and the West.

269. Intellectual Results.—Intellectually, there was an active interchange of ideas between the Greeks and Persians. The Persian kingdom, including Egypt and Palestine, took up the philosophy of the Greeks, learned to appreciate and enjoy the products of the Greek artistic genius, its poetry and its art. This is commonly called the “Hellenizing” of the East. The Greek philosophic teachings spreading into Syria and Palestine had a marked effect even upon Christianity in its formative period.

The minds of the Greeks too were broadened. Their feeling that they were a select people, better than any “barbarian” or foreign people, began to disappear. A system of philosophy soon appeared which recognized the common brotherhood of all men, the philosophy called Stoicism. This new spirit may be called “cosmopolitan,” as opposed to the old Greek spirit of “provincialism.”

The Greek language went east with the Greek merchants and established itself as the official tongue at the courts of the Macedonian kings who followed Alexander in the Persian kingdom. In fact, Greek became the common tongue in the eastern Mediterranean countries. When Christianity came, it found the various races of the East speaking two languages, the native tongue and the Greek.

This fact greatly helped the spread of the gospel of Christ, for in His time, with a knowledge of Greek, a man could travel and exchange ideas with other men from Spain to northern India.

270. Renewal of Greek Colonization.—The “Hellenizing” of western Asia was made permanent by the cities which Alexander founded in all parts of his empire. Their number is said to have been over seventy. His purpose was to establish military centers from which to rule the subject country, and thus control the great highways of trade. These cities became centers out of which the Greek civilization spread and rooted itself firmly in the soil of Asia and Egypt. The modern cities of Herat and Kandahar in Afghanistan and Alexandria in Egypt, are cities founded by Alexander. The fact that these cities still exist shows the wisdom with which he chose their sites.

The successors of Alexander, especially in Asia, continued his policy of founding Greek colonies. This activity is to be connected with the Greek colonization of the eighth and seventh centuries B. C., when the Pontus and western Mediterranean had been opened up to Greek trade and civilization by colonies sent out by the city-states. The colonization of the time following Alexander was continued upon a much greater scale by statesmen who looked into the future, and saw that they must have Hellenic cities in the conquered lands, as military and commercial centers, if they wished to hold them against the native peoples.

References for Outside Reading

Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*; Fling, *Source Book*, ch. 12; Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. 44; Bury, *History of Greece*, ch. 17, 18; Wheeler, *Alexander the Great*; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 223-241; Mahaffy, *Alexander's Empire*, ch. 1-4; Botsford, *Orient and Greece*, 310-318; Curteis, *Macedonian Empire*, ch. 9-17.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. GREEK SLAVES.—Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, pp. 70-78; GULICK, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, pp. 66-70.
2. WORSHIP OF ALEXANDER AS A GOD.—Mahaffy, *Survey*, pp. 241-246; Wheeler, *Alexander*, pp. 347-355.

3. STORY OF ALEXANDER AND HIS PHYSICIAN.—Plutarch's *Alexander* (in the first part); Wheeler, *Alexander*, pp. 276-277.
4. GREAT SIEGE OF TYRE.—Fling, *Source Book*, pp. 300-308.
5. DEATH OF ALEXANDER.—Arrian, *Anabasis*, VII, 25-28 (in Fling, *Source Book*, pp. 325-329). Aristobulus and Ptolemy were generals with Alexander. Discuss the sources used by Arrian in writing this account and name the three best sources.

CHAPTER XX

THE END OF THE GREEK STATES

271. General View.—Owing to the greatness of Alexander, the history of Greece after his death covers a much broader area and is essentially different from that of the Greek republics which we have heretofore studied. From the city-states situated about the Ægean Sea with the petty interests of their local wars the historian passes to the study of the whole civilized world of that time. The scene is broadened to include every country from India to the “Pillars of Hercules,” the great rock which is now called Gibraltar. Although some of the city-states, especially Sparta, retained their independence, they could not compare in power and influence with the great kingdoms of Egypt, Syria, and Macedon.

While the Greeks and Macedonians were ruling and developing the old Oriental monarchies, the old Greek feeling of tribal differences gradually passed away. A new Greek speech, called the “common dialect,” grew up out of the Attic, and became the language of Greeks everywhere. The Hellenic people living in Egypt or Asia no longer could call themselves citizens of Athens, Sparta, or Thebes. They were called “cosmopolitans,” citizens of the wide Greek world. The time from Alexander’s death to the conquest of the Greek kingdoms by Rome (about 300–100 B. C.) is called the “Hellenistic Period” or the “Alexandrine Age.”

272. Alexander’s Empire Divided.—For the first few years after Alexander’s death the question over which bloody wars were fought was this: Is the Empire to remain a unit or shall it be divided? Alexander left an heir, born to Roxane after his death. For a time the generals of the army agreed to rule various parts of the empire until this child should come of age, but all of them really desired to become kings of the provinces which they held. In 311 B. C. the

child and his mother were murdered. Then the struggle for power became an open contest. The ablest of Alexander's generals, Antigonus, was ruling Syria. From this country as his base of operations he attempted to conquer the whole empire of Alexander and unite it under his rule. In his wars he was assisted by his brilliant and erratic son, Demetrius, called the "Besieger of Cities." In the year 301 B. C. they were defeated at Ipsus in Phrygia by the combined forces of the other generals. Antigonus, then an old man, met his death upon the field, fighting with the courage and strength of youth. This was the end of any attempt to unite the whole of the East under one man's power.

The final result of the war was the establishment of three great kingdoms, all ruled by Macedonian generals of Alexander. Ptolemy became king of Egypt, to which he had been sent immediately after Alexander's death. To Seleucus fell all of inner Asia as far as Alexander had ruled it. This great kingdom is called the Seleucid Empire. Cassander proclaimed himself king of Macedon. After his death, in 279 B. C., Macedon came into the power of Antigonus Gonatas, grandson of the Antigonus who had been killed at the battle of Ipsus. Under these three noble Macedonian families, the Ptolemies, the Seleucids, and the Antigonids, the kingdoms hewn out of Alexander's empire were ruled until, one after the other, they fell by conquest before the armies of the Roman republic.¹

273. Warfare in the Third Century.—The political history of the third century is a confused and bloody tale of intrigue and war between the rulers of Egypt, Macedon, and Asia. In their armies the use of mercenaries, men who made fighting a profession, greatly increased. The best of these were Macedonians and Greeks. The Seleucids adopted the scythe-bearing chariots which the Persians had used before them. It became the custom also to make use of great troops of elephants, trained to crush through

¹To these must be added the kingdom of Pergamum which sprang up in western Asia Minor in the third century B. C. under a Macedonian named Attalus.



THE FOUR GREAT KINGDOMS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

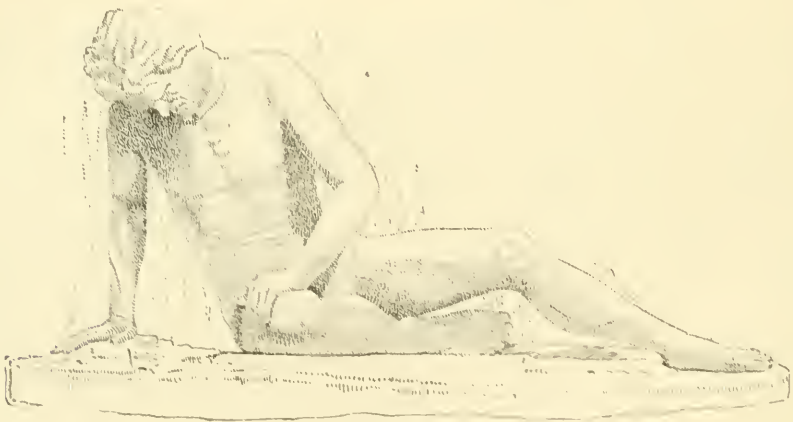
the ranks of the opposing lines. Seleucus is said to have had 480 of them in his army at the battle of Ipsus. In the second century B. C., they disappeared from warfare in the Mediterranean countries, because they often proved to be unmanageable and, when wounded, as dangerous to friends as to foes.

The science of besieging cities with large machines was developed to a higher point in this period than ever before. Engineers in the army of Demetrius built a wooden tower several stories in height, protected by raw hides upon the outside. This was equipped with catapults which threw stones and heavy darts, and was rolled up to the opposing walls on heavy wheels.

274. Invasion of the Celts.—While the successors of Alexander were plotting and fighting for power, several tribes of Celts, the blue-eyed barbarians of northern Europe, crossed the Danube River and marched through Thessaly, Macedon, and Greece, plundering and gathering booty as they went. In the year 279 B. C. they were defeated near Delphi, and driven back. Soon after this Antigonus Gonatas defeated them again near the Hellespont. The Celts crossed over into Asia Minor and established a Celtic kingdom in central Asia Minor about the Halys River. From here they were accustomed to invade the surrounding countries until they gradually became "Hellenized," adopting the Greek tongue and its civilization. There exist to-day a number of sculptured memorials of their savage raids. The best known of these is the famous figure of the "Dying Gaul," now in a museum at Rome. We shall hear much more of the Celts when we take up the history of Rome and western Europe.

275. Pyrrhus and the Western Greeks.—The inroad of the Celts into Greek territory is the first sign of military weakness shown by the Greeks. In the fifth century B. C., they had driven out the Persian invaders; in the fourth century they had conquered Persia. It is an ominous sign that a comparatively small band of uncivilized people could now settle permanently in the midst of the great empire which Alexander had won.

In lower Italy, too, it became apparent at this time that the Greeks were on the decline, politically and in warfare. A strong power had arisen in central Italy in the city of Rome. It had gradually widened its territory and increased in strength, until, in 280 B. C., trouble arose between Rome and the wealthy Greek city of Tarentum. The Tarentines knew that they were no match for the legions of Rome, and they turned therefore to the mother-country for help. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, had been driven out of Macedon which he had hoped to add to his native kingdom, and he gladly welcomed the chance of adventure



THE DYING GAUL.

and a possible kingdom in Italy offered to him by the invitation of the Tarentines.

In 280 B. C., he crossed the Adriatic with an army of 20,000 mercenaries and twenty war-elephants. The generalship of Pyrrhus and the terror inspired by the attack of the elephants, which had never before been seen by the Romans, won him a hard-earned victory near Heraclea. But a Carthaginian attack upon Syracuse forced him to leave the Tarentines to their own devices. When Pyrrhus returned from Sicily in 275 B. C. he was defeated by the Romans at Beneventum, and forced to return to Epirus. In 272 B. C., Tarentum was taken by the Romans. Rome incorporated all the Greek cities of lower Italy in her republic,

and the history of independent Greeks in that peninsula came to an end.

276. Macedon in the Third Century.—Under Antigonus Gonatas and his successors, Macedon directed her energies to the end of bringing all the Greek peninsula firmly under her rule. In the confusion of the wars after Alexander's death, a number of the old city-states had been able to regain their former liberty of managing their own affairs. These states, led by Athens and Sparta, fought for their independence against the idea of monarchy. They were assisted by the kings of Egypt, who wished for supremacy over the *Ægean* Islands, and feared the growth of Macedonian power. But the day of the free city-state had passed, and a new political form arose in the shape of the Greek leagues, or unions, to lead the fight against monarchy as represented by Macedon.

277. The *Ætolian* and *Achæan* Leagues.—These leagues were in principle somewhat like the union under which we live, though on a much smaller scale. They were composed of independent units, like our states, each of which surrendered a part of its rights in order to get the added strength which would come from being united under a strong central government. They differed from the former Greek leagues, such as the *Delian* League, in that each member had equal rights with all the others.

It is one of the tragedies of Greek history that this attempt to form a union of democratic states came too late to meet with success. By combining many city-states into a union, the *Achæan* and *Ætolian* leagues assisted in destroying that tribal feeling which we have so often noticed as the greatest weakness of the ancient Greeks. Thus the leagues, although they fought the monarchic idea, helped the monarchies to put an end to the single city-states, their selfish desire for absolute independence, and their bloody wars. The organization and history of the *Achæan* League deserve special attention from American pupils, for the men who argued for a strong central government at the time our own constitution was framed often used the organ-

ization of the Achæan League to support their side in the contest.¹

278. Growth of the Achæan League.—About 280 B. C., four small cities of Achæa—Patræ, Dyme, Tritæa, and Pharæ—revived a protective league to which they had formerly belonged. Gradually the League was strengthened, until in 251 B. C. Aratus, a young politician of Sicyon, brought in his own city as a member. Aratus became the leading politician of the League and was again and again elected Strategus (President). The action of Sicyon was followed by the chief cities of the Peloponnesus such as Corinth, Megara, and Epidaurus, until over one-half of the Peloponnesus belonged to the League.

279. General Assembly of the League.—The individual cities kept the right of attending to their local affairs in their own way, but all national affairs, such as declarations of war, treaties of peace, and alliances, were decided in the sovereign Assembly of the people of the entire League. This Assembly contained all the free men above thirty years of age from all the cities of the League. It met once a year to elect officers and pass laws.

In one respect it differed vastly from our national Congress. In the Greek democracies, as has been shown before, every man wished to vote personally for every candidate and on every law. They never thought of electing representatives who should go to the meetings and cast a vote for the people of the districts which had elected them. Every citizen of the League was compelled to go to the capital, Ægium, if he wished to vote. Such a gathering is called a "primary" assembly, while our form is a "representative" assembly. In the Assembly of the Achæan League, each city had one vote, and the majority attending from that city decided which way the vote should be cast.

Since no pay was given for attending the meetings of the Assembly, it was difficult for the poorer citizens to leave

¹ Mention of the Achæan League will be found in the "Federalist," a series of articles written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, in support of our federal constitution.

their work and go to the annual meetings. Consequently the voters were mainly members of the wealthier classes and the professional politicians. The poor had little influence.

280. The Boule and Officials.—In addition to the Assembly there was another body, the Boulé, or Senate, which was composed of representatives from each of the cities. Their number and duties are not clearly known.

The national officials of the League were elected for one year by the Assembly. The chief power lay with the Strategus. He was leader in war and executive head of the League; that is, he carried out the orders of the Assembly and Boulé. He was assisted in the administration by the Hypo-strategus (Lieutenant-General), the Admiral, and the Secretary of State. To avoid the possibility that one man should gain too much power, it was not permitted that the same man should be Strategus in two successive years. Yet the people could elect him in alternate years as often as they wished. By having his friends elected in the other years and securing the office of Strategus each second year Aratus guided the policies of the League to the time of his death.

Such was the organization of the Achæan League, the most important of the Greek federations. These federations, although they lasted but little over a hundred years, are the highest political forms to which the Greek democracies attained. They give us another proof that the Greek genius was great in the field of politics, as well as in the fields of science and of art.

281. The Revival of Sparta.—After the overthrow of the Spartan power by Epaminondas in the years 371–362 B. C., that state had played but little part in the politics of Greece. Her citizen-body had decreased to less than 1,000 and most of the land and other wealth was collected in the hands of a few families. About 245 B. C., the young King Agis and his uncle Agesilaus proposed measures which aimed at a thorough reform of the economic and political evils which had weakened the state. The Gerousia, however, voted them down. Agis was called before the Gerousia on the charge of treason, condemned to death, and executed.

The reform movement found an abler leader in Cleomenes, who came to the throne in 235 B. C. He strengthened his hold upon the people by his successful wars against the armies of the Achaean League led by Aratus. After a successful battle he returned to Sparta and murdered the Ephors who led the opposition to his plans of reform. The Ephorate and the Gerousia were entirely set aside and the king's power greatly increased. The land was divided into small lots and given out to free Spartans. The grant of citizenship to a great number of the Perioeci still further increased the roll of citizens. The old Lyeurgan training with its simple living was again introduced, and the black broth and coarse bread of the old Spartan days came again into honor.

282 Aratus Summons Help from Macedon.—The reforms of Cleomenes caused unrest among the lower classes in the Achaean League, who were in distress much as the poor in Sparta had been. The supremacy of Aratus was endangered when Cleomenes induced the important cities of Corinth and Argos to revolt from the League. In order to save himself Aratus took the fatal step of calling in the aid of the Macedonian King against Sparta. Cleomenes was defeated by the combined forces of Macedon and the League (222 B. C.) His plans for Sparta shattered, Cleomenes fled to Egypt where he was forced to commit suicide two years later. His reforms were set aside, and the old order restored; but the Achaean League had to pay dear for the help of Macedon. Corinth was handed over to the Macedonian King, and the League fell under his domination.

283. Macedon and Greece Conquered by Rome.—While Macedon, the Greek leagues, and Sparta were engaged with the troubles just discussed, the city of Rome had been fighting a war of life and death with Carthage. Philip V came to the throne of Macedon in 220 B. C., a man of ability, ambitious to increase his power. He arrayed himself with Carthage to weaken the power of Rome, who had already shown her strength in Illyria and was becoming a dangerous menace to the power of Macedon.

In the year 202 B. C. Philip V and Antiochus III of Syria schemed to conquer and divide Egypt between them. All the smaller Greek powers, the Ætolian League, the commercial state of Rhodes, and the kingdom of Pergamum felt that their freedom too was endangered. Therefore they called upon Rome for help against the powerful kings of Macedon and Syria. In the war which followed (200–197 B. C.), Rome proclaimed that she had come as the liberator of the free Greek states from Macedonian oppression. The decisive battle was fought in Thessaly in 197 B. C. near the mountain called Cynoscephalæ, the "Dog's-Heads." Philip was utterly defeated, but was allowed to retain his kingdom of Macedon. At the Isthmian games of the year 196 B. C., the Roman general Flamininus, amid the wild shouts of the assembled Greeks, proclaimed the Greek states free.

The successor of Philip, his son Perseus, stirred up a national Greek war against the influence of Rome. With his defeat in the year 168 B. C., the Macedonian kingdom came to an end. The leagues and the independent cities of Greece fell more and more under Roman guidance. In the year 146 B. C., the independence of Greece ended when Rome formed the province of Macedon, and began to rule all Greece as a subject country. Never again was Greece a free and independent country, until it drove out its Turkish rulers less than a hundred years ago.

284. Syria and Egypt.—The defeat of Philip V in 197 B. C. showed the strength of the Roman Republic. But Antiochus III of Syria did not appreciate it, nor did he see the determination of the Roman Senate to permit no great power to exist in the East which might endanger Rome's leadership in politics and trade. Unwisely he followed an invitation of the Ætolian League to come into Greece and aid them in a war against the Roman arms. The war lasted from 191 to 189 B. C. In the battle of Magnesia in Asia Minor (190 B. C.), Antiochus was badly defeated, and the power of this Macedonian king of Syria was broken at one blow. We read of Seleucid kings and of the Macedonian Ptolemies ruling in Syria and Egypt until the middle of the first cen-

ture B. C., but their power was weak. Their policies were guided by the Roman Senate, and they dared not disobey its orders. The Macedonian dynasties of the East ceased forever with the death of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, in the year 31 B. C.

References for Outside Reading

Plutarch, *Lives of Demetrius, Pyrrhus, Aratus, Agis, and Cleomenes*; Fling, *Source Book*, ch. 13; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 346-356, 376-391; Mahaffy, *Alexander's Empire*; Botsford, *Orient and Greece*, 318-330; Shuckburgh, *Greece to A. D. 14*, pp. 235-310; Mahaffy, *Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*, pp. 31-61; Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 188-195.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. CAREER AND DEATH OF EUMENES, THE GREEK.—Plutarch, *Life of Eumenes*.
2. THE CAREER OF DEMETRIUS, CITY BESIEGER.—Plutarch, *Life of Demetrius*.
3. A COMPARISON OF THE WORK AND CHARACTER OF ARATUS AND CLEOMENES.—Plutarch, *Lives of Aratus and Cleomenes*.
4. HOW PYRRHUS WON THE KINGDOM OF MACEDON FROM DEMETRIUS, THE CITY BESIEGER.—Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, ch. 10-11.

CHAPTER XXI

THE HELLENIZING OF THE EAST AND ITS INDUSTRIAL LIFE

285. The Historical Importance of the Hellenistic Kingdoms.—It is more important to know the results of the rule of the Hellenes in Asia and in Egypt than to know how and why their kingdoms fell. This importance lies in the fact that Greek life and its ideals were adopted by the people of Asia and Egypt. But the Asiatics also had their influence upon the Greeks; and the result was a new and cosmopolitan life which has been called the Hellenistic life.

We have seen that the colonization begun by Alexander was carried on consistently by his Seleucid successors in the kingdom of Syria. It is difficult to determine how deeply this "Hellenizing" of Asia affected the country. The cities, where the Greek tongue was used in official and business relations, were quite Greek in their customs and outward appearance. In the villages off the main caravan routes and in the country districts the old native manners and language retained their hold.

The city-names of the new Greek colonies were all Greek or Macedonian, and the inhabitants showed the old Greek interest in festivals and games. The ruins of these cities show the Greek columned temples, the Greek public gymnasium and baths. Along with other Hellenic customs, the young Asiatics adopted the dress of their Greek rulers, broad-brimmed Greek hats, the chlamys, which was a cloak held by a clasp upon the right shoulder, and boots which laced high up on the legs. They attended the Greek plays in the theater, and learned to know the dramas of Sophocles and Euripides. The governments of these cities were on the old Greek plan, with its division into tribes, with its Boulé and Assembly. But only the Greek colonists and the

members of the armies, chiefly Greeks and Macedonians, were regarded as citizens.

286. Hellenization of Palestine and the Reaction.—The adoption of Greek ways, Greek language, and Greek thought naturally met with opposition in the Orient. This national opposition is most clearly seen in Palestine. Antiochus IV, the Seleucid king of Syria, who began his rule in 175 B. C., was an enthusiastic supporter of Hellenism. He even tried to force the Jews to give up their religion, their worship of Jehovah, the one God, for the worship of the Greek deities with Zeus at their head. In 168 B. C., he commanded the Jews on pain of death to give up their old religious observances. The temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem was dedicated to Zeus, and the Greek religion formally established.



GREEK YOUTH WEARING CHLAMYD AND HAT.

From a Vase-painting.

This high-handed policy brought about a revolt of the Jews led by the family of the Maccabees, which eventually resulted in the overthrow of Syrian authority in Palestine. The Jews were an independent people from 145 to 63 B. C., when they too became a subject kingdom of the vast Roman Empire. But the Hellenizing influence went quietly on in Palestine despite the national Jewish reaction. The influence of Greek thought may be clearly traced in the books of the New Testament, the writings of the disciples of Christ.

287. Hellenism in Egypt.—The Rosetta stone, by which the hieroglyphs were deciphered, may also be used to help us understand how Greek ideas and life spread over Egypt. It is a decree of the priests of Egypt at the crowning of king Ptolemy V (196 B. C.). They express their satisfaction at his coronation, and decree that a statue of him be set up in every temple.

The early Ptolemies had paid very little attention to the Egyptians. Their armies were composed of Greeks and Macedonians, and all the government offices were held by them. The Hellenizing of Egypt was rapid. It was con-

sidered fashionable for Egyptians to change their old names for Greek names. The national resistance to this Greek advance lay with the old priesthood. The decree on the Rosetta stone shows that the young King had changed from the old policy and was ready to give the Egyptians, too, some share in the government. Documents of a later time show that the following Ptolemies regarded themselves as rulers of the Egyptians, as well as of the thousands of Greeks and Macedonians who had settled in Egypt.

Notice that the inscription on the Rosetta stone is in the Greek tongue as well as in two forms of the Egyptian. This fact will tell you how many people there must have been in Egypt who could read Greek more readily than Egyptian. The national Egyptian opposition to the influence of the Greeks did not, in the end, avail much. Under the later Ptolemies (in the first century B. C.), and after the time of Christ, when the Romans ruled Egypt, Greek became the sole official language. The hieroglyphs were used no more, and the knowledge of what they stood for was lost to the world until restored by Champollion.

288. How the Hellenic Customs Lasted in the East.—The following copy of an inscription shows how persistently the Greek customs, sacred games, and language endured throughout the East long after the Greek city-states and kingdoms had been absorbed into the Roman Empire. This inscription, written in Greek, was set up in the year 221 A. D., and tells of the victories of a famous athlete, a Syrian probably, who had adopted a Latin-Greek name:

I, Aurelius Septimius Irenaus, son of Eutyches, a colonist of Laodicea Metropolis and citizen of other cities, I alone from my native city have contested in every form of trial and was victorious in the games mentioned below: in the general Pythic Severian games at Cæsarea Augusta, in boxing; in the Actian games of Augustus in the boys' class, at Nicopolis, in boxing; in the boys' class of the Heracleian Commodian games at Tyre, in



COIN WITH HEAD OF
PTOLEMY V OF EGYPT.

The Coin is Minted in
the Greek Style.

boxing; in the youths' class of the general local Olympian Comedian at Tarsus, in boxing; in the men's class of the general Antonian games, in my native city Laodicea, in boxing; and I contended for the laurel crown in the men's class at boxing during the consulship of Messala and Sabinus at the quinquennial games held on the third day before the kalends of January.

In the contests for a money prize of a talent¹:

At Asealon, Seythopolis, and Sidon, thrice; at Tripolis twice; at Leueas, thrice, boxing and running; at Hierapolis, thrice, boxing, wrestling, and paneratum²; at Berœa, twice; at Zeugma, twice; at Apamea, thrice; at Chaleis, boxing, running; at Salamis, thrice; at Citium, boxing and paneratum; at Mazaea, twice; at Iconium, boxing and running; at Antioch, boxing and running; at Taras, boxing; at Adana, twice; at Mopsuestia, twice.

289. The Western Spirit in Egypt and Asia.—The Hellenizing of Egypt and western Asia, *i.e.*, the introduction of Greek life and thought, is doubly interesting to us when we consider that a similar process is now going on in those same countries. Railroads are being built in Asia Minor and in Egypt, and European capital is being invested in other ways. European and American business ideas have been slowly forcing their way into India and China, more recently into Persia and Turkish Asia. The knowledge of the European languages, especially English and German, is rapidly spreading. In fact, the Orient is being awakened slowly to Western ideas.

This same work was done by the Greeks in the days after Alexander, more completely and more quickly than in our own time, because the immigration of Westerners into Egypt and Asia was far greater then than at the present day.

290. Industrial Effect of Alexander's Conquest.—The career of Alexander was as significant in the business world

¹The talent was worth normally about \$1,080. In this period it must be reckoned at about \$1,300 with a higher purchasing power than that amount would have in our time.

²The paneratum was a contest in which both boxing and wrestling were combined.

of Greece as it was in the political world. When Greeks and Macedonians moved by thousands into Egypt and Asia to take advantage of the business opportunities in these countries, the avenues and centers of Greek trade were shifted to new places. Greece had been, geographically, almost the center of the Hellenic world of commerce, but when Greek colonization extended to India, Greek trade followed it. The peninsula of Greece was now on the western edge of the Greek sphere of trade, and the commerce of Athens and the other cities of Greece was not to be compared with that of several of the newly founded cities of Syria and Egypt. The decay of the mother-country must be laid to this cause, and to the wars which were waged in Greece almost ceaselessly from the death of Alexander to the time of the Roman domination.

291. New Trade Centers: Alexandria.—The greatest of the new cities was Alexandria, situated upon one of the mouths of the Nile. It had the only large and safe harbor in northern Egypt, and was the natural outlet into the Mediterranean for Egyptian grain and other products. The Ptolemies did everything possible to increase the trade of Alexandria, to beautify it, and to make it the greatest metropolis of the world. The brilliant Egyptian court was maintained there. It was the station for all the government officials, and the largest military garrison in Egypt. The city grew with marvelous rapidity until it numbered fully a half million of inhabitants.

One of the chief points of interest for visitors was the Zoölogical Gardens, situated near the royal palace. Here wild animals from Africa and Asia were collected, huge snakes, ostriches, antelopes, and other animals such as we see in our menageries.

292. The Lighthouse on the Island of Pharos.—The lighthouse built on the little island of Pharos in the harbor at Alexandria indicates the commercial importance of the city. It was regarded by the ancients as one of the most wonderful buildings in the world. Its size gives us a good idea of the mechanical skill and knowledge of the Greeks in Hel-

lenistic times. Built at an expense of about \$1,000,000, it towered to a height of over 325 feet. A Greek poet tells us how its tower "cut straight into the air, visible for many miles by day. All night long the sailor, running before the wave, will see a great fire gleaming from its top." The light was thrown out to a great distance, as in modern lighthouses, by a system of powerful mirrors.



A RESTORATION OF THE LIGHTHOUSE OF PHAROS.

From Thiersch, *Pharos*.

293. Routes from Egypt to India.—Alexandria had two great lines of travel by which it might send its own goods or the products of the western Mediterranean to the East. The first was by boat to Antioch, from there by caravan to Seleucia, and through the desert to India. The second was used far more; by boat the wares went up the Nile to Coptus, thence by caravan in a southeasterly direction, to Berenice, a journey of about 18 days from Alexandria. In the caravan trade of the desert, camels, exclusively, were used as pack-animals. In summer, marches were made by night, from one water-supply to another, to avoid the burning desert heat. This method of transportation was slow, about 20 or 25 miles being covered each day. In Berenice there were warehouses where the goods were stored until the time for shipment came. They were loaded upon large sailing vessels and sent round Arabia by sea to India. The Alexandrians became famous as seamen. One of their vessels

has been described by an ancient writer. It was a three-masted sailing vessel about 180 feet long; its greatest width was 39 feet, and its capacity, 1,575 tons. The ancient vessels had an average speed of about six miles an hour.

294. Wares Exchanged with the East.—The Alexandrian merchants brought back silks from China; raw cotton, ivory, pearls, and other gems from India; incense, pepper, and other spices from Arabia. For these they exchanged the famous linens woven on the Alexandrian looms and glassware made by Alexandrian glass-blowers, the carpets, ointments, and perfumes manufactured in the city. This city had furthermore a monopoly of the manufacture of paper made from the stems of the papyrus, a plant which grew plentifully along the Nile.

Throughout Roman times, even down to the present day, Alexandria has always retained some of its old commercial importance. The devotion to business in the life of the city is well illustrated by an extract from a writer of the third century A. D. "Alexandria is a city of wealth and luxury in which no one is idle. This man is a glass-worker, that a paper-maker, a third a weaver in linen. Money is their only god."

295. Other Large Centers of Trade.—Other great commercial cities were:

1. *Seleucia*, on the Tigris, where the great highway which drained the northeast met the caravan route from the Persian Gulf. Through it passed all the caravan trade from India to the West.

2. *Antioch*, on the Orontes River in Syria. Most of the trade from Egypt, Greece, or the western Mediterranean, going into western Asia, was shipped through this city.

3. *Rhodes* lay in the direct line of all shipping from Egypt and Antioch to Greece and Macedon. Because of its favorable position it became one of the great transfer points in the eastern and western trade.

296. Banking and Money.—The great increase in trade necessitated the greater use of money. Before the time of Alexander the Attic coinage had predominated in the Greek

world. It was displaced by the silver coins stamped with the head of Alexander, which were minted throughout the East long after his death. This change coincides with the Athenian loss of supremacy in trade.

A growth in the number of banks and a better organization of the banking business resulted from the stimulation of trade. Many of the Greek cities established banks which were directed by public officials. This is best seen in Egypt, where the government started a national banking system with its central bank in Alexandria. Each nome, or district, had its branch bank under which were the local banks in the larger towns. The latter were farmed out to companies of capitalists who had a monopoly of the banking business in their own districts.



GREEK SILVER COIN
MINTED BY SELEUCUS
I OF SYRIA.

After Alexander's Conquest the Coinage of Syria was entirely Greek.

The general rate of interest on well secured loans had been 12% about 350 B. C. In the third century this fell to 10%, and in the second as low as 7%. This seems to show that the monarchies which followed Alexander gave the old Persian Empire and the Greek world a stable and safe government, in which the risk of a loss in business enterprises was small.

References for Outside Reading

^ Mahaffy, *Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*, pp. 65-105; Mahaffy, *Alexander's Empire*, ch. 20; Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, vol. 1, pp. 124-139; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 277-284.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. Trace by means of the Classical Atlas the extent of the travels of Aurelius Septimius Irenæus during his athletic career.
2. REVOLT OF THE MACCABEES.—*Encyclopedia* under "Maccabees" and "Judas Maccabæus".
3. THE CITY OF RHODES.—Mahaffy, *Alexander's Empire*, pp. 190-198; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 277-280.
4. RECENT FINDS OF PAPYRI.—*The Outlook* for July 11, 1908, pp. 566-571; *Current Literature*, vol. 28, pp. 301-302.

CHAPTER XXII

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF THE HELLENISTIC AGE

297. General Character of the Age.—The most marked characteristic of the Hellenistic period of Greek history is its absorbing interest in the sciences. The period stretching from Alexander's death to 100 A.D. bears a remarkable likeness to our own time in the eager search for knowledge about practical things, of the extent and form of the world, the animals which inhabited it, and of the human body and its ailments.

The scientist and philosopher, Aristotle, is the forerunner and leader of the new spirit. He set the minds of men upon the new pathway of scientific thought, and the search after nature's truths; and it was his pupil, Alexander the Great, who changed the political currents of the time and levelled the way for the great world-empire under the sway of Rome.

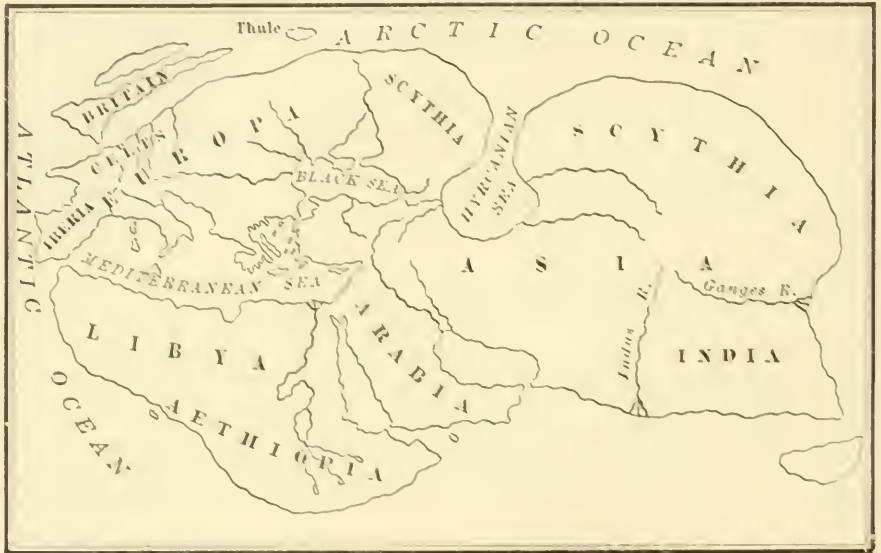
298. Interest in Geography Awakened.—Before Alexander's time the Hellenes knew little about the world excepting that part which lay about the Mediterranean Sea. Alexander's soldiers passed through lands unknown to the Greeks, stretching from Babylon northward to the Caspian Sea, and eastward to the Indus River. They took back home the knowledge of all this country, and awakened in the alert minds of the Greeks a new desire to know the world.

This resulted in voyages undertaken for the sake of geographical discovery. One of the generals of Seleucus I sailed upon the Caspian Sea and learned something of its size, but he did not sail far enough north to learn that it was an inland sea. He thought that it was an inlet of the great northern ocean.

A Greek named Pytheas, living in Massilia (Marseilles) in Gaul, sailed up to the northern end of Britain, and from

there to the mouth of the Elbe River. He returned with tales of the northern lights and the Polar sea with its icebergs, stories which the Greeks could not believe.

On the basis of all the new information Eratosthenes (about 250 B. C.), of the African city of Cyrene, constructed a map of the world which shows the new idea of the Greeks



EXTENT OF THE CONTINENTS ACCORDING TO ERATOSTHENES.

about its extent and the shape of the continents. He thought that the earth was round and figured out that its circumference was about 31,250 miles. Even more startling in its accuracy than this was the bold statement of the Samian Greek, Aristarchus, who also lived in the third century B.C. He reasoned that the sun was larger than the earth, and that the theory that all men had held up to that time, that the sun revolved around the earth, was incorrect. On the other hand, he said, the earth and the planets revolve around the sun. This theory was accepted by only a few thinkers in antiquity, and was advanced, as a new belief, by Copernicus in the sixteenth century after Christ.

299. Progress in other Branches of Science.—To the period immediately following Alexander's death belongs the work

upon plants by Theophrastus of Athens. His descriptions of plants, and their different kinds, mark the beginning of the systematic science of botany.

Euclid, the mathematician, who worked in Alexandria about 300 B.C., was the pioneer in geometry and one of the ablest minds which that science had produced. The geometric propositions which he advanced form the basis of our text-books to this day.

In physics, the greatest name of antiquity was that of Archimedes of Syracuse. In 212 B.C., his native city was besieged by the Romans. The ingenuity of Archimedes was turned to use in the defense of the city. Ancient writers state that he made use of powerful burning-glasses to concentrate the rays of the sun upon the Roman fleet, thus setting fire to their ships. It is doubtful whether this story is true. Among his practical inventions was a new form of catapult, in which the range of the missiles could be extended or shortened. It is said that he built a machine consisting of levers and great beams with large iron grappling hooks at the ends. When the Roman ships came too near the walls, these beams fell upon them. They were seized by the iron hooks, raised aloft, and dropped in such a position that they immediately sank. The services of Archimedes in the science of mathematics rank much higher than these practical inventions. In the massacre which followed the taking of the city by the Romans, Archimedes met his death.

300. The New Centers of Learning: Alexandria.—It is interesting to note that these scientists came from various parts of the Greek world, Samos, Alexandria, Cyrene, or Syracuse. Athens had lost her peculiar preëminence in the world of the Greek intellect. Throughout the history of the ancient world she remained honored for her glorious past; and her schools, established by the philosophers, were sought out by students from all parts of the civilized world. But other cities had arisen to compete with her in literature, art, and scientific research.

The most important of these cities was Alexandria. The

Ptolemies were cultured princes whose pride in the city made them eager to develop its intellectual as well as its commercial life, and, with the immense riches of Egypt at their command, they started to collect, in buildings erected for that purpose, copies of all the works of the great writers of the past. So they have the honor of having founded the first large library in the world's history. The books came in the form of rolls of papyrus or sheepskin. Since a parchment containing the whole of the *Iliad*, for example, would be unwieldy, the librarians and their assistants divided the classic works into short "books," or chapters. Each "book" then formed one roll. Thus the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were divided into twenty-four books each, the *Persian Wars* of Herodotus into nine. The library soon had 400,000 rolls, all catalogued and edited by the best scholars of the day.

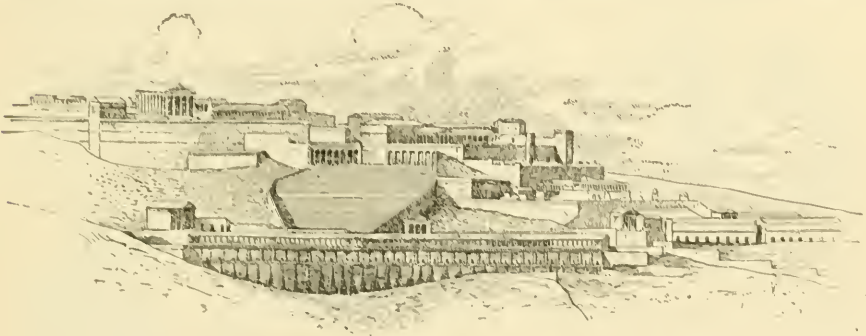
301. The Museum.—The Ptolemies called to this library the most noted scholars of the time, and paid them good salaries for the work they did in cataloguing and preparing the books. These scholarly men had time to study all manner of scientific subjects, to write books, and so to give their knowledge to the world.

The whole establishment—the library, hall for public lectures, botanical and zoölogical gardens, and observatory—was called the Museum. It was like a university supported by some wealthy man, whose professors devote themselves to research rather than to teaching students. The literature which these men produced was by no means so good as that produced in Athens in the fifth century B.C. Their service to the world was in preserving for future generations the best texts of the classic Greek authors, Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and others.

302. Pergamum.—About 280 B.C. a noble Macedonian family took advantage of the ceaseless wars between the kings who succeeded Alexander to establish a small monarchy in central Asia Minor. Its capital was the city of Pergamum, about 20 miles inland from the Mediterranean. Here the dynasty of the Attalids, named after King Attalus,

built up a small but very wealthy state which remained independent until taken over by Rome in 133 B. C. The acropolis of the city was adorned with fine and costly stone temples and public buildings. In 1875 the German government began excavations there which have given us an insight into the life of a Greek city of those days.

Not to be outdone by the Ptolemies as liberal and cultured Hellenic princes, the Attalids, too, built a library, and stocked it with books. Since the Ptolemies had control of the output of papyrus and would not export it, the books at



RESTORATION OF THE ACROPOLIS AT PERGAMUM.

Pergamum were written upon sheepskin, which has taken the name "parchment" (originally "pergament") from the name of the city.

The acropolis, upon which the library stood, must have been a wonderful mass of stone buildings. Here was the great altar of Zeus, which is now in Berlin. It is a stone structure, 110 by 120 feet, with a magnificent frieze running around it upon the outside. This frieze portrays the fabled fight of olden times between the giants and the Greek gods for the rule of the earth. It contains several hundred figures, most of them about eight feet in height. It is a marvelous work. With wild and restless motion these massive figures seem to struggle for victory. When St. John wrote, in *Revelation*, Chapter II, to the people of Pergamum, he said that they dwelt "where the throne of Satan is." The reference is to this pagan altar of Zeus.

Through the liberality of the Attalids, Pergamum became

one of the central points of Hellenistic culture. It developed a school of sculpture of its own. Its kings had to fight terrible battles with the Celts who invaded Asia Minor, and the study of this wild northern type became a favorite subject for the sculptor. Celtic warriors lying dead on the field or in their death-agonies are depicted with striking realism. The "Dying Gaul" is the best known work of this school.



BOY WITH A GOOSE.

the great architects of the Periclean Age. The taste of the Hellenes had changed. Now they wanted realism, works of art which showed restless pain and emotion. In place, therefore, of the majestic and peaceful gods of Phidias, they carved and painted studies from life, such as a drunken old woman; a naked, sturdy, little rascal who is strangling a goose; or they attempted to depict suffering and terror, as in the famous group which shows Laocoon and his sons in the deadly coils of huge snakes. The "Victory of Samothrace," the "Apollo Belvedere," and the "Venus" found upon the island of Melos, small copies of which are seen in so many of our modern homes, show that Greek sculptors could, even at that period, carve statues of such beauty that they please modern critics as much as they once delighted the people of the ancient world.

303. Hellenistic Art.—In sculpture and architecture, the Greeks of the wide Hellenistic world were able to produce works which must be called great, though they differ much from the masterpieces of Phidias and Praxiteles and



THE VENUS OF MELOS.

In architecture, columned buildings in the Corinthian

style, more ornate and perhaps less dignified than the older orders, became very popular. The great altar at Pergamum shows this love of ornamentation. It was this later Hellenistic taste which spread over the world during the time of the Roman Empire, rather than the calmer and more severe art of the Periclean period.

304. Hellenistic Literature.—Although the Hellenistic period produced no literature which can be compared with that of the age of Pericles in grandeur or classic beauty, it did bring into the world several new and charming forms of writing which have lived until the present day. Theocritus, who spent most of his life at Syracuse (born about 300 B. C.), was a master in the writing of "pastoral poems." These are songs of shepherd life in Sicily, charming in style, but not realistic pictures of the actual hard life of the shepherds. Yet these artificial poems pleased the readers of that time; for it was an age of big cities, and the people who lived in the dust and heat of the cities enjoyed these sentimental poems, which breathed of the green fields and the hills of Sicily.

A second new product of this age was the Hellenistic novel, or love-story, which usually told the adventures of a pair of lovers—how they were shipwrecked, seized by pirates or robbers, and separated. In the end, however, they were always reunited and happily married. Until 600 A. D. this type of the novel was a popular form of reading.

The "New Comedy" of this period shows the same attempt to be true to life as appears in the sculpture of the time. The comedies of Menander, an Athenian writer (about 340–292 B. C.), were so realistic that a critic of the ancient world praised their writer in these words: "O Menander! O Life! which of you copied the other?" When the Romans, about 200 B. C., became interested in Greek literature, it was the New Comedy which pleased them most. Writers of Latin began to copy and translate for the Romans the works of Menander and other Greek writers of the New Comedy. But the Greek originals were far superior to the Latin copies of them. Such, at least, was the opinion of the great Julius Cæsar, who said of Terence, one of the

Roman imitators of Menander, that he was only a "half-Menander."

305. Hellenistic Religion and Philosophy.—In Hellenistic times the questioning spirit of the Sophists and the discussions of Greek philosophers and scientists spread among the mass of people, weakening the old faith in the gods of the ancient Greek religion. It is true that the festivals of the gods were still celebrated with great pomp, and the mass of the people still offered their sacrifices and prayed as before. But the worship of Zeus, Hera, Apollo, Athena, and the rest of the gods had lost its real heart and vitality.

Some men went so far as to deny that the world is guided by any divine spirit whatever. A writer of this period, Euhemerus, published a romance in which he related that he had come to an island in the Indian Ocean; there he had learned that the Greek gods were really men of the olden time, great kings and lawgivers, whom men had come to worship because of their good deeds. The Greeks of Hellenistic times did worship their own kings, and hence it was not remarkable that the work of Euhemerus became very popular and that his explanation of the origin of the gods was accepted by many as true.

306. The Philosophy of Epicurus (born 342 B. C.).—The whole Hellenistic period is one of religious change. The loss of faith, without any new belief to take its place, is best shown in the philosophic teachings of Epicurus. He taught that the world had not been made by any god or gods; but that it was composed of atoms of many kinds, which had happened to form into the shape of the world as it is.

He believed that there was only one object for men to pursue, namely, Happiness. It was right, therefore, for men to do all those things which would give them pleasure, and to avoid everything which would bring pain. Although this seems a very selfish way of thinking, Epicurus and his friends really lived noble lives. They avoided all gross pleasures, such as drunkenness and fine banquets, because they thought that these did not give real happiness. They sought the higher pleasures to be found in studies which bring peace and

quiet of mind. The beliefs of Epicurus were held by many until about 400 A.D., when Christianity became firmly established in the ancient world.

307. Stoicism.—Much nobler and more important in their influence were the moral teachings found in the Stoic philosophy. It was founded by Zeno, a Jew who opened a school at Athens about 300 B. C. Like many other non-Greeks of his day, he was Greek in his training and sympathies. The Stoic school gets its name from the fact that Zeno and his disciples taught in the Painted Hall (Stoa) in the marketplace in Athens.

Stoicism is really a religion. It taught that some god ruled the world and that his will had made everything in it for the service of men. This Stoic god was not the God of the Hebrews, the Father who guarded His children upon earth, but an indefinite spirit who controlled nature and appeared in all its forms, in the course of the sun, moon, and stars, and in the general harmony of the universe. The Stoics did not go so far as to deny the existence of the other Greek gods, but they regarded them as inferior deities who had nothing to do with the ruling of the world.

308. Its Ethical Teachings.—Virtue and goodness were to the Stoics the only things to be sought in life, vice and baseness the only causes of unhappiness. So they tried to learn what virtue was and to act accordingly. Sickness and death were things in the order of nature which providence had set. Therefore sickness and death were not evils in their eyes; and the Stoics endured pain and trouble with a cheerfulness and indifference which has given us our modern phrase, "stoical" bravery.

The Stoic teachings breathe something of the Christian spirit, and indeed influenced Christian thought in the early stages of its development. But Stoicism lacked many things that have made Christianity so strong in its appeal to men. It lacked the personal love of the Father for men. It lacked the idea of a life for each separate soul after death, to compensate for the sorrows of this world. Although Stoicism produced some very admirable characters in an-

tiquity, it was reserved for the Jews to give us, in Christianity, a religion of hope and mercy and love which gradually rooted out and displaced all the old religions and philosophies, even the noble teachings of Stoicism.

309. What the Hellenes did for Civilization.—Through the agency of the Hittites and Cretans the knowledge which the Egyptians, Babylonians, and other nations of western Asia had gained, was passed on to the Hellenes. To the progress already made they added much. Most important in their gifts to the human race was the idea of the individual man and his freedom to work out his destiny in the line in which his talents lay. We hear very little in Greek history about hereditary kings and a noble aristocracy. The man of the middle class, the citizen, whether rich or poor, was given a chance to use his talents in guiding the state. The idea of democracy, the rule of the citizen people, came into the world through the Greeks, and has been the heritage of the ages ever since. The Greeks originated new types of literary expression, the drama, comedy, the romance, the essay. In all branches of literature they left a legacy of great works, which have always remained the inspiration of serious writers and thinking men. In sculpture they carved masterpieces. The study of these, even in Roman copies, has meant a great deal to artists throughout later times. The "Hermes" of Praxiteles is as much a possession of the world to-day as it was of Greece in the fourth century, for its appeal to the human love of beauty is eternal.

In philosophy their work was fundamental. They laid the basis for all future philosophic thought and influenced even Christianity itself, both through the ideas of the Greek philosophers adopted by the early Christian writers, and by destroying the old Greek belief in the existence of many gods. They gave us the love of scientific truth for its own sake, and separated the fields of the different sciences. What they attained in these fields of philosophy, art, and science they spread over all that part of the world which was then civilized. The world into which Christ

was born was an Hellenic world in its modes of thought. Of the many languages of that world, Greek, at least, was spoken almost everywhere. Using this one language and appealing to a world unified by the spirit of Greece, it was made possible for Christianity to become the religion of that world.

References for Outside Reading

Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 183-187; Mahaffy, *Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*, pp. 84-88, 109-149; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 254-277, 284-291; Mahaffy, *Alexander's Empire*, ch. 14, 20, 23; Capps, *Homer to Theocritus*, pp. 430 to the end; Tarbell, *History of Greek Art*, ch. X.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. READING, WRITING, AND THE MAKING OF BOOKS.—Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, pp. 85, 108-112; *The Classical Dictionaries*, Smith or Harper, under "Books" and "Writing."
2. GREAT ALTAR OF ZEUS AT PERGAMUM.—Tarbell, *Greek Art*, pp. 261-264.
3. THE SYRACUSAN WOMEN AT ALEXANDRIA, BY THEOCRITUS.—Capps, *Homer to Theocritus*, pp. 452-456.
4. THE OCCASION FOR SETTING UP THE VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE.—Tarbell, pp. 247-249.
5. THE EDUCATION OF A GREEK BOY.—Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, ch. 10; Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, ch. 9.

PART III
THE STORY OF ROME

CHAPTER XXIII

ITALY: ITS PEOPLE AND EARLY HISTORY

310. Westward Progress of Civilization.—The story of the progress of European-American civilization is one of continual expansion and movement westward. The earliest forms of cultured life appeared in Egypt and Babylonia. From these countries it spread through Asia Minor. The Cretans in the eastern Mediterranean were influenced by the learning of Egypt and Babylon. Through them the older civilization affected the Hellenes, who added wonderfully to the richness of civilized life by developing, in their free city-states, ideas of democracy which the world had not known before that time.

As a result of the commercial expansion of the Greeks in the years from 800 to 500 B. C. all the coast-line of the western Mediterranean was brought into touch with the broadened life of the Greeks. After Greece had reached the height of her glory, in the fifth century B. C., the peninsula of Italy began to awaken slowly to an appreciation of all that Greek civilization meant. Adding ideas of their own, the Italians carried this civilization, under the standards of the Roman army, further westward into Gaul, Spain, and Britain. In the centuries after the birth of Christ, Germany, too, grew slowly away from its rude forest life. In the fifth and sixth centuries of our era, German tribes moved into Gaul, Spain, and Italy. They accepted the customs and ideas which they found there, changing them as their native temperament demanded. After Colum-

bus discovered America, colonists from Europe moved to this country. They brought with them the civilization of Europe, which it had taken 5,000 years to develop. In a new climate, and upon new soil, this European life became our American civilization of to-day. Over the continent it moved westward, until now there is no part of our wide country which has not been reached and flooded by the currents flowing out of Europe's past.

311. The Races of Western Europe.—When the Hellenes planted their colonies to the very western end of the Mediterranean, they found the countries there inhabited by people far behind them in development. Only on the northern coast of Africa were there cities; and these had been started by Phœnician merchants, who were unconsciously helping the work of progress by carrying westward the old Babylonian-Egyptian culture.

Italy and Sicily were inhabited, for the greater part, by related tribes which we may call Italians. In Gaul and in Britain lived the many tribes of the Celts; in Spain, the Iberians, who were later conquered by an invasion of Celtic tribes from Gaul; in Germany, the Germans, large-limbed, blue-eyed, and flaxen-haired. These are the principal peoples whom we shall have to study in tracing the spread of the Oriental-Greek culture in ancient times. The languages of all these peoples belong to the great Indo-European group, in which many simple words have the same origin, though the languages themselves have grown to be quite unlike in sound. Just as in the case of the Hellenes, historians are not agreed as to how early or from what locality these peoples of the Indo-European race came into western Europe. It is certain, however, that an older race inhabited Italy before the Italian tribes entered the country.

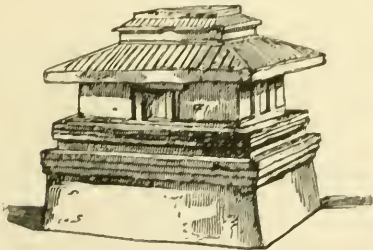
312. The Etruscans.—There was one people living in the Po Valley, and on the western coast as far south as the Tiber River, and further south in the Campanian plain, which differed so much from the remaining tribes in appearance, speech, and habits, that they were surely in no way kin to them. These were the Etruscans, the greatest riddle

among the ancient peoples. From the figures carved upon their tombs the modern historian has learned just how they looked. He has numerous remains of their language; but no one has as yet found the key which will unlock its secrets and enable men to read it. Some scholars have attempted to prove that the Etruscans wandered into Italy from Asia, others that they were the remnant of the oldest people who lived in Italy. It is hard to say whether the mystery of their origin will ever be solved. It will not occur, at least, until their language can be deciphered. In their civilization they were advanced to a stage far beyond that which the Italian tribes had reached.



ETRUSCAN GRAVE MONUMENT.

313. The Geographical Position of Italy.—The superior location of the peninsula of Italy in the Mediterranean Sea is apparent from a glance at the map. Its central position, midway between the western peninsula of Spain and the eastern one of Greece, has given it a great commercial and military advantage over the other countries. It is in close touch with Africa by way of the large island of Sicily. It is clear that when the western



ANCIENT ETRUSCAN URN IN THE FORM OF A HOUSE.

Mediterranean should once develop the over-sea trade which accompanies advancing civilization, Italy must, from her natural location, be directly in the center of this maritime life, whether the trade go east and west, or north and south. The Italian cities would therefore take away much of the western trade which had formerly been monopolized by the Phœnicians and Greeks. If the one great empire, of which Alexander dreamed, were to be wrought out of all the Mediterranean

lands, no situation could be compared with that of Italy for the seat of its central power; for its armies and fleets could strike with equal swiftness at Africa, Spain, Gaul, or Greece.

314. Size and Climate of Italy.—The Italian peninsula has about twice the area of the state of New York. It is about 700 miles long, with an average width of 100 miles in central and southern Italy. In the great plain of the Po River, just south of the Alps, the breadth is about 350 miles.

The climate varies greatly in different places. This variation is due to the long stretch from north to south, and to the Apennine range, which runs the entire length of Italy. The soil in the valleys is fertile; wine-grapes, olive-trees, grain, and fruits of every kind grow there in abundance. In the lower plains and on the sides of the mountains, large and small cattle could be grazed in ancient times with profitable returns. Agriculture was the basis of early Italian life.

The Alps protect Italy from the cold winds of northern Europe. They serve to mark it off physically and in climate from the rest of Europe; but they are cut by numerous passes and do not form an insurmountable barrier either against trade with the north, or against the march of armies from or to the north.

The Apennines do not cut Italy into isolated districts, as Greece was divided, for there are no spurs running from east to west. In consequence there was a much greater possibility of a political union in the Italian peninsula than in Greece. The peninsula itself is a geographical unit, its unity depending upon land routes rather than upon ships and the sea.

315. The Italian Tribes.—At the time of the Greek colonization along the shores of southern Italy, when first we get an insight into the life of the peninsula, there were three distinct races inhabiting it, the Etruscans, the Greeks of southern Italy, and the Italian tribes. Among the many Italian tribes, the Latins, dwelling about the Tiber River, proved themselves the most important in the ancient history of Italy. We shall see how they gradually drew into their own organization the Umbrians who inhabited the central



EARLY ITALY AND ITS IMPORTANT PEOPLES.

part of the peninsula, and the tribes of the southern-central and southern parts, of whom the Samnites, inhabiting the mountainous regions of central Italy, formed the strongest element.

316. Why the Latins Became Leaders in Italy.—The Latin tribes lived in close contact with the highly developed life of the Etruscans to the north, while to the south, along the western coast of Italy, were the Greek colonies and their civilized city life. The territory inhabited by the Latin tribes extended along the south bank of the Tiber River from the mountains to the sea. The fact that the Tiber was navigable for miles caused them to turn early to seafaring and trade, through which they gained the advantages of higher civilization more quickly than the other Italian tribes. Because Latium is a single plain the union of its cities was much more natural and easy to accomplish than it would have been in a more mountainous and broken region.

The situation of the Latins was one of great danger. They were forced to defend themselves from the warlike Etruscans lying to the north. The wilder Sabine tribes of the mountains made foraging raids into the plain of Latium. To protect themselves from these dangerous neighbors, the Latins formed a league of thirty cities. Rome, one of the Latin cities, situated on the Tiber River about fifteen miles from the sea, soon became the leader of this federation. It is because of the extreme importance which Rome took in the ancient world, that we speak of the history of Italy, and later, of all the Mediterranean lands, under the one heading "the history of Rome."

The power which the Latin tribes attained under Rome's headship is due, then, to four causes: (1) to the excellent position of Latium in the center of Italy; (2) to the advantage of early and close connection with the Etruscans and Greeks; (3) to the necessity of forming a union, early in their career, to repel the attacks of their neighbors; and (4) to the tendency toward union in the Latin plain, due to its physical form.

317. How the Story of Rome's Early History Arose.—In the fourth and third centuries B. C., the city of Rome developed from the position of leader of a group of Latin cities to be the capital city and ruler of all Italy. In the following century the influence of the city widened, until all the nations which bordered upon the Mediterranean Sea became subject to her command. Then the pride of the Romans urged them to learn of the beginnings of their greatness. The historical models which they had to follow were the stories of the Greek historians, who were accustomed to work out the question of the origin of cities and the family trees of aristocratic families. Because of the political importance and high civilization of the Hellenic cities the Roman historians tried in every way to connect Rome's early days with the glorious past of Greece. They took up the traditional and fantastic stories told by the early Greek writers and worked them over into a series of connected tales. These were accepted as true by the Romans themselves and by all subsequent historians until about 1800 A. D.

318. The Tradition of the Founding of Rome.—According to this traditional account, Æneas, the son of Venus, goddess of love (the Greek Aphrodite), fled from Troy when it was captured by the Achæans. He brought with him his family and the gods of his household. After many adventures he came to Latium and married the daughter of Latinus, the king of the Latins. The descendants of Æneas founded the Roman race, ruling as kings in a small town in Latium. After many years a priestess named Rhea Silvia, a daughter of the royal line, became mother of twins, Romulus and Remus, whose father was the war-god, Mars. From Romulus sprang the Roman people. This family tree, with its descent from the goddess Venus and the god Mars, was surely enough to satisfy Roman pride.

The uncle of Rhea Silvia, a wicked man named Amulius, set the two children adrift on the Tiber River, but they were carried ashore by the current at the place where Rome was later built. As they wailed for food, a mother-wolf found them and nourished them. Here the twins grew

up, strong as young gods. When they grew to manhood they gathered a band of rough and ready followers and decided to found a city on the hills where the Tiber had thrown them out on its banks. Remus and a part of the band wished to choose the Aventine hill, Romulus and his followers the Palatine hill. They agreed to leave the matter to the decision of the gods. So they awaited a sign in the heavens. Remus saw six vultures flying from the east, which was to him the sign that the gods approved of his choice. But immediately Romulus saw twelve, which meant that he was the victor in the prophetic signs.



PORTION OF THE HADRIANIC ALTAR SHOWING
ROMULUS AND REMUS NOURISHED
BY THE WOLF.

When Romulus had plowed a trench around the Palatine hill to mark off the walls of his citadel, Remus mocked him and leaped over the ditch to show his scorn. In his anger Romulus struck him down, crying, "May this end come to anyone who shall attempt to cross my walls!"

319. The Time when Rome was Founded.—The story of Rome's origin is purely a legend, yet it expresses the rough and warlike character of the old Romans, and is what all the later Romans believed. Their historians have worked out the very year in which the founding of the city took place. The dates they gave differed, ranging from 754 to 747 B. C. The year 753 B. C. was the one most generally accepted by the Romans themselves, but excavations made within the past ten years in the city of Rome prove that the site was occupied as far back as 1000 B. C., or earlier. Although the date 753 B. C. is manifestly incorrect, one must keep it in mind, because in later times

the Romans reckoned time from that year, as we reckon the year from the birth of Christ.

320. Our Sources for Early Roman History.—The literary sources, which the historian must depend upon for his information about Roman history down to about 300 B. C., are very unsatisfactory, and must be accepted with great caution. The following list shows how long after the events these ancient historians wrote. It is interesting to note that the first group is composed of Greek authors.

GREEK WRITERS

1. Diodorus of Sicily, in his *Historical Library*. He lived just before the birth of Christ.
2. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his *Roman Antiquities*. He died at Rome in 7 B. C.
3. Plutarch, in his *Parallel Lives*. He was a Bœotian Greek living about 100 A. D.

LATIN WRITERS

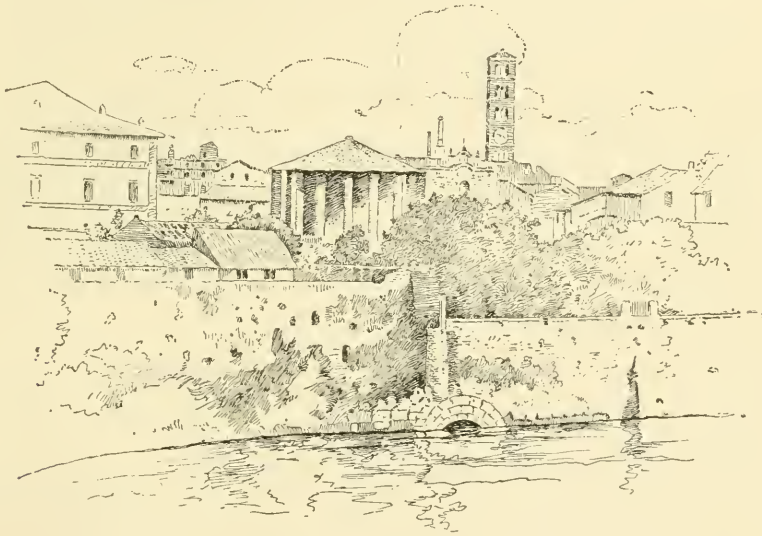
1. Marcus Terentius Varro, in his *Antiquities*. He died in 28 B. C.
2. Marcus Tullius Cicero, the great Roman orator of the first century B. C., in his book on *The Roman Republic*.
3. Titus Livius (Livy), in his *Roman History*. Livy died in 14 A. D.

In the year 382 B. C., the city of Rome was captured by the savage Celts from Gaul, and burned to the ground. All the records of the city's history were destroyed, including the annals or accounts of each year's events kept by the priests. The sources, therefore, which could be used by Cicero, Livy, and the Greek historians on the period before this Gallic invasion were not very trustworthy.

The best information which we have at our command is that gained by means of the excavator's spade. Since 1898 careful excavations in Rome have bared its oldest temples and burying-grounds. They give us some idea of the original size and the growth of the ancient city, and tell us something of the religion and character of its inhabitants.

But there are no important political documents inscribed on stone which give us the text of treaties, definite facts and dates, or the names of the great statesmen of early Rome.

321. The Tradition of the Seven Kings.—The literary account tells us definitely of the acts of Romulus and the six kings of Rome who followed him. It relates how the fifth of the series, Tarquin the First, overcame the Sabines and Latins, and bettered the condition of the city by building



MOUTH OF THE CLOACA MAXIMA AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY.

It was Formerly Attributed to King Tarquin the First, but was probably Built much Later than the Period of the Kings.

the great sewer, the Cloaca Maxima, which drained the city in early times.

Servius Tullius, so the tradition says, succeeded Tarquin. In his reign a new and larger wall was built around Rome, including in its circle all the seven hills upon which the later city rested. He divided the citizens into classes based upon their wealth, and gave them privileges and duties accordingly.

The last king, Tarquin the Proud, oppressed the people. He forced them to work upon public buildings, and was proud and tyrannical. So runs the account in Livy.

322. The Driving Out of the Kings.—Because of the

oppressive conduct of the kings, especially in respect to their exactions from the nobles, the Romans expelled them and decided that they would nevermore be ruled by a king. They gave the powers which the king had held to two men called "consuls" who were elected out of the number of Roman citizens for a term of one year. This story of the expulsion of the kings is historically true. According to the old tradition, the date at which this change from the monarchy to a republican government was made, is 509 B. C. The event must have occurred at about this time, though the exact year is uncertain.

References for Outside Reading

Botsford, *The Story of Rome* (source material), ch. 2; Munro, *Source Book of Roman History*, pp. 1-5, 66-70; Plutarch, *Romulus, Numa*; Abbott, *Short History of Rome*, pp. 17-24, 31-37; Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, Book I, ch. 1, 3; Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, ch. 17; How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, ch. 1-3; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, ch. 2-5; Alice Zimmern, *Old Tales from Rome*.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. STEALING OF THE SABINE WOMEN.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 34-36; Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*.
2. THE STORY OF TARPEIA.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 36-38; Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*; *Classical Dictionaries* under "Tarpeia."
3. THE LEGEND OF THE HORATHI.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 45-49.
4. WHAT THE ANCIENT WRITERS THOUGHT ABOUT THE ACCURACY OF THEIR EARLY HISTORY.—Munro, *Source Book of Roman History*, pp. 4-5.
5. ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE ETRUSCANS.—Marquand and Frothingham, *History of Sculpture*, ch. 12; Lübke, *History of Art*, vol. I, book 2, ch. 2.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE OLD ROMAN STATE

323. Survey of Conditions in the Sixth Century B. C.—

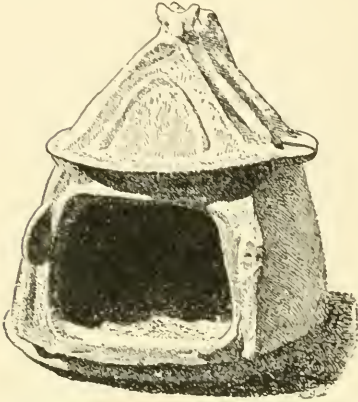
In the sixth century B.C., Persia, as we have seen in the stories of Cyrus and Darius, developed into the great empire of the East. Her territory stretched from India to the Mediterranean Sea, and finally included the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor. The Hellenes had already progressed far along the road of culture. Athens and other city-states had thrown aside their kings and were fast developing democratic forms of government. In literature and art they were beginning to show those distinguished talents which blazed forth so gloriously in the Periclean Age a century later.

The Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily were wealthy, and strong in war. Their two powerful rivals were the Phœnician city of Carthago, in northern Africa, and the Etruscans in central Italy. The Etruscan merchants, when the opportunity offered, combined piracy with their regular business and fought against the advance of the Greek trade with western people.

324. The Old City of Rome.—In this century the Italian tribes were just at the beginning of their career among the civilized peoples. Upon the hills and in the swampy lowlands, where the city of Rome was to play her great rôle in the world's history, stood a number of separate settlements, each centering about a walled hill. In the sixth century these combined into a single city surrounded by a wall of simple construction. On the hilltops were the houses of the noble landowners; in the low lands between were the gardens, houses, and plowed fields of the small farmers, and the communities of traders and retail dealers.

We must think of the life of the Romans of this old city

as very simple indeed. Some of the ancient Italian and Etruscan pottery was made in the form of small imitations of their houses. These show that most of the houses were little one-storied huts built of wood. The peaked roof contained an opening through which the smoke escaped from the hearth below.



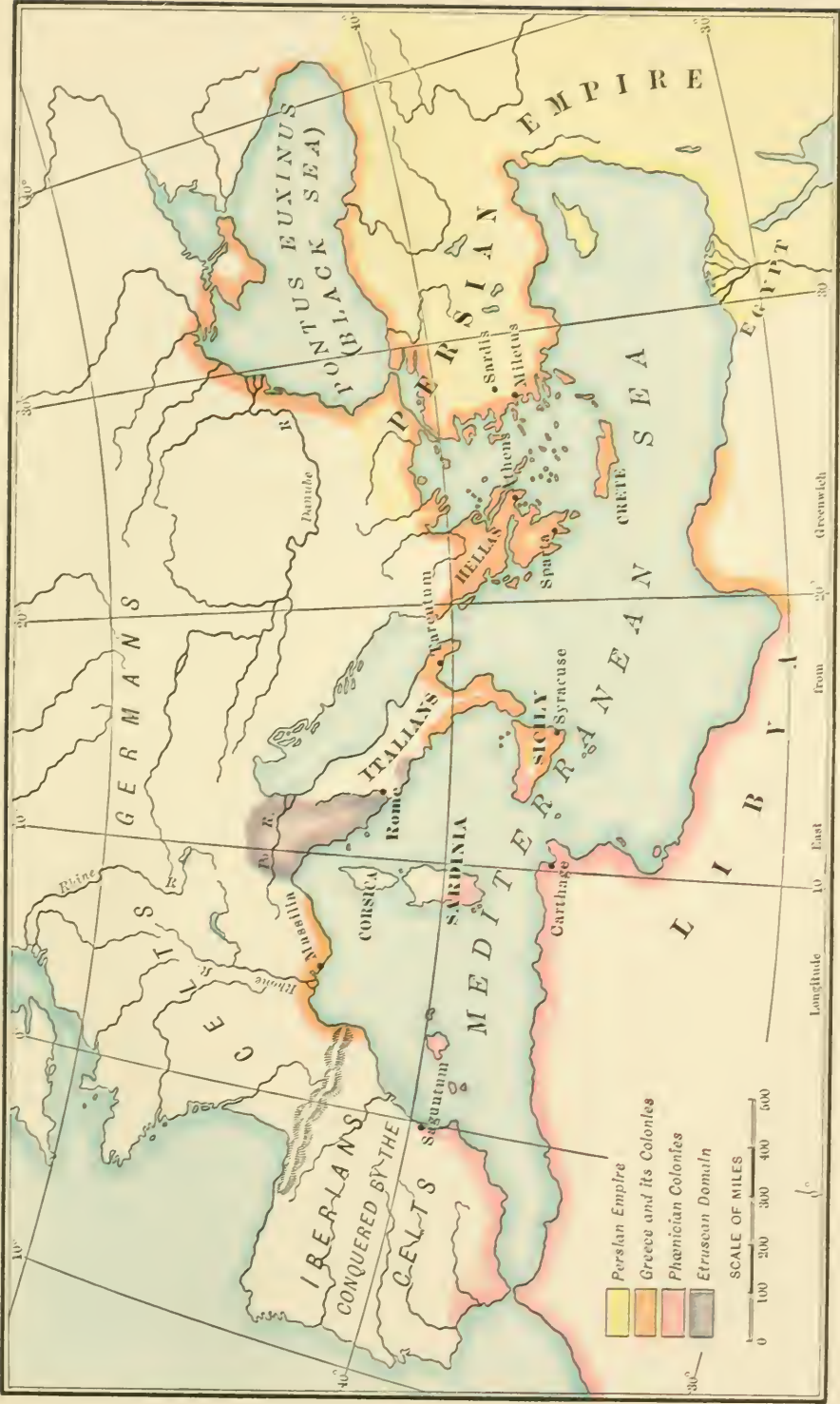
ANCIENT URN MADE IN THE FORM
OF AN ITALIAN HOUSE.

325. The Old Roman Religion: Family Gods.—What we know of the religion of the Italians, especially the Romans, suggests their simple lives as farmers and herders. Their religion, in its early form, was distinctly the outcome of their activities and interest. It shows the practical character of a race

which earned its bread by hard work in the gardens and fields.

Above all, the house and the fireside were sacred. The Latin word for house-door was *janua*, and the Romans worshipped the house in the form of the god Janus. At a later time the god was depicted as double-faced, looking both backward and forward, for a gate or door allows one to pass either in or out. The hearth and its fire were worshipped as the goddess Vesta. The common fire of the state was kept continually burning by the Virgins of Vesta in an old round temple dedicated to her. These and other household gods tell us of the immense importance of the family organization among the early Romans.

326. Farm Gods.—Next in importance came the gods who protected the fields and farms. Saturn, the god of the sowing, helped the farmer when he planted the seed. The goddess Ceres watched over the growing grain. Flora was protectress of all plants and flowers. Pomona was the goddess of the fruit-trees. Terminus was the god of boundaries, those of the fields and those of the state. Tellus (Earth) was the goddess who lived in the soil of the fields.



THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD AND ITS PEOPLES IN 500 B. C.

Venus was the goddess who gave or withheld fruitfulness in plants and animals. The nature of these old gods shows that the old Roman community was made up of farming people.

None of these divinities, excepting Vesta, had temples built for them, and none of them had images. The ancient Romans did not think of them as persons, but as misty powers, living, so the Romans thought, in the things that were sacred to them, and worshipped at altars built under the open sky. Tellus was present in every field. Terminus lived in every boundary stone. Vesta had a temple, however, because her eternal fire would have gone out if left in the open air.

327. Nature Gods and the Forms of Worship.—Among all the Italian tribes, including the Romans, Jupiter (Father Jove) stood at the head of the tribal gods, and was the protector of the tribe itself.

He it was who sent the rain and sunshine. His anger blazed in the thunderstorm and, by observing the lightning-flash, the tribe could learn his will. As Rome developed he became the city's greatest god, as Athena had become the protecting goddess of Athens. The worship of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Best and Greatest) upon the Capitoline Hill became the center of the Roman religious system.

Mars was the god of the Roman farmers as they worked in the fields and fought in summer in their campaigns with neighboring tribes. The spring month, March, was sacred to him and took its name from him. His aspect as the god of war—for the campaigning season began in the spring—soon overshadowed his worship as a god of the farm.

Lacking the imagination and artistic feeling of the Hellenes, the Italians were unable to give their gods any distinct human form. The Italian worship was characteristic of the people, carried out in accordance with a system of rules, with fixed, set songs and prayers for addressing the gods.

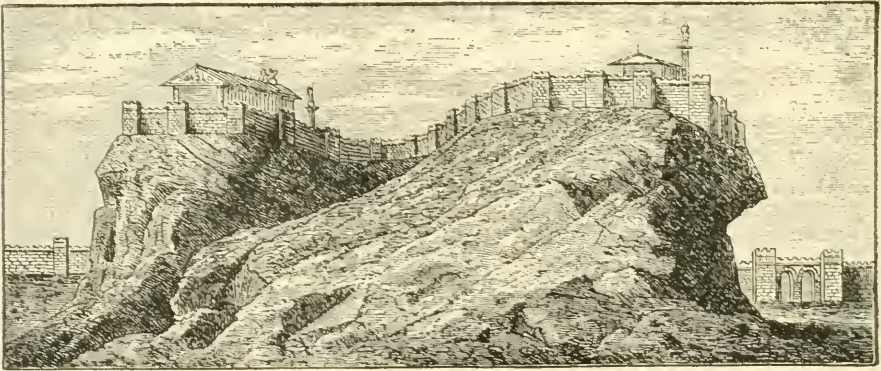


ROMAN MEDALLION
SHOWING THE FORM
OF THE ANCIENT
TEMPLE OF
VESTA.

The letters read: "Vesta
S[enatus] C[onsulto]."

The priests of these gods were state officials, and the religion became a more integral part of the state than was ever the case in Greece.

The whole religious system of the Italians was at first influenced by the Etruscans. From them the Italians learned to interpret the will of the gods, by watching the flight of birds, by looking at the movements of the entrails of animals and fowls which had just been killed, or by the lightning-flash. The Romans were a practical people. They thought that if they carried out their sacrifices exactly



RESTORATION OF THE CAPITOLINE HILL IN ANCIENT TIMES.

The temple upon the right is that of Jupiter; the one upon the left that of Juno.

as the rules demanded, the gods must grant them what they wished. If things turned out badly, they ascribed this to some mistake in the prayer or offering. They were hard-headed and businesslike, even with the gods. If they could get the better of the divinities themselves at a bargain, they thought it right to do so.

328. Earliest Form of the Roman State.—When Rome was ruled by kings, the entire citizen body was made up of three tribes. This was really a military organization, with a "tribune," or tribal commander, at the head of each division of the fighting citizens. The king was the commander-in-chief of the entire army of the state. Each tribe was divided into ten brotherhoods, called "curiæ." The members of these curiæ were supposed to be bound together by blood-

ties, like the members of the old Greek phratries. They fought together in battle. At certain times of the year they met together for a feast and sacrifice in common. In the "Assembly by Curiae" (*Comitia Curiata*) they voted on important questions, such as the declaration of war, matters of wills, and the adoption of children.

Late in the sixth century B. C., the tribal formation of the army by curiæ was replaced by a new arrangement. This reorganization was ascribed by the ancient historians to the legendary king Servius Tullius, and is therefore called the "Servian Reform." It marks the transition of the state, under Etruscan influence, from its simple tribal organization to the form of a city-state. The men in the various curiæ were supposed to be related by blood. The new system disregarded all blood and tribal ties. Under this new organization the citizens were divided into 193 centuries, or groups of a hundred, according to the kind of armor they were able to furnish. Those who could furnish a horse and the heavier armor, were, of course, the wealthier citizens. So the division was one based upon wealth, the whole citizen body being divided into five classes on this basis.

Soon a number of the political rights held by the Curial Assembly were taken over by this new Assembly of the army by Centuries, called the Centuriate Assembly. Naturally the right to vote on peace and war was one of the first of these. Thus there were two political assemblies of the old Roman people, but the Centuriate rapidly became more important than the Curial Assembly. It had, however, one serious defect in its organization. The voting was done by centuries, the majority in each century deciding the vote of the century, the votes of 97 centuries deciding the question at issue. Moreover, 98 centuries were made up entirely from the two upper classes in the state, and these voted first on any matter proposed. Consequently, these two wealthier classes could decide any question if they all voted in the same way. Therefore, the nobles had very much the advantage of the lower classes in the Centuriate Assembly.

329. Social Classes at Rome.—The inhabitants of the city-state of Rome fall into three social classes, the *patricians*, *plebeians*, and *clients* which were distinct from the division into the five classes in the Centuriate Assembly. A patrician was the son of a noble father, of a noble clan (*gens*), and only men of this class were eligible to the Senate of “fathers” (*patres*) who gave advice to the king. The plebeians must have belonged to the assemblies and have had the right to vote there. They were free, but without the right to hold offices in the state service or sit in the Senate. They were the small farmers, while the patricians were usually the owners of larger estates, the land-owning aristocracy. The clients were dependents of the patricians. They could not appear alone in court to defend themselves, but must call upon their patrician “patrons” to represent them. They were not members of the Curial and Centuriate Assemblies. Hence they were not free and independent as the plebeians were. For the most part they lived outside the city on small plots of ground which they received from their patrons. For the use of these fields they paid a percentage of their crops and herds to their patrons.

330. Distinction between Rich and Poor.—The distinction between rich and poor became very marked at Rome even in the early centuries of the city’s development. The Roman state had common lands, which were let out to the citizens for a small rental as pasture land. Whatever lands the state added by conquest were used in a similar way. But the wealthier patricians, who had control of the offices and courts, took too great advantage of their privileges. They seized more than their share of the common lands, and avoided the payments from them which were due to the state. Thereby they became wealthier, while the plebeians, as a body, became poorer.

In time, the political terms *patrician* and *plebeian* came to correspond to the idea of the Aristocracy of the large estates (patricians) and the Small Landholder or the Landless (plebeians). Of course all the plebeians did not remain poor. On the whole, however, the political interests of the patricians

and the rich came to coincide against those of the plebeians and the poor. The plebeians then began to fight against the accumulation of state lands in the hands of the rich nobility, and the land question became a very important factor in Roman politics.

331. The Roman Family.—The number and importance of the Roman household gods show that the Romans believed strongly in the idea of the family. This was a close and well-regulated body, including the father of the family with all his male children, married or unmarried, his wife, unmarried daughters, his daughters-in-law, his servants, and family slaves. Over these the head of the household, the *pater familias*, had absolute power, even to the point of placing them on trial before the family council, and condemning them to death after advising with this council.¹

Out of this family organization grew a wider organization, including all the relatives who were or had been connected with one family. This was the clan or *gens*. Thus the Romans of the better families bore three names, the given name, the clan name, and a final name to distinguish the particular family of a clan. For example, Gaius Sempronius Gracchus was of the Gracchan branch of the Sempronian gens. Caius Julius Cæsar was of the Julian gens, but of the Cæsar family.

The relation of the Roman father to his sons, the discipline which the Roman state enforced among its citizens, and the sternness of the old Roman character, are well shown in the story told of Aulus Postumius, a consul, leader of the Roman army in a war with the Æquians. During the battle the consul gave orders that no one was to leave the battle line. An Æquian warrior rode out in front of the army and insolently challenged the Romans to come out and fight him in single combat. The son of Postumius could not restrain his ardor at this sight. He disobeyed the con-

¹The members of the family group were protected by religious and state law, as well as by custom, from abuse of this power on the part of the *pater familias*. He could not, for example, sell his wife or a married son into slavery.

sul's commands and killed his opponent. When he returned as victor to the Roman lines, his father, Postumius, had him put to death as one who had broken the commands of the consul and the discipline of the Roman army.

References for Outside Reading

Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 41-47; Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 208-223; Abbott, *Short History of Rome*, pp. 24-30, 37-43; How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, pp. 37-47; Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, Book I, ch. 2; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, pp. 43-50; Fairbanks, *Mythology of Greece and Rome*, ch. 9.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. THE ROMAN PRIESTHOOD AND THE DEVOTION TO RELIGIOUS FORMS.—Write a brief paper on this topic, based upon the sources in Munro's *Source Book*, pp. 6-15.
2. LEGEND OF HORATIUS AT THE BRIDGE.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 60-63; Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome*.
3. LEGEND OF KING NUMA AS ORGANIZER OF THE ROMAN RELIGION.—Plutarch, *Life of Numa*; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 39-44.
4. CHARACTER AND WORK OF SERVIUS TULLIUS ACCORDING TO THE TRADITIONAL STORY.—*Livy*, Book I, ch. 40-49; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 55-57.
5. POWERS OF THE KING IN THE EARLY ROMAN STATE.—Momm-
sen, *History of Rome*, in vol. I, book 1, ch. 5.
6. POWERS OF THE SENATE UNDER THE ROMAN KINGS.—Momm-
sen, *History of Rome*, in vol. I, book 1, ch. 5.

CHAPTER XXV

THE SPREAD OF THE POWER OF ROME OVER ITALY

332. The Early Republic: the Consuls and the Dictator.—When the old kingship was overthrown, the power which the kings had wielded was merely transferred to the hands of two magistrates, called *consuls*, chosen for a year's term out of the patrician class. Their duties were numerous and varied. In time of war they led the citizen militia of the state. They called the meetings of the Senate and Assemblies and presided over these as chairmen. They saw that the laws of the state, passed in the Senate and Assemblies, were carried out, and, as chief judges of the state, they presided over the courts in which those who broke these laws were punished.

When the condition of the state became very serious, because of some danger in war, or some internal trouble, this regal power held by the consuls could be concentrated in the hands of one man, called the *dictator*, who for six months held absolute power in all departments of the state. Thus at times of the greatest trouble the state could gain that concentration of leadership which was impossible under the double consulship.

Just as in the early history of Athens, the laws of the Roman republic were very severe regulating debts. Many of the small farmers were forced to mortgage themselves, their wives, and children, to the wealthy patricians. If the debts were not paid, they might even be given over to their creditors, and sold by these as slaves.

333. Establishing of the Tribunate.—Since the consuls were of the patrician class, the plebeians found that they did not receive justice when tried before them. In the troubles which arose over this matter the patricians showed that willingness to compromise which saved the Roman

state from revolution at many an important crisis in the first centuries of its life. Soon after the republic was established the plebeians were granted the right to elect officials of their own called "tribunes."¹ The duties of the tribunes were to protect the plebeians against unjust decrees of the consuls. The original number of the tribunes, probably two or four, was soon increased to ten.

The persons of the tribunes were declared sacred, and they were protected from harm by all the power of the Roman religion. Their influence slowly grew. It was probably late in the fifth century when they attained the right to sit outside the door of the Roman Senate house and shout "veto" (I forbid) when the Senate tried to pass a law contrary to the welfare of the plebeians. No law could pass over the veto of any one of the tribunes.



A ROMAN WARRIOR.

334. Organization of the Tribal Assembly.

—The tribunes were chosen by the plebs in the meetings of an old religious body, loosely organized, and based upon the tribal divisions in the state. Under the leadership of the tribunes this organization gradually assumed a more definite form and greater powers; and thus a new political body was added to the two already existing in the state. This body was called the Tribal Assembly.

The method employed by the plebeians in gaining concessions from the patricians and the Senate was a peculiar one. The fighting strength of the Roman army lay in the plebeian private soldier, and the plebeians were well aware of this fact. Several times when the state needed them to conduct its wars, they refused to fight until their demands were granted. This military strike, as it may be called, was in every case successful.

335. The Hortensian Laws, 287 B. C.—The resolutions of the Tribal Assembly came to be regarded as more and more important. At last it was thought wise to allow the

¹The traditional account says that tribunes were first elected in 494-493 B. C., but this date is quite uncertain.

tribunes to present these opinions of the plebeian assembly to the Senate, and to regard them as laws if the Senate, also, should pass them. The trouble with this system is apparent. The capitalists of Rome, entrenched in the Senate, would only pass those resolutions which did not affect their own privileges. So the struggle of the patricians for equality in the privilege of law-making went on with increasing bitterness until, in the year 287 B. C., it bade fair to split the state. The Romans had a most important war on hand, the one with the Greek city of Tarentum, which was to decide the question of the mastery of lower Italy. Seizing this opportunity, the middle and lower classes of the plebeians moved out of Rome to the Janiculine Hill across the Tiber, and asserted that they would build there a new Rome.

In the face of this danger, a dictator, Quintus Hortensius, was appointed. Under his guidance the Hortensian laws were passed, which made the resolutions introduced by the tribunes before the Tribal Assembly, and accepted by it, the law of the land. The Senate's sanction was no longer required to make these laws valid.

336. Importance of the Tribunate and Tribal Assembly.—

It was a curious method which was followed by the unknown Roman statesmen of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C., to correct the abuses and misunderstandings between the two great social classes. Instead of passing laws which would cover the points over which they differed, they created officers, the tribunes, whose power was at first purely one of veto. They were there to stop abuses; but this right extended only to individual cases. Soon they gained the privilege, which has already been mentioned, of blocking all legislation in the state by the veto of any one of them.

When the Tribal Assembly, by the Hortensian Law, gained the right to pass laws, a double system of legislation was created within the state. The common people had the power, if they so chose, to manage the state and make their officers, the tribunes, its absolute masters. It would seem that such a system, with its two branches of law-making, in the Centuriate Assembly and the Tribal Assem-

bly, could not possibly exist for long. It speaks volumes for the law-abiding sense of the Roman people, patricians and plebeians alike, that the inevitable crash was delayed for four centuries, until the days of Julius Cæsar. We shall study later how the old aristocratic rule of the patrician families finally was broken down through the agency of the tribunes and the Tribal Assembly.

337. Laws of the Twelve Tables.—About 450 B. C., the common people of the Roman state obtained a privilege which had been gained in most of the Greek states about 600 B. C. This was the just demand that the customary law of the land, which guided the consuls in their decisions, should be published. Before that time the plebeians did not know what their rights were, and consequently had little chance of obtaining justice in the courts.

The formulating of the laws was given over to a board of ten commissioners, the *Decemvirate*, which published the larger part of the laws upon ten bronze tablets set up before the Senate house. It is said that they sent men over to Greece to study the Greek legal codes, especially that of Solon at Athens. This is the first instance of a direct influence of Greek civilization at Rome.

As the work of the Decemvirate was not completed in the first year, another commission of ten men was appointed which added two more tablets. These Laws of the Twelve Tables (*tabulæ*) became the foundation of all the later private law of the Roman people. They did not deal at all with the political rights of the Roman plebs, but judges were bound, thereafter, to give their decisions, in private suits, according to the dictates of these published laws.

338. The Plebeians Struggle for the Political Offices.—In the years from 450 to 300 B. C., the Roman state and the city itself grew rapidly. Soon the consuls were no longer able to carry on the manifold work of administration in the state. Therefore certain duties which the consuls had had were taken from them and given over to new magistrates. To the *censors* was given the task of undertaking a new census and classification of the Roman citizens every five

years. The *prætors* took over a part of the work in judging cases in court which the consuls had previously done. The *quæstors* took charge of the state finances. The *ædiles* supervised the public places of the city, and looked after the condition of the streets. These were all branches of the original duties of the consuls.

It was natural that the plebeians should wish to obtain the right to hold these offices. Did they not fight for the state when it was attacked, or when it sought to add new territory to its dominion? The patrician aristocracy, just as naturally, felt that their high birth gave them the right to guide the state, and they could not easily give in to the plebeian demands. By taking advantage of the fact that they were needed in time of war, the plebeians forced the patrician aristocracy to grant them one office after another. First came the quæstorship; then, after a bitter struggle, the consulship.

339. The Licinian-Sextian Laws, 367 B.C.—If we follow the doubtful account of the ancient historians we must believe that a law was passed in the year 367 B. C., at the instance of the tribunes Licinius and Sextius, which contained among others the following clauses:

1. One of the two consuls in each year is to be plebeian.¹
2. The interest already paid upon all debts is to be subtracted from the principal. The remaining principal is to be paid within three years.
3. No one shall occupy more than 500 *jugera* (about 330 acres) of the public land.

This much of the ancient account seems to be historical. It shows that the patricians were holding more than their share of the public domain. It speaks of the general distress due to the indebtedness of the poorer classes to the rich.

¹ It is not until the year 320 B. C. that we have a plebeian consul regularly appearing beside the patrician. It may therefore have been a mistake for the ancient writers to have placed the victory of the plebeians, by which they gained admission to the consulship, so early as 367 B. C.

It shows how the plebeian fight for recognition in the offices of the state was coupled with a struggle to better their chance to make a living.

From 367 to 287 B. C., is the period during which the plebeians gained rapidly in the fight for political equality with the patricians. In rapid succession, they were made eligible to one of the two positions as censor, to the prætorship, to the office of ædile, and even to the lofty office of dictator. The Hortensian Law of 287 B. C. may be regarded as the date at which their victory was complete, in so far as equality in Roman politics was concerned.

340. The Organization of the Latin League.—While the Roman state was undergoing the internal changes which we have just outlined, it was also growing in territory, until the city-state of Rome came to include all of Italy south of the Po River. In the early days of Rome's growth, the most important feature of her history was her connection with the Latin League. The histories of Livy and Dionysius tell us that, in 493 B. C., the consul Spurius Cassius made a treaty with the Latin towns, which insured peace between them "so long as heaven and earth shall stand." The Romans and the Latins took an oath to help each other in time of danger. Rome had the leadership in war and an influence in the League equal to that of all the Latin towns combined. The Latin towns retained their independence, and their lawsuits were tried in their own courts.

In the first fifty years of its existence, the League had all it could do to hold its own against the Etruscans, the Æquians, and the Volscians. The Latin towns were more exposed to the attacks of the latter than Rome was, and their territory therefore suffered most. The Etruscans, it is true, were nearer to Rome; but their power had passed its zenith in the fifth century B. C. In 474 B. C., in an attempt to capture the Greek city of Cyme, their navy had been shattered by the Greek fleet under the leadership of Hiero, the tyrant of Syracuse.

341. Advance of Rome against the Etruscans.—The successors of Hiero continued to fight the Etruscans. They

wished to wrest from them the trade of the western coast of Sicily. At the same time, the Samnites began to attack the southern Etruscans in Campania. Rome used the opportunity offered by their weakness to extend her territory northward into Etruria itself. Toward the end of the fifth century B. C., the Etruscan cities north of Rome, Fidenæ and Veii, fell under Roman sway.

Then an unforeseen event occurred which spread ruin through northern Italy. It broke forever what remained of the waning Etruscan strength, and threatened to crush as utterly the young vigor of Rome and the Latin League.

342. The Gauls Come into Italy and Destroy Rome.—

This event was the invasion of the Celtic tribes from Gaul, who swarmed over the Alps into the lovely and fertile valley of the Po River, in 388 B. C. Their very appearance struck terror to the hearts of the Italians. They wore their

blond hair long, and had great drooping mustaches; they were tall of stature, and charged half naked upon their enemies, in resistless disorder, and with wild and terrifying cries. They decked their horses with the heads of their slain enemies, or fixed the skulls outside their huts.

In the Po Valley, they conquered the Etruscans and settled there as rulers of the land. They then crossed the Apennines into western Italy, and marched upon Rome itself. A few miles from the city the Roman army met with a terrible defeat, in the year 382 B. C. The Romans were forced to give up the city to destruction, with the exception of its citadel, the Capitolium, which they continued to hold. Lack of food, and news of an uprising against the Gauls in northern Italy, finally forced the wild invaders to leave Rome and return to the Po Valley.



GALLIC HORSEMEN.

343. Legends of the Defense of Rome.—The Roman state, and all central Italy, was saved. The danger which had threatened left a deep impression upon the Roman mind. The city lay in ashes. The huts of the peasantry in Latium, and the crops in the fields were burned and wasted. Many legends sprang up and gathered about the tale of the city's destruction. One of them told how the Gauls discovered, by chance, a path which led up the steep and rocky sides of the Capitolium. One dark night they clambered up quietly by this pathway, and would have taken the sleeping garrison by surprise had it not been for a flock of geese, sacred to the goddess Juno, which was kept there. By their frightened cackling they awoke the garrison in time to drive back the Gauls, who were just on the point of climbing over the breastworks.

The best historian among the ancient writers tells us that the Gauls demanded and received an immense sum of gold before they left Rome. Livy, a Roman writer, tells another story which is probably untrue; but it reflects greater glory upon the Romans. When the gold was being weighed out, the Romans observed that the scales used by the Gauls were false and objected to this. But the Gallic chieftain threw his sword upon the scales, crying "*Va victis!*" ("Woe to the conquered!"). This additional weight also had to be made up in gold. The legend then tells how the Roman leader Camillus appeared, and with the words, "The Romans pay with iron, not with gold," overturned the scales. In the battle which followed, the Gauls were driven out of the city and forced to leave their ransom-money behind. It is natural that the proud Romans should have liked to believe this story; but the ransom was undoubtedly paid and not recovered.

344. Results of the Gallic Invasion.—The Gallic storm passed away from Rome as quickly as it had come, and the results were really favorable to the city's growth. The Celts, as they murdered and plundered through central Italy, had inflicted great suffering upon the Etruscans, and weakened them so greatly that they never again figure in

the history of Italy as a race which might aspire to rule its destinies, or even to check the growth of Roman power. Gradually the Etruscans lost their own racial peculiarities, and became an indistinguishable part of the great unified state which Rome built up in the Italian peninsula during



ETRUSCAN VASE-PAINTING OF A CHARIOT RACE.

It shows the strong Greek Influence on Etruscan Art.

the following two centuries. Before this happened, however, they had taught the Romans many things of their own and much that they had learned from the Greeks living in Italy.

A new city sprang up quickly, too hastily indeed, upon the ruins of the old Rome. Its streets were narrow, crooked, and dirty. The thankfulness of the Romans over their victory did not show itself in the erection of beautiful marble temples, as did that of the Athenians after the destruction of Athens by Xerxes, a hundred years earlier. In matters of art and general culture, the Romans were still several hundred years behind the Greeks of that same time, which was the period of the Spartan and Theban supremacy.

345. The Ruling Peoples of Italy in 350 B. C.—After the Gauls had withdrawn, Rome continued to strengthen her hold upon southern Etruria. By 350 B. C., all of the country northward, even beyond Veii and Cære, was incorporated in the state. Colonies of Roman citizens were established at Sutrium and Nepete, and from these garrisoned places Rome kept a firm hold upon the new members of her state. In her wars with the Volscians and Æquians she was equally successful. In their states, too, she planted her colonies

and ruled with a strong hand. By the year 350 B. C., Rome was recognized as the strongest power on the western coast of Italy, and one of the strongest in the whole peninsula.

At the beginning of the fourth century, Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, had succeeded in extending his empire over many of the Greek cities of southern Italy. When this strong personality was removed by death, in 367 B. C.,

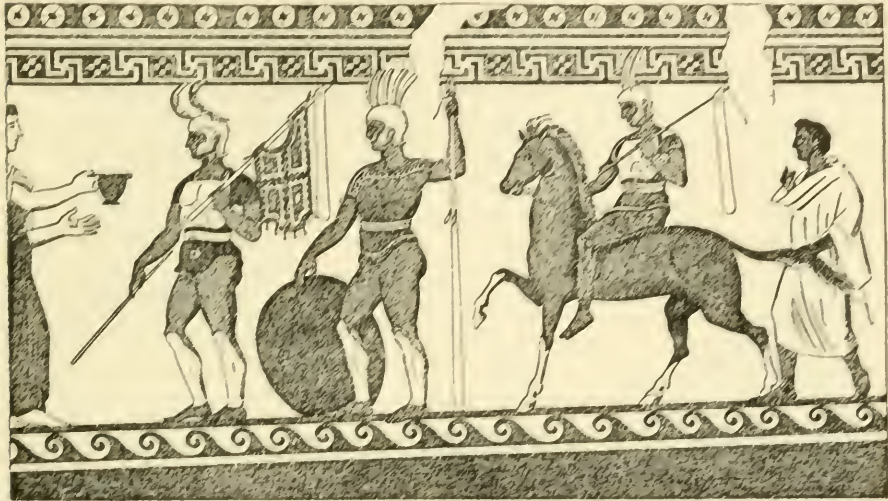


ROMAN TERRITORY IN 350 B. C.

this Greek empire of the West broke down. Again the Greek idea of the small and independent city-state made it impossible for the Greek cities to remain united, and thus maintain their liberty against the growing strength of the native tribes of Italy.

The most aggressive and powerful of these Italian tribes were the Samnites, who had long been united in a loose alliance. A portion of this tribe had come down from the mountains into the lowlands of Campania, and had taken possession of the Etruscan cities and of some of the Greek

cities situated along the coast. As the Samnites were expanding westward, and Rome at the same time was extending her territory southward, the two peoples came into unavoidable conflict. The Greek cities of Italy were clearly on the decline at this time, both in commerce and in fighting



SAMNITE WARRIORS RETURNING HOME FROM BATTLE.
Painting from a Samnite Grave. Shows Greek Influence.

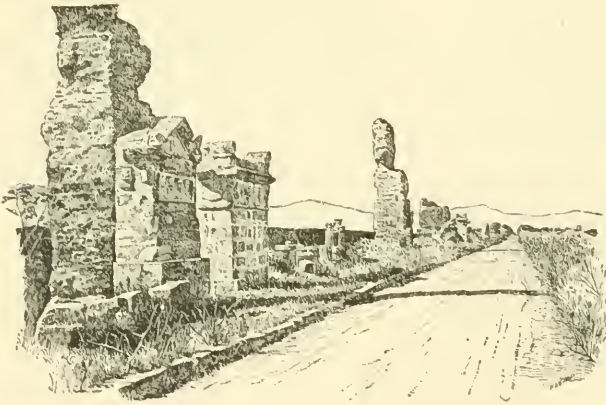
power. The Gauls in the North were still barbarians, unfit for the responsibility of ruling civilized states. The prize of victory in the wars between Rome and the Samnites was therefore a great one—the ultimate leadership of the whole Italian peninsula.

346. The Second Samnite War, 326–304 B. C.—The struggle was long and bitter. The ancient historians tell us of a First Samnite War lasting from 343 to 341 B. C., the causes and results of which are not at all clear. In the more important Second Samnite War (326–304 B. C.), Rome suffered a great defeat. In 321 B. C., her army was entrapped in a narrow pass in the Apennines, called the Caudine Forks. The consuls could only save the army from annihilation by a complete surrender, and they agreed upon a treaty of peace distinctly unfavorable to Rome. Then the army was sent “under the yoke,” as a sign that the soldiers had obtained

their freedom through mercy alone. The yoke was formed by two spears stuck upright in the ground, crossed by a third spear lying horizontally across the top. When the army returned to Rome after its humiliation, the Senate repudiated the treaty which the consuls had made, and the war was resumed.

Slowly Rome regained the ground she had lost. Her generals found it easy to defeat the Samnites in the lowlands, but difficult, however, to make their conquests permanent in the mountain fastnesses of Samnium. They began to put in practice Rome's old policy, that of placing military

colonies on the outskirts of the places newly conquered. By a series of those strongly fortified posts, Fregellæ, Interamna, Cales, Saticula, and Luceria, the Samnites were almost encircled and penned up within their own territory. As a



THE APPIAN WAY.

The Ruins along the side are those of ancient Grave Monuments.

part of this careful policy in 312 B. C. the Appian Road was built from Rome to Capua by the consul Appius Claudius. This military road was of great advantage, as it brought the city into touch with Capua, the greatest among her allies in the south. It had the same importance in ancient warfare that good railroad connections have for a modern state in its wars. This period of the wars ended with the Samnite state hemmed in and weakened, but still able to treat with Rome as an equal.

347. The Third Samnite War, 298–290 B. C.—The interval before the outbreak of the Third Samnite War was spent by the statesmen of Rome in strengthening her hold on the

territory she had already acquired. New colonies were established on her frontiers, and her army reorganized and strengthened. The Samnites, on their part, made a bold and clever move. They allied to themselves the cities of northern Etruria, and the dreaded power of the Gauls. All of them feared Rome equally, for it was clear that the goal of Roman statesmanship was, at that time, nothing less than the conquest of the whole of Italy.

Against this powerful coalition the Roman armies moved with energy and confidence, and defeated the allies at the battle of Sentinum in Umbria, in 295 B. C. By this defeat the Samnites lost the aid of the Gauls and Etruscans; yet they fought alone, for five years more, with desperate courage. So brave were they that Rome, after all these years of fighting, received them into her state as independent allies. Then she hastened to strengthen her hold upon the south by founding a large colony at Venusia, and extending the Appian Highway from Capua to that point.

348. Causes of Rome's Success.—The causes of the gradual extension of Rome's influence in opposition to all the other Italian tribes and to the foreign invaders of Italian soil, are by no means due solely to her geographical position in Italy. Many another city of the Apennine peninsula had the same or better opportunity, so far as situation goes. The most important reasons for Rome's supremacy may be detailed as follows:

1. The foresight and judgment of her early statesmen, who showed great ability in the alliances which they made with other states. The early connection with the Latin League is a good example of this clever policy.

2. The policy of maintaining a strong militia. The army was continually strengthened as the territory under Rome's control increased. Shortly after 400 B. C., pay was given to the soldiers when serving in campaigns. This enabled the peasant citizens to leave their fields, without danger of starvation to their families.

3. The unity within the state, obtained by granting the lower classes equality of rights with the patricians.

4. The custom of absorbing the newly acquired territory within the state. This was done by accepting or forcing the newly conquered peoples into the state organization. In various degrees they were given a part of the rights which Roman citizens had, and were allowed to keep their own government for local affairs. Thus the city-state of Rome kept growing outward over Italy, and the people in the new territory learned to feel that Rome's interests were their own. Instead of becoming subjects of Rome, they became her "allies and friends," to use the Roman phrase.

5. The custom of holding the Roman conquests by settling Roman colonies in their midst. With this went the building of the military highways, which made it possible for the Roman armies to move out quickly wherever trouble threatened. These helped to make Rome the commercial metropolis of all the territory tapped by her roads, for they all centered at Rome.

349. Rome as the Champion of Hellenism in the West.—In the southernmost portion of Italy, the native tribes, the Bruttians and Lucanians, continued to maraud and to harass the Greek cities. Rome had become so influential in the affairs of Italy that the Greeks naturally turned to the Roman Senate for aid. In accepting their appeal for help, the city of Rome appears as the protector of the Greek civilization in the West against the forces which seemed about to overwhelm it.

The training and experiences of the Roman armies easily gave them the victory over the southern Italians. In return for her aid Rome demanded that the Greek cities receive Roman garrisons, and come under her protection as allies. Loeri, Croton, Rhegium, and Thurii accepted these conditions, but the great city of Tarentum did not wish to give up its independence. Under its leadership, an alliance was formed among the Greek cities against Rome, and Pyrrhus of Epirus, a general who had had admirable training in military science in the continuous warfare among Alexander's successors, was summoned to command the forces.

350. The War with Tarentum, 281–272 B. C.—When he came over from Epirus with his well-seasoned army and his

twenty war elephants, Pyrrhus had other designs than that of merely repelling the advance of Rome. He wished to do in the West what Alexander had done in the East, to unite



ITALY AT THE TIME OF THE SAMNITE WARS AND THE WAR WITH PYRRHUS.

the Greeks and form an Hellenic empire. The empire he planned to conquer was to include Lower Italy, Sicily, and the territory of Carthage in northern Africa.

He found the task of beating the Romans a far harder

one than he had anticipated. His superior generalship, his trained soldiers, and his war elephants enabled him to defeat them on the field of battle as at Heraclæa in 280 B. C., and at Asculum in 279 B. C., when the Romans fought desperately but vainly against the solid mass of the Macedonian phalanx. Their horses as well as their soldiers were terrified by the sight of the war elephants, which they had never seen before. The stubborn bravery of the Romans, despite their defeat, is said to have excited the admiration of Pyrrhus himself. The story is told that he exclaimed, "With such soldiers I would become master of the world!"

Following out his larger designs, Pyrrhus crossed over into Sicily to lead the Greeks against the Carthaginians. Here, too, he was unsuccessful. When he returned to Italy, Pyrrhus found that the Romans had learned how to meet even the greatest Greek general of that day. After a crushing defeat at Beneventum in 275 B. C., he returned to Epirus. Tarentum was forced to surrender to Rome in 272 B. C., and this date marks the consolidation under the standards of Rome of all Italy south of the Po Valley.

References for Outside Reading

Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. 3, 4; Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 71-77; Plutarch, *Lives of Coriolanus, Camillus, Pyrrhus*; Abbott, *Roman History*, ch. 4, 5; Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, Book II, ch. 1, 2; How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, ch. 6-16; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, ch. 6-15; Taylor, *Constitutional and Political History of Rome*, ch. 3-5.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. THE LEGEND OF VIRGINIA AND THE DECEMVIR.—*Livy*, Book III, sec. 44-58; *Classical Dictionaries* under "Virginia"; Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome*.
2. LEGENDARY CAREER OF CAMILLUS.—Plutarch, *Life of Camillus*.
3. THE LEGEND OF CORIOLANUS.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 63-66; Plutarch, *Life of Coriolanus*.
4. THE IMMOLATION OF PUBLIUS DECIUS DURING THE LAST SAMNITE WAR.—*Livy*, Book X, ch. 26-29.
5. THE EMBASSY OF CINEAS TO ROME.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 81-82; Plutarch, *Life of Pyrrhus*, sec. 13 ff.

CHAPTER XXVI

ROME AND CARTHAGE BEGIN A WAR FOR SUPREMACY IN THE WEST

351. The Commercial Empire of Carthage.—In the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. occurred the Greek colonization of the western Mediterranean. On the island of Sicily the Greeks found colonies already planted, which had been sent out from the old Semitic emporium of the West, the city of Carthage. The life and politics of this city were guided in every way by the demands of its commerce. It was ruled by an aristocracy of capitalists, whose thoughts were all bent upon making money, and preserving the trade which was the city's life.

When the activity of the Greeks threatened to break its monopoly of western trade, Carthage bent every energy toward preventing this. A vast mercenary army was hired from all parts of the world and well paid out of the Carthaginian treasury. Supported by this force, the proud city was enabled to build up an empire stretching along the shores of northern Africa. An immense fleet protected its commerce, and kept the capital in touch with the outlying colonies in Africa, Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily.

352. Wars with the Greeks of Sicily.—The frequent wars between Carthage and the Greek cities of Sicily, which we touched upon in our study of the Greek cities, were the outcome of commercial rivalry for the profitable trade of the island. Again and again Carthage advanced from her garrisons, in the fruitless effort to conquer the Hellenic cities. These wars extended over a long period of time,



ENGRAVED
RAZOR-BLADE OF
CARTHAGINIAN
MANUFACTURE.

from 481 to 285 B. C., recurring again and again when the weakness and disunion of the Greeks afforded a favorable opportunity to the watchful generals of Carthage.

In 480 B. C. the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily, which was combined with that of the Persian Xerxes against the Greek mother-land, was driven back at Himera. At the end of the Peloponnesian War, when all the Greek states of the eastern Mediterranean were worn out by that bitter struggle, the Sicilian cities were saved from Carthage only by the genius of Dionysius of Syracuse. In the years 344 to 337 B. C., Timoleon of Corinth united them under the standards of Syracuse, and drove the Carthaginians back to their old holdings in western Sicily. Pyrrhus of Epirus was not altogether unsuccessful in his leadership against the Carthaginians, although he failed lamentably to fulfill his own ambition of establishing himself as ruler of a western Greek empire.

353. Early Relations of Carthage and Rome.—In the first century of this struggle with Greek civilization Carthage allied herself with the Etruscans, because the commerce of both peoples was equally endangered by the advance of the Greeks. When the Samnite wars had disclosed the power of Rome, as the most compact and progressive state in central Italy, Carthage hastened to make a treaty with the rising republic. In this treaty, of which a record has been handed down to us in the pages of the Greek historian Polybius, Carthage sets definite limits beyond which Roman trading vessels may not sail.

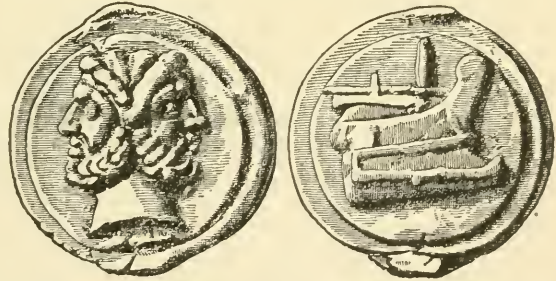
This was the custom of Carthage, to prevent all other powers, by treaty or by force, from breaking into the trade of the far West, which she had so long controlled. She wished to have a monopoly of the western commerce, and her merchant princes were not overscrupulous in the methods which they employed to gain this end. The Greek geographer Eratosthenes says that the Carthaginians would throw into the sea any foreigners whom they caught sailing about Sardinia, or toward the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar).

354. The Change in these Relations.—So long as the Ro-

mans were fighting to overcome the Greeks of southern Italy, King Pyrrhus was an enemy as dangerous to them as he was to the Carthaginians of Sicily. Therefore Rome and Carthage had a mutual desire for his defeat, and they made a treaty by which Rome was to receive ships from the Carthaginians if need should arise.

As soon, however, as Pyrrhus returned to Greece, and Rome had taken Tarentum (272 B. C.), the situation was greatly changed. Now the Romans appeared as the single great opponent in the West of the Semitic merchant-city. When Magna Græcia, or lower Italy, came within her domain, Rome seemed destined to be the champion of Hellenic civilization in the West against the advance of the old Semitic civilization of Babylon and Egypt represented by Carthage.

Plutarch tells a story which implies that Pyrrhus himself foresaw that Rome and Carthage must surely come to blows over Sicily. "It is reported that when he was sailing away he looked back at the island of Sicily, and said to those about him: 'What an arena we are leaving, my friends, to the Carthaginians and the Romans.'"



ROMAN COPPER COIN OF ABOUT 338 B. C.
Shows Head of Janus upon one side, the Prow of a Ship upon the other.

355. Development of Rome's Coinage and Trade.—There could be little doubt that war would arise between these two powers, because Carthaginian policy demanded that Sicily be added to her commercial domain, and that the Romans should not be permitted to develop their trade so as to interfere with the monopoly held by the merchants of Carthage. The simple business life of Rome had developed, however, in the two centuries of the life of the republic. The only coin which Rome had minted before the taking of Tarentum had been a heavy copper disk, called

the *as*, with the head of Janus on one side and the bow of a ship on the other. The lack of silver coins must have hampered Rome greatly in commerce with other peoples, and shows that the city had not yet entered into the larger business of over-sea trade.

When Tarentum was taken, the biggest commercial port of Italy became Rome's subject, and the Romans began to think of the advantages of foreign trade. About 269 B. C., the first silver coinage of the republic appeared, and Rome was ready to break into the world's markets. In every way, therefore, Carthage tried to keep the foreign trade of Rome within the narrowest possible limits.

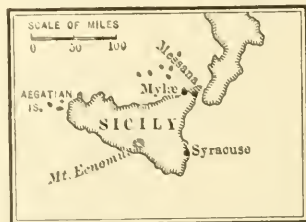


ROMAN SILVER
COIN OF ABOUT 269 B. C.
MINTED AT CAPUA.

The Head of the God
Janus Shows the strong
Greek Influence.

356. Immediate Cause of the First Punic War.—The occasion which actually brought on the war was an incident in itself not important. A band of Italian mercenary soldiers, being out of employment, had seized the Sicilian city of Messana, murdered the citizens, and seized their homes. Syracuse could not look upon their actions without taking some steps to punish the outlaws. When the Mamertines ("Sons of Mars"), as the mercenaries styled themselves, were hard beset by Syracuse, and saw a just and terrible punishment before them, they began to look for aid. One party in the city wished to call in the Carthaginians, another to seek aid from Rome, promising to turn the city over if they should be protected from the wrath of Syracuse.

When the matter was brought before the Roman Senate, in 264 B. C., everyone knew that the sending of aid would mean a war with Carthage. Yet Rome could not permit her powerful rival to entrench a garrison so near to Italian soil. When the Roman troops reached Messana, they found a Carthaginian garrison already in possession. They drove



SCENE OF THE FIRST PUNIC
WAR.

out this garrison, and with this action began a series of momentous wars (264–146 B. C.) which were not definitely ended until more than a hundred years had passed. They decided first the fate of Sicily, and later the destiny of all the Mediterranean world.

357. Sources for the Carthaginian or Punic Wars.—Two very good histories survive from antiquity which give us information upon these Punic Wars. Parts of each, however, are lost, so that our knowledge of certain years of the wars is good, of other years meager. Of these two sources, the earlier and better is the Greek work of Polybius, an Achæan, who was brought to Rome as a hostage in 166 B. C., and remained there for sixteen years. His history is a general study of Mediterranean affairs from 220 to 146 B. C., with an introduction which covers Roman history from the burning of the city by the Gauls, and includes a sketch of the First Punic War. Polybius ranks next to Thucydides among the ancient historians. Livy, the Latin historian, often displays his Roman sympathies, and is by no means so trustworthy a guide as Polybius. He had the disadvantage, also, of living 150 years later than Polybius, and was consequently not so closely in touch with the Punic Wars as was the Greek writer.

358. Relative Strength of the Two Contestants.—An observer, living at the time of the outbreak of the Punic Wars, and comparing the strength and resources of the two nations, would have found it difficult to decide which had the greater chance of success. For each nation was very strong in certain ways; yet the contrast between them was very great.

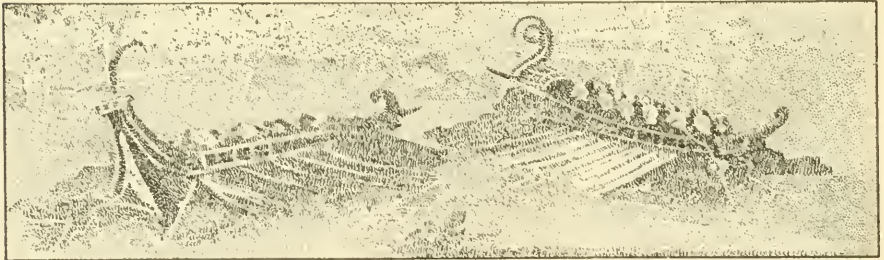
The income of Carthage from her tributary states, and from the customs duties imposed upon articles of export and import, far exceeded the income of the Roman state. On the other hand, her expenses were far greater, because her armies were chiefly made up of mercenaries whose pay was high.

Rome fought with her citizen army. This gave her the more efficient land troops, trained by the wars in Italy, and devoted to their state. The professional soldiers of Carthage were not animated by any feeling of affection for their

masters. As head of the Italian confederation, Rome could call into the field 700,000 foot-soldiers and 70,000 cavalry. In this branch of the service the superiority of Rome was manifest.

The Carthaginian navy was the best in the world. Upon its benches rowed the citizens of Carthage. Her war-ships were the pride of the state—the very props which supported her loosely organized empire. The Romans had but a small fleet, which could be increased by calling upon the Greek allies of Rome situated along the shores of lower Italy. On the sea the advantage held by Carthage was tremendous.

In geographical situation, the Roman state was a compact, solid body, the single peninsula of Italy. There was little hostility toward Rome as leader of the Italian Confederacy. Carthage, on the contrary, had an empire scattered and hard



SEA FIGHT BETWEEN TWO ANCIENT VESSELS.
From a Wall-painting at Pompeii.

to hold together. Because of the greed and oppressive conduct of the capitalistic nobility which ruled Carthage, there was hatred rather than devotion to the merchant-city among her dependents. Here again the advantage lay with Rome.

359. The First Punic War, 264–241 B. C.—For twenty-three years the contest was waged on the island of Sicily and the sea around it, with one attempt to invade Africa, made by the Roman general Regulus, in 256–255 B. C. This resulted in a serious defeat for the invading army, and the attempt was not repeated by the Romans. Upon land the Romans were at first successful. Their victories won the alliance of the city of Syracuse (263 B. C.), the last important Hellenic city of the West to remain independent.

Together they drove the Carthaginians into the very westernmost part of Sicily; but the Carthaginian navy remained unharmed. It harried the coasts of Sicily and Italy, and inflicted immense damage upon the commerce of Rome and her allies.

At last the Roman Senate saw that Carthage must be met upon the sea before the war could be brought to a close. The Senate determined to create a larger navy, and increase the size and speed of their ships, for the Carthaginian fleet comprised many quinqueremes, ships which were larger and swifter than the Roman and Greek triremes.

360. The Building of the New Fleet.—Polybius tells us, with the greatest admiration, how the Romans met this difficulty of supplying a navy. They knew nothing of the construction of quinqueremes. Fortunately they got hold of a Carthaginian ship which had run aground on the Italian coast. Using this as a model, they built 100 quinqueremes, and added to these twenty triremes. While the ships were building, the crews were collected and trained for the rowing.

They made the men sit on rowers' benches on dry land, in the same order as they would sit on the benches in actual vessels; in the midst of them they stationed the boatswain, and trained them to get back and draw in their hands all together in time, and then to swing forward and throw them out again, and to begin and cease these movements at the word of the boatswain. (Polybius, I, ch. 21.)

361. How the Romans Showed their Practical Genius.—Still the Romans found themselves unable to vie with the well-trained Carthaginian crews in maneuvering and quickly changing the direction of their ships. They felt, however, that they were better fighters in hand-to-hand combat. Some Roman of an inventive turn of mind designed a machine which enabled the Romans to board the enemy's ships, and thus changed the whole aspect of the naval warfare of the time. This device was called the "corvus," or "crow." It was a sort of bridge, thirty-six feet long by four feet wide, suspended in the air by rope and pulley upon a twenty-four foot pole at the ship's prow. At the end of the bridge was a heavy iron spike in the shape of a crow's beak.

The whole mechanism could be swung from side to side. As the ships of the hostile fleet approached, whether from the front or from the side, the Romans swung the "crow" over and let it drop, smashing into the enemy's deck.

As soon as the "crows" were fixed in the planks of the decks and grappled the ships together, if the ships were alongside of each other, the men leaped on board anywhere along the side; but if they were prow to prow, they used the "crow" itself for boarding, and advanced over it two abreast. The first two protected their front by holding up before them their shields, while those who came after them secured their sides by placing the rims of their shields upon the top of the railing of the bridge. (Polybius, I, ch. 22.)

362. The Great Naval Victories of Rome.—In 260 B. C., off the headland of Mylæ, the Roman consul Duilius won a signal victory over the Carthaginians, who sailed against the Roman fleet, as Polybius says, with joy and alacrity, feeling supreme contempt for the Roman ignorance of seamanship. But the Carthaginians were unable to meet the new device of the *corvus*, and lost fifty ships during the action. The enthusiasm at Rome over the victory was great. A monument was set up, adorned with the beaks of the captured ships, upon which there was an inscription recounting the glorious victory under Duilius.



A RESTORATION OF THE
COLUMN OF DUILIUS.

When the expedition under the consul Regulus set out to invade Africa in 256 B. C., it was met near the southern shore of Sicily, just off Mt. Ecnomus, by a great Carthaginian fleet. Again the Carthaginians suffered a terrific defeat. Polybius gives some startling figures as to the numbers engaged in the battle, which enable one to make a mental picture of the fighting, and give an idea of the great impor-

tance of the expedition. Seldom in the history of the world have so many men risked their lives in a single sea-fight.

The total number of men making up the [Roman] naval force amounted to nearly 140,000, reckoning each ship as carrying 300 rowers and 120 soldiers. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, made their preparations almost exclusively with a view to a naval engagement. Their numbers, if we reckon by the number of their ships, were over 150,000 men. The mere recital of these figures must, I should imagine, strike anyone with astonishment at the magnitude of the struggle, and the vast resources of the contending states. (Polybius, I, ch. 26.)

363. The War Drags on for Years.—After the defeat of the army of the consul Regulus in Africa (255 B. C.), the war dragged on with no decisive result. The victories which Roman ingenuity wrested from the Carthaginians by sea were offset by the fact that the consuls, who had command of the fleets, were not trained sailors. They lost the greater part of three large fleets, with their crews, through sudden storms, or by reckless attempts to sail out in bad weather.

During the whole war, no Roman general of real greatness appeared. Toward the end of the war Hamilcar Barca (Hamilcar the Lightning-bolt), a young Punic noble, was given charge of the Carthaginian troops in western Sicily, and proved himself a general of great ability. As the talents and reputation of Philip of Macedon have been eclipsed by the genius of his son, Alexander the Great, so Hamilcar's reputation has been lessened because his son Hannibal surpassed him. Philip, in building up the Macedonian army, forged the sword with which Alexander cut his way to fame. Hamilcar both created the army and outlined the plan of invading Italy which Hannibal carried out in the second Punic War. Though the plan was doomed to failure, the daring of its conception, and the genius displayed by Hannibal even in defeat, have made the name of father and son imperishable in history.

364. The End of the War.—The energy and keenness of Hamilcar did not avail against the bull-dog persistence of

the Roman state. In 241 B. C. the last Carthaginian fleet was destroyed in the battle of the Ægates Islands. By this time the Carthaginian treasury was empty, and the government gave Hamilcar Barca full power to treat for the state with Rome. He agreed to withdraw all Carthaginian troops from Sicily, and to pay a great sum to Rome as indemnity for her expenses in the war.

Thus Sicily, with the exception of the Greek kingdom of Syracuse, became a part of the domain of the Roman state. A new problem came up before the Roman Senate, in dealing with this land outside the Italian peninsula. It could not be connected with Rome by a military road. How was it to be governed? The decision was made to treat it differently from the territory conquered in Italy, which had been joined to the state itself as an integral part. It was to be subject territory, a tribute-paying "province," removed from the regular administration of the consuls and their assistants, and governed by a prætor who was to be sent out annually from Rome.

The annexation of Sicily wrought an important change in the Roman state. It had been a unified, solidified city-state, covering a united territory. Now it entered upon a career of foreign conquest which led it on step by step toward the subjection of the Mediterranean states, until Rome's empire covered almost all the civilized world of that day.

Though Rome and her allies in Italy had suffered dreadfully from the ravages of the long war, it had done one good thing for them. The Italians were drawn closer to Rome by a danger which threatened all of them equally. They felt that they must stand or fall with Rome in the war against a people whose civilization was absolutely foreign to their own.

365. The Bad Faith of Rome toward Carthage.—At the end of the war the Carthaginian mercenaries returned from Sicily to Africa. Their pay was long overdue, but there was no money to be had at Carthage. The mercenaries finally became so incensed that they marched in revolt

against the city that hired them; and, at the same time, the mercenaries upon the island of Sardinia revolted. After two years of the most cruel warfare, in which mercy was unknown to either side, Hamilcar succeeded in saving his state by annihilating the rebellious armies in Africa.

When the Carthaginians started to bring the revolt in Sardinia to an end, the Roman Senate asserted that Carthage was making war upon Rome. Accordingly it declared war upon Carthage, a city already on the verge of ruin. Since the Carthaginians could not fight, they yielded to Rome's demands. Their war indemnity was increased, and they were forced to give up Sardinia, which was soon after combined with Corsica into one province, and added to Rome's territory as Sicily had been.

366. The Carthaginian Empire in Spain.—It was this piece of political robbery which brought upon Rome the undying hatred of Hamilcar Barca and his sons. The great leader was given full command of the Punic army, and was so popular that he practically guided the policies of the state. His one idea was to begin a war of revenge upon Rome. Since the Carthaginians had failed to conquer Rome with their superior fleets, he planned a war by land, an invasion of Italy by way of Iberia (Spain).



CARTHAGINIAN SILVER COIN ISSUED IN SPAIN.

In order to accomplish this, it was necessary to bring Spain completely under Carthaginian power, since it was to serve as the base of operations. This plan introduced a change in the colonial policy of Carthage. Instead of merely establishing trading cities on the coast, she now sought to hold the entire country as a part of her empire. From 236 B. C., until his death in 228 B. C., Hamilcar Barca labored unceasingly at this work. From 228 to 221 B. C. the command lay with his son-in-law Hasdrubal. In 221 B. C., Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, succeeded to this same

command. Late in his life, Hannibal himself told the origin of his hatred for Rome in the following words:

When my father was about to go on his Iberian expedition I was nine years old; and as he was offering sacrifice to Zeus I stood near the altar. When the sacrifice had been successfully performed, my father called me to him and asked me affectionately whether I wished to go with him on his expedition. When I eagerly assented and begged with boyish enthusiasm to be allowed to go, he took me by the right hand and led me up to the altar. He bade me lay my hand upon the victim and swear that I would never be friends with Rome. So there is nothing in my power that I should not do against her. (Polybius, III, ch. 11.)

References for Outside Reading

Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 101-115; Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 78-84; Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 111-126; Abbott, *Short History of Rome*, pp. 81-91; How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, ch. 17, 18, 20; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, ch. 17-20; W. W. How, *Hannibal*, ch. 1-2; Smith, *Carthage and the Carthaginians*, ch. 1-8.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. THE CARTHAGINIAN STATE.—How and Leigh, pp. 143-149; Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Book III, ch. 1.
2. DEFEAT OF REGULUS IN AFRICA.—Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Book III, ch. 2; Smith, *Carthage and the Carthaginians*, ch. 6.
3. LIFE AND RELIGION OF CARTHAGE.—Smith, *Carthage and the Carthaginians*, pp. 29-38.
4. HAMILCAR AND THE LAST YEARS OF THE WAR.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 110-112; Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 81-83; Polybius, Book I, sec. 56-62.
5. CARTHAGE AND THE MERCENARY WAR.—Smith, *Carthage and the Carthaginians*, ch. 8.

CHAPTER XXVII

HANNIBAL IN ITALY.—ROME BECOMES SUPREME IN THE WEST

367. The Influence of Rome Extends into Western Greece, 229–228 B. C.—The reputation of Rome rose mightily because of the successful outcome of her long war with Carthage. Her trade increased, not only with Sicily and Sardinia, but also up into the northern parts of the Adriatic sea. From this latter place complaints kept coming in to the Senate, from Italian merchants and from cities of the western coast of Greece, Epidamnus and the island of Coreyra especially, that they were constantly being plundered by a band of pirates who made their headquarters in the kingdom of Illyria. In fact, this whole kingdom was supported almost entirely by its piratical raids.

Rome took up the war against the pirate state (229–228 B. C.), and brought it quickly to terms. As a result, Rome was looked upon as a protector by the most important Greek cities along the Adriatic sea. This fact drew her inevitably into the turmoil of Greek politics, and we shall see how one success followed another until all the East lay conquered by Roman arms.

368. The Valley of the Po Becomes Roman Domain, 225–222 B. C.—During the First Punic War, the warlike Celts in the Po Valley and in Gaul had served by thousands in the mercenary armies of Carthage. When this outlet for their fighting ardor was closed, they began to assemble upon both sides of the Alps, and it became apparent at Rome that the danger from the Celts would never be ended until those who lived in northern Italy had been completely conquered.

At the same time Rome was beginning to push her colonies northward along the Adriatic coast. This movement was

due to the statesmanship of Gaius Flaminius. He saw that the noble capitalists had become greedy for wealth, and that they preferred to obtain the public domain by leasing large tracts at a low rental, rather than let it be given out to the poorer classes of citizens in small freeholds. In 232 B. C., he secured the passage of a land law by which the state domain in Picenum and among the Senones was distributed in small holdings to Roman citizens. So the Celts, too, saw the necessity before them of a decisive war which should determine whether the Po Valley was to remain in their hands, or become a part of Roman Italy.

This Gallic war, which occupied Rome's attention during the years 225-222 B. C., ended with a complete victory for Rome. In 220 B. C., a highway, which had extended north-east through Etruria, was carried further over the Apennines, as far as Ariminum. It was called the Via Flaminia, after the statesman Gaius Flaminius, who had urged the enterprise. On the Po River, in the midst of the Gallic territory, two Roman colonies were founded, Placentia and Cremona. With this step, the long fight of Rome for the leadership of the entire peninsula of Italy was definitely ended.

369. The Carthaginian Power in Spain.—While busied with these wars, the Roman statesman watched with jealous eyes the growth of the Carthaginian empire in Spain. In the camp of the great Hamilcar, his three sons, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago had grown up. The proud father called them the "Lion's Whelps," and filled them with his determination to get revenge upon Rome for her perfidy in taking Sardinia.

The conquest of Spain was carried on slowly but surely. The Carthaginian leaders collected money to pay the expenses of their coming expedition, and built up a powerful, well-trained army which was devoted to them. All of south-eastern Spain, excepting the Iberian city of Saguntum, fell under Carthaginian sway. With this city, Rome formed an alliance, with the purpose of making it the northern limit of the Carthaginian advance, and the basis for the war against

Carthage which the Senate thought would be waged in Spain and in Africa.

370. Hannibal.—In 221 B. C., Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, and his successor in the Iberian command, was assassinated. The army, without delay, hailed Hannibal as its leader. The Roman historian, Livy, has left us a description of this young man, and the blind devotion which his soldiers felt toward him, even when he first took command.

The veterans thought that Hamilcar had returned to life. They noted the same energy in Hannibal's face, the same keen glance, the same features and expression. In a short time Hannibal's likeness to his father was the least consideration in winning their esteem. He was absolutely fearless in going into danger, very prudent when it was on hand. No amount of labor fatigued him, physically or mentally. He endured heat and cold equally well. He limited his food and drink according to the dictates of nature rather than of pleasure. His hours of waking and sleeping were not determined by the changes of day and night. What time remained over when his tasks were done he gave to rest, which he did not seek upon a soft couch or in a quiet place. Many times the soldiers saw him lying on the ground amid the outposts and the guards, wrapped in a military cloak. He was the first to enter a battle, the last to leave it. (Livy, XXI, ch. 4.)

Livy speaks of a vicious side of his nature, but the history of the man's life does not bear out the Roman writer's criticisms. He had that quality which has distinguished all the greatest generals—the ability to inflame his army with an enthusiastic loyalty which made them endure every hardship and danger for his sake. During his whole career, even when the chance of war turned badly against him, there was no sign of mutiny among his men. Yet they were, for the greater part, a paid soldiery, animated only by the personal attraction of their leader, with no feeling of loyalty toward the state they served.

371. The Roman Army.—Service in the army of the Roman state was compulsory upon all able-bodied citizens from their nineteenth to their forty-seventh years. The

basis of the military organization was the *legion*, which numbered normally 3,000 heavy-armed foot-soldiers, 1,200 light-armed men, and 300 cavalry. The heavy-armed infantry was divided, according to length of service, into three parts. The youngest recruits (the *hastati*) numbered 1,200 to each legion, and fought in the front rank. In the second rank were aligned the men who were older in service (the *principes*), numbering 1,200 to a legion. The third rank was made up of the veterans of tried courage (the *triarii*), 600 in each legion.

This body of heavy-armed troops was divided into 30 *maniples* or companies.¹ The battle-line consisted of ten



THE ALIGNMENT OF ROMAN TROOPS BY
MANIPLES.

companies on the front, separated by intervals of the length of one company. At a distance behind these open spaces stood the companies of

the second rank. Further back and directly behind the maniples of the front rank the veteran companies were aligned. The idea of these spaces was to give the army a greater mobility than the solid Macedonian phalanx had had. The veterans were held in reserve until the crisis of the battle came, when they were thrown into the thick of the contest to give the deciding blow.



TYPES OF ROMAN HELMETS.

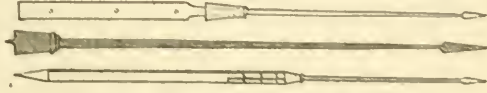
372. Armor and Weapons.—

The heavy-armed legionary soldiers wore helmets of bronze or iron, sometimes decorated with a high plume. A corselet of leather straps, woven in and out, protected the upper part of the body, with an iron plate about nine inches in height and breadth covering the vital parts of the breast. Below the corselet hung a

¹The 1,200 light-armed men did not form separate maniples, but were added in groups of forty to each maniple.

short leather skirt, which was strengthened with metal plates. A large four-cornered shield with a curved surface completed the defensive armor.

The chief offensive weapon was the javelin (*pilum*), which was hurled at the enemy from a distance of about forty or fifty feet. It had a thin iron point about three feet long, hardened at the end, fitted into a shaft of about the same length.



THREE TYPES OF THE PILUM.

A blow from the pilum always caused a dangerous wound.¹ After hurling the javelin, the soldiers rushed in to join with the enemy hand to hand. Here they used the sword, which hung at the right side, and was adapted alike for cut and thrust. If the victory was not won by the two front rows of maniples with the javelin and sword, the veterans advanced. Their principal weapon was a long and heavy spear, which was used only for thrusting.

The light-armed troops were used at the opening of battles. They hurled light spears, stones, and leaden balls from a distance into the opposing ranks, then retired through the openings in the line, as the heavy-armed troops advanced.

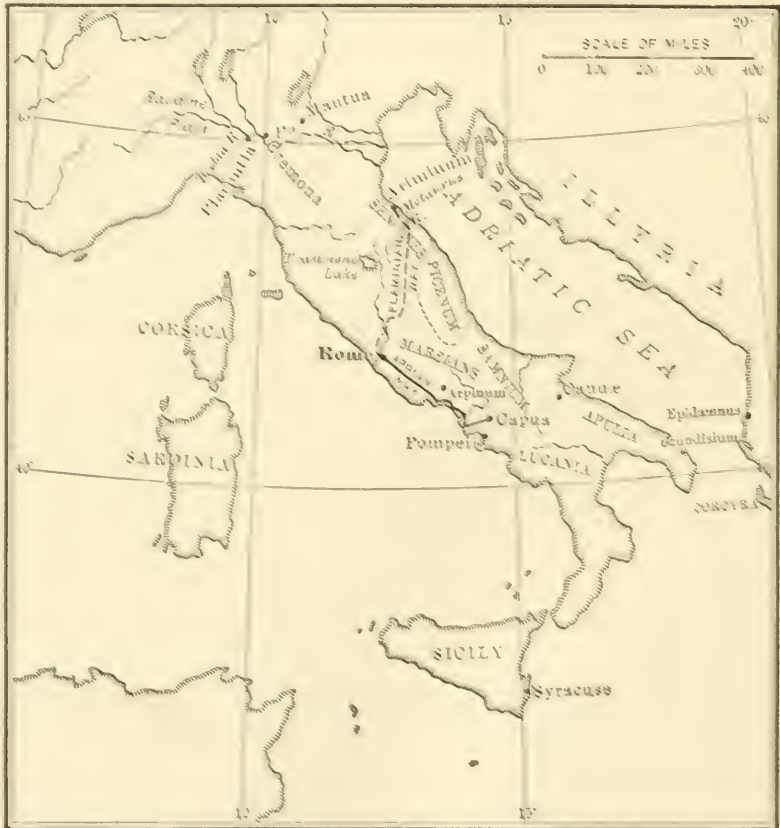
373. The Beginning of the War.—In the year 219 B. C., Hannibal felt prepared for the war against Rome. He attacked Saguntum, the ally of Rome, and took it after a desperate siege of eight months. The Roman Senate prepared to punish Carthage by a double invasion of Spain and Africa, but before their fleet arrived in Spain, Hannibal was well on the march toward Italy (218 B. C.).

After five months of marching, the Punic army reached the Po Valley. Their losses were great, especially during the difficult passage of the Alps; for the army had arrived there late in the fall, probably in September, when the snow had begun to fall. Fifteen days were spent in crossing, days filled with fighting against the wild Alpine mountaineers,

¹ It has been shown that the point of the pilum will pierce a board an inch in thickness.

with terrible suffering to horses and men. In the narrow passes they were attacked by the enemy from the heights above, and in the confusion men and animals were often pushed off the precipices to lose their lives in the gorges below.

With only 26,000 men, less than half of the force which started from Spain, and these emaciated and worn, the young



THE FIELD OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

general faced the armies of the state of Rome, which had conquered all Italy and driven the Carthaginians out of Sicily.

374. The Second Punic War, 218-201 B. C.—For fifteen years Rome exerted every effort to drive Hannibal out of Italy. In the first three years, the genius of this one man

threatened to break into pieces the state which Rome had taken so long to build. The Celts of northern Italy eagerly joined the Carthaginian ranks; but Hannibal was deceived in his hope that the remaining Italians would desert Rome and regard him as their liberator from Roman oppression. This faithfulness of the Italians was largely due to the Roman policy of giving them a share in the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship.

The loss of life suffered by the armies of Rome and her allies in the first three years of the war was appalling. Upon a cold December morning of the year 218 B. C., on the banks of Trebia River, Hannibal enticed the Roman consul to join battle with him under conditions which gave the Romans no chance of victory. The Carthaginian cavalry had been sent across the river to begin the engagement, and, when they began to retreat, the Roman troops had followed them, wading through the icy waters of the river. In the midst of the battle the Romans were set upon from an ambush in their rear by a chosen band of 2,000 Punic soldiers, under the command of Mago, youngest of the "Lion's Brood." In the panic which resulted the Roman forces were put to the sword, with the loss of some 20,000 men.

In the following year Gaius Flaminius was elected to the consulship, as the people's candidate. On a foggy morning, Flaminius led his army into a death-trap which Hannibal had set for him in a small, crescent-like plain, on the shore of Lake Trasimene in central Italy. The consul Flaminius died, fighting bravely. The Roman soldiers, despite their bravery, were at a great disadvantage, and the army was destroyed, with 15,000 captured and 15,000 killed.

375. The Slaughter at Cannæ, 216 B. C.—Although her generals were but amateurs in the art of war as compared with Hannibal, we must admire the dauntless courage of the Romans, which, after years of defeat, finally brought them success. For the campaign of the year 216 B. C., the Senate brought out an immense levy, 80,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, to crush the 50,000 men who followed the great Carthaginian.

Hannibal had led his army southward into Apulia, and the Roman consuls came upon him near Cannæ. He drew up his army in a broad plain which offered a fine opportunity for the use of his wonderful cavalry from the Numidian desert of north Africa. He arranged his forces in the form of a crescent, with its center nearest the Roman line. The center was formed by the Iberian and Celtic troops, arranged in a line thinner than usual. Upon the sides were the Libyan soldiers, upon whom Hannibal chiefly depended.

As the Romans advanced, Hannibal's center gradually gave back. As they pushed forward, always pressing in toward the center, the Romans were attacked upon each flank by the Libyan troops. The Numidian cavalry defeated the Roman horsemen who opposed them, then swung round and fell upon the Roman lines from the rear. Thus the Roman army was entirely hemmed in. As the circle kept narrowing, those toward the center were not free to move and use their weapons. Retreat was impossible and no quarter was given. The Romans left 70,000 dead and wounded upon the field. Only a few thousand escaped, with one of the consuls, to Rome.

376. The Remaining Years of the War.—This was Rome's darkest hour. Capua and other Greek cities of southern Italy revolted, and offered aid to Hannibal. Syracuse threw off its old alliance with Rome, and sought to regain the leadership of Sicily. Philip V of Macedon allied himself with the Carthaginians, and promised to send troops to aid them in Italy—a promise which was not fulfilled.

At this time the wonderful courage and spirit of the Roman people saved the state. Slowly, year by year, the Roman generals made progress against their great enemy. In 212 B. C. Syracuse was captured.¹ In 211 B. C. Capua was retaken. From the year 210 B. C. the Romans, under

¹With the fall of Syracuse, in which the great scientist Archimedes was killed, we may regard the independence of the Hellenic city-states of the West as ended. There are a few others, such as Massilia in Gaul, which still remained free; but they play no rôle in western politics after this time.

an able young general named Publius Cornelius Scipio, began to make headway against the Carthaginian armies in Spain.

Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, had had charge of the Carthaginian administration in Spain. In 207 B. C., he appeared in northern Italy with a large army, hoping to join Hannibal and bring the war to an issue. His messengers to Hannibal were captured, and the two Roman consuls united their armies and annihilated the Carthaginian reinforcements in a battle on the Metaurus River. The Romans cut off the head of Hasdrubal, who was slain in the battle, carried it back to the camp of Hannibal in Apulia, and threw it over among his outposts. This cruel message told Hannibal of his brother's defeat, and the failure of his life-long hope of conquering Rome.

377. The Invasion of Africa, 204 B. C.—For the year 204 B. C., Publius Cornelius Scipio, the ablest general who had appeared on the Roman side during the war, was chosen consul. This was a reward for his services to the state in conquering the Carthaginian forces in Spain. The plan of Scipio was to end the war by attacking Carthage itself, and accordingly he sailed across to Africa in the year 204 B. C.

The Carthaginian state recalled Hannibal from Italy to conduct the defense of his native city. Upon the return trip, his youngest brother Mago died of the wounds he had received in a recent battle; and of the "Lion's Brood" only Hannibal remained to see the defeat of Hamilcar's project against Rome. In 202 B. C. he suffered his first defeat in the battle of Zama. Even his genius could not win against troops superior in numbers and quality, led by such a capable general as Scipio.

In 201 B. C., Carthage agreed to accept the Roman conditions of peace. She was to pay 10,000 talents in yearly installments of 200 talents for fifty years;¹ to give up all

¹As the talent was a weight containing about as much silver as 1,080 dollars would contain, the entire sum was about \$11,000,000 in silver. But this amount of silver would purchase far more in antiquity than the same amount in our day.

her war elephants, and all her ships but ten. Spain had already been lost, and now was definitely ceded to Rome. Carthage agreed to wage no war without the consent of Rome. Rome's African ally, Masinissa, king of Numidia, was given additional territory taken from Carthage; and he was set to watch every movement of the Punic city, and report to Rome.

378. Results and Importance of the War.—By this treaty Carthage was eliminated from the list of the great Mediter-



THE MEDITERRANEAN POWERS AT THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, 200 B. C.

anean states. Spain was soon joined to the Roman state in the form of two provinces; but it was not fully conquered until seventy years had passed. Rome was clearly absolute mistress in the West. In the politics of the world of that time, she stood beside the kingdoms of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, as a growing and dangerous rival. In the politics of Illyria and western Greece, the protection or alliance of Rome was already a help worth having. Her relations with the kingdom of Egypt were friendly. Events

were soon to prove that no one of the Eastern powers could equal or approach in strength this young giant in the West.

The failure of Hannibal's attempt to break Rome's power was chiefly due to the unwavering loyalty of the Latin and Italian allies of Rome. They felt instinctively that the Oriental civilization of Carthage was foreign to them, that Rome was their natural leader. It was the old struggle of the East against the West. Although some of their cities had joined Hannibal, the Greeks of Italy and Sicily shared the feeling of the Italians. The leadership and protection of this Greek civilization was now the destiny of Rome.

379. Hannibal's End.—After the close of the war, Hannibal set to work energetically to reorganize the state of Carthage. He was so successful that the Roman Senate was frightened, and forced the Carthaginians to drive him from their city. From 196 to 183 B. C., he lived at the courts of King Antiochus of Syria and Prusias of Bithynia, always intent upon his vow of eternal hatred toward Rome. The King of Bithynia finally agreed to surrender him to the Roman officers, but he escaped the vengeance of Rome at the last by taking poison, in the year 183 B. C. In one sense his life was a failure. Yet we must honor and admire him for his genius, for his loyalty to his state, and his consistent pursuit of the thing he believed in, his lifelong devotion to the hope of obtaining revenge upon Rome.

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Topics for Written or Oral Report

1. HANNIBAL'S PASSAGE OF THE ALPS.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 115-118; Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 85-88; *Polybius*, Book III, 49-56; *Livy*, Book XXI, 32-38.
2. HOW FABIUS THE DELAYER FOUGHT HANNIBAL.—Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 87-88; Plutarch, *Fabius*.

3. THE BATTLE AT THE TRASIMENE LAKE.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 119-122; Livy, Book XXII, 4-6; Polybius, Book III, 79-86.
4. THE CAPTURE OF SYRACUSE.—Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus*.
5. ANECDOTES OF HANNIBAL.—Smith, *Carthage and the Carthaginians*, pp. 337-345.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN STATE

380. How the Senate was Composed.—In the Roman republic there were three bodies actively engaged in making the laws by which the state was governed, the Senate, the Centuriate Assembly, and the Tribal Assembly. In the time of the kings and the early republic, the senators were chosen from the heads of the noble families. The Senate's membership, of about 300, was kept up by the consuls, who appointed new men to the places made vacant by the death of any of the senators. This appointment was for life, and a senator could only be removed on proof that his character was bad.

By the time of the Punic Wars, the right of appointing the new senators had passed from the consuls to the censors, who selected enough new men every five years out of those who had meantime held the "curule"¹ offices (of consul, prætor, and patrician ædile) to keep the Senate up to its normal strength.

381. The Old Patrician and the New Plebeian Aristocracy.—By a series of enactments in the century before the Punic wars, the plebeians became eligible to these curule offices, but, for several reasons, the Senate did not become more democratic through the plebeians who rose through the curule offices and gained senatorial seats. It must be remembered that the Roman officials received no salary, nor



THE CURULE
CHAIR, FROM A
ROMAN COIN.

¹The "curule" magistrates were those officials who had the right to use a particular kind of chair, called the curule chair. It was usually made of ivory, richly carved, and in the form of a camp-stool. The curule chair was a token of the highest official power in the Roman state.

were the members of the Senate paid, as the magistrates and members of the Boulé in the Greek city-states were. Hence it was not easy for men of the lower ranks to go into politics. Only the very wealthy plebeians could afford this, and they soon began to form an aristocracy of their own, which combined with the old Roman patrician families in order to guard the privileges of the senators from intrusion by the poorer plebeians. The "political ring" of the patrician senators was merely increased in size by the addition of this new aristocracy of wealth. From this group of families in these two circles the higher magistrates were chosen, and they combined in using all their influence against any "new man" of the people who might be ambitious for one of the higher offices, which would give him admission to the Senate.

The senatorial aristocracy claimed certain rights and privileges which distinguished its members from the middle and lower classes at Rome. Only families of senatorial rank had the right to set up in the home wax masks of the family ancestors. The senators wore broad gold rings upon their fingers, and an especial kind of sandal buckled with an ivory clasp. A law passed in 194 B. C. granted to the members of the senatorial order special seats in the theater and at the public games. Even among the boys this undemocratic spirit was fostered; for the sons of senators were marked from those of the commons by the golden brooch which they wore suspended around the neck.

382. Composition of the Assemblies.—The membership of the Centuriate Assembly and of the Tribal Assembly was the same, namely, the body of the Roman citizens. The difference between them was chiefly one of organization, arrangement, and of the kind of business transacted by each. The Centuriate Assembly had been organized in the early republic by classes, according to the financial standing of the citizens. In this arrangement the two upper classes had a majority of the centuries, and could pass any law and elect officers without considering the desires of the lower classes.

In the Tribal Assembly the citizens met and voted by tribes, of which there were thirty-five at the time of the Punic Wars. This organization was much more democratic than the Centuriate, although the latter was gradually altered during the third century so as to give the lower classes a better chance. It remained, however, the more aristocratic of the two bodies.

383. Duties of the Assemblies.—The Roman state had no written constitution which defined the powers of its magistrates, and the duties which should fall to each of the two assemblies. These matters were determined by custom, and the two law-making bodies divided the work of legislation without serious difficulty.

In the early period of the Republic all the laws which were brought up in the Senate were passed over to the Centuriate Assembly to be accepted or rejected by the people. As time passed, the Tribal Assembly took over the greater part of the business of law-making, especially after the Hortensian Law was passed. To it were referred all the land reforms, those motions which dealt with the establishing of Roman colonies, the laws which aimed at restraining luxury, matters which touched upon the government of the provinces, and treaties made with foreign states. The Centuriate Assembly, however, retained the right to declare war.

Once a year at meetings of the two Assemblies the Roman people elected their magistrates. The consuls, prætors and censors were chosen in the Centuriate Assembly; the tribunes, plebeian ædiles,¹ and lower magistrates were elected in the Tribal Assembly. The fact that the Roman people met in these two organizations, when one assembly could have transacted all the business, is explained by the conservatism of the Romans. When they had once established the Tribal Assembly as the people's organization,

¹Of the four ædiles, two were elected from the plebs and two from the ranks of the patricians. The latter held the privilege of sitting on the curule chair. Their duties were about the same as those of the plebeian ædiles.

they could not drop it, nor were they willing to abandon the older Assembly by Centuries even when the Tribal Assembly had taken over the larger share of the powers of legislation.

384. How Business was Conducted in the Centuriate Assembly.—When a meeting of the Centuriate Assembly was to be called, the magistrate who was empowered to summon



BRONZE STATUE OF A ROMAN ORATOR
OF ABOUT 200 B. C.

it published an edict twenty-four days beforehand, stating the date and business of the meeting. In case of an election, a list of the candidates was posted; in case a law was to be approved, the wording of the law was given. Shortly after midnight of the appointed day, a priest took the auspices to determine whether or no the gods willed that the meeting should be held. If the signs were not favorable, the postponement of the meeting was published with the words "On another day." Even after the meeting had begun, the presiding official might postpone it in case any unlucky event occurred.

A sudden downpour of rain, a crash of thunder, or the occurrence of an epileptic fit among the assembled voters might put a stop to all business upon that day.

If the auspices were good the people met outside the city walls on the Field of Mars (Campus Martius); for the Centuriate Assembly had originally been military in its character, and therefore was not permitted to meet within the sacred enclosure of the city. First a general meeting was held which was opened with a prayer. Then the magistrates made speeches to the voters, stating the purpose of the meeting. Sometimes they allowed private citizens to

speak for or against the law upon which the vote was to be taken.

When this general meeting was over the citizens separated into their respective centuries and cast their votes. Each century had its own inclosure fenced off from the rest. As the voters passed out through a narrow passageway, called "the bridge," they announced their decision to the election officials. These officials took note of the "ayes" and "nays." In case of elections they made dots after the names of the candidate voted for, on the list which they had.¹ After the votes had been counted and the result announced, the Assembly was dismissed.

385. The Senate.—The Senate did not meet at a fixed time, but was called together when needed, by the consuls, by the prætors, or by the tribunes. The magistrate who summoned the meeting acted as its presiding officer and presented the business on hand to the Senate with the words: "We refer this matter to you, Conscript Fathers, in order that you may decide what may be good and auspicious for the Roman people." When he had stated the business, he called for debate from the senators. These arose as their opinions were called for, and gave their views. They had the right of suggesting other matters to the presiding officer in these speeches, and of requesting that they be put before the Senate at another time. Thus Cato during a number of years, whenever he rose to give his opinion, brought into his speech the demand that Carthage should be destroyed.

The vote was taken by a division of the house, those voting for a motion going to one side of the room, those voting against it going to the other. A motion which received the support of a majority of those present was declared a decree of the Senate, and was later inscribed upon a stone or bronze slab, a copy of which was kept in the temple of Saturn.

386. Work of the Senate.—The questions which were presented to the Senate and voted upon in the manner just

¹After 139 B. C. the voting was done by ballot. The meetings of the Tribal Assembly were conducted very much as those of the Centuriate Assembly, except that they were held within the city

described were of many different kinds. They may be summed up in three different classes:

1. *The State Religion.* When new temples were to be built or old ones restored, when the question arose of introducing into the state a new religion, or of stopping some worship which seemed bad for the state, the Senate decided the matter.

2. *The State Finances.* Some of the great expenses of the Roman state were incurred in waging wars, in constructing roads and public buildings, and in providing games and festivals for the people. In all such matters, and in every other case where money was to be paid out of the state treasury, the vote of the Senate was necessary before it could be done. In this control of the purse strings of the state lay the chief source of the Senate's power.

The financial officials of the Roman state were the censors and quaestors. The censors had charge of the renting of the state lands, sold at auction the right to collect taxes, and let the contracts for public buildings of every kind. The quaestors were the accountants of the state, receiving and paying out all the state money and keeping the records in order. In all these transactions the censors and quaestors were mere agents of the Senate, carrying out its orders and sending in their accounts for its approval.

3. *Foreign Policies and War.* The Centuriate Assembly had the right to declare war and make peace; but all the preparations for war were made by the Senate. When a war was completed the Senate usually sent out a committee of ten of its members with instructions as to the terms which should be granted to the enemy. Thus the Senate's influence was strong in dealing with foreign peoples, and in such matters the Assemblies merely voted upon the Senate's decisions.

387. Why the Senate's Power Grew.—In the years of conquest extending from 287 to 133 B. C. the Senate's power was so great that the Roman "republic" was in fact an aristocracy, ruled by its patrician nobles and wealthy plebeians. The democratic features of the constitution, the popular Assemblies and election of the magistrates, were retained; but the guidance of the state was almost entirely

given over to the Senate. This was due to a number of causes, of which the following were the most important:

1. During the Punic Wars the best of the Roman citizen-body was in the field, fighting for the preservation of the state. Many important questions had to be decided immediately, and the Senate grew accustomed to acting upon its own judgment without referring matters to the Assemblies.

2. When Rome became involved in the politics of Greece and the East, the people found that their knowledge of foreign countries and foreign politics was not great. They preferred to accept the decision of the Senate upon these matters.

3. The Senate was much better qualified to deal with important affairs than the Assemblies, because it was filled up from the list of the ex-magistrates. These had learned by practical experience, while serving as state officials, what were the needs of the state and how to meet those needs. Most of the citizens in the Assemblies had had no such experience.

4. Since the Roman people did not use the modern system of sending representatives to their Assemblies, only that part of the citizen-body could vote which attended in person. Usually only those who lived in or near Rome could be present, and the citizens in the Italian towns and Roman colonies placed more reliance upon the Senate than upon the Assemblies filled with the city population.

388. The Senate and the Provinces.—In the years of conquest from 287 to 133 B. C., the seven following provinces were added to the territory governed by the Roman Senate:

Sicily in 241 B. C.	Africa in 146 B. C.
Sardinia-Corsica in 238 B. C.	Macedonia (including Greece)
Hither Spain	in 146 B. C.
Farther Spain	Asia (the old Kingdom of Pergamum) in 133 B. C.

When Sicily was taken, the question of its government brought an entirely new problem before the Roman Senate. For the Romans had never before been forced to deal with the government of any people outside of Italy, whom they could not reach with their roads and bind closely to the

city of Rome. When the Senate established Sicily as one province and combined Sardinia and Corsica into a second, the form of government then instituted became the model for all the provinces which were added later.

When these first two provinces were organized, the number of the prætors was increased to four, of whom two were chosen by lot each year to govern these provinces in the name of the Roman people. During his year in office the power of the provincial governor was absolute. He was commander-in-chief of the armies in the province, supreme judge, and executive head of the provincial administration. A quæstor was sent with him who kept account of the finances, but he was in every way subordinate to the governor. The provincials were required to pay an annual tribute to Rome, which distinguished them from the Italian allies, who paid no tribute. The provincials were therefore regarded as subjects of the state, and their territory came to be looked upon as the common property, or "estates" of the Roman people.

389. Weaknesses of the System.—Although the Senate at first had the best interests of the provincials in mind, the Roman provincial rule soon changed into an organized scheme of oppression and robbery on the part of the governors. The change was due, in part, to the following weaknesses of the system of government:

1. The term of office of the prætor was, regularly, only a year, and in this time the governor could not learn the real needs of the province or develop the feeling of sympathy for the provincials which might have grown in him if he had remained longer.

2. There was no way in which a dishonest governor could be removed from office during his term of service, either by the Senate or by the provincials. If the latter appealed to the Senate at Rome after the governor's term expired, the governor was seldom punished, since he was a member of the Senate and had powerful connections at Rome.

3. The governors received no pay, but were supported during their term by the provincials. This fact encouraged the

Roman officials to extort from the provincials the money which they would need, when they should return home, to keep up their social position among the wealthy senators at Rome.

390. Taxation in the Provinces.—The greatest weakness, however, and the cause of the bitterest oppression of the provincial subjects, grew out of the Roman method of collecting its taxes, which was somewhat like the system which modern states employ in erecting public buildings. Our states do not have a regular building department, but let out contracts to the lowest bidder. The contracting firm then saves what it can under the terms of the contract. In much the same way the Roman censors let out for each province to the highest bidder, usually a company of wealthy men, the right to collect the tribute in that province.

This system was called "tax-farming" and the agents who collected the taxes were called "publicans." For the Roman government tax-farming had certain distinct advantages. It relieved the state of the necessity of maintaining a large body of officials to look after the work, and it was easy to determine at the beginning of the year how much would be on hand to meet the expenses of running the state.

391. How the Provincials were Robbed.—From the standpoint of the provincials, the tax-farming system was not so good. In most of the provinces the taxes upon property were taken "in kind," that is, a certain percentage of the crops was collected instead of money. The Senate, of course, determined what percentage must be paid as taxes. Frequently, however, the powerful publicans exacted much more than the law allowed them. Often they stole the children of the provincials, and carried them away to the cities to sell them into slavery. When the provincials appealed to the governor, they usually found that bribes received from the wealthy publicans had closed his eyes to justice.

The law which required that the provincials should contribute grain and "table-money" for the support of the

governor and his staff made possible a multitude of petty robberies. It was easy for the praetors, under the cover of this law, to exact from their subjects costly and beautiful vases and articles of gold and silver with which to decorate their houses at Rome.

392. Court to Try Extortion Cases, 149 B. C.—These abuses and the dishonesty of the governors became so flagrant that a special court was established in the year 149 b. c. to try cases of extortion which were brought against them. This event marks the first important step in the development of the Roman legal system, which was, in the centuries after Christ's birth, to give to the world the most complete system of legal justice that it had yet seen. But the new "Standing Court" had the great drawback that it was entirely made up from the senatorial ranks. The members of the court were loth to convict the governors, men of their own rank, since many in the court had already been guilty, when serving as provincial governors, of the same dishonesty and injustice, or hoped to amass fortunes later by the same dishonest means.

There were, of course, among the many governors whom Rome sent out in the first hundred years after her provincial system was established, many honest and capable men. It was especially after the defeat of Perseus (168 b. c.), when a new desire for luxury had altered the Roman spirit, that the Roman rule was characterized by ignorance, brutality, and dishonesty. Until the time when Julius Caesar, in 48 b. c., made himself absolute master of the Roman state, no important change was made. The plundering of the provinces by the privileged classes at Rome grew to be a terrible scourge upon the Roman subjects, and it was not ended until the rule of the senatorial aristocracy broke down and was replaced by the better organization of the Roman Empire.

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2. THE DUTIES OF A ROMAN CENSOR AS CARRIED OUT BY CATO.—Plutarch, *Life of Cato*, ch. 16-20.
3. A COMPARISON OF THE ROMAN SENATE WITH THE UNITED STATES SENATE.—Abbott, *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*, pp. 22-40.
4. THE POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE PRÆTOR.—Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 186-190.

CHAPTER XXIX

RAPID EASTWARD EXPANSION AND THE HELLENIZING OF ROME

393. The Attitude of Rome toward the Eastern States.— During the time of the Punic Wars in the West (264–201 B. C.), the Achæan and Ætolian Leagues were developing in Greece. The kingdom of Macedon was attempting to bring all of Greece and the Ægean Islands under its sway. Egypt and Syria were continuing the old struggle for possession of the Phœnician coast and Palestine. It was at this juncture that Rome appeared as a factor in Eastern politics.

The utter defeat and humiliation of Carthage raised the confidence and pride of the Roman state to a high pitch. One must not think that the Roman Senate, which had charge of the conduct of affairs with foreign states, set out to destroy all the great kingdoms at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. The Senate did wish, however, to hinder the growth of a single great empire, such as Alexander had formed, since one consolidated empire would most certainly have endangered Rome's influence in the East. Accordingly, the policy of the Senate was to ally Rome with the weakest of the three great eastern states, Egypt, against any attempt on the part of the two strongest, Macedon and Syria, to increase their territory.

The smaller states of the East, the free state of Rhodes and the kingdom of Pergamum, were glad to find in Rome a protector against the ambitious designs of Philip V of Macedon, and Antiochus III of Syria. Philip seemed the most dangerous rival of Rome because he was the nearest. When Rome punished the Illyrian pirates and made some of the Greek cities her allies, Philip felt that the Macedonian leadership in Greek affairs was being endangered. It was

for this reason that he allied himself with Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ.

394. The Wars with Macedon and Syria.—When Philip and Antiochus, in 202 B. C., took advantage of the weakness of Egypt to increase their territory, Rome was appealed to by four of her allies, Athens, Pergamum, Rhodes, and Egypt. As Philip would not cease his aggressions, the Roman Senate and Assembly declared war upon him in 200 B. C. After the utter defeat of Philip in 197 B. C., at the battle near Cynoscephalæ (the “Dog’s Heads”), in Thessaly, Rome took no territory in Greece. The Greek states which Macedon had been ruling were declared to be “free,” without garrison or tribute, in full enjoyment of the laws of their respective countries.

Although the statesmen of Rome sincerely meant this, the affairs of Greece were so complicated that Rome was forced to take a hand in directing them, and in a short time the necessity of giving the last decision in Greek politics became a habit. Antiochus of Syria saw an opportunity of extending his own power, by appearing as the arbiter in Greek affairs. Some of the Greek states preferred to look to him, a prince descended from the old Macedonian nobility, rather than to Rome, as their protector. When Antiochus sent his troops into Greece and laid hold upon some cities which Rome had declared free, the Roman Senate was forced to declare war upon him, too. Even after Antiochus was driven out of Greece and signally beaten in Asia Minor at the battle of Magnesia (190 B. C.), Rome took no territory either in Greece or in Asia Minor. Her policy was still that of freeing the Greek cities and strengthening the weaker states, Rhodes, Egypt, and Pergamum, at the expense of Syria.

395. Last War with Macedon, 171–168 B. C.—Step by step the Roman habit of intervening in Greek politics and directing the affairs of the city-states grew. At the same time Rome began to appear to many of the Greeks as an oppressor rather than as a friend. Consequently when King Perseus, the successor of Philip of Macedon, prepared for a war against Rome, he claimed to be the champion

of the Greek interests against Roman intervention. At the battle of Pydna (168 B. C.) he was conquered by the Roman consul, Lucius Æmilius Paulus. Macedon was broken up into four republics, and ceased to exist as a kingdom and as a power in Greek politics. King Perseus himself was taken to Rome as a prisoner, and walked through the streets of the city in the triumphal procession which the Senate granted to Paulus. Before him walked his three children, two young princes and a princess of the ancient line of Macedon's nobles. A few years later Perseus died in imprisonment.

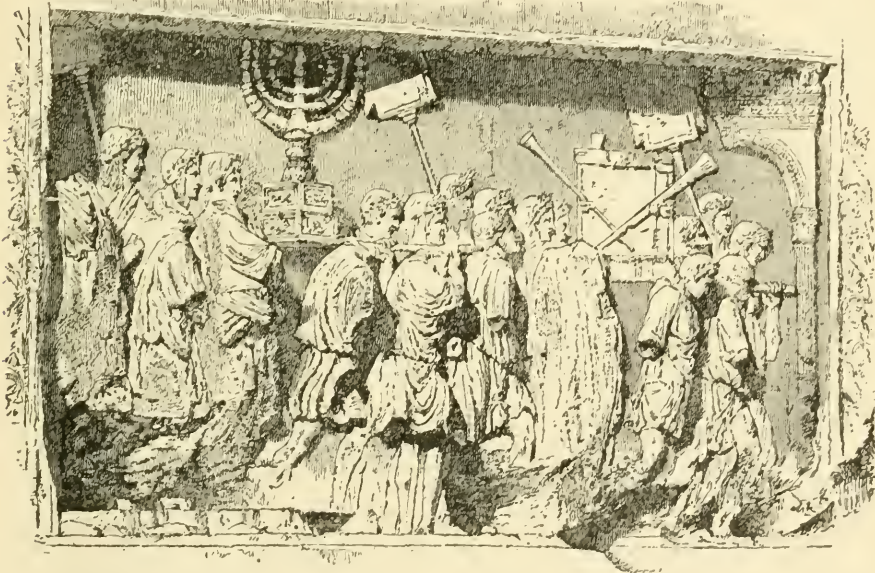
396. Triumph of Æmilius Paulus.—The triumph granted by the Senate was purely a Roman custom, a combination of religious thanksgiving to the gods and a military celebration of a great victory. Before a campaign, the general in command offered up a prayer to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in his temple upon the Capitoline hill. It was thought to be the sacred duty of the general after the war was ended, if the Senate considered his victory of enough moment, to march in festal procession through the city up the Capitoline hill, give thanks to the same god, and dedicate to him a part of the booty.

Plutarch, in his life of Æmilius Paulus, has left us a description of his triumph. It gives a singular picture out of the life of that time. Just as they do nowadays on the occasion of great parades, "the people erected scaffolds in all parts of the city which were convenient for seeing the procession; and on the day of the procession they were all dressed in white. The temples were set open, adorned with garlands, and smoking with incense. Many licitors and other officers compelled the disorderly crowd to make way, and open a clear passage."

On the first day the statues and paintings, which were taken from the enemy, were carried past in 250 wagons. On the second, the finest of the Macedonian armor and standards were drawn along, loaded on many wagons. Behind these "walked three thousand men who carried the silver money in 750 vessels, each borne by four men. Others brought

bowls, horns, goblets, and cups, all of silver, disposed in such order as would make the best show."

The third was the great day. Behind the trumpeters who led the procession came "120 fat oxen with their horns gilded and set off with garlands and ribbons. After them came the boys who carried the gold and silver vessels for the sacrifices. Next went the persons that carried the gold



BOOTY OF WAR CARRIED IN A ROMAN TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION.

Relief from the Arch of the Emperor Titus. It shows the Seven-branched Candelabrum taken in the Capture of Jerusalem, 70 A. D.

coin in vessels to the number of seventy-seven." It was in this procession that Perseus and his children walked. The conqueror, Paulus, rode "in a magnificent chariot, his fine bearing now set off with a purple robe interwoven with gold." It was said that when the royal children passed by, many of the spectators wept from pity at their fate.

397. The Change in the Roman Attitude.—Even before the war with Perseus the feeling at Rome toward Greece and the Eastern states had begun to change. When the decisions of the Roman Senate began to be regarded as the final word in the politics of Greece, Pergamum, Rhodes, and

Egypt, Roman merchants had followed her statesmen eastward, and found there a luxurious style of living which excited their greed.

Rome could no longer claim to be the protector of Greek liberty; for her merchants saw in Rome's influence in the East only an opportunity to make money, and thus terrible abuse of her power began. The Roman army, too, had become eager for booty. After the defeat of Perseus, seventy of the cities of Epirus were given over to the soldiers to plunder, on the order of the Roman Senate, after all the gold and silver ware had been taken for the state.

The sight of so much gold and silver, the wealth of Macedon and Epirus, in the triumphal procession of Paulus, seemed to win the Roman populace over to this policy of greed. From this time on the thought of the Roman state was bent upon conquest for the sake of adding territory and new tribute-paying subjects to the state, for the sake of the money to be made there by her wealthy men, for the sake of booty for her soldiers and glory for her generals.

398. The Results of the New Policy.—The next victim of this policy of destruction was Rhodes. This free state was not powerful, and could never be a menace to Rome; but her commerce in the Mediterranean was large. This fact aroused the avarice of the Roman merchant class, and on a mere pretext the territory of Rhodes, which had always been a faithful ally of Rome, was seized, and measures taken by which within a few years, Rhodes was robbed of her trade, the basis of her wealth and prosperity.

In Greece matters went from bad to worse. The little city-states fought useless and bloody wars with one another. The Roman Senate was appealed to time and again, now by one party, now by the other. In Macedon the division into four separate states had indeed so weakened the country that Rome had no cause to fear it; but it had brought only confusion and trouble in Macedon itself.

Hatred against Rome grew strong in Greece until, in 146 B. C., Rome was forced to declare war against the Achæan League. The defeat of the Achæans was sudden and com-

plete. In this year Macedon was made into a province of Rome, and the Roman governor took charge also of the affairs of Greece as its protector. Although free in name, the Greeks paid tribute to Rome. Corinth, which had been the center of the revolt, was utterly destroyed, by order of the Roman Senate (146 B. C.), and its citizens were cut down or sold as slaves. The beautiful city itself was first plundered, then burned to the ground. This crime against a civilized and wealthy city, one of the finest of the ancient world, was chiefly due to the hatred of Roman capitalists for Corinth because it was one of their chief competitors in the Eastern trade.

399. The Cause of the Third War with Carthage, 149-146 B. C.—The same inexcusable greed was the cause of the Third Punic War. After the Second Punic War, in spite of the restrictions and hindrances which the treaty put in the path of Carthage, the Punic city prospered again as a trade center. Under the protection of Rome, Masinissa, the king of Numidia, continually harassed the fated city. When the Carthaginian ambassadors who were sent to Rome could get neither help nor protection, they entered upon a defensive war against the Numidian.

The Roman Senate chose to look upon this action as a breach of the treaty of 201 B. C., which expressly stated that Carthage could wage no war without its consent. The Carthaginians were forced to submit to Rome's terms to avoid a war which meant their utter ruin. When Rome's ambassadors came to Africa, the Senate had given them secret orders that the city was to be destroyed; for there had long been a party in the Senate, backed by Rome's merchants, who had advocated this infamous act. It is said that Marcus Porcius Cato used to end all his speeches in the Senate with this remark: "And I think, too, that Carthage ought to be destroyed."

400. The Destruction of Carthage, 146 B. C.—When the Carthaginians had given up their arms, their war elephants, and their ships, the Roman ambassadors announced that they must leave the city and settle some place ten miles

back from the sea. By this means the Roman capitalists intended to ruin Carthage as a rival port.

This outrage and trickery inflamed the Carthaginians to such a pitch that the women of the city cut off their hair to make bow-strings for the catapults, and old and young united in a determination to fight to the death. For two years the Romans besieged the city in vain; but in 147 B. C., they put Publius Cornelius Scipio,¹ the son of L. Æmilius Paulus, in command. Though he was opposed to this inhuman policy of his state, as commander-in-chief he obeyed the Senate's orders. After repeated and desperate assaults, when the remaining inhabitants were weakened by hunger, the city was taken. Out of this stately and beautiful city of over 300,000 inhabitants, no more than 50,000 lived to be sold into slavery. For seventeen days the city burned. Then Scipio leveled its ruins, and guided the plough over the place where the walls had stood, to signify that the place was accursed and should never again rise from its ruins (146 B. C.). The territory about Carthage was then added to the Roman domain as the province of Africa.

401. The Power of Rome is Extended into Asia, 133 B. C.—The year 146 B. C. is one of the decisive dates in the history of the Mediterranean states. It marks (1) the end of Carthage and the destruction of Corinth; (2) the formation of the provinces of Macedon and Africa; and (3) the date at which the free Greek states were eliminated as factors in Mediterranean politics, and Greek history becomes only a subordinate part of the history of the Roman state.

In 133 B. C. the Roman Senate took another step which is important in its bearing upon the territorial expansion of the state. In this year the king of Pergamum died, and Roman officials from the East laid before the Senate a will of the dead ruler, which bequeathed his riches and his kingdom to Rome. No one knows to-day whether it was forged or true; but the Senate accepted the bequest, and formed out of it the province of Asia. Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia,

¹He was the nephew and, by adoption, the grandson of Scipio Africanus.

and Armenia, Asiatic states with Greek culture, became half dependent upon Rome. It was only a question of time until Rome should wish to spread over Asia, too, wherever



EXTENT OF THE ROMAN POSSESSIONS IN 133 B. C.

the Greek civilization had spread; for Rome had become the sole great power in the world whose culture was thoroughly Hellenic.

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1. FLAMINIUS AT THE ISTHMEAN GAMES.—Plutarch, *Life of Flaminius*.
2. POLYBIUS' FRIENDSHIP FOR AND ESTIMATE OF SCIPIO THE YOUNGER.—Polybius, Book XXXII, ch. 9–15; (in Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 144–150).
3. POPILIUS LAENAS AND THE EMBASSY TO ANTIOCHUS IV OF SYRIA.—Livy, XLV, ch. 10–12.

CHAPTER XXX

THE CHANGE IN ROMAN LIFE

402. Early Roman Literature.—The Romans were not by nature a people gifted, as the Greeks were, in expressing their thoughts well in poetry, or in carving beautiful statues in stone. They were, as the oldest forms of their religion prove, a practical farming people. Their early days handed down to future times no great epic poems, such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of the Hellenes. Their lives were filled with hard fighting and sober thought upon matters affecting the state.

They had, of course, their old songs, connected with the practical needs of life, especially with their religion. These were prayers and songs of thanksgiving to the gods, set in crude verse forms. Neither these, nor the annals of the priest, nor the records kept by the noble families of the deeds of their ancestors, could be regarded as good literature.

403. The Beginning of the Greek Influence.—In the third century B. C., in the war with Pyrrhus, with Tarentum, and with Carthage, the Romans were brought into contact with the great Mediterranean world. The culture of this world was the cosmopolitan, Greek culture, which had spread so rapidly after Alexander's conquests. Its language was the "common" Greek dialect which had become the general tongue used among all civilized peoples, although the native languages were still used in the different countries.

When Rome conquered the Greek cities of Italy and added Sicily to her provinces, it was essential that Rome's statesmen should understand and speak Greek. Many of the senators, in the time following the Second Punic War, not only spoke the language, but they were thoroughly imbued with Greek refinement and education. Among these were the Scipios, the conqueror of Hannibal

and the destroyer of Carthage; Flamininus, who conquered Philip of Macedon; and Æmilius Paulus, the victor over Perseus. As the Roman armies were sent into Sicily and into Greece the soldiers, too, picked up the language. The Roman merchants, who now began to travel into foreign lands, also learned it, and the slaves who were now coming into Italy in great numbers were, most of them, native Greeks. Thus the knowledge of the speech of the Hellenistic world, and the appreciation of its higher civilization, spread even among the lower classes at Rome and in Italy.

404. Introduction of the Greek Drama.—When Tarentum fell in 272 B. C., a young Greek prisoner was brought back to Rome as a slave and used as tutor to the children of his noble master. When he was freed by his master he called himself “Lucius Livius” Andronicus, the last being his real Greek name. He started a school at Rome, and in his work as teacher translated into Latin the *Odyssey*, which was used as a school-book in the Greek schools.

In the year 240 B. C., the “Roman Games” were celebrated with particular pomp because of the fortunate ending of the First Punic War. The ædiles, who were directing the games, permitted the exhibition of two Greek plays, a comedy and a tragedy. Livius Andronicus was asked to translate them into Latin. This event was the beginning of dramatic performances in Rome, and, with the translation of the *Odyssey*, it marks the beginning of a Latin literature. There was nothing distinctively Roman about it. It was the Greek literature transplanted to Rome.

405. The Comedies of Plautus, (B. C. 250–184).—During the Second Punic War an Umbrian named Plautus began to adapt Greek comedies for the Roman stage. At that time the New Comedy of Menander of Athens was delighting the Greek audiences in Syracuse and Tarentum. So it was Menander’s plays which Plautus re-wrote in Latin and sold to the Roman ædiles for public exhibition.

Twenty of the plays of Plautus have come down to us. The scene is always laid in Athens, or in some other Greek city; and the comedies satirize the typical figures of the

Athenian streets in the days after Alexander. There is the wealthy father who is devoted to his son; the miserly father; the son who is in love with some slave girl; the sly slave who helps the son in his love-affairs and fools his father. Usually the slave-girl proves to be some well-born young woman who has been stolen when she was a child, so that the love-affair turns out well. Plautus' comedy of the twin-brothers, the *Menæchmi*, was the model for Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*. The miser



SCENE FROM A ROMAN COMEDY.

From a Mosaic at Naples.



TERRA COTTA
STATUETTE
REPRESENTING
THE SLAVE
TYPE IN GREEK
COMEDY.

of *The Money-Pot* of Plautus was imitated by the great French comedy-writer, Molière, in his play called *The Avaricious Man*. This is a good example of the greatest service which Rome did for the world, in adopting Greek civilization and its literature, and handing down Greek works to mediæval and modern times, to serve as models and to give inspiration to later writers.

406. Terence (died 159 B. C.).—Terence was an African, possibly from Carthage, who was brought to Rome in his childhood as a slave. He, too, translated Greek comedies into Latin, and seven of these have come down to us. They have less that is Roman in them than the comedies of Plautus; for Terence kept even the Greek titles of the plays.

The Athenian life which is shown in these plays of the New Comedy was very immoral. To the stern Romans

its saucy and intriguing slaves were unknown in real life, because they ruled their slaves with an iron hand. The loose family ties and the whole moral tone were something new and strange at Rome. The easy and joyous life of the immoral Greek cities seemed much more attractive to the Romans than the sober, rather Puritanical discipline of their own state. Consequently the Greek Comedy had a great influence upon them. While it broadened them and set the refined Greek world and its ideas before their eyes, it also tended to break down the old Roman purity of family life.

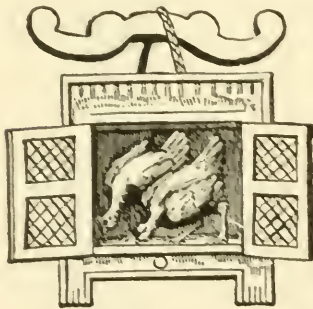
407. Greek Slaves as Teachers.—In many other ways the “hellenizing” of Rome went rapidly forward, bringing the good and evil side by side. The introduction of Greek slaves as teachers for the children of the noble Romans, which occurred before the Punic Wars, was one of the chief reasons for the change. Before the Punic Wars the education of Roman children had been quite elementary. The ability to read and write, to do simple sums in arithmetic—this was about all that was required. The chief text-book used was the Laws of the Twelve Tables, which the Roman pupil learned by heart.

The new position which Rome took in the great world after 250 B. C. made it necessary for her citizens to become cultured men. To talk with Greek gentlemen, the Romans needed to know something about literature and history. It would have been natural for them to study the works of their own great writers had there been any. Since there were none, the Greek masterpieces were introduced—Homer, and the dramas of Sophocles and Euripides. Greek was taught to children, and as a necessary preparation for the study of literature, Latin and Greek grammar were placed among the elementary subjects of instruction.

408. The Change in Religion.—The introduction of Greek literature and its ideas had a profound effect upon the Roman religious teachings. The mythological stories of the Hellenes made the Greek gods seem so much brighter and more beautiful than the practical, every-day Roman

deities, that the Romans were carried away by their charm. The Roman gods began to be identified with the Greek. Jupiter was said to be the same as Zeus, Juno the same as Hera. Neptune, the god of springs and rivers, was Poseidon, the Greek god of the ocean, and his realm was widened to include the ocean. Venus became the goddess of love, like the Greek Aphrodite. The stories about the gods of the Hellenes were transferred to the Roman deities, too. Among these were tales of immoral actions as well as good deeds. In this way the purity of the Roman religion suffered at the same time that it gained in charm.

The Greek literature which the Romans began to read was, of course, that which was popular in the Hellenistic world after Alexander's time (about 300-100 B. C.). The dramas of Euripides, with their attacks upon the immoral and foolish side of the Greek religion, and the romance of Euhemerus attacking the belief in the gods, were translated into Latin and widely read. This brought into Italy the Greek unbelief and religious doubt of that time. The effect upon the Roman polytheism was to weaken its hold upon the people much more quickly even than had been the case in Greece.



TAKING THE AUSPICES FROM
THE SACRED CHICKENS.

During the First Punic War a notable example of this change in religious spirit appears. In 249 B. C., Publius Claudius, who was one of the consuls in command of the Roman fleet off northwestern Sicily, wished to give battle to the Punic fleet in the harbor of Drepanum. When the advice of the gods was sought, as was the usual custom before a battle, the sacred chickens refused to eat the corn thrown in to them, and the priests declared that the gods advised them against fighting. Claudius was angry and ordered the chickens thrown into the sea. "If they will not eat, let them drink," he said. He suffered a great defeat, which the more religious of the Romans attributed to his sacrilege.

409. The Introduction of New Cults and the Opposition.—

When the Greek religious ideas began to influence Rome, a number of the Oriental forms of worship crept in along with the Greek religious views. In 220 B. C., when the Senate saw that the wild orgies of the Asiatic religions were quietly being introduced by slaves from the East, they tried to put a stop to the worship of the Egyptian deities, Isis and Serapis, by destroying their temples.

Among the foreign practices that were introduced was the Greek worship of Bacchus, in which drunkenness and great excesses prevailed. At last the Senate was forced to step in and forbid the worship, and punish with death a number who practiced it. We have still a copy of the decree of the Roman Senate, passed in the year 186 B. C., and inscribed upon a bronze tablet. The first paragraphs read thus:

Quintus Marcius, son of Lucius, and Spurius Postumius, son of Lucius, the consuls, called the Senate together upon the Nones [the seventh] of October in the temple of Bellona [goddess of war]. Marcus Claudius, son of Marcus, Lucius Valerius, son of Publius, Quintus Minucius, son of Gaius, were witnesses when the decree was inscribed. The Senate made the following decision affecting the allies in regard to the Bacchanalian festival:

“Let no one wish to hold the Bacchanalia. If there are any who say that their religious convictions make it necessary to hold these rites, they must come to the city prætor at Rome, so that their cases may be heard and our Senate decide upon it. No less than 100 senators must be present when the matter is voted on.”

Other provisions followed which were intended to suppress the worship, excepting where special permission was granted, and only then to congregations numbering less than six. All those who worshipped in secret were to be punished with death. Despite this and similar laws against foreign worships, many new religions kept creeping into Italy and Rome, to aid in breaking down the old belief.

410. The Effect Upon the Position of Women.—In the

early days of Rome the women were highly respected by their husbands, and we have many stories to illustrate the nobility of their character. Yet they had no rights at all under the Roman law. When a woman was married, her husband had absolute control of herself and her property, could punish her, even with death, and dispose of her property in his will. Divorce was a thing unheard of.

The old attitude toward women suffered a great change under the broadening influence of the Greek ideas. In Hellenistic times women had played a great rôle in the politics of the kingdoms ruled by Alexander's successors. The first time that we see the definite results of this at Rome is in the year 195 B. c. During the Second Punic War a law had been passed forbidding women to wear more than half an ounce of gold, to appear in gay dresses, or ride in chariots. In 195 B. c. the women demanded the repeal of this law. They went so far as to stand in the streets about the Forum, where the matter was being voted on, and tried to make the men promise to vote down the objectionable law. Their influence brought about its repeal.

Very soon the former ideas about a woman's subjection to her husband seemed old-fashioned. Women began to have money in their own right and to receive inheritances. The emancipation of women was making progress.

411. Effects Upon Family Life.—While all these changes were taking place, the old purity of Roman family life was sadly weakened, and the simplicity of the Roman mode of living gave way to luxury. The Roman matrons of wealthy families no longer looked after the cooking, but bought slaves whose special duty was to prepare fine dishes. Fine silver plate became fashionable in the houses of the wealthy, as well as richly embroidered carpets, and fine imported dresses for the women.

With the growth in luxury came other things which may unquestionably be considered as evils. Divorce became common. Many of the young Romans preferred to live

as bachelors rather than to marry and take the responsibility of rearing families, unless they could marry into a family of wealth. Thus Roman life lost and gained when it came under the influence of the outside world, lost in simplicity and purity what it gained in breadth of view.

412. Cato and the Opposition.—Men were not lacking at Rome who saw that their fatherland was undergoing a fundamental change. Among those was Cato the Elder (234–149 B. C.). Born of poor parents, he worked his way up through all the grades of the state offices. Throughout his life he fought against the growing Hellenistic influence. He affected the simple life of the old days of Rome. “He himself says that he never wore a suit of clothes that cost more than a hundred drachmas,¹ and that, when he was general and consul, he drank the same wine which his workmen did.”

He used all his influence against the growing luxury in living. As censor he caused a heavy tax to be set on household furniture, dresses, and carriages of very costly workmanship. Yet Cato himself was not able to go counter to all the tendencies of the day. For example, he himself taught his own son to read and write, and educated him in grammar and in law, as Roman fathers had done in the old days; but he allowed a slave in his household, a good grammarian named Chilo, to earn money for him by teaching other Roman children. Cato ridiculed Greek philosophy, and when Greek philosophers came to the city and charmed the Roman youth with their lectures, he had them sent away as quickly as possible.

This hard-headed, hard-fisted statesman was quite right in his belief that the new Greek ideas and the Greek literature would destroy the real national life of Rome and Italy; for Rome, too, was destined to become Hellenic and spread its Hellenic-Roman civilization through the west of Europe. Against this movement, Cato, in speech and by his laws, worked in vain.

¹A drachma was equal to about eighteen cents.

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2. CATO'S ACTIVITY AS CENSOR.—Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 95-97; Plutarch, *Life of Marcus Cato*; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, p. 100.
3. THE ROMAN WOMEN IN POLITICS, 195 B. C.—Livy, Book XXXIV, ch. 1-8; Abbott, *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*, pp. 45-53.

CHAPTER XXXI

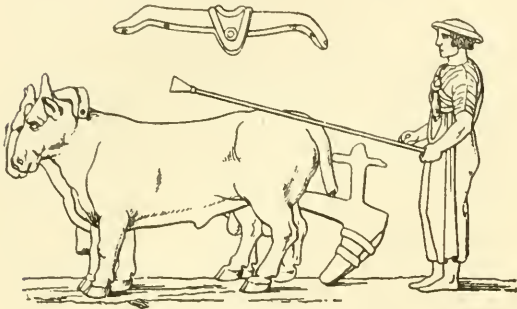
THE GRACCHI AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

413. Change in Agricultural Conditions in Italy.—The territorial expansion of Rome in the east and west, which ended with the year 133 B. C., brought with it a great change in the conditions of living in Italy. From the earliest times of the republic, the small farmers had been forced to fight against the growth of large estates in the hands of the senatorial nobility. This fight against the monopoly of farming land by a few was made harder for the poor farmers during the Second Punic War; for it was the middle class of Roman and Italian farmers which furnished the bulk of the armies of the Roman republic. While these men were away upon campaigns their farms were not so well cared for. Thus, many of the small farmers were forced to borrow money from the wealthy owners of large estates, and the mortgaged farms soon went to increase the acres of wealthier neighbors. For seventy-five years after the provinces of Spain were formed, the state was compelled to maintain large armies there; and because of the distance and the cost of transporting new armies, the term of service sometimes was extended to six years. In this way the policy of conquest entered upon by the state helped to make it impossible for the small farmers to hold their own against the land-greed of the wealthy.

414. Effect of Importation of Grain from the Provinces.—After Sicily had become a Roman province, many of the senatorial nobles, who were as a class forbidden by law to engage in tax-farming or trade, began to invest their money in large tracts in Sicily. They found that they could ship grain to Rome and the other Italian cities and sell it there more cheaply than the Italian grain was sold, and still make a good profit. This practice of importing grain

increased the hardship of the small farmers. They could no more compete on equal terms with the owners of the extensive grain fields in Sicily, than a small factory or small store to-day can compete successfully with great manufacturing combinations, or with our large department stores.

The owners of the great estates in Italy did not suffer from the importation of grain as the poorer farmers did. They found that cattle-raising was a very profitable way of using their great Italian estates; for a few cheap and unintelligent slaves could care for large herds of cattle, so that the cost of labor on the ranges was small. In this way cattle-grazing on large ranges took the place of the small farming which had been the



AN ITALIAN PLOUGHMAN.

basis of Italian life, and had filled the Roman armies with free and sturdy tillers of the soil. The peasants turned into professional soldiers or moved to the cities, especially to Rome, to swell its increasing numbers of restless poor.

415. Increase in the Slave Traffic.—The number of captives taken by the Romans in the Second Punic War in Spain, Sicily, and Africa was great. Most of these came into Italy as slaves. The wars in Greece from 201 to 146 B. C. yielded an even greater number, as the following statement of Plutarch in his life of Æmilius Paulus will show:

The Senate had made a decree that the soldiers who had fought under him against Perseus should have the spoil of the cities of Epirus. In order, therefore, that they might fall upon them unexpectedly, Paulus sent for ten of the principal inhabitants of each city, and fixed a day for them to bring in whatever silver and gold could be found in their cities and temples. But when the day came the Roman soldiers rushed upon all the inhabitants, and began to seize

and plunder them. Thus in one hour 150,000 persons were made slaves and seventy cities sacked.

To these must be added the great numbers who were captured at the taking of Corinth and Carthage in 146 B. C., and the young children stolen by pirates in the East and sold by the regular dealers in slaves.

416. The Result in Italy.—The slaves used as field hands and herdsmen in Italy were worked to the limit of human endurance and fed as cheaply and simply as possible.¹ The free laborer, who had to be paid for his services, was no longer wanted. This was an additional cause of the disappearance of the Italian farming class; for the free man who was forced to sell his farm could not even obtain work on the large estates.

The introduction of masses of slaves brought about a decrease in the population of Italy, because the owners did not encourage their slaves to marry and raise families. It was cheaper to buy full grown slaves from the dealers than to raise them from childhood. At the same time the families of the poorer classes of free men were becoming smaller because the poor could no longer afford to raise many children. The growing indulgence and love of luxury among the higher classes made them, too, unwilling to have the care of supporting a large household of children. On every side, therefore, the size of the Roman families began to decrease. Yet the city of Rome continued to grow in population because of the many who poured into it from the country districts of Italy and from foreign lands.

417. Tiberius Gracchus.—There were men among the Roman nobles who were aware of the poverty of the lower classes, and looked with dread upon the decrease in the num-



A ROMAN FIELD SLAVE.

¹Cato the Censor wrote a book in which he tells, in a manner which seems to us brutal and inhuman, how to get the best results from slaves on the least money.

ber of the peasants. They seemed afraid, however, to attack the wealthy capitalists of the Senate; or else they thought that the situation was incurable. Conditions therefore remained unchanged until, in the year 133 B. C., a young man became tribune of the plebs, who burned with an honest zeal to help his country, and thought that his greatest opportunity of service lay in reviving the diminishing class of small farmers. This was Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, whose mother, Cornelia, was the daughter of Scipio Africanus.

Cornelia was of the best type of Roman matron, mentally gifted and of strong character. She herself conducted the early training of her son Tiberius and his younger brother Gaius, and gave them later the advantage of a broad education under the best Greek rhetoricians and philosophers of that day. Her pride in her sons was great. Once when a Roman matron called upon her and proudly showed her jewels, Cornelia sent for her two boys, saying, "These are my jewels."

418. Land Law Passed in the Tribuneship of Tiberius Gracchus.—The reason which drove Tiberius Gracchus to undertake the reform of social evils is told by Plutarch. "His brother Gaius said in a book which he wrote, that when Tiberius was going through Etruria into Spain, he saw the deserted condition of the country, and that the free farmers and herdsmen had been displaced by imported slaves and barbarians." Then first the impulse to lead the reforms came to him.

To increase the number of the free farmers it was necessary that land be given out to the poorer citizens in small holdings. The method which Tiberius employed to get this land was one which caused strong opposition in senatorial circles. As tribune, Tiberius proposed a law in the Tribal Assembly, providing that the rich estate-owners should be deprived of all the state land which they had usurped, excepting 500 "jugera."¹ A man with sons, however, might hold

¹ A jugerum is about equal to two-thirds of an acre.

250 "jugera" for one son and the same amount for a second son; but the maximum holding of state domain should be 1,000 "jugera." The proposal was quite just, inasmuch as the land really belonged to the state. The large tracts that were thus reclaimed by the state were to be parceled out to poorer citizens in farms which probably did not exceed thirty acres each.

419. Opposition of Octavius and Death of Gracchus.—

To the capitalists who for generations had used the public lands as their own, this law seemed an attack upon their lawful rights. The opposition found in Octavius, a fellow-tribune and friend of Gracchus, a man who would fight for their interests. As often as the law was proposed before the people, Octavius shouted his veto. At last Tiberius was driven to extreme measures to carry the legislation which he desired. He arose before the assembly and proposed that Octavius be ejected from his office because he acted contrary to the interests of the sovereign people. The motion was passed, Octavius was removed from the Assembly, and the measure of Tiberius Gracchus became a law. A commission of three was appointed to do the work of confiscating and parceling the lands.

When he deposed Octavius, Tiberius took a step which was quite contrary to the Roman laws and custom; for no Roman official, least of all the sacred tribune, could be deprived of his office. Threats were made against the life of Tiberius, and he felt that he must again win the tribuneship, or fall a victim to the glowing hatred of the senators. Reëlection to this office was also a new idea, and contrary to the Roman custom. Upon the day of the elections for the year 132 B. C., there was rioting at the polls between the friends and opponents of Gracchus. Finally a large troop of senators, who regarded Tiberius as a dangerous enemy to their order and to the state, marched from the Senate house and attacked his supporters with clubs. In the struggle Gracchus and 300 of his followers were beaten to death.

420. Gaius Gracchus Elected Tribune, 123 B. C.—The early and violent death of Tiberius Gracchus does not mean that

he failed entirely in his mission. A great deal was done by the land commission in distributing the state domain before the Senate dared to stop the work. Yet the measures introduced by Tiberius could bring only temporary relief, and could not shake off the powerful grasp of the senatorial ring upon the machinery of government.

In 124 B. C., the younger Gracchus, called Gaius, returned to Rome from Sardinia, where he had spent a year as quæstor. To him the people had been looking for leadership in the struggle begun by his brother against the Senate. He was endowed with youth, energy, and passionate eloquence, gifts which were needed in a popular leader. He longed to avenge his brother's death, and at the same time serve the cause of the poor. Both of these ends he hoped to reach by breaking the Senate's power. Therefore he entered the campaign for the tribuneship of the year 123 B. C., and was elected against the strongest opposition which the Senate could make.

421. Grain Laws Help to Break the Senate's Hold Upon the Poorer Classes.—Gaius Gracchus saw that a successful leader of the democratic movement which his brother had begun must have a more solid and dependable support than was afforded by the poorer citizens alone. He therefore tried to build up a party which should combine against the Senate the votes of the lower classes in the assemblies with the influence and wealth of the middle class, the knights. Between the death of Tiberius and the election of Gaius in 123 B. C., a law had been passed which permitted the re-election of the tribunes. This made it possible for the democratic leader, if he could retain his hold upon the popular favor, to continue in office for several years, and thus have time to develop and carry out his reform measures.

The poorer citizens had been bound to the patrician nobles as clients, because the latter supplied them with their chief pleasure, the gladiatorial shows, and supported them when they were destitute. In order to free the people from this dependence, Gaius Gracchus proposed and passed a

law that grain should be sold by the state each month to the people at one-half the market price. Thus the people themselves in the Tribal Assembly seemed to take the place of the senatorial nobility as benefactors of the poor. In after years this law of the "grain-doles" proved harmful to the state. For it was abused by those who tried to gain the good will and the votes of the people by promising them cheaper and cheaper grain. The result was that a class of lazy poor was developed at Rome, who expected and demanded support from the state.

422. How Gaius Gained the Support of the Knights.—

The wealthy Romans who were not of senatorial rank were won over to the support of Gracchus' schemes by a law passed by the Tribal Assembly, which allowed the contracts for collecting the taxes of the new province of Asia to be let out by the censors at Rome. Since the senators could not legally engage in tax-farming, all this vast business, with its opportunities of honest and dishonest gain, was thrown open to the Roman knights.

Not so much to gain the support of the knights as to weaken the Senate, Gaius had the Tribal Assembly pass a law which gave the control of the jury courts over to the knights. Formerly all the members of the courts had been of senatorial rank; and the inability to convict thieving provincial governors and other senatorial rascals in these courts surely warranted a change in the system.

423. His Social Reforms.—During his two years as tribune—for he was reëlected to the tribuneship for the year 122 B. C.—Gaius Gracchus passed several other laws designed to benefit the people. Through one of these, the period of military service demanded of the citizens was lessened. He continued the policy of Tiberius of giving land in small allotments to citizens. He established colonies in lower Italy, attempting to bring back some of its old prosperity to that wasted section. By the new roads which he caused to be built, he hoped to revive the farming and other industries of Italy.

Under his influence also the Tribal Assembly passed a law

permitting a colony to be established upon the old site of Carthage. None of these laws aroused so much opposition as a proposal which he made to extend the full rights of Roman citizenship to the Latins, and the partial rights held by the Latins to the other Italian allies.

424. Gracchus Loses Popularity: His Death.—This last measure was the one which reflects the greatest credit upon the statesmanship of Gaius Gracchus. The Latin allies had long chafed under the unequal distribution of their burdens and privileges as members of the Roman state. The state needed them as full citizens, and Gracchus merely proposed to give them the rights which they gained forty years later through the suffering and bloodshed of a civil war. The populace of Rome, however, was jealous of its citizen privileges, and too selfish to share with the Latins the right to the grain-doles and the enjoyment of the public games. Their opposition forced Gracchus to drop this plan and gave the nobility a chance to turn the people against him.

While Gracchus was absent in Africa arranging for the colony at Carthage, the senatorial party were busy ruining his popularity. They lured the people away from him by promising them many new colonies in Italy—promises which they did not intend to fulfill, and could not fulfill. As a result, Gracchus was defeated for the third term of the tribuneship which he was seeking. In the rioting which accompanied this election, the Senate declared Gracchus and his followers outlaws, and the consul with the armed senators at his back marched upon the supporters of Gaius. Three thousand of the party of Gracchus were killed in the streets of Rome, and Gaius saved himself from murder at the hands of his enemies by committing suicide. For the next twenty years the people's party lacked a great leader, and the Senate returned to its old control of the affairs of state.

425. Results of the Gracchan Movement.—The agitation started by Tiberius Gracchus, and carried on by Gaius, was intended to better the condition of the lower classes

of the people. Their work, however, brought about political changes in the Roman state, the end of which the Gracchi themselves could not foresee. The immediate results have been given above. The following results were more enduring in their consequences, and therefore far more important:

1. *Breaking of the Senate's Control.* While the Gracchi were active as tribunes, the control of the state was shifted from the Senate, with the consuls as its administrative officials, to the Tribal Assembly under the leadership of the tribunes. This is seen in the laws passed by the Assembly during this time. The Senate had formerly passed all laws which involved expenditures out of the state treasury. In passing the grain laws the Assembly took this power into its own hands; for the grain was bought and sold at a loss to the state. In voting to establish colonies in Italy and Africa, the Assembly interfered with the control of the provinces, which had formerly been left to the Senate's judgment. The law which provided that the taxes of Asia were to be farmed at Rome interfered with the Senate's former power, both over the provinces and over the state treasury. For the time being, the people, led by the Gracchi, assumed the leadership so long held by the Senate.

2. *Social Conditions Brought Before the People.* The speeches of the Gracchi awakened the minds of the people to their powerless position in the state, to the absolute control of the Senate, and to the Senate's abuse of that control.

3. *Formation of the Democratic Party.* By joining the knights with the people, Gaius Gracchus formed the democratic party. The combination was strong enough to oppose the Senate successfully whenever it could find a courageous and capable leader. Upon this popular party, with its platform of opposition to the rule of the Senate, and its control through the tribunate, Julius Cæsar seventy years later built up his one man rule of the Roman state. The work of the Gracchi therefore, little as they suspected it at the time, was to organize and set in motion the forces which overthrew the Roman "Republic."

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2. FARMING IN ANCIENT ITALY.—Preston and Dodge, *Private Life of the Romans*, ch. 5.
3. HOW TIBERIUS GRACCHUS DEPOSED THE TRIBUNE OCTAVIUS.—Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, ch. 10-12; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 163-4.
4. OMEANS AND DEATH OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.—Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, ch. 16-19.
5. DEATH OF GAIUS GRACCHUS.—Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus*, ch. 15-17.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE POPULAR AND SENATORIAL PARTIES CONTINUES

426. The Senate Regains Control.—By the death of Gaius Gracchus, the popular party was deprived of its leader, and cowed into submission. The Gracchi had shown that, through the Tribal Assembly and the tribunes, the people themselves might rule the state; but for the next fifteen years this lesson seemed lost. The Senate again assumed control and matters went on in the old way, the tribunes not daring to oppose the will of the senatorial leaders. The war with Jugurtha, king of Numidia, brought a new democratic leader to the front in the person of Gaius Marius, and again showed the weakness and depravity of the senatorial rule.

427. The Jugurthine War, 112–105 B. C.—In 118 B. C. Jugurtha came to the throne of Numidia in northern Africa, sharing the power with his two cousins. He was a man of powerful build, a great hunter, well trained in the Roman camps in Spain, and filled with an endless ambition. He soon brought about the murder of one cousin, and laid plans to destroy the other.

The Roman Senate had an interest in the affairs of Numidia and was in a position to dictate to its kings. The commissions which they sent out to inquire into the complaints about Jugurtha's high handed actions, were bribed with great gifts to make reports favorable to Jugurtha. At last, emboldened by the lack of energy shown by the Roman Senate, and contrary to its commands, he laid siege to Cirta, the capital of his cousin's kingdom, took the city, tortured his cousin to death, and slew all the Italian merchants who lived there.

By this event the Roman Senate was forced to declare war upon Jugurtha, but its armies accomplished little

against the wary African. The rumor spread among the people at Rome that the Senate and the commanding officers had been bribed. In 110 B. C., Jugurtha was asked to come to the city and testify before the people upon the question of bribery of the commissions and generals. When Jugurtha appeared before the Assembly, a tribune, who was acting in the interest of the senatorial party, forbade him to speak. Thus the Senate was able to put a stop to the investigation.

Jugurtha improved his time in Rome by having a pretender to his throne put out of the way by murder—yet he escaped scot-free from the city. It is reported that he looked back upon Rome as he was leaving and said: "A city for sale and destined soon to perish, whenever a buyer can be found."

428. Rise of Marius the Plebeian.—The Jugurthine war was now carried on with greater vigor, but without greater success; for the discipline of the army was demoralized and the generals corrupt. In 108 B. C., Gaius Marius, who was serving as an officer with the Roman army in Africa, was elected consul, and given charge of the war for the year 107 B. C. He was a rough, plain soldier, son of a day-laborer. He saw that the feeling aroused by the Senate's misconduct of the war was strong, and gained his high office and command of the war by criticizing the senatorial leaders of the army, thus gaining the good will of the people. By this means he became the strongest man of the popular party and leader of their opposition to the senatorial party.

In 106 B. C., Jugurtha was betrayed to a young Roman general, an aristocrat named Sulla, who was serving under Marius. He was taken a prisoner to Rome and walked in the triumph of the consul Marius. When thrust into the cold dungeon which served as the death-chamber of Roman state prisoners, whence no one ever re-appeared, he cried out, "Oh, what a cold bath."

The aristocracy tried to make light of Marius' success in the war, claiming that Sulla had captured Jugurtha; but they could not destroy the people's admiration for their

new-found leader. The hatred then engendered in Marius towards the senatorial aristocracy and its favorite, Sulla, was destined in later years to bring woe upon the city of Rome.

429. The Danger of the German Invasion.—The enthusiasm for Marius was kept glowing by his able management of a dangerous invasion which, for the time being, caused the struggles of the parties to be forgotten. In 113 B. C., a great band of tall and light-haired warriors, the Cimbri, had appeared in Gaul, moving irresistibly forward out of the unknown forests of Germany. Joined by the tribes of the Teutons, they moved about Gaul, defeating, with terrific slaughter, the Roman commanders sent against them. At last the people could no longer stand the incompetence of the aristocratic generals who led their armies.



A GERMAN WARRIOR.

To meet the danger from the Cimbri and Teutons, Marius was elected consul for the second time, in the year 104 B. C., and reelected for the next four years.

Both the reelection in 104 B. C., and the continued holding of the office by one man, were contrary to the Roman law. Marius proved, however, that the people were justified in their faith in him. At Aquæ Sextiæ in lower Gaul he defeated the Teutons, in the year 102 B. C., in a battle which caused the utter annihilation of the German horde. The following year he met the Cimbri in the Po Valley, and showed the superiority of the Roman tactics and arms over the savage strength of the Germans by destroying their band utterly.

430. Meaning of the Career of Marius.—Under the old system of the Roman government the commanders-in-chief of the armies, that is the consuls, changed each year. The repeated elections of Marius show that the Roman people had come to the conclusion that the old system was not adequate in the face of so great a danger as the invasion

of the Cimbri and Teutons. The state must have its ablest general in command continuously until the peril was over, and the unconstitutional reëlection of Marius made this possible.

The reëlections of Marius also taught the politicians of Rome what power one man could attain if he could hold his popularity with the citizens and, through their votes, keep control of the armies of the state. This lesson became later a great factor in the overthrow of the senatorial republic. For the one-man rule of Julius Cæsar, like the unusual power of Marius, was founded upon the backing of the armies, combined with the votes of the rabble of Rome.

431. The Political Defeat of Marius, 100 B. C.—The growing neglect of the constitutional customs appears clearly in the events of the year 100 B. C., through which Marius lost his political power and his position at one blow. Since the time of the Gracchi, the program of the democratic party had been to pass grain laws and to obtain grants of land for the poor. In the year 100 B. C., a democratic agitator, a tribune named Saturninus, was advocating these measures together with a demand for colonies in which the veterans of Marius' army were to be placed. The methods which Saturninus and his followers used were so violent and contrary to law, that the knights were frightened, withdrew from their connection with the democratic leaders, and joined the senatorial party. When Saturninus seized the capitol, the Senate passed a decree which forced Marius, then consul, to attack his old friends. In the fight which resulted, Saturninus, who was holding the sacred office of tribune of the Roman people, and a prætor were slain. The event shows how respect for the magistrates had declined, and how near the republic was to its end. Marius, hated by the senatorial party and distrusted by the popular party which he had betrayed, was forced to retire from his public career.

432. The Attempted Reforms of Livius Drusus, 91 B. C.—Ever since Gaius Gracchus had made his proposal that the

Italian allies should share in the rights of Roman citizenship, the allies had been discontented. Their only hope, as they well knew, lay with the democratic party. Every proposal which looked toward such a reform was beaten by the Senate. In the ten years following the downfall of Marius, the new alliance of the knights with the senatorial party had increased the oppression of Roman rule in the provinces; for the senatorial governors now combined with the tax-farmers to rob the provincials to the utmost limit.

In 91 B. C., Livius Drusus, a young man of senatorial rank and aristocratic lineage, appeared as a reformer, hoping through the tribuneship to correct many abuses, but, most of all, the two just mentioned. Since the courts were comprised of knights who would not punish the tax-farmers when they were accused of extortion, Drusus thought that he must change the jury-courts so that they should include both senators and knights.

There was no doubt that the Roman assemblies had lost much of their dignity and importance. Drusus hoped to put new and vigorous blood into the assemblies, as well as to satisfy the discontent of the Italians, by admitting them to citizenship. This last proposal gave rise to the greatest bitterness against the noble young tribune. He was accused of treason, of aspiring to the kingship, and was felled by the dagger of an assassin. His proposals were then either dropped or annulled.

433. The War of the Allies (Social War), 90-88 B. C.—The death of Drusus, their champion, was the signal for a revolt of the Italian allies, headed by the strongest members of the Roman state in central and southern Italy, the Marsians, Samnites, and Lucanians. They felt that their military duties were too heavy. For service in the Roman cavalry was a great financial burden to the well-to-do, and the levies of infantry from the poorer classes were large. Despite this burden of military service, the Italians did not share in the booty taken in war, or in the cheap grain sold by the government. They determined, therefore, to form a government of their own.

In the first year of the war (90 B. C.), the result of the fighting was unfavorable to Rome, although Sulla was acting as an officer on the staff of one of the consuls, and Marius with



LEADEN BULLET USED BY A SLINGER IN THE WAR OF THE ALLIES.

Written upon it is: "Feri Pomp(eium)," i. e., "Hit Pompey," referring to Pompeius Strabo, Consul of the year 89 B. C., and Father of Pompey the Great.

the other. Although Marius displayed his usual keenness and generalship in these campaigns, he was forced to retire in disgrace at the end of the year, for his

enemies maligned him by declaring that he was growing old and had lost his vigor.

434. Citizenship Granted to the Allies.—For a time it seemed that civil war in Italy would shake to pieces the great Roman state, a disaster which neither the brilliant generalship of Hannibal was able to bring about nor yet the savage onslaught of the barbarian Cimbri and Teutons. In view of the danger, the consul Lucius Julius Cæsar,¹ in 90 B. C., proposed the Julian Law, by which full citizenship was given to the Latins and to those allies who had not revolted. In the next year another law granted citizenship to all the allies then in rebellion against Rome who would come to the Roman magistrate within sixty days and lay down their arms.

Thus Rome was forced at the point of the sword to throw aside the policy of exclusiveness in her citizenship. The principle for which Livius Drusus had died was adopted within the year—but only after Rome had lost thousands of her citizens and allies upon the field of battle.

The laws granting citizenship broke the spirit of the revolt. Sulla, who was made consul for the year 88 B. C., crushed the remaining bands of rebels with a severity which left its marks upon central Italy for years to come.

435. A General View of the Civil Wars, 88-48 B. C.—No sooner had the state surmounted this danger than it

¹This Cæsar is to be distinguished from his younger relative, the great Julius Cæsar.

was hurled into a succession of civil wars between leaders of the democratic and senatorial parties. The senatorial aristocracy refused to give up any of its selfish privileges. The democratic leaders saw the discontent of the masses and made use of it for their own purposes. It was not the noble desire of the Gracchi to cure the poverty and ills in the Roman state which inspired these leaders. It was their own ambition for power. So the struggle continued until a great man came who made himself first the idol of the Roman mob, then master of the mob and the Senate alike. This was Julius Cæsar.

436. The Eastern Reaction: Mithradates.—The civil wars, and the growth of the power of one man over the Senate, is connected with a foreign war which endangered Rome's hold upon Asia. This was the war with Mithradates, king of Pontus, in which several of the Roman leaders won that military renown necessary to catch and hold the attention of the people.



ATHENIAN SILVER COIN, STAMPED WITH THE HEAD OF MITHRADATES.

The Greek Letters on the other side read: "of King Mithradates Eupator." The Coin Testifies to the Alliance Existing between Athens and Mithradates.

Mithradates had come to the throne of Pontus as a boy about eleven years old. His youth was passed amid hardships and dangers which hardened his powerful body, and made his Oriental nature unusually cruel and suspicious. Before 90 B. C. he had extended his kingdom of Pontus until it included all the lands bordering on the Black Sea. Upon the north side, it stretched beyond the Tauric Chersonese almost to the Ister River. When he tried to extend his territory in Asia Minor over Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia, he came into conflict with states dependent upon Rome, and the Senate found it necessary to check him.

The prince Mithradates regarded himself as a cultured Greek rather than as an Oriental monarch. The lettering of his coins was Greek. He delighted in reading Greek authors, in seeing and talking with cultured men of the Greek race. In spite of this, he must be regarded as a leader of the eastern reaction against the Greek ideas introduced into western Asia by Alexander. The Mithradatic wars, therefore, are to be connected with the Persian wars of 490-480 B. C., and with the conquests of Alexander, as one other phase of the great contests between East



ASIA MINOR AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MITHRADATIC WARS.

and West which have centered time and again about the Mediterranean Sea.

437. Massacre of Italians in Asia.—The Romans were not well prepared for the war with Mithradates when it broke out in 89 B. C. All Asia Minor, even the Greek cities, hailed the Pontic prince as its liberator from Roman oppression, and the Roman province of Asia fell entirely under his control. In spite of their closer relation with the Romans in culture and race, the Greeks sided with Mithradates because they were embittered by the injustice of the Roman rule in Greece and Asia Minor.

In 88 B. C., the hatred engendered in the East against Rome showed itself in a terrible outbreak. At the order of Mithradates all the Italians living in Asia Minor, men, women, and children, slaves and free alike, were massacred. The number of the slain is given by ancient writers as 80,000. From a speech which the orator Cicero made in the year 66 B. C., when he was urging that Gnaeus Pompey be put in charge of the war with Mithradates, we learn of the financial panic which this massacre and the loss of Asia caused at Rome:

We ought surely to keep in mind the lesson which this same Asia and this same Mithradates taught us at the beginning of the Asiatic war. For we know how payment of debts was stopped at Rome and credit shaken when so many had lost their property in Asia. (Cicero, *Manilian Law*, ch. VII.)

438. Civil War Between Sulla and Marius.—In 88 B. C., when the Senate declared war upon Mithradates, Sulla was consul. He had just stamped out the last sparks of the Italian revolt, had a trained and loyal army at his back, and had already had dealings in Asia with Mithradates. In the city, however, another popular movement was going on under the leadership of a democratic tribune. Because Sulla was an aristocrat, he was deposed from his command, and the conduct of the war was turned over to the aged democratic leader, Marius.

Enraged by this treatment, Sulla marched with his army upon Rome from his camp in Campania. In the streets of the city the unorganized mob of Marius' followers fought with the armed veterans of Sulla and were slaughtered. Marius fled for his life, while Sulla established the senatorial party in power and then left with his army for Greece, which had been invaded by Mithradates.

439. Flight and Return of Marius.—The flight of Marius, pursued by the adherents of Sulla, was filled with dangers. At one town in Italy the magistrates sent a Gaul to kill him; but the slave was so terrified by the gleam of the old man's eyes and his thundering voice that he ran away shouting, "I cannot kill Gaius Marius." Marius escaped into Africa,

and returned to Rome when he learned that Sulla had left for Greece, and that the democratic leader, Cinna, was marching upon the city with a combined force of all those discontented with the Senate's rule.

The democratic troops took the city with little effort. Then Marius, at the head of his troops, began a butchery of the senatorial leaders and followers which lasted five days. The heads of the murdered magistrates and wealthy men of Rome were piled near the rostra. Thus Marius, who had saved the state in the time of the German invasion, became its scourge. His dream that he was to be seven times consul was fulfilled when he took the consulship for the year 86 B. C. Luckily, he died early in the year, and the other democratic leaders put an end to the massacres. The democratic party, now grown into a restless mob without able leaders, controlled affairs at Rome until the return of Sulla. The democratic leaders appointed governors over all the provinces, and sent out generals to take the command of the Mithradatic War away from Sulla.

440. Return of Sulla, 83 B. C.—In the years 87–84 B. C., Sulla proved himself a masterly general in his conduct of the war against Mithradates. Although he was declared an outlaw by the democratic government at home, although democratic leaders appeared in Greece and Asia to take command of his army and the war, Sulla forced Mithradates out of Greece, defeated him in Asia, reconquered the province of Asia, and made a treaty of peace favorable to Rome. Unfortunately, he inflicted a severer penalty upon the province of Asia than upon Mithradates, by forcing it to pay in the taxes unpaid during the five years of revolt from Rome, a sum amounting to over \$20,000,000.

When Sulla landed in Italy in 83 B. C., all those classes who sympathized with the senatorial aristocracy, and those who were tired of the democratic misrule, came to his camp. Among these were two young men who later became prominent in the history of Rome, Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Pompeius (Pompey). Late in the next year the final battle was fought before the gates of Rome between

the troops of Sulla and the democratic forces. It ended in a complete victory for Sulla, in which 3,000 of his opponents were captured and a far greater number were slain.

An incident occurred at this time which aptly illustrates the heartlessness of Sulla. He had these 3,000 men massacred in the Campus Martius. While the awful deed was going on, Sulla was addressing the Senate in a temple near by. As the death-cries of the murdered soldiers were heard, the senators shuddered and showed their horror. Sulla bade them be attentive to him. The noise from without, he said, was made by some rascals who were being punished at his command.

441. Sulla Master in Rome.—The manner in which Sulla now controlled the state indicates how rapidly Rome was verging toward monarchy, the rule of one man. Sulla had the Senate appoint him dictator, with full power to reorganize the state. For as long a time as he chose to maintain the position, he was master of Rome and its provinces.

The cruelty which Marius showed in his rage and bitterness in the last year of his life was more than matched by the cold-blooded "proscriptions" of Sulla. For several weeks he continued to post lists of "proscribed" persons, the leaders of the democratic party. Anyone who slew one of these received a reward from the state treasury. By this method about 5,000 of the wealthier and more influential members of the democratic party were hunted to their death.

442. The Restoration of the Senate.—After the opposing leaders had been killed, Sulla restored the Senate to its old position as head of the state administration, and attempted to cripple the democracy forever. This he hoped to accomplish by making the tribuneship and Tribal Assembly ineffective through the following laws:

1. Any proposal of the tribunes must have the approval of the Senate before it could be laid before the Assembly and become a law. In other words, the Hortensian Law of 287 B. C. was annulled.

2. No magistrate could be reëlected to the same office until ten years had passed. This made it impossible for any man to make himself powerful by holding the tribunate for a number of years, as Gaius Gracchus had done, or the consulship, as in the case of Marius.

3. A man who held the tribunate could not be a candidate for any higher office in the state. This was designed to take away the dangers from the tribunate by keeping ambitious men out of that office.

Sulla also attacked the knights by taking the jury courts out of their hands and making only senators eligible, as had been the case before Gaius Gracchus.

443. Abdication and Death of Sulla.—All of this legislation, designed to weaken the magistrates and people and to strengthen the Senate, was swept away and the old order restored in the democratic victory of 70 B. C. The other laws of Sulla, those that were not solely in the interests of the aristocracy, contain the best that he did for the state. He increased the number of the prætors from six to eight, of the quæstors to twenty, to take charge of the increase in the state's business. He established new courts, each to hear cases on a special kind of crime, as for example, one court on forged wills, and another on cases where poisoning was suspected.



ROMAN COIN GIVING THE ONLY TRUSTWORTHY LIKENESS OF SULLA.

It reads: "Sulla cos." i. e., "Sulla the Consul."

In 79 B. C., after two years as dictator, Sulla resigned his office, and allowed the newly organized government to run itself. A year later he died, suddenly, and was accorded a great and pompous funeral. The cold-blooded cruelty of Sulla and his love of low pleasures appeared in his face, which Plutarch describes in these words: "His blue eyes, of themselves extremely keen and glaring, were rendered all the more forbidding and terrible by the complexion of his face, in which white was mixed with rough blotches of fiery red." In spite of his ability and his powerful personality, Sulla cannot be called a great statesman. He

was wrong in supposing that the Senate could successfully rule the state. For the senatorial class was no longer composed of the type of Roman citizens which had saved the state in the days of Hannibal.

References for Outside Reading

Plutarch, *Lives of Marius and Sulla*; Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 115-124; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 171-188; Abbott, *Short History of Rome*, pp. 148-159; Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 214-239, 259-271, 292-305; Taylor, *Constitutional and Political History*, ch. 10, 11; Beesly, *The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla*, ch. 4-15; Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 281-284; Oman, *Seven Roman Statesmen*, ch. 4, 5; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, ch. 36-40; How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, ch. 35-44; Seignobos, *History of the Roman People*, ch. 14.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. JUGURTHA AT ROME.—Greenidge, *History of Rome*, vol. I, pp. 357-365; Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, ch. 32-35.
2. MARIUS AS LIEUTENANT AND COMMANDER IN AFRICA.—Plutarch, *Life of Marius*, ch. 6-10.
3. THE PROSCRIPTIONS OF SULLA.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 183-185; Plutarch, *Life of Sulla*, ch. 30-31.
4. MARIUS AND THE TEUTONS.—Plutarch, *Life of Marius*, ch. 15-23.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE RISE OF CÆSAR TO SOLE LEADERSHIP

444. Pompey's Military Career in Spain, 76-72 B. C.—When Sulla returned to Rome from Asia in 83 B. c., the ablest of the leaders of the democratic party, Sertorius, fled to Spain. Here he was well known, and the Spaniards



POMPEY THE GREAT.
From a Bust in Copenhagen.

made him their leader against the governors whom the senatorial party sent out. For ten years Sertorius, although an outlaw and continually fighting with the armies sent out from Rome, maintained himself as an independent ruler in Spain.

In 77 B. c., the young and ambitious Gnaeus Pompey was given command of the war against him. Often he met defeat at the hands of Sertorius and his devoted Spaniards. Several times he forced Sertorius into some fortress whence escape seemed impossible. Always the brave and skilful general eluded Pompey's grasp. Thus Sertorius defied the best generals of Rome until, in 72 B. c., he was assassinated by some fellow-officers in his own camp. Spain, deprived of his talented leadership, was readily subdued, and Pompey marched back with all the renown which comes to the victorious general.



GLADIATORIAL COMBAT BETWEEN A
SAMNITE AND A THRACIAN.

Wall-painting from Pompeii.

445. Outbreak of the Slave Rebellion, 73-71 B. C.—In Italy the wars of the past twenty years had filled the estates of the capitalists with slaves. The strongest captives were trained

to fight as gladiators in the great shows given for the people. Most of these men were trained soldiers, and were especially dangerous because they were treated with a cruelty which turned them to beasts.

In 73 B. C., about eighty gladiators broke out of the gladiators' barracks at Capua and fled to a deserted spot on Mount Vesuvius, armed with cooking spits and knives which they took from a bakery. An able Thracian named Spartacus was chosen as their leader. Slaves from the estates round about swelled his ranks, until Spartacus stood at the head of a large and well-armed body of troops. For two years consuls and prætors suffered defeat before this motley array of slaves, and Italy was ravaged from end to end. At last the Senate put Marcus Crassus, the richest man of Rome, in charge of the war. He restored the spirits and discipline of the soldiers, and defeated the bands of slaves in Apulia. Spartacus was slain upon the field.

446. Marcus Crassus.—Crassus had amassed a fortune at the time of the proscriptions of Sulla, by buying up the houses and estates of the condemned at low figures, and holding them until political affairs became more settled and the value of property was restored to its normal figure. Some of his methods of speculation were peculiar. He kept a band of about 500 slaves who were builders and architects. When a fire broke out in some congested part of the city, Crassus would appear with his band and would bid a low price for the burning house and those near by which were in danger. Then he would send in his band of slaves, save what he could, re-build and sell the property. Plutarch says of him:

Although he had many silver mines, valuable land and servants to work it, yet one would rate these as nothing compared to the value of his slaves. For he had very many and all kinds, readers, secretaries, silver-workers, stewards, and waiters. He himself directed their training, even teaching them in person. (Plutarch, *Crassus*, ch. II.)

These well-trained slaves no doubt brought high prices in the market.

447. The Rising Politicians at Rome in 71 B. C.—Pompey and Crassus, both connected with the aristocratic party, and followers of Sulla, both wealthy men and able generals, were now the heroes of the hour at Rome.



MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.
From a Bust in Florence.

Another man who was attracting attention was Marcus Cicero, a young lawyer, born at Arpinum. He had already given evidence of that ability as a public speaker which was to carry him to the highest offices in the Roman state, and make his name immortal among the great orators of the world.

In the ten years after Sulla's death, Gaius Julius Cæsar became active in the politics of Rome. His gifts as a speaker, used in prosecuting those officials who had extorted money in the provinces, were second only to those of Cicero. Plutarch says of him:

In Rome he gained much favor by his eloquence in public prosecutions, and won the affection of the people by his handshaking and pleasant address, being courteous beyond his years. By the open house he kept, the entertainments he gave, and the general splendor of his mode of life, he gradually increased his political influence.

Because of his extreme care in dress and his politeness, the real abilities and unbounded ambition of Cæsar remained concealed. Cicero himself said of him much later in life:

When I see his hair so prettily arranged and observe him fixing it with one finger, it does not seem possible to me that such a thought would ever come into this man's mind as to overthrow the Roman state.

448. The Restoration of the Democracy, 70 B. C.—This group of rising politicians had all seen Marius, in his old age, in supreme command of Rome. They had seen Sulla

change the whole organization of the government according to his own desire. They were all ambitious for power and not very scrupulous in the means they used to gain it. In 71 B. C., the victorious and renowned generals, Pompey and Crassus, wished to obtain the consulship for the next year. The senatorial leaders objected to this because Pompey was not yet of legal age for that office, and because the aristocratic party was always afraid of those men whose popularity seemed to endanger the Senate's supremacy.

The leaders of the democratic party had long been demanding that the tribunate be restored to its former position. They now promised their votes to Pompey and Crassus, if they would re-establish the tribunes with all their old powers, and thus give back to the people their leaders and their right to make laws without the Senate's consent. The two agreed to this, and kept their agreement when they became consuls in 70 B. C. Thus, those measures of Sulla which had made the Senate all-powerful were rescinded. The jury courts were now put back into the hands of the knights, two-thirds of the jurors being chosen from the knights, and the remaining third from the senators.

449. Change in the Leadership of the Popular Party.—In the time of the Gracchi the leadership of the democratic party had been found in the tribunate. Marius gave the people a new type of leader—the man whose military renown gave the party a strength which it entirely lacked under the Gracchi. When Sulla weakened the tribunate, the democracy lost its leaders entirely. The new life given to the popular party, and the restoration of the tribunes in 70 B. C., were due solely to the new consuls, Crassus and Pompey, whose reputations had been gained by the successful conduct of military campaigns. Henceforth the democratic party found its leaders in the generals who had won great glory in war and had armies behind them, as Sulla had when he established himself as dictator. The tribunes became the tools with which the popular generals managed the Tribal Assembly, and passed the laws which they desired. This change may be clearly seen in the laws proposed by

two tribunes, Gabinius and Manilius, in the years 67 and 66 *b. c.*, which are intimately connected with the activity of Mithradates of Pontus against Roman control in Asia Minor.

450. The Continuance of the Mithradatic Wars.—The treaty which Sulla had made with Mithradates in 84 *b. c.* was maintained until 74 *b. c.*, although there was some unimportant fighting in the years 83 to 81 *b. c.* (second Mithradatic War). After the death of Sulla, whom Mithradates greatly respected and feared, when Sertorius was winning victories against the Roman state in Spain, Mithradates thought that his opportunity had come to break the Roman hold upon Asia Minor. Accordingly he marched westward into Bithynia and began the third Mithradatic War, which dragged through eleven years (74–63 *b. c.*).

The Roman commander, Lucullus, a leader of the Senatorial party, carried on this war for eight years with great ability and success. He became unpopular, however, with the soldiers, because he refused to permit them to plunder the natives of Asia Minor and maintained a strict discipline. He was hated, also, by the Roman capitalists, because he protected the provincial subjects against their greed. Consequently, the command of the war was taken from him by a decree of the Tribal Assembly in 67 *b. c.*

While this war had been going on, the Roman control of the Mediterranean sea was almost lost because of the ravages of the organized sea-power of the pirates, who were allied with Mithradates. Starting out from the mountains along the sea-coast of Cilicia, they had extended their field of operations until their fleets now dared to loot the great temples of Delos, to rob and burn in Italy and Sicily, and even to steal men and children there for the slave market. Their daring went so far that they seized Roman officials within a few miles of Rome and held them for ransom.

451. The Gabinian and Manilian Laws, 67–66 B. C.—It was necessary that the Roman state put an end to this situation. In 67 *b. c.* the tribune Aulus Gabinius proposed a decree that Pompey be made commander-in-chief of the

war with the pirates. He was to have unlimited sway over the Mediterranean Sea and the coast for fifty miles inland, for a period of three years. Within three months Pompey had hunted the pirates to their lairs in wild sea-coast places, and cleared the sea of this scourge. In 66 B. C., before he had laid down the powers granted to him by the Gabinian law, a tribune named Manilius proposed that the power of Pompey be further extended to include all the eastern provinces subject to Rome, with full charge of the Mithradatic War.

Pompey entered upon this task with vigor. He forced Mithradates to flee far to the northeast; he conquered the Jews; and added the Seleucid kingdom of Syria to the Roman domain.

At last, in 63 B. C., word was brought to him that Mithradates' son had revolted against the old king, and that Mithradates himself had committed suicide to avoid being captured. The death of Mithradates ended the long revolt of the East against Rome. As a result, the Roman territory in western Asia was extended to the Euphrates River, by the addition of the two new provinces of Syria and Bithynia, which included the western part of Mithradates' kingdom of Pontus. Palestine became a dependency of Rome, and Egypt had long been under the protection of the Senate. The end of the Mithradatic wars,



EXTENT OF ROMAN POWER IN THE EAST AT THE END OF THE MITHRADATIC WARS.

therefore, marks a step in the rounding out of the Roman power in the East. Pompey was occupied for two years with the arrangement of matters in western Asia, and could not return to Italy until late in the year 62 B. C.

452. The Growth of Great Estates in the Provinces, and the Coloni.—The Roman occupation of Asia Minor in 133 B. C., and the addition of great stretches of territory through the Mithradatic wars, led to the growth of great domains, either leased by the state to the Roman publicans for long periods of time, or sold outright by the state to the conquering generals and their friends of the noble circles of Rome. Rome had always regarded conquered territory as the "farms" of the Roman state. These farms the censors might sell outright or lease for a share of the produce to a tenant.

In western Asia the Romans found that the immense estates of the Greek kings of Pergamum and Syria were worked largely by free men who were, however, in a way attached to the soil which they cultivated. It is true that these peasants could move away from an estate if they wished to do so; but according to the Greek idea of the city-state they must return at certain intervals to the estate or city in which they were born, to be enrolled for the purposes of taxation. When the Greek kings of Syria and Pergamum sold portions of their estates these peasants went with the land. In spite of their freedom, they were connected with the soil of the estates, and were the personal subjects of the owners of the domains, who were usually kings or great nobles. In the Greek, these peasants were called *laoi*, in the Latin, *coloni*. The Roman conquerors accepted the idea that they must return to their native place for taxation, and called this the doctrine of *origo* (origin).

Out of the idea of these royal estates of Greek kings and the peasants who were considered as belonging with the land, two very important historical results followed in the later centuries:

1. The growth of immense holdings by private Romans, which were later taken over by the Roman emperors. Out of these developed the great feudal estates of the Middle Ages.

2. The formation of the class of *coloni* in the Roman empire. When the theory of *origo* was strictly applied, the system would, and in the Middle Ages did, develop a class of serfs bound to the soil which they worked, and bought and sold with it, like cattle.

453. The Consulship of Cicero, 63 B. C.—The orator Cicero had made his first great political speech in 66 B. C., in support of the Manilian Law. The oration was wonderful in composition and delivery, and brought Cicero the support of the great Pompey, as he hoped it would. At this time a noble named Catiline, a capable man of very bad character, was making every effort to gain the consulship. He was supported by the most lawless elements of Rome, who hoped for an erasure of debts, and a chance to regain their wasted fortunes, if Catiline should get the office.

Cicero was chosen by the better elements in Rome to run against Catiline for the consulship of the year 63 B. C. Cicero won, and Catiline, made desperate by his defeat, formed a plot to murder the consul, seize the power, and run the government for himself and his followers. The consul, however, was aware of the progress of the plot, and finally drove Catiline from the city. Catiline and his followers then took arms against the state as rebels, but were defeated in battle, and the greater number of them killed.¹

454. Return of Pompey and the First Triumvirate.—The report was current in Rome that both Crassus and Julius Cæsar were implicated in the conspiracy of Catiline. Though it was in all probability untrue, the rumor affected their standing in the politics of the city. Pompey, who had been absent winning glory for himself and provinces for the republic, was free from all connection with the recent disturbances in Rome. Upon his return in 62 B. C., he might have marched with his veterans to the walls of Rome and made

¹The oration of Cicero upon the Manilian Law, and those delivered before the Senate and the people when he was consul upon the conspiracy of Catiline are among the greatest of his public speeches. They are still read as models of good oratory and good Latin by pupils in our high schools.

himself master of the state, as Sulla had done. He preferred to disband his army as the law required, and hoped to gain from the Senate and the people high positions such as he had been fortunate enough to hold during the previous ten years.

Cicero, who feared the rule of one man, wished to reconcile Pompey and the Senate; but when the aristocratic party saw that Pompey had disbanded his troops, they did everything possible to humiliate him. They failed to ratify the arrangements which he had made with the dependent princes of the East, and refused to grant the allotments of land which he had promised to his veterans.

Cæsar returned from his prætorship in Spain in 60 B. C., with money to pay some of his vast debts and otherwise in better favor—as Cicero says in a letter written in that year, “with the wind full in his sails.” Seeing the humiliating position of Pompey, Cæsar made a political deal with that great general and the wealthy Crassus. By coming to an agreement and uniting their influence in the Senate and with the voters, Cæsar saw that they could obtain whatever they desired in the state. For Pompey had great influence with the middle classes and was popular with the common people; Crassus had millions with which to buy the votes of the corrupted masses; and Cæsar had the brains to conceive the plan and the boldness to push it



A ROMAN
LAMP OF THE
FIRST CEN-
TURY, B.C.

through. This group of three men has been called the First Triumvirate, although the name does not imply that the triumvirate was in any way a board which had received definite powers by vote of the Roman Senate and people. They were merely political “bosses” whose combined influence enabled them to control the elections at Rome and the passing of laws.

455. Results of the Agreement.—The combination formed by these three politicians had the following immediate results:

1. Cæsar was elected to the consulship for 59 B. C., and was

then appointed governor of the province of Gaul for a five-year term.

2. Pompey's agreements with the eastern countries were ratified by the Senate, and the land voted to his veterans.

3. We cannot know all that fell to Crassus; but we may be sure that it was at his wish that certain laws were passed, by which the debts were canceled which were owed to the treasury by those who farmed the taxes of Asia.

The union between Pompey and Cæsar was made firmer by Pompey's marriage with Cæsar's daughter Julia. The formation of the triumvirate was the great step in Cæsar's advance to sole power in the state; for in the province of Gaul, he had an opportunity to win renown as a conqueror equal to that of Pompey himself. The money and glory which he gained there and the army which followed him raised him higher and higher, until all the Roman world lay at his feet.

After the death of Julia in 54 B. C., the good feeling between Pompey and Cæsar rapidly grew into distrust. Each saw in the other a rival for the supreme rule of the Roman world. Yet the agreement between them remained in force until 53 B. C., when Crassus fell on the field of Carrhæ in western Asia, where he, too, warring with the Parthians, was attempting to gain more renown as a general.

456. Conquest of Gaul by Cæsar 58-49 B. C.—When Cæsar became proconsul of Gaul for five years, he saw the chance of opening up by conquest a large and fertile country to Roman business enterprise, and to the Greek culture which Rome had adopted. At a meeting of the three great leaders held in 56 B. C., it was agreed that Cæsar's proconsulship should be extended for another five years. Year after year Cæsar led his legions against the brave Celts, who fought desperately to maintain their independence. In the first year of his proconsulship, he drove out of Gaul the German tribes who had crossed the Rhine under a strong leader named Ariovistus. This Roman victory settled, for 400 years, the question whether the land which we call France was to be ruled by the Germans or the Romans.

Cæsar's work of conquest twice carried him across the Rhine into the wilderness of Germany and across the English Channel into Britain. His campaigns into Germany and against the Celts in Britain were not undertaken with the idea of conquering these lands, but with the desire to teach their warlike tribes that Rome was mighty and terrible in her punishments. For the Germans had begun to cross the Rhine into Gaul, eager to gain possession of its fertile fields; and the Celts of Britain kept stirring up revolts among the Gallic tribes conquered by Cæsar, and supported them in their opposition to Roman dominion.

We obtain our knowledge of these campaigns from Cæsar's own pen, in a book called the *Gallic Wars* or *Commentaries*. There is no doubt of the military genius of Cæsar, and no doubt that his punishment of the Gallic tribes when they revolted against the Roman rule was merciless. Sometimes he put thousands to death, sometimes cut off the right hands of the fighting men. His enemies of that time rightly branded some of his actions as faithless and brutal; but he was never cruel unless severity seemed necessary to intimidate the Gauls and aid in the conquest of the country.

Cæsar's conquest of Gaul is historically of great importance. It opened up this land to Greco-Roman civilization; and the language spoken by the French to-day, a speech grown out of the Latin tongue, is a living memorial of Cæsar's genius. The conquest, furthermore, temporarily stemmed the tide of German invasion which had been running westward out of the forests across the Rhine, added a rich country to the Roman domain, and rounded out the empire toward the north. It gave Cæsar that military fame with the people at Rome which made him greater in the public eye than even Pompey himself. It made him master over trained and devoted legions, with which he was enabled to defeat his rival, and raise himself to the lofty position of sole ruler of the Roman world.

457. The Break between Cæsar and the Senate.—The senatorial party had watched the growth of Cæsar's popularity

and power with increasing hatred and alarm. Cæsar knew well what would happen if he should come to Rome without his army or the office of consul when his term expired in Gaul. The Senate would meet him with even greater suspicion and fear than that which they had showed toward Pompey upon his return from the East in 62 B. C. Members of the aristocratic party had openly threatened to bring him to trial for various offenses when he returned. Cæsar therefore demanded that he be permitted to run for the consulship while still holding office in Gaul.

As Cæsar's renown grew, Pompey, who had once been the popular hero because of his victorious career, saw that his own influence was waning, and his friendship for Cæsar changed to jealousy. Knowing this, the Senate prevailed upon Pompey to become its leader against the too ambitious Cæsar. When the Senate finally demanded that Cæsar should lay down his office in Gaul, and appear as a private citizen in Rome, Marcus Antonius, a tribune devoted to Cæsar, vetoed the proposal. He was driven from Rome, and fled to Cæsar. Cæsar saw that he must strike at once to maintain his power and position. He therefore crossed the Rubicon river, which marked the boundary of his province, and marched upon Rome with the one legion at hand. The ancient writers tell us that he hesitated when he came to the stream, thinking of the war which he must wage against the state. "We can still turn back," he said. At last he exclaimed, "Let the die be cast," and forded the stream—either to lose his life as a rebel against the government or to make himself master of the Senate and the Roman state (January, 49 B. C. .

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vale, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, ch. 6-11; W. S. Davis, *A Friend of Cæsar* (historical novel).

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. SERTORIUS IN SPAIN.—Plutarch, *Life of Sertorius*, ch. 10-27.
2. SPARTACUS THE GLADIATOR.—Plutarch, *Life of Crassus*, ch. 8-11.
3. CÆSAR CAPTURED BY PIRATES.—Plutarch, *Life of Cæsar*, ch. 1-2.
4. DEATH OF CRASSUS.—Plutarch, *Life of Crassus*, ch. 19-33.
5. POMPEY AND THE WAR WITH THE PIRATES.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 192-193; Plutarch, *Pompey*, ch. 24-28.
6. DEBATE BETWEEN CÆSAR AND ARIOVISTUS.—Cæsar, *Gallic War*, I, ch. 42-47.

CHAPTER XXXIV

CÆSAR PUTS AN END TO THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

458. Cæsar Conquers his Enemies in Italy and Spain, 49 B. C.—Nothing was more unexpected by Cæsar's opponents than that he would march directly upon Rome with a single legion. Pompey, who had been appointed commander-in-chief against him, had made no preparations. He had said to a friend who asked him with what troops he would resist Cæsar: "Wherever I stamp my foot in any part of Italy, forces enough will rise up in an instant." It seemed a reckless enterprise on Cæsar's part. He was only a rebellious governor, controlling Gaul and its nine legions. The senatorial party could array against him all the remaining troops of the Roman world. The sea and the Roman fleet were entirely under its control.

When Cæsar marched southward with his small force, the Senate was not prepared to meet him, and the magistrates of the city and the leaders of the nobility fled with Pompey to Brundisium. Thence they were able to sail across to Epirus, although Cæsar tried to capture Pompey before he could leave Italy. When he failed in this, Cæsar turned his attention to Spain, which had been Pompey's province, and was now held by his legions. By brilliant generalship, Cæsar conquered the whole of Spain in three months.

459. Battle of Pharsalus, 48 B. C., and Death of Pompey.—While Cæsar was busied in Spain, Pompey had collected a large force, and awaited his attack in Epirus. Although Cæsar's army was the smaller, it was better seasoned and much better led. Cæsar lured Pompey into Thessaly, and met him in the decisive battle at Pharsalus. It was in the cavalry, composed of the young nobility of Rome, that Pompey chiefly excelled. Plutarch states that Cæsar ordered his troops to strike at the faces of these young men, "hoping

that they, being unused to war and wounds, being in the bloom of their youth and beauty, would not endure such blows, but would fear both the present danger and the later deformity."

Pompey ordered his infantry to stand still and await the attack of Cæsar's line, so as to allow it to become disorganized. Cæsar himself criticised these tactics in his book called *Civil Wars*. "In our judgment this decision of Pompeius has nothing to recommend it. There is in all men a certain instinctive courage and combativeness implanted in us by Nature, which is only kindled by the excitement of battle. This instinct it should be the object of commanding officers not to repress but to encourage." The battle was won by Cæsar because of his greater skill in handling men and in maneuvering troops.

The defeated general fled to Egypt, where he was slain upon the order of the young king of Egypt, who wished to curry favor with Cæsar. Plutarch tells us that "not long after, Cæsar arrived in the country that was polluted by this foul act. When one of the Egyptians was sent to present him with Pompey's head, he turned away from him with abhorrence as from a murderer; and on receiving Pompey's seal, on which was engraved a lion holding a sword in his paw, he burst into tears." Such was the inglorious end of Pompey the Great. Though he long maintained his popularity with the Roman people because of his gifts as a general, though he won and deserved respect, Pompey was often undecided and unprepared at critical moments in his own career. He proved no match in the game of politics for his keen and determined rival, Julius Cæsar.

460. Conquest of the Remaining Republican Forces.—By Pompey's death the only great rival of Cæsar was removed. Asia Minor, however, and northern Africa still remained in the hands of republican governors. After a delay in Egypt, where Cæsar was entranced by the charms of the young queen Cleopatra, he hurried into Asia Minor. A five days' campaign sufficed to complete the overthrow of a revolting prince in the North. This campaign Cæsar described to a friend in

the laconic and ringing phrase, "I came, I saw, I conquered."¹

The remaining leaders of the senatorial party, who found it impossible to come to terms with the new master of Rome, gathered for a last stand in northern Africa. They were inspired by Marcus Cato the Younger, a staunch believer in the old senatorial government, and a man incapable of yielding. At Thapsus in Africa, in 46 B. C., the last of the opposition was crushed. Cato committed suicide rather than outlive the fall of the Republic. At last Cæsar was undisputed master. All the civilized world from Gibraltar to the Euphrates bowed to his sway.

461. The Reorganization of the Roman State.—Between the crossing of the Rubicon in 49 B. C., and his death in 44 B. C., Cæsar had not more than fifteen months in Rome to give to the important work of reorganizing the Roman state. The task was left so far from finished that we can only know the general outline of his plan. It is probable that he intended to establish a monarchy with himself as king, although it is doubtful whether he would have taken the title. The supreme power, which Cæsar had taken under the old title of dictator, he probably wished to be hereditary in his family.

The changes which Cæsar started prove that he may justly be called the founder of the Roman Empire. He destroyed the old Republic and put an end forever to its misrule. Upon the lines which he marked out, his successor, Augustus Cæsar, constructed that wonderful organization known as the Roman Empire. Thus, Julius Cæsar is not only the military genius whose generalship destroyed the old Roman state—he is also the political genius whose ideas are the foundation of the new state.

462. Cæsar's Official Position and Social Reform.—He made his power supreme over that of the other magistrates by taking the dictatorship. This was strengthened by election to the consulship in several years, and by having the Senate give him the tribunician power for life, which meant

¹ The Latin for this is the famous phrase, "Veni, vidi, vici."

that he held all the privileges of a tribune, without the necessity of election to the office. The opposition to his absolute rule lay in the Senate. This body he weakened by increasing its number to 900, adding men who would submit to his will, and by controlling further admission to the senatorial seats.

With wonderful energy Cæsar set about the needed task of reform. Every act displays an unerring knowledge of the needs of the state, and clear statesmanship in meeting those needs. The system of grain-doles established by the Gracchi had grown into a vast and needless expenditure. This drain upon the treasury he cut down by one-half, by leaving on the lists only those who were actually in need. The number of those who received grain shrunk from 320,000 to 150,000. Thus he changed a harmful system of graft into an organized and effective method of state charity. Cæsar revived the idea of Gaius Gracchus of establishing colonies outside of Italy to relieve the distress in Italy, and tried to limit the number of slaves to be employed upon the great Italian estates.

463. Political Reforms.—With Cæsar's rule a new era begins in the government of the Roman provinces. His desire seemed to be to raise the provincials to a position of equality with the Italians. The colonists who were sent over sea carried their citizenship with them, and Cæsar gave citizenship to many individuals, even to entire cities, in Spain, Gaul, and the East.

Steps were taken to protect the provincials by putting the appointment of the governors into Cæsar's hands, with the power to recall those who were dishonest. The governors, responsible now to a stern master, were afraid to rob their subjects as before. The system of farming the taxes, which had been a scourge to the province of Asia since the time of the Gracchi, was changed so that Asia could no longer be bled by the greedy publicans of Rome.

The government of the municipalities in Italy was organized upon a unified plan, which was further developed under Cæsar's successors and applied in the provinces.

In the midst of these political activities Cæsar found time to think of the Roman calendar, which had become hope-

lessly confused. On the first of January, 45 B. C., the astronomers to whom he had assigned the work established the "Julian Calendar" of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days in the year. The name of the month July keeps the name of Julius Cæsar always before us.¹

464. The Assassination of Cæsar, 44 B.C.—Toward those opponents who would in any way become reconciled to his rule, Cæsar had shown the greatest mercy. Many of those who had fought on the side of Pompey received high offices and honors at the hands of the dictator; yet many of them, like Cicero, believed sincerely in the old republican government, and considered Cæsar a usurper and a tyrant. They could not see that the rule of the Senate was too weak and corrupt to stand, nor could they see that Cæsar's work was necessary if the power of Rome was to endure. Under the leadership of Marcus Junius Brutus, a dreamer, impracticable but sincere, and Gaius Cassius, a man of jealous disposition who felt a personal hatred of Cæsar because others had been preferred before him, about sixty men of senatorial rank formed a conspiracy to kill the dictator. Upon the Ides (fifteenth) of March in 44 B. C., they attacked him in the Senate house and stabbed him to death.

465. Estimate of Cæsar's Ability and Character.—The genius of Julius Cæsar was unusual in that he seemed equally capable in many fields. As an orator, the men of his time placed him second to Cicero alone. As a writer, he was distinguished in his lifetime, and, indeed, the clarity and directness of his Latin style is such that his account of the Gallic Wars is still studied to-day. In addition to his historical works he wrote poems and treatises on grammar and astronomy, which have been lost.



COIN SHOWING THE HEAD OF JULIUS CÆSAR, AS HE LOOKED IN THE LAST YEARS OF HIS LIFE.

¹ The Julian Calendar is still used without change in Greece and Russia. In other countries of Europe and in our country the Gregorian calendar is used, in which the slight error of the Julian calendar was corrected by dropping out three leap years every 400 years.

In military science, Cæsar ranks with Alexander, Hannibal, and Napoleon, although war was for him but a means to gain some political end, and his training was not that of a general. In the field of politics and statesmanship, Cæsar's genius appears at its best. Something of Cæsar's tireless energy, which was an important element of his success, may be learned from Plutarch's statements:

He generally slept in his carriages or litters, employing even his periods of rest for action. He drove so rapidly that on his first expedition from Rome to Gaul he arrived at the Rhone River on the eighth day. In the Gallic War he accustomed himself to dictate his letters from horseback, and to keep two men writing at the same time—one writer says more than two.

466. Roman Life in the First Century B. C.: the Cosmopolitan Spirit of Rome.—Between the time of the Græchi and the death of Cæsar, Rome had become the political center of the Mediterranean world. To the world capital streamed men of every nation, Jews, Greeks, Syrians, Spaniards, and Celts, bent upon making their fortunes at whatever trade they followed. The Greeks became noted as doctors, actors, and teachers. The Jews entered business and amassed wealth. The Syrians were famous at Rome as soothsayers and priests.

On the other hand, the Romans and Italians traveled to all parts of the world, engaging in business enterprises or in tax-collecting in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. In the ranks of the Roman legions the same intermixture was found. Italian recruits marched with Cæsar from one end of Gaul to the other. The Italian veterans of the Mithradatic wars returned to Italy thoroughly acquainted with Asia Minor and its people. In this way Italy, and especially Rome, came to have the broad cosmopolitan life that had characterized the Greek cities, and the spirit and ideas of the world became more and more unified.

The unifying element of all this Mediterranean world was its Greek culture. The Greek language was spoken everywhere. It was necessary for every Roman who entered polit-

ical life to learn Greek. For that reason the Romans of the higher classes were accustomed to finish their education in some Greek city, under noted professors of rhetoric and philosophy.

467. Cicero's Career as a Student.—Plutarch's account of Cicero's student days will give some idea of the higher education of a Roman of that time. When Cicero had dropped his boyhood studies, he became a listener at the lectures of a follower of the philosophic school of Plato, named Philo, who was admired at Rome for his eloquence, and loved for his character. During this period (81–79 B. C.), Cicero gave himself up to a retired and studious life, conversing with the learned Greeks at Rome. While Sulla was dictator, Cicero aroused his enmity, and thought it best to leave the city. He therefore spent two years in the East, studying under several professors. At Athens he attended the lectures of a professor named Antiochus, and greatly admired the easy flow and elegance of his rhetoric, although he did not approve of his ideas in philosophy.

When news came of Sulla's death, Cicero could again hope for a political career. He therefore dropped philosophy, and returned to the studies of rhetoric and declamation, hearing the most celebrated rhetoricians of the time. He sailed from Athens for Rhodes and the cities of Asia Minor. At Adramyttium, at Magnesia, and in Caria, he studied the florid style of rhetoric then taught by the professors of Asia Minor. At Rhodes he studied oratory with Apollonius, and philosophy with Posidonius. Apollonius, who did not understand Latin, requested Cicero to declaim in Greek. When he had heard him, Apollonius declared that the Greek mastery in eloquence would now be transferred to Rome by Cicero.

468. Roman Literature in Cæsar's Day.—The Greek character of Roman life may be best seen in the literature of the time. Lucretius (died 55 B. C.), a poet of great ability, put into Latin verse the teachings of the Greek philosopher, Epicurus. The desire of Lucretius in writing his great poem on the "Nature of the Universe" was to free the Romans from any belief in the gods or the immortality of the soul,

and to introduce to the Romans the godless teachings of Epicurus. The popularity of this poem in Cæsar's time shows clearly that the old Roman religion had lost its hold upon the people.

Catullus (died 54 B. C.), a very gifted young poet from northern Italy, came to Rome in the time of Cicero's prominence, and threw himself into the wild political and social life of the capital. This brilliant and enthusiastic poet had an unfortunate love affair with a woman high in society. To her, under the name of Lesbia, he addressed many short love-poems, which are preserved among the poems we have. In other poems, he lashes his enemies in Rome in bitter words. Cæsar was one of his enemies, and he flays him mercilessly, calling him effeminate and a "would-be writer."

In addition to these poems upon the people and life of the hour, Catullus has some longer poems in which he translates into Latin marriage-songs and other shorter works of the Greek poets of the time after Alexander. Catullus was, without doubt, a literary genius. In his poems he expresses love and hate, sorrow and joy, all in strong and natural tones.

469. The Place of Cicero in Roman Literature.—Although Cicero was a prominent political personage in his day, he was not so able or important a statesman as he himself thought. As compared with Cæsar and Pompey, his influence on Roman politics was slight. As an orator, however, he takes rank among the greatest that have lived. The young poet Catullus has praised his oratory in words which are no exaggeration: "Most skilled in speech of the descendants of Romulus, all who are, and all who have been, and all who shall be hereafter in other years, Marcus Tullius Cicero—to thee his warmest thanks Catullus gives, the worst of all poets."

As a writer, too, Cicero has an undisputed claim to greatness. He wrote several treatises upon oratory and several essays, of which we have the ones upon "Old Age" and upon "Friendship." These are beautiful both in style and thought. In the history of philosophy Cicero is important,

because he put into Latin the chief ideas of the important Greek philosophers, and thus made the best of Greek philosophy accessible to the Latin-reading population of the western part of the Mediterranean. In a way this work of Cicero is typical of one of the great things that Rome did—namely, to hand down Greek ideas to succeeding ages.

470. Increase in Luxury.—In the period of the expansion of Roman power after the death of the Gracchi, Roman life grew away from the simplicity of the days of the Punic wars. The change might have been seen in the streets of the city, where fine linens and purple robes were displayed, in the fine perfumes, and in the pearls worn by the ladies of fashion.

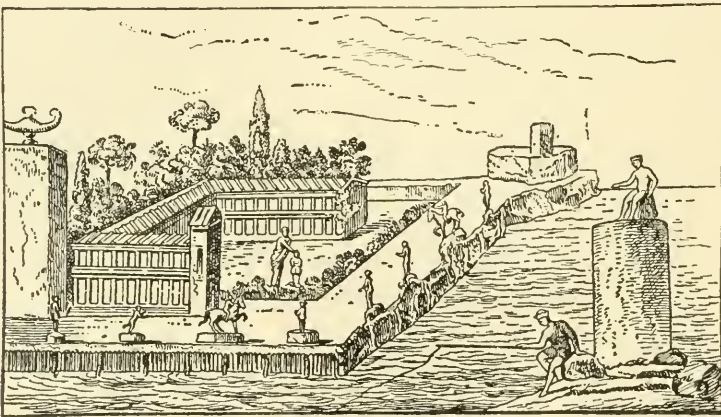
As wealth poured into Rome from the provinces and the desire for luxuries increased, the cost of living advanced rapidly. A few men, like Crassus, amassed great fortunes. The mass of the people were desperately poor. On the slopes of the Palatine hill was situated the fashionable quarter of Rome. There was the house of the rich young tribune, Livius Drusus, who gave up his life to bring about reform. It fell later into the hands of Crassus, the speculator, who sold it in 62 B. C. to Cicero for about \$175,000, a price which gives a good idea of the enormous value of property in the great capital.

471. Country Places of the Romans.—Since the city was crowded, noisy, and dirty, it became customary for the wealthy Romans to have large houses outside the city walls. For ten miles round about, the countryside was filled with villas, from which the wealthy magistrates and business men rode into the city limits on horseback or in chariots. There they put up their vehicles or horses in hostelries, and went the remainder of the way to their offices upon foot or in litters carried by slaves. In the late afternoon they rode out again to the country place.

The wealthiest class often had numerous villas situated in different parts of Italy, which they visited at different seasons of the year. Cicero, for example, in addition to his ancestral estate at his native place, Arpinum, had villas on the sea-coast near Antium and others near Formiæ Puteoli,

Cyme, and Pompeii. These estates were adorned with gardens, halls for exercise, and covered walks flanked with columns. To a man like Cicero they offered the quiet necessary for his literary work, to others rest and quiet after the wild turmoil of city politics.

472. The Lives of the Poor.—Although many fine palaces were built by the wealthy from the time of the death of Sulla to the death of Cæsar, the condition of living among the poor was not improved. Crowded into tenements built upon narrow and winding alleys, they must have lived squalid lives indeed. The grants of cheap grain, which became a



A ROMAN VILLA BY THE SEA.

From a Wall-painting. The Figure above the man Fishing is a Statue of Hercules.

regular custom after the time of the Gracchi, insured them enough food to live upon; but the pride of the poorer classes, and their willingness to work, were undermined by accepting the charity of the state.

As the state took over the task of supporting the poor, so the wealthy citizens supplied them with their pleasures. It became customary for politicians to give festivals as a means of obtaining the votes of the mob of Rome. The chief part of these festivals lay in the gladiatorial games, an amusement which the Latins had originally learned from Etruria. In these games men fought in pairs, usually with swords, and to the death. Sometimes a man with a heavy net and a

trident would be pitted against one who carried only sword and shield. The cost and cruelty of these shows may be imagined from the account of Cæsar's preparations for a public show when he was running for the ædileship in 65 B. C. It is stated that he exhibited on this occasion 320 pairs of gladiators.

473. The Hunts of Wild Beasts.

—The love of the sight of blood aroused by these duels was further satisfied by the

hunts of wild beasts in the arena. When Pompey and Cæsar were striving for the mastery, Pompey erected, at his own expense, an immense theater which he dedicated to the Roman people. The opening, in 55 B. C., was celebrated with games on a scale of magnificence unknown before that day. Cicero was present and has described them to a friend in a letter which we still have. He first criticises the tragedies produced, stating that they were not enjoyable because of the exaggerated stage-setting:

For what pleasure can there be in seeing 600 mules used in the tragedy *Clytemestra*, or 3,000 mixing bowls in the *Trojan Horse*, or gay-colored armor of infantry or cavalry in some battle? There remain the two wild-beast hunts, lasting five days, magnificent—no one denies that—but what pleasure can there be for a refined man when a weak man is torn by a powerful wild animal or some splendid animal is transfixed with a hunting spear? The last day was that of the elephants, which aroused great wonder on the part of the vulgar throng, but little pleasure. Nay, there was even a certain feeling of pity aroused by the sight and a sort of belief that that animal has something in common with the human race.



GLADIATORIAL COMBAT.

From a Pompeian Mosaic. The Net-man has Succeeded in Snaring his opponent, but is himself Thrown and Wounded. The letters read, "Astianax Conquered, Kalendio was Slain."

It is a pleasure to know that there were men at that time, like Cicero, who saw only brutality in the games of the arena.

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Famous passages from the authors mentioned will be found in Laing's *Masterpieces of Latin Literature*, pp. 63-197.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. THE CAREER OF A ROMAN STUDENT.—Abbott, *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*, pp. 191-214; Church, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*, ch. 2.
2. THE DEATH OF CÆSAR.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 216-218; Plutarch, *Cæsar*, ch. 61-69, and *Brutus*, ch. 8-18.
3. THE ROMAN CIRCUS.—Johnston, *The Private Life of the Romans*, pp. 226-264.
4. WOMEN AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS UNDER THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.—Article with this title in *Scribner's Magazine* for September, 1909.
5. CICERO AND HIS WEALTHY FRIEND, ATTICUS.—Church, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*, ch. 14.

CHAPTER XXXV

AUGUSTUS AND THE FOUNDING OF THE EMPIRE

474. Confusion at Cæsar's Death—The assassination of Cæsar brought confusion and terror to the city. He had not made definite arrangement for a successor to his political power in the event of his death. His schemes for the reorganization of the state were, therefore, shattered when he fell at the base of Pompey's statue. Fifteen years later they were taken up by his grand-nephew, Gaius Octavius, and carried to completion, though upon a somewhat different plan. The Senate, in fear of a proscription, voted to the assassins those provinces which Cæsar had intended them to have, Syria to Cassius and Macedonia to Brutus. At the funeral of Cæsar, the consul Marcus Antonius delivered the funeral oration over his body. Here the hatred of the city plebs against the murderers of Cæsar, their benefactor, broke out into violence, and the "liberators" fled from the city in alarm.



THE YOUTHFUL OCTAVIUS
(AUGUSTUS CÆSAR).

475. Antonius and Octavius.—They left the city in the hands of Antonius, who had seized upon Cæsar's will and professed to be carrying out his plans. It soon appeared that he was aiming to take for himself the position and power which Cæsar had so ably held. But soon a new factor appeared to confuse still more the troubled situation at Rome. This was a young man of eighteen years, a grand-nephew and favorite of Cæsar, Gaius Octavius, who had been named in

Cæsar's will as his adopted son and the heir to his fortune. From Apollonia in Illyria, where he was pursuing his studies, he hastened to Italy to enter upon this inheritance. He took the name of Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, but we shall know him as Octavius until he receives the title of Augustus.

Assisted by two devoted and able friends, Agrippa and Mæcenas, Octavius called upon the veterans of Cæsar, who were settled in southern Italy, to rally round him for the defense of the Republic. Antonius also tried to win them over, but Cæsar's name drew them, like a magnet, under Octavius' standards.

476. Civil War.—In the confusion of the succeeding months, young Octavius played the game of politics with the coolness of a veteran. In order to check the ambitions of Antonius, the aged orator Cicero came out upon the side of Cæsar's heir. He thought to use Octavius to reëstablish the Senate's power and then throw him aside. Antonius was defeated in battle by the Senate's forces, aided by Octavius, in northern Italy. When the Senate tried to set Octavius aside, as Cicero had planned, Octavius made his peace with Antonius, marched upon Rome, as Cæsar had done, and had himself elected consul for the year 42 B. C.



MARCUS ANTONIUS.
From a Roman Coin.

477. The Second Triumvirate.—Marcus Antonius, Lepidus, the governor of Narbonese Gaul and upper Spain, and Octavius then formed a combination for their mutual advantage. Their combined strength enabled them to force the Senate to appoint them as a board of three to reorganize the state. This appointment was to last for five years, and gave them all the powers of dictators. Because of Lepidus' weakness, the real power lay with the two other members.

The triumvirs began their rule with the horrors of a proscription. Edicts were posted in the forum which offered a reward for the death of any person listed upon them.

Livy states that 130 senators were named, and many knights. Antonius insisted on the death of Cicero, who in the year after Cæsar's death had attacked him before the Senate in bold and powerful language. The hatred of Antonius pursued him even after the soldiers had found him out and slain him. For his head and hands were nailed to the rostrum at Rome, where his eloquence had so often swayed the Roman people.

The republican leaders, Brutus and Cassius, had fled from Rome to their provinces in the East. Here they had gathered their forces (42 B. C.) and were awaiting the attack of the triumvirs. At Philippi in Macedon they were met by the legions of Antonius and Octavius and suffered defeat. In their despair the two "liberators" took their own lives, and the attempt to restore the Republic came to an end.

478. Rule of the Triumvirs.—In the division of the power over the empire which now lay at the feet of the triumvirs, the indolent Lepidus plays but a sorry part. He was soon deprived even of Africa, the province given him by his abler colleagues. Antonius and Octavius halved the empire, the former taking all east of Illyria, the latter all the west.



EGYPTIAN COPPER COIN
WITH THE HEAD OF
CLEOPATRA.

In the East, Antonius met Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, who had in earlier years fascinated even Julius Cæsar. To her charms Antonius fell an easy victim. He squandered his time and the money of the state in luxurious revels at Alexandria. The Romans were shocked to hear that Cleopatra, ruler of a Roman dependency, was publicly called "Queen of Queens" by Antonius. The rumor spread abroad that he intended to make her empress of the East, even queen of Rome itself. The decent life of Octavius at Rome, the moderation he showed to his enemies, his care for the public welfare, contrasted sharply with the wild extravagance of Antonius.

479. Battle of Actium.—At last the outraged Senate declared war upon Cleopatra (31 B. C.). The forces of the East under Antonius and Cleopatra, and those of the West, under Octavius and Agrippa, met in a naval battle at Actium, on the coast of Epirus. In the midst of the fight Cleopatra suddenly sailed away in flight with her sixty galleys, and Antonius followed. The battle waged fiercely for some time, but resulted in the utter destruction of Antonius' fleet. Besieged in Alexandria by his enemy, and deserted by his troops, Antonius committed suicide. Cleopatra soon learned that Octavius was impervious to her charms as well as to her prayers. In order to avoid the disgrace of being led a captive through the streets of Rome in the triumphal procession of Octavius, the proud queen contrived to kill herself. Even Plutarch did not know whether this was by the bite of a poisonous snake, the asp, or by some other poison.

480. The Beginning of the Empire.—Octavius was now master of the Roman world. Peace ruled throughout the confines of this world, which for sixty years had been rent by civil wars. The task before Octavius was to make this peace a permanent one, by making his own power permanent. To accomplish this task, it was necessary to destroy the outworn republican forms, without arousing the prejudices of the Roman nobles and people.

Skillfully he set about his task. In January of 27 B. C. he resigned the triumviral powers which he had held for 15 years. To use his own words: "I transferred the Republic from my power to the will of the Senate and people of Rome. For which good service on my part I was by decree of the Senate called by the name of Augustus." This so-called "restoration of the Republic" actually marks the beginning of the Empire. From this time on we may properly call Octavius by his title Augustus (the august), a term which the Romans before this had used only with reference to their gods.

481. The Powers Given to Augustus.—By a series of special grants, the Senate gave Augustus powers which made him actual monarch of the state. Chief of these was the pro-

consular power over the frontier provinces, in which almost all the legions were stationed, Spain, Gaul, and Syria. With these provinces and their armies under his control, the Emperor, as he must now be called, could work without fear of any serious insurrection against him. This proconsular and military power came, in later years, to be expressed in the term *Imperator*. It is the real pillar of his position. Without the armies at his back, Augustus could not have maintained himself. The Emperor took and administered Egypt practically as his own estate, because of the immense stretch of fertile land there which had come to him or had been confiscated by him from the holdings of his opponents. In the fertile lands of Syria, too, the private holdings of Augustus were very large.

By another special decree he was granted all the powers of the tribunes, which gave him several rights, namely, the right to call the Senate together, and to place business before it. It also gave him the right of the tribunes to veto, if he pleased, any laws passed in the Senate. This "tribunician power" was also made to include other special privileges heaped upon Augustus by the Senate. It became the name which covered his control of civil affairs in Rome, as his proconsular title expressed his rule outside of Italy. As leader of the Senate and of the Roman people, he was called the *Princeps* or Prince, which means "the first citizen of the state."

Upon the death of Lepidus in 12 B. C., Augustus took the office of Pontifex Maximus for life. This made him head of the religious affairs of the state. Augustus was now head of the armies of the state, as *Imperator*; he was head of its religion, as Pontifex Maximus; the title of Prince symbolized his leadership in the civil administration, which the tribunician dignity gave him; he was, in cases coming from his own provinces, court of last appeal above the governors whom he appointed. So he combined military, religious, civil, and judicial powers in his single hand. It was a power equal to that of a king; but he did not dare to assume that title.

482. Powers of the Assembly.—The old republican officials continued to be elected in the assemblies of the people. But the choice of candidates in the important offices was restricted to men nominated by the Emperor. Although the assemblies still elected some of the magistrates and passed an occasional law, we may well regard them as dead institutions, a mere form, after the year 27 B. C.

483. Powers of the Senate.—The Senate retained more of its old privileges. It advised with the Prince. The senatorial provinces were under its control. It issued decrees as of old; but the veto power of the Emperor gave him the right to check any legislation which displeased him. His title of Princeps, chief citizen of the state and leader of the Senate, covered the right to introduce new laws. Although he did not take the censor's office, he pruned and filled up the Senate with men willing to do his bidding. It is apparent that the shadow of the Emperor's might stretched over the Senate too.

Theoretically, the old republican idea still existed that the power of the state was vested in the Senate. They voted these extraordinary powers to Augustus, as they had voted unusual powers to Pompey under the Gabinian and Manilian laws. At the death of Augustus these powers should, according to the old idea, return to the Senate again. Upon this side the relation of the Prince and Senate was not clearly determined. The situation allowed the possibility that the Senate might return to its old position upon the death of the Emperor.

484. The Administration of the Provinces.—The Roman Republic had utterly failed to do its duty of ruling justly that territory which had been added to it during 200 years of conquest. To the remedying of this fault Augustus applied his talents for organization. He retained under his own direct rule the provinces along the frontiers which gave the greatest trouble and demanded the most tactful and able governors. These were called the "imperial provinces." The governors of these provinces received a definite yearly salary for their services, and could be retained in office year

after year. This is the beginning of an effective civil service in the Roman state, in which appointment and advancement depended upon ability and honesty, rather than upon the influence of birth and family connection. It helped wonderfully in giving a just rule and contentment to the provinces of the Empire.

The senatorial provinces, as the rest were called, were still under the old form of government. The outgoing officials at Rome governed them for a year's term, as proconsuls; but the Emperor could and did interfere in their government, as occasion demanded.

485. Reforms in the State Finances.—Corresponding to the division into senatorial and imperial provinces, Augustus established a division in the state department of the finances. The old state treasury remained under the Senate's authority. Its income was from the poll-tax, or personal tax, upon Roman citizens, and from the land tax. The latter fell upon the provinces which had been conquered in war.

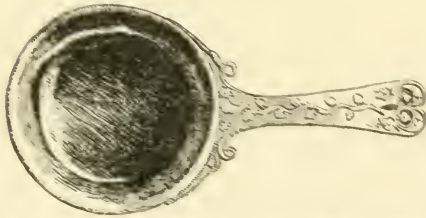
Distinct from this was the new treasury of the Emperor, called the "fiscus." Into it came the rental from the state lands, from state mines and forests, and similar sources. The Emperor's power was greatly increased by the fact that he had this absolute control of a part of the state revenue, without responsibility to any other authority.

The ability of Augustus as an organizer is shown in his attempt to regulate the expenses of the state. He gradually reduced the standing army until, at his death, it numbered but twenty-five legions. With the auxiliary troops which were made up of provincials, the number was about 250,000 men. This must be regarded as a remarkably small army to protect the immense frontier of the Empire from barbarian invasion. The saving to the state, in the reorganization and reduction of the size of the army, was very great.

486. Administration of Rome.—In order to protect his person, Augustus kept a body of nine cohorts, called the prætorian guard, in and about Rome. They were under the command of the prætorian prefect, an official appointed by the Emperor. This position soon became a most powerful one.

Under the Republic, but little attention had been paid to the protection of the citizens of Rome by an efficient police service. Augustus took this duty also upon himself. He organized a body of 7,000 watchmen, under charge of the prefect of police, an officer appointed by and responsible to the Emperor.

Italy was producing little grain at this time, and it was difficult to supply the immense city of Rome with enough grain at reasonable prices. Augustus undertook to oversee this branch of the city's welfare. He appointed a prefect of the grain supply, an officer under his own control, whose duty was to superintend and regulate the bringing of grain from Egypt. The expenses of this bureau were paid from the fiseus. In this way, the Emperor controlled the food supply of the populace of Rome, and the people



A SILVER PAN OF THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS.

were dependent upon him rather than upon the Senate and the city magistrates, as they had been under the Republic.

487. Rome Beautified.—It was fitting that the beauty of the capital city of the world

should correspond to the greatness of the new empire. The old Roman forum was no longer large enough to meet the demands of the business of this world-center. Accordingly Augustus built a new forum. He repaired 82 temples of the gods, repaired the neglected sewers, and increased the city water-supply.

The city was further beautified with magnificent buildings called basilicas, for holding law courts, and with theaters and libraries. But the Emperor's palace was remarkable for its democratic simplicity. Well might Augustus boast in his later years that he had "left Rome a city of marble, which he had received as a city of brick."

488. Attempt to Reform Society.—The best foundation for a state is a strong people and a society morally sound. Augustus recognized this fact and set out with a firm de-

termination to remedy the weaknesses and vices of the society of his day. He thought it necessary to check the growing looseness of morals and the breaking up of the old purity of Roman family life. This was to be done by returning to the simple life and manners of old Rome and by a religious revival of the Roman state worship.

Through the pens of the literary men devoted to him, Augustus preached a simpler living, and the need of a healthy public morality to maintain a healthy state. He passed laws which made it more difficult to obtain divorces, and others which tended to encourage marriage and the rearing of children. These laws were made necessary by the increasing number of men who did not marry, and by the fear that the population of the country was decreasing.



THE PANTHEON AS IT STANDS TO-DAY.

The Temple was Begun by Agrippa, although the Rear Portion was Built under Emperor Hadrian.

The repairing of old temples, and the building of new, testify to Augustus' interest in the old religion. He himself took the office of Pontifex Maximus, and by his personal attention to pious observance he tried to lead others to piety. Such legislation shows that Augustus clearly saw the weaknesses of his time. They show that he was sincere in his desire to build up a strong, firm state; but it is impossible to make a people either good or religious by passing laws. The effect of Augustus' work in this field was not lasting, but it does call forth our admiration.

489. The Borders of the Empire.—Augustus applied the same conservative common-sense to the question of the borders of the Empire that he had used in dealing with the problems of its political organization. He saw that the

domain under Rome's control was already so enormous, that any further extension was not desirable. In the East he left Armenia half independent, although he might have listed it among the provinces. It was to serve as a buffer state between the eastern border of the Empire and the hos-



EXTENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS.

tile kingdom of the Parthians. The cataracts of the Nile and the desert in northern Africa set a natural limit to the territory of the Empire in the South. In the West and North, the Atlantic Ocean and the Rhine River were boundaries set by nature. The Danube River was to be the northern frontier in Europe. Thus the Empire had a series of boundaries which could be naturally and easily defended, and Augustus left the command that his successors should not go beyond these.

A bitter lesson had taught Augustus the difficulty of conquering the Germans across the Rhine. He had desired to incorporate all of the German territory to the Elbe River, in order to remove the pressure of the barbarians upon the

frontier of Gaul, and to give him better connections with the Danube frontier than were offered by the Rhine River. For years his best generals worked at the conquest of the German territory; but in the year 9 A. D., the Emperor's hopes were dashed to pieces. The commander-in-chief of his troops in Gaul, Quintilius Varus, was defeated in the forests of Germany, and his army of 20,000 men was annihilated. When the news came to Rome, so the historian Suetonius tells us, Augustus was wild with grief. For months afterward the cry kept escaping his lips, "Quintilius Varus, give me back my legions."

490. The Succession.—Augustus desired that the imperial power which he held should become hereditary in his family. Time and again Fate seemed to thwart the plans he formed. Early in his rule his nephew Marcellus was his choice as successor. Upon the death of Marcellus in 23 B. C., the choice devolved upon Marcus Agrippa, the emperor's lifelong friend. After the birth of the two sons of Agrippa and Julia, the daughter of Augustus, these two boys were trained for the succession. When they died in early manhood, Augustus was forced to turn to his stepson, Tiberius, a man whom Augustus disliked, although he recognized his great abilities.

491. Death of Augustus, 14 A. D.—In the last year of his life, Augustus composed an account of his actions as ruler of the Roman world, which was published upon two bronze tablets set up in Rome. A copy of this, which was found inscribed on the walls of a temple of Augustus, in a little village of Asia Minor, is still extant. It is called the Monument of Ancyra, after the name of the town in which it was discovered. This inscription gives us from Augustus' own hand a statement of the things which he had done for the state.

Well might he be proud of his life-work! For Augustus Cæsar stands out, among the great statesmen in history, as a man whose work—that of founding the Roman Empire—was a real benefaction to the people of the Mediterranean world for several centuries after his death. He set in

motion the machinery of a great political organization, and for two centuries it ran smoothly. The form of the Roman Empire was Augustus' work, although the ideas were those of a greater mind, that of Julius Cæsar. When the day of his death came, Augustus asked those about him if he had played his part well in the comedy of life, and requested them to applaud him if they thought so, as he left the stage of life. We too may applaud the man for his patient and skillful service to the Roman state.

References for Outside Reading

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Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. CICERO AND MARCUS ANTONIUS.—Church, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*, ch. 15.
2. HOUSES OF THE RICH IN CICERO'S TIME.—Fowler, *Social Life at Rome*, ch. 8.
3. ANTONIUS AND CLEOPATRA.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 225-227; Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, ch. 25-29, 61-87.
4. THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM.—Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, ch. 53-68.
5. THE ROMAN LADY.—Article by Emily James Putnam in *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1910.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE IMPERIAL LITERATURE AND SPIRIT

492. Guiding Spirit of the Literature.—The literature of the age of Augustus is so characteristic of the spirit of the time, so typical an expression of the views and longings of the early empire, that it cannot be passed by. Under the patronage of Mæcenas and Asinius Pollio, the writers of this time were brought closely in touch with Augustus himself. Their works were a medium through which the Emperor's ideas were presented to the reading public. In the most charming poetry which Latin literature ever developed, in the short poems of Horace, men found the Emperor's hopes for the restoration of the old solidity of the Roman character. In Vergil's *Æneid*, one of the world's great epic poems, the origin of the Roman state was told in resonant and dignified verses. So excellent was the work then produced that the period of Augustus has been called the Golden Age of Latin Literature.

493. Publius Vergilius Maro (died 19 B. C.).—Vergil was the son of a farm-owner, and was born near Mantua, in the old Gallic territory of northern Italy. After the battle of Philippi, Vergil's farm was confiscated together with a large tract of territory in northern Italy, to provide land for the veterans who had fought with the triumvirs. Through this circumstance Vergil became acquainted with Asinius Pollio, who was then in charge of that territory for Antonius. Pollio was deeply interested in literature, and was himself a writer and literary critic. He was convinced of the talent of the young poet and introduced him into the circle of poets favored by the rising young Augustus.

494. The Eclogues.—The first book of Vergil which appeared was a series of shepherd poems called the *Eclogues*. These are idyls, in which the persons represented as talking are herdsmen, but not the real shepherds who watched their flocks

through monotonous days on the hills. They are artificial personages, imitated from the pastoral poetry of the Greek poet, Theocritus. They sing of their love affairs and their troubles. The poet has pictured many of his own acquaintances in the forms of these shepherds. Vergil's imitations of the Greek poet are inferior to the original; yet they were often imitated by the English poets of the early 18th century.

495. Georgics.—Vergil's love of the country and its scenes found much better expression in his *Georgics*. These poems treat of the work of the farm, the growing of fruit-trees, the hiving of bees, and the breeding of cattle. The Romans had always taken a great interest in country life and its work. This interest was shown in Cato's work upon agriculture. Vergil did not pretend to give scientific direction upon these subjects to men seeking for information. He idealized, in beautiful verses, the country life which he so thoroughly knew and loved. This poetry met the longing for quiet and peace which the people of Italy felt after the many years of civil war. It became very popular and brought Vergil great fame.

496. The Æneid.—The poet's talents were then called upon to fulfill another and far more difficult task. This was the writing of an epic poem which should glorify the great Empire over which Augustus now reigned supreme. The Roman Republic had had its epics, but they were old-fashioned and rude in form. Greece had its famous national epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Should not mighty Rome have a great national poem corresponding to the greatness of her empire?

In response to a feeling of this kind, and at the urgent request of Augustus, Vergil began work upon his long poem. He was too much of an artist to try to put the deeds of Augustus into verse. He chose to write upon the founding of Rome, and celebrate the Empire by telling of its beginnings. According to a legend, Rome had been founded by Æneas, son of Anchises and the goddess Venus, who escaped from Troy when it was taken by the Greeks. The *Æneid*, as the epic is called, relates, in verse, how Troy fell and how Æneas escaped in his ships. After many

mishaps and adventures, he came to Italy, and founded a city there which became the mother of the city of Rome.

The Julian house, to which Cæsar and Augustus belonged, is traced back to the goddess Venus, through Iulus, son of Æneas. The glorification of the Empire, and, less directly, the praise of Augustus himself, are the central points of the poem.

497. Roman Spirit of the Poem.—The character of Æneas, as some critics declare, is developed by Vergil as the poem progresses. At first he is a Greek, with the weakness and indecision of the Greek people as they then seemed to the Romans. But he gradually comes to see his divine mission, which is to found the Roman race. The great destiny of this race is foretold to him. At the end of the poem he has changed into the ideal Roman. He shows those traits of constancy to duty and endurance of bad fortune which made the Roman people so masterful.

Most of the Latin literature is patterned after some model in Greek literature. To this fact Vergil's *Æneid* is no exception. The wanderings of Æneas, in the first six books, are rather closely copied after Homer's *Odyssey*. The last six books correspond, in a general way, to the *Iliad*. Many of Vergil's poetic expressions are taken directly from Homer; yet we must chiefly admire the Roman spirit which Vergil has breathed into the work. No modern historian, looking back upon all that Rome has done and has stood for, could sum up her destiny better than Vergil did in the following lines:

Let others better mold the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
And soften into flesh a marble face;
Plead better at the bar; describe the skies,
And when the stars descend, and when they rise.
But Rome! 'Tis thine alone with awful sway,
To rule mankind, and make the world obey,
Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way;
To tame the proud, the fettered slave to free:
These are imperial arts and worthy thee.

(Dryden's translation.)

498. Quintus Horatius Flaccus.—Horace was the son of a freedman of Apulia in southern Italy. He was educated in Rome and later at the university in Athens. While he was following out his studies there, Cæsar's assassination occurred. Horace was an ardent republican and fought



HEAD OF HORACE FROM A
MEDALLION OF THE
THIRD CENTURY.

with the army of Brutus until the defeat at Philippi. Naturally his opportunity of advancement in the following years at Rome, under the triumvirs, was very poor. Fortunately, Vergil began to appreciate his ability as a poet, and made him acquainted with Mæcenas. The acquaintance ripened into a fast friendship, and Horace's days of poverty and struggle were over.

499. The Epistles and Satires.—The satire is a form of literature in which the writer holds up to ridicule the weaknesses and vices of the world and the men about him. Satire written in verse form is the one branch of literature which the Romans developed without Greek models and Greek inspiration. In it Horace was very successful. With great humor he mocks at the weaknesses of the men about him; but he is saved from bitterness by his ability to laugh at himself, as well as at others, and to acknowledge his own weaknesses.

In the *Epistles*, which are letters in verse form addressed to his friends, Horace expresses his thoughts on many topics. They are the work of his later years, and show keen powers of observation and criticism, but a gentle spirit.

500. The Odes.—The fame of Horace is kept alive chiefly through his four books of *Odes*. These are short lyric poems, inspired by a mood of the writer, or by some political event of importance. They are written in the intricate metrical forms which Horace skillfully adapted from the best of the Greek lyric poets, Archilochus, Alceus, and Sappho. When Vergil

sailed for Greece, Horace wrote a prayer for his safety, which begins:

Thus may Cyprus' heavenly queen,
 Thus Helen's brethren, stars of brightest sheen,
 Guide thee! May the Sire of wind
 Each truant gale, save only Zephyr, bind!
 So do thou, fair ship, that ow'st
 Vergil, thy precious freight, to Attic coast,
 Safe restore thy loan and whole,
 And save from death the partner of my soul!

(Conington's translation.)

When the news of Cleopatra's suicide reached Rome, Horace burst into a song of joy which shows the dread in which she and Antony were held at Rome,

Now drink we deep, now featly tread
 A measure; now before each shrine
 With Salian feasts the table spread;
 The time invites us, comrades mine.

(Conington's translation.)

But with a kind of admiration he tells how she preferred death to the disgrace of appearing in a triumphal procession at Rome.

In other odes, especially in the first six of the third book, Horace warns the Romans that they are not so virtuous nor so brave as were the Romans of old who founded the Empire. Here the service of Horace's art to the plans of Augustus for reform is unmistakable.

To suffer hardness with good cheer,
 In sternest school of warfare bred,
 Our youth should learn; let steed and spear
 Make him one day the Parthian's dread;
 Cold skies, keen perils brace his life.

In the following lines he tries to bring back the Romans to worship the gods:

Your father's guilt you still must pay,
Till, Roman, you restore each shrine,
Each temple, moldering in decay,
And smoke-grimed statue, scarce divine.

(Conington's translation.)

The eternal charm of Horace can scarcely be better shown than by the fact that one of his odes, the famous *Integer Vita*, still appears in our college song books and is sung to-day by college students.

501. Livy.—Vergil, in his *Æneid*, sang the glory of the new imperial period. In history, Livy closed the old period and brought in the new, by writing the history of Rome from the earliest times to the year 9 A. D. Like the *Æneid*, his history is a glorification of Rome's greatness. It was a colossal work, upon which Livy spent 40 years of labor. Of the 142 books which it originally contained, we have only 34, covering the very earliest period and a portion of the Carthaginian wars; of the rest we have only an outline, a mere table of contents. Livy was not a scientific historian. His judgment was often bad in selecting the authors and accounts of past events which he should follow. He is interested more in the literary form of the whole work, than in ferreting out the truth of single details. Yet his history immediately gained an unbounded popularity and has always been regarded as one of the world's great historical products.

502. Ovid.—Ovid, born in 43 B. C., the year of Cicero's death, is a poet of quite a different stamp from Vergil and Horace. They represent the spirit of the new Empire with all its thankfulness for the peace which Augustus and his rule had brought. Ovid is the poet of Rome, the great world-capital, and of its brilliant but immoral society. His verse shows many of the very tendencies toward vicious living which Augustus was most eager to stop. Hence it could not be pleasing to the Emperor. For some reason

unknown to us, Ovid was banished by the Emperor in 8 A. D., possibly because of the immoral tone of some of his verse.

The *Metamorphoses* of Ovid are a cycle of mythological stories in which the heroes are changed from their human forms into the shape of trees, stones, beasts, or birds. The *Heroids* are a series of epistles which the heroines of old write to their lovers or husbands. Ovid imagines what Penelope wrote to Odysseus, or what Helen wrote to Paris. The *Fasti* is a calendar of Roman festivals, giving the legends connected with the origin of each festival.

503. Libraries and Book-making.—The number of the authors who were busied with literature in the first century B. C. shows that the number of people who read poetry and prose was very great. Since the time of Sulla, most of the educated men of Rome had had private libraries, some of them stolen in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, others bought in Athens.



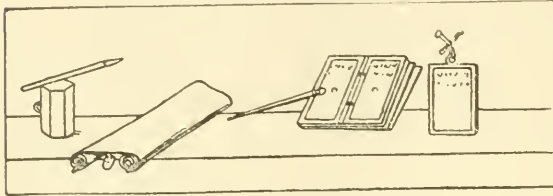
A ROMAN SCHOOL.

From a Grave Monument Found in 1885.

In Cicero's time the demand for books became so great at Rome that the copying and selling of them became a regular business. The publishers used a great number of slaves, trained to write very rapidly and accurately, to make copies of the books from the dictation of a reader. As slave labor was cheap, the books, written on paper rolls, did not cost a great deal, although the price was naturally higher than that of books turned out to-day by our modern machinery. A roll containing about 800 verses, equal to thirty pages of a modern book, cost twenty, thirty, fifty cents or one dollar, depending upon the care and beauty of the writing. The authors did not receive any money from the publishers,

as do our literary men to-day, but lived from gifts bestowed upon them by wealthy patrons.

The interest in reading had become so general in the time of the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar, that he proposed establishing a public library at Rome. His assassination put a stop to the plan; but under Augustus it was



ROMAN WRITING MATERIALS.
From a Pompeian Wall-painting.

carried out under the direction of Vergil's patron, Asinius Pollio. In the first century A. D., it was not unusual for wealthy men to endow public libraries, and thus they spread even into the small towns of Italy and the provinces.

References for Outside Reading

Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, ch. 11; Fowler, *History of Roman Literature*, Book 2; Laing, *Masterpieces of Latin Literature*, pp. 199-386; Lawton, *Classical Latin Literature*, ch. 20-25; Mackail, *Latin Literature*, Book 2, ch. 1-5.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. THE MANUFACTURE OF BOOKS.—Johnston, *Private Life of the Romans*, pp. 291-298.
2. THE STORY OF ÆNEAS' WANDERINGS.—Introduction to Vergil's *Æneid*; Fowler, *History of Roman Literature*, pp. 109-112; Wilkins, *Roman Literature*, pp. 87-92.
3. ROMAN CHILDREN AND THEIR TRAINING.—Johnston, *Private Life of the Romans*, ch. 4; Church, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*, ch. 1; Preston and Dodge, *Private Life of the Romans*, pp. 57-66; Munro, *Source Book of Roman History*, pp. 195-197.
4. THE DESTINY OF ROME AS FORETOLD TO ÆNEAS.—Vergil, *Æneid*, Book VI, lines 679-901 (in Laing, *Masterpieces*, pp. 258-272).
5. HORACE AND THE BORE.—Horace, *Satires*, I, 9; Laing, *Masterpieces*, pp. 295-299.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EMPIRE DURING THE FIRST CENTURY

504. Survey of the First Century A. D.—During the first century of the Christian era, the Roman Empire expanded and developed along the lines set by Augustus. The most essential features of the history of this century may be stated as follows:

1. Externally, the Empire expanded until it included all the countries within the natural boundaries outlined by Augustus. This meant the addition of Thrace, the Rhine regions, Mauretania, and Britain.

2. Internally, the power of the emperors continually increased. The Assemblies practically ceased to meet, and the Senate became subservient to the emperor's wishes. The government was slowly changing into a complete monarchy.

3. Peace reigned almost unbroken within the borders of the Empire for the entire period. The prosperity of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea has probably never been so great, before or since, as during this century.

4. The Greco-Italian civilization of Rome spread rapidly over all of Gaul and Spain. The cities of these lands were no longer backward and provincial. They had their schools, theaters, and amphitheaters. They were adorned with beautiful temples. Great aqueducts were built, supplying them with pure water. In fact, they became as cultured as Rome itself. This civilization spread also into the German territory along the Rhine, and into Britain.

5. Roman citizenship began to spread in the provinces. Thereby the political differences between Rome, the capital city, Italy, the old part of the Empire, and the provinces, were gradually disappearing.

505. The Claudian Rulers, 14–68 A. D.—When Augustus died, there was no male child of the Julian line (the family of Gaius Julius Cæsar) to follow him. He therefore adopted his stepson, Tiberius Claudius Nero, and it was the Claudian



TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

The inscription on the coin reads, "Tiberius Cæsar Augustus, son of the divine Augustus, Imperator VIII."

line which furnished the next four emperors, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. The lives and deeds of these emperors have been described by a literary genius named Tacitus, who wrote the account of the Empire from Augustus to his own time (about 100 A. D.) in his *Annals* and *Histories*. Tacitus is so charming as a writer, so interested in the dramatic careers of the rulers, so prejudiced in favor of restoring the lost power of the Senate, that he makes an unsafe guide. Yet we have no other source so valuable upon the period.

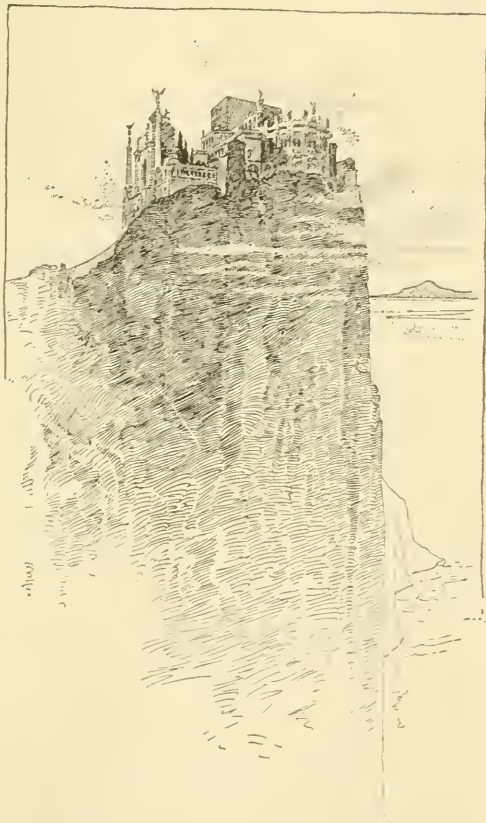
506. Tiberius, 14–37 A. D.—Tacitus depicts Tiberius, the successor of Augustus, as a stern and bloody tyrant. Stern, he was, but honest and forceful. His life had been a bitter one, because he was not liked by Augustus. In order to establish his line as the hereditary rulers of the Empire, Augustus had forced Tiberius to divorce his first wife and marry Augustus' daughter, Julia, a thoroughly bad woman. Tiberius carried on the policies of Augustus without change, maintaining order upon the borders of the Empire. In Rome he was hated, and the hatred resulted in plots against his life, which he put down without mercy. The soldiers who had served with him loved him, and the provincials had every reason to praise his rule. It is to his credit that he put an end to the farcical elections of magistrates in the Assemblies at Rome, and gave these elections into the hands of the Senate. The action meant that popular rule had entirely ceased at Rome.

The reign of Tiberius is marked by one other event which created little stir in the wide Roman Empire at that time, but has been fraught with deep meaning in the development

of mankind. This was the ministry and crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth.

507. **The Emperor Claudius, 41–54 A. D.**—Caligula, the next Emperor, was undoubtedly touched with insanity. There is not a single act of his reign which merits the student's attention. When he was assassinated, in 41 A. D., the prætorian guard sought for some one to put in the vacant seat, because they feared that the Senate would try to reëstablish the Republic. If this were done the prætorians, who formed the body-guard of the emperors, would surely be sent from the city. As the prætorians ransacked the palace, they found a middle-aged man, a nephew of Tiberius, hiding behind a curtain in terror of his life. This man, Claudius, they carried to the barracks and hailed as emperor.

Claudius seemed physically and mentally unfitted for the high office which fell to him. He was lame; he stuttered in speech. Nevertheless, his conduct of the emperor's office was worthy of respect. This is partially due to his own honest love of hard work, partially to the council which ran the state for him. It consisted of four men who had raised themselves from slavery in the service of the imperial household to high positions as private secretaries of Claudius. These four freedmen were Narcissus, secretary of corre-



RESTORATION OF THE VILLA OF TIBERIUS
IN THE ISLAND OF CAPRI.

By C. Weichardt.

spondence; Pallas, the Emperor's financial secretary; Callistus, secretary of petitions; and Polybius, director of the Emperor's studies.

With the assistance of these men, Claudius did much to further the needs of the Empire. Britain was conquered, Thrace and Mauretania added to the Empire as provinces. A great step was taken in bringing the provinces up to the same level as Italy, by granting citizenship and the right to hold offices to some of the Gallic tribes. The water supply of Rome was bettered by building two immense aqueducts which poured a great quantity of pure water into the city. The ruins of these great aqueducts are still standing on the plains near Rome.

508. Nero, 54-68 A. D.; the Rule of Seneca.—Nero, the stepson of Claudius, obtained the position of emperor through the scheming of his mother Agrippina. The prætorian guard was bribed to proclaim him ruler, although Claudius had a son who should by right have inherited the position. The selection of Claudius and of Nero shows how little power the Roman Senate had in determining the succession. -

Nero was a cowardly weakling who loved to gain the applause of the crowd by reciting poetry and driving in chariot races. For the stern duties of the emperor's office, the hard work of governing a great empire, he had little liking and less capacity. The real task of administration was ably carried on by Seneca, a wealthy and educated Spaniard, who had been Nero's tutor. Beside Seneca as his chief assistant stood Burrus, prefect of the prætorian guard. Until the death of Burrus in 62 A. D., the Empire was well ruled. Then Nero took the reins in his own hands and gathered round him advisers of the vilest sort. The court life became vicious and extravagant. In order to meet his lavish expenses, Nero used any excuse to condemn wealthy men to death so that he might confiscate their estates. In this way Seneca, among many others, met his death.

509. Nero's Reign and Death, 68 A. D.—The six years of Nero's rule after the retirement of Seneca passed like a wild

and dreadful dream. In the year 64 A. D. the city caught fire and a large portion of it was burned. The rumor spread that Nero had started the fire in order to be able to build Rome anew. The Emperor and his advisers blamed it upon the Christians, then a new and small sect at Rome, and these innocent persons suffered torture and death by the Emperor's orders.

Upon the ruins of the city arose a new Rome, built with all the art which the Greeks had learned through the centuries of their progress. The streets were broad, with open squares here and there, and lined with colonnades to protect the people from sun and rain. Far better than in the days of Augustus, the appearance of Rome began to correspond to her position as the world's capital.

In the heart of the city, upon ground which had an immense value, Nero built his famous palace, called the "Golden House," because of the amount of gold ornament used in its decoration. Extending over a mile in length, the grounds contained ponds, woods, stretches of green meadow, salt-water and fresh-water baths. To pay the enormous expenses of this folly, Nero was forced to rob Italy and the provinces. Finally, the armies in the provinces could stand it no longer, and news came to Rome that there was rebellion in Gaul and Spain. Deserted by his flatterers, and condemned to death by the Senate, Nero finally plucked up courage to kill himself before his pursuers could reach him.

510. The Year of Civil War, 68-69 B. C.—As Nero had no children, there was no regular successor whom the Senate could choose as emperor, even if it had the power to do so. The office was open to the strongest claimant. A year of civil war passed before the question was definitely settled. First, the commander of the army in Spain was made emperor, but he was soon killed by the prætorian guards, who raised a favorite of their own to the imperial seat. Meantime the army stationed along the Rhine had proclaimed their own leader, Vitellius, as emperor. They marched

into Italy and defeated the prætorian forces, and Vitellius took the title and power.

The armies in the eastern provinces and those along the Danube were jealous of the importance assumed by the armies in the West, and they felt that they had as much right to name an emperor as any other army. So they declared their general, Titus Flavius Vespasianus, to be emperor, marched into Italy, defeated the troops of the West, and placed Vespasian firmly in the emperor's place.

The year of the civil wars makes clear the following points, some of which are noted by the ancient historians:

1. The lack of a regular method of choosing the emperor was a great weakness for the Empire.

2. The armies could make and unmake emperors, and the Senate had little power in comparison with the leaders of the troops.

3. A man like Vespasian, who had done his work in the provinces and was strong there, could become the ruler, far away from the city of Rome, and without considering the wishes of its people.

511. The Rule of the Flavian House, 69–96 A. D.: Vespasian.—The rule of the Flavians—Vespasian, 69–79 A. D.;



COIN WITH HEAD OF
VESPASIAN.

The Inscription reads:
"Imperator Cæsar Vespasian Augustus."

Titus, his elder son, 79–81 A. D.; Domitian, his younger son, 81–96 A. D.—was on the whole very good. Vespasian was a simple, direct, and honest soldier, the son of a tax-collector in a small town of Italy. He was the first emperor who could not claim descent from the old nobility of Rome; and many stories tell of the homely, peasant wit with which he rebuked flatterers who wished to worship him as a god.

The reorganization of the state, bankrupt by sinful waste under Nero, and shattered by the civil wars, marks Vespasian as a talented ruler. He gave especial attention to the state finances, made up a deficit

amounting to two billions of dollars, and left the state in good financial condition.

It had been customary for the Senate to declare the emperors gods after their death. When Vespasian felt death coming on he said to his friends whimsically: "I feel that I am becoming a god"; and when the hour of his death came, he had himself placed upon his feet, saying that an emperor must die standing.

512. Growth of the Estates of the Emperors.—It is to Vespasian, in all probability, that the credit must be given for organizing the management of the immense estates in Italy, Asia, and northern Africa, which had gradually come to be personal property of the emperors, and the rental of which was paid into the *fiscus*. These estates had come into the emperor's possession in the following manner:

The great generals who conquered Asia Minor and Syria, and those who fought there in the civil wars, Pompey, Julius Cæsar, Brutus and Cassius, Marcus Antonius, and, later, Augustus Cæsar, had given to their friends immense tracts of the public domain, or sold great stretches of it in order to obtain money for their wars. In northern Africa the same process went on. Thus, the members of the aristocracy of the city of Rome, men like Lucullus and Mæcenas, and, under the Empire, Seneca and others, had immense land holdings in the provinces or in Italy. In the proscriptions under the Second Triumvirate (43 B. C.), the estates of the proscribed were often confiscated by the triumvirs. When Antonius was defeated by Augustus Cæsar, all these estates came into Augustus' hands.

These lands were inherited by the later emperors, and were increased by the numerous bequests of wealthy friends who left their property to the Cæsars. Mæcenas left to Augustus his gardens in Rome, and his vast estates in Egypt. The poet Vergil bequeathed to Augustus one-fourth of his estate, the whole of which was valued at 10,000,000 sesterces.¹ When Seneca committed suicide, his estates in

¹The sesterce is generally reckoned to be worth about five cents.

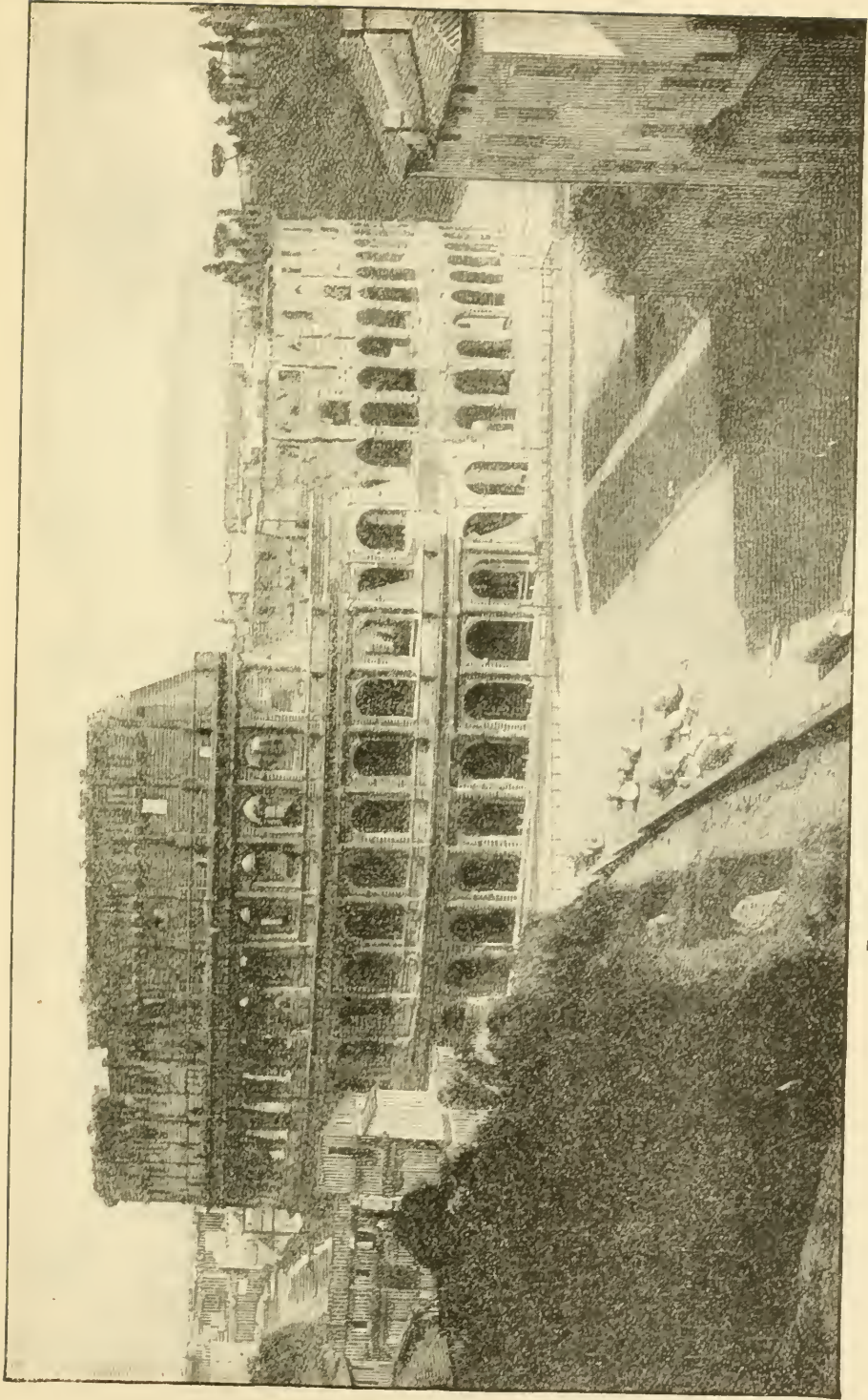
Egypt were confiscated by Nero, and were added to the "emperor's domain."

513. Organization of the Emperor's Domains.—It was apparent to the emperors who ruled during the first century A. D., that they must break up, wherever possible, the great land holdings of the wealthy senators of Rome and the great proprietors in the provinces. Otherwise, these landed aristocrats would become too powerful for them. Vespasian, gifted as he was with practical business sense, took in hand the problem of dealing with the organization and management of these great estates.

From inscriptions recently found in northern Africa, we know something of the administration of the imperial domain of that country. The land was leased in large tracts to men called *conductors*, who paid a certain portion of the produce to officers called *procurators*, who represented the emperor's interests. The conductors, or big leaseholders, sublet the estates to the *coloni*, who paid to them as rental a portion of the crops. The *coloni* were also bound to work for the conductors a certain number of days each year.

Vespasian passed a law which definitely fixed the amount of rental which the *coloni* were to pay to the conductors, and the number of days of labor which they owed them. In the case of grains and fruits, the payment was usually one-third of the crop. The number of days of their labor for the conductors was fixed at six each year, two at the time of plowing, two at the sowing, and two at the harvesting. The procurators saw to it that these laws were inscribed on stone and set up in places where they could be read by the *coloni*, in order to protect them from unjust demands on the part of the conductors. They applied to the *coloni* working on the great private estates as well as to those on the imperial domains.

514. Titus and Domitian.—The two years of the rule of Titus were marked by two noteworthy events. The first was the eruption of Vesuvius, which, in 79 A. D., buried the two cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The second was



RUINS OF THE FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATER AT ROME.

the completion of the Flavian Amphitheater, called the Colosseum, which was begun by Vespasian. The ruins of this gigantic building at Rome are still regarded as one of the greatest structures in the world. It was built for the exhibition of the gladiatorial games, or wild-beast hunts and fights, and could be flooded so that naval battles might be displayed. It is said that the building would seat 80,000 spectators.

Domitian believed that an emperor's power should be absolute, and he therefore took little account of the Senate. Consequently he appears in the history of Tacitus as a bloody tyrant, with no good qualities. His rule, however, was energetic and capable. In the year 96 A. D., a plot in the palace resulted in his death, and the Flavian line was at an end.

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Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 148-162; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 241-281; Tacitus, *Annals and Histories*; Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*; Abbott, *Short History of Rome*, pp. 87-203; Davis, *Outline History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 65-102; Jones, *The Roman Empire*, ch. 2-4; Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, ch. 12-22; Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 289-295; Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 471-546; Taylor, *Constitutional and Political History*, ch. 19; Capes, *The Early Empire*; Seignobos, *History of the Roman People*, ch. 20, 21; Tucker, *Life in the Roman World*, ch. 5.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

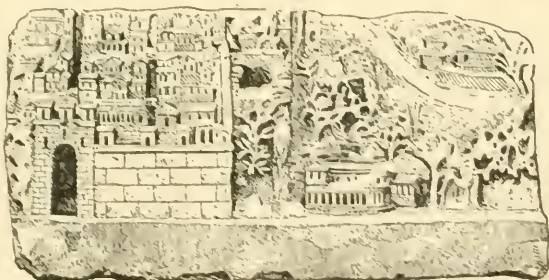
1. DELATIONS UNDER TIBERIUS.—Capes, *Early Empire*, pp. 57-61; Davis, *Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, pp. 187-193.
2. WAS TIBERIUS A GOOD EMPEROR?—(Determine this by his words and his actions as emperor.) Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 242-253; Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 148-152; Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, ch. 12, 13.
3. NERO AND THE BURNING OF ROME.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 267-270; Tacitus, *Annals*, Book 15, ch. 38-45.
4. THE DEATH OF SENECA.—Tacitus, *Annals*, Book 15, ch. 60-65.
5. THE FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATER.—*Classical Dictionary* under "Amphitheatrum"; Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, pp. 620-622; Johnston, *Private Life of the Romans*, pp. 255-259.
6. NERO'S MOTHER AGRIPPINA.—*McClure's Magazine* for April, 1909. Article entitled "Nero."

CHAPTER XXXVIII

CHRISTIANITY AND THE EMPIRE IN THE FIRST CENTURY

515. Our Sources of Information.—The numerous writers of the first century after Christ, historians, philosophers, poets, and, best of all, the writers of satire, enable us to form a fairly complete picture of life in the Roman Empire. The details of this picture may be filled in from the results of the excavations made at Hereulaneum and Pompeii, which have given us evidence of the most interesting and most valuable character.

In the principate of Titus, in August, 79 A. D., the volcanic mountain Vesuvius, southeast of Naples, suddenly broke out into a great eruption. The two cities lying at the foot of the mountain were covered by small pumice stones and volcanic ashes, Pompeii to a depth of seventeen or eighteen feet, Hereulaneum much deeper. In the Middle Ages their ex-



VIEW OF A CORNER OF AN ITALIAN WALLED TOWN IN ANTIQUITY.

From a Relief.

istence and location were forgotten. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, excavations have been going on, and the visitor to Pompeii may now walk through the very streets and houses of a Greco-Roman city of long ago. The larger part of Hereulaneum has not been excavated at all. Much therefore is still to be learned from its depths.

516. The Streets of Pompeii.—Pompeii was a city of about 20,000 inhabitants. Its houses were one and two-

story structures, built flush with the sidewalk. The streets, well paved with blocks of lava, were narrow, varying from thirty-two feet in width in the better parts of town, to ten feet in the poorer parts. As the houses had no windows in



A STREET OF POMPEII AS IT LOOKS TO-DAY.

the lower story, the visitor must have felt that he was walking in a narrow passage flanked by blank garden walls.

Near the center of the city the appearance of the streets was different. Here the blank walls ceased and the

lower stories of the houses were cut up into small shops, which opened upon the street. At night these were closed by heavy screens which were rolled down from above. Passing by when these were open, one might look into barber-shops and see the barber shaving his customers, or see the poorer people sitting at their meals in little cook-shops or chatting in the wine-shops.

517. The Forum of Pompeii.—In the olden times, the forum of the Italian city had served as the market-place and the center for the people's meetings. As Italy developed under Greek influence, it had come to be the center of the public life of the city. It was surrounded with temples and other public buildings in the Greek style of architecture.

The forum of Pompeii was about 500 feet long by 150 feet wide, well paved with stone, but with no entrance for carriages or wagons. At the north end of this rectangular space stood the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, its front of six great Corinthian columns overlooking the entire forum. This was the chief temple of the city's

worship. A colonnade, or row of columns, ran along one side, along the end opposite the temple of Jupiter, and part way up the other side. In front of the colonnade stood numerous statues of bronze or marble, including those of the emperors Augustus, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. Upon one side was a group of seven equestrian statues.

Other buildings arose back of the colonnade. The basilica was a roomy stone building, a covered market,



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER IN THE FORUM OF POMPEII.
Vesuvius in the Background.

where business men met to talk and make agreements, with a court where their differences were adjusted. In the northeast corner of the forum, facing directly upon the side of the temple of Jupiter, stood the markets for meats, fish, and delicacies already spiced and prepared. At the south end, facing the temple of Jupiter, were the buildings more strictly connected with the public affairs of the city, the *comitium* or voting hall, the offices of the duumvirs and *ædiles*, and the hall for the meetings of the city council.

If one can imagine this forum, and the people moving about in it, dressed in long white or colored togas, the statues and the rows of columned buildings, then one has a characteristic picture of the central point in the life of any Greco-Roman town. The general appearance was that of a Greek city, the architecture was entirely Greek.

518. The Sources of Income of the Pompeians.—The chief industries of Pompeii are clearly indicated by evidence in the shops and houses. As at the present day, the country-

side around Vesuvius was noted for its wine-grapes. The number of the big wine-jars found at Pompeii proves that the manufacture of wine was an important source of the city's income. As the fishing was good in the waters of the bay of Naples, this must have been the employment of many of the poorer Pompeians. Fish sauces were manufactured in large quantities by one man, for the stamp of his factory has been found upon a number of clay jars. There were also factories which made mill-stones out of the lava to be obtained on Vesuvius. Many wealthy men from Rome had country homes around Pompeii, and the support of these brought money to the city. The Pompeian villa owned by Cicero has not yet been discovered in the excavations.

519. Smaller Business Enterprises.—The work in the manufacturing industries was done by slaves. The free laborers engaged in the various small trades necessary in a city of the size of Pompeii. Those engaged in the same line of work were formed into guilds for the worship of the patron god or goddess of that trade. In Pompeii, as in Rome, the bakers' guild seems to have been large and influential.

The bakeries in Pompeii show us that the bakers had to grind the grain into meal and flour, as well as bake it into bread or cakes. Grinding mills of stone, and donkeys to turn them, were a part of every large establishment. At the festival of Vesta, the goddess of the bakers' guild, the donkeys were adorned with wreaths and cakes.

The preparation and selling of clothes was, of course, an important business in any ancient city, just as it is nowadays. In Pompeii, the weavers who made the cloth out of the wool have not left any traces of their work. The fullers, however, who took the cloth from the loom and prepared it for sale by cleaning, bleaching, and pressing it, formed an important guild. They also did the work of dyeing, cleaning, and pressing clothes already in use. Many other industries of a similar nature helped to give work to the happy, care-free inhabitants of beautiful Pompeii.

520. Use of the Walls for Advertisements.—Rome alone of all the cities in the Empire had anything to correspond to our daily papers. Each day the official acts of the Senate were published at Rome, together with other news of interest to the public, upon a bulletin board. Copies of these bulletins were made out and sent out to other cities of Italy and even into the provinces.

Since there were no newspapers, the walls of the houses were made to serve as bill-boards for advertising. The plaster walls in Pompeii were covered with inscriptions scratched or painted in bright red letters from two to twelve inches high. They contain every sort of notice—advertisements praising certain candidates for the local offices, sentimental verses written by lovers, and the letters of the alphabet, both in Greek and Latin, scratched by school children.

In many of these notices, the guilds or unions recommend candidates for office. Some of the unions which occur are those of the donkey-drivers; dealers in clothes, in drugs, and in fruits; the porters; the dyers; bakers; inn-keepers; and barbers. A few of the quotations will serve to give an idea of the variety and interest of these advertisements.

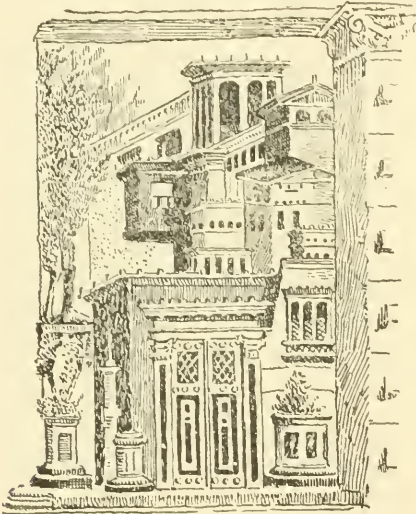
I beg you to support A. Vettius Firmus as *ædile*. He deserves well of the state. Ball-players, support him.

To let, for the space of five years, from the fifteenth day of next August to the fifteenth day of the sixth August thereafter, the Venus bath, fitted up for the best people, shops, rooms over the shops, and second story apartments, in the property owned by Julia Felix.

The following notice was found upon the whitewashed wall of a grave monument on a street leading out of the city:

Let the person whose mare ran away on the 25th of November, a mare with a little pack-saddle, look up Q. Decius Hilarus, freedman of Lucius, this side of the Sarno bridge on the Mamian estate.

521. The Houses of the Wealthy.—The houses of the wealthy citizens of Pompeii give us a high opinion of the good taste and love of beauty which marked the culture of the Empire. Passing into a Pompeian house from the street, the visitor came into a large court called the *atrium*, with a hole in the roof to admit light. The floor of this court was decorated with mosaics, the walls covered with paintings, the ceilings glittered with gold and ivory. Statues in marble or bronze were placed here and there along the walls. Back of this was a still larger court with a garden in the center containing splashing fountains, flowers, marble basins and a few statues. This garden was surrounded by marble pillars. The covered passage on either side of the garden opened upon the living rooms of the house. Sometimes the sleeping rooms were here, sometimes in the second story.



WALL-PAINTING FROM A ROOM IN AN ANCIENT VILLA.

The Impression given by the Painting is that one is Looking Through a Window upon the Town Outside.

These houses of the wealthy were comfortable, airy, and very elegant. They had no windows through which the owners could look into the street, and there was no grass plot or garden outside. To supply this want of a free outlook, pictures were painted upon the walls which showed fields and flowers, producing the impression that those in the house were looking through windows opening out upon some country scene.

522. Moral Life of the Empire.—The Romans and Italians of the early Republic were a stern, simple, and upright people. We have seen how the moral ideas of the Greeks of the Hellenistic Age were brought to Rome in the third and second centuries before Christ. These changed the Roman stand-

ard of morals, and, eventually, the Roman character. The Romans lost their belief in their old religion and turned to the Greek, and later to the wild excesses of strange Oriental worships. Those who still believed in the old Roman and Greek gods found in them no guide to admonish them to live clean lives and tell them how to do so.

The literature of the last century of the Republic and the first century of the Empire, and the evidence which comes from Pompeii lead to the conviction that the sound and healthy moral tone of the old Republic had changed and that viciousness was widespread in Rome and the cities of Italy. No doubt the great majority of men were still good; but public opinion did not condemn many acts which our own day would never tolerate. Of many reasons which must have helped to brutalize Roman life, two stand forth prominently, the gladiatorial shows, and the widespread system of slavery.

523. The Birth of Christ and His Historical Importance.— Never before had the world attained so high a point of civilization as in the Roman Empire in the first century of our era. Never before had the prosperity of mankind been so great, over so large an area of the world. From the Euphrates to Gibraltar there stretched one vast empire. In the years of peace introduced by the rule of Augustus Cæsar, travel became quite safe and trade was active. In a small and insignificant corner of this peaceful and busy empire, Jesus of Nazareth was born, whose religious and moral teachings are so powerful an influence in the world of to-day.

Simple and gentle, unknown to the Emperor Tiberius and the other great men of Rome, Christ spent his few years of active teaching in Palestine. In the great Roman world of that day, his crucifixion passed unnoticed excepting among his own people, the Jews. Yet of all the great things which the Roman Empire gave to the world, this is the greatest, the most vital, and historically the most important—the Christian religion founded by Jesus.

524. The Life of Christ.—Jesus was born in Nazareth, a town in Galilee, probably in the year 4 B. C.¹ Some time before 30 A. D., while Tiberius was Emperor, Jesus began his career as a public teacher, preaching the knowledge of God to all who would hear.

As the fame of Jesus grew, his popularity and teachings aroused the enmity of the Jewish leaders. He was at last arrested near Jerusalem, and brought before the Sanhedrin, the highest Jewish tribunal. Its members wished to put Jesus to death but had to have the consent of the Roman procurator of Galilee, Pontius Pilatus. The charges made against Jesus were that he stirred up the people, refused to pay tribute to the Roman emperor, and called himself King of the Jews. Although the procurator Pilatus found no truth in the charges, which implied rebellion against Roman rule, he yielded to the clamor of the populace, and condemned Jesus to be crucified.

525. Importance of the Apostle Paul.—In the history of the first four centuries after Christ's birth, two movements stand out as most important in their results: (1) The progress and later decline of the Roman Empire; (2) the rapid spread of Christianity within the Empire. In the second of these movements one man becomes an important historical figure, who is not mentioned by the Roman historians of the time and was probably unknown to them. This was the Apostle Paul.

The converts to Christianity in the time of Christ's ministry were not many and these were all in Galilee and Judæa, a very small section of the Empire. The greatness of Paul lies in the fact that he insisted that Christianity was not meant to be a religion of one people, but of all peoples, and that he was tireless in his efforts to spread the doctrines of Christ in the pagan world.

¹The year usually given as the year of the birth of Christ, from which the Christian era begins, was worked out by a monk named Dionysius in the sixth century A. D. The dates in Christ's life are very hard to fix, and it is evident that Dionysius was wrong. Some authorities think that Jesus was born in 7 B. C., but it is impossible to be positive.

526. The Life of Paul.—Paul had been educated as a strict follower of the Jewish faith. After the crucifixion of Christ, he assisted in the persecutions of the small congregation of believers in Jesus. After his own conversion, he felt that it was his mission to convert the Gentiles. He preached



MAP OF THE JOURNEYS OF PAUL IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN LANDS.

and established churches in Antioch, and in the smaller cities of Syria and Cilicia. Another journey took him across into Europe, where he worked with patience and tireless energy in Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth.

When he returned to Jerusalem, Paul was persecuted by the Jews and arrested. The fact that he was a Roman citizen saved him from death. After two years' imprisonment he appealed his case to the Emperor Nero, as every Roman citizen had the right to do. It seems that he lived several years at Rome under arrest, but free to move about

the city. He spent his time in aiding and strengthening the Roman community of Christians.

It is impossible to fix definitely the time when he was taken to Rome, or the year and manner of his death. The ancient writers agree, however, that he spent two years under guard at Rome, and was executed in the time of Nero about the year 65 A. D.

527. The Early Christian Congregation.—By the time of Nero's death, owing principally to Paul's labors, congregations of believers in the new faith were to be found in all the larger cities of the Empire. They did not, however, take an important place in the life of the cities, because the members were of the lower classes, free laborers, freedmen, and slaves. In 64 A. D., when the great fire occurred in Rome, Nero was able to put the blame upon the Christians, for the populace of the city knew little about them, and they had no converts among men of high rank, and no influence to protect them. Even as late as 115 A. D. when the historian Tacitus wrote his *Annals*, an official like Tacitus, who had lived all his life at Rome, had no real knowledge or understanding of Christian life and teachings. This is proved by his description of the persecution under Nero.

528. External Factors Which Helped the Spread of Christianity.—Among the lower mass of the population of the Empire, the growth of Christianity was marvelously rapid. In addition to the high truth of Christ's teachings and the work of Paul, this rapid spread is due to many external factors which favored the growth of Christianity.

1. The scattering of the Jews, and their conception of one God, maker of heaven and earth, over the Roman world. In a measure, the ground had already been prepared in the pagan world for the acceptance of the Christian belief in one God through the work of the Jewish congregations.

2. The unity of the world in the speech and ideas of the Hellenistic Greek world.

3. The political unity of the civilized world under the Roman Empire. The all-embracing Empire prepared the Roman world for a single and all-embracing religion.

4. The world-trade, with its great and safe highways, which brought about a continual mingling of the different nations and their ideas.

5. The tolerance of the Roman state toward foreign religions. This allowed Christianity to start unmolested.

6. The decay of the old Greek and Italian religions, and the great need of a new religion which would supply the moral instruction which, before the coming of Christianity, had been supplied chiefly by the Greek philosophies.

In a word, the unity of all the Empire in speech, culture, and political organization was a necessary condition for the spread of Christianity in the early days. With a knowledge of the Greek language, Paul could address his audiences in all parts of the civilized world and be understood. The fundamental idea of one God was not entirely new and strange to the people to whom he preached.

529. The Growing Humanity of Paganism.—There are many evidences in the first century A. D. that the pagan world was growing kindlier and better, even without the influence of Christianity. The new spirit showed itself in humane laws for the protection of slaves, in the simple lives of the Flavian emperors, and in the words of the emperor Titus, who counted each day lost in which he had not done some good thing. Many grave-inscriptions from the provinces teach us that the family life of the people was sound and happy. One husband says of his wife, "She was dearer to me than my own life." Another inscribed on his first wife's tomb: "Only once did she cause me sorrow, and that was by her death."

530. Roman Stoicism: Seneca.—This spirit, which is so different from the general brutality of the last century of the Republic, is found especially in the writings of the Roman followers of the Stoic philosophy. The greatest of these, and one of the greatest pagan characters of the first century of the Empire, is Seneca, the adviser of Nero. Born of a wealthy Spanish family, Seneca became Nero's tutor, and later ran the Empire as his chief adviser. Though an important figure in the politics of his day, Seneca is more

important in Roman history as a writer of tragedies and philosophic essays. In essays upon providence, anger, on leisure, on peace of mind, and like topics, he set forth his Stoic ideas.

Although Seneca probably knew little, if anything, about Christianity, he expresses many doctrines which are decidedly Christian, such as this: "I



THE PHILOSOPHER AND STATES-
MAN, SENECA.

will govern my life and my thoughts as if the whole world were to see the one and read the other, for what does it signify to make anything a secret to my neighbor, when to God (who searches our hearts) all our private thoughts are open." In answer to the question why we often see good men in affliction and wicked men living in ease and plenty, Seneca says: "My answer is that God deals by us as a good Father does by his

children. He tries us, he hardens us, and fits us for himself."

It is true that Seneca closed his eyes to many evil deeds in the wicked life of Nero's court. Though he did not live up to his high ideas of morality, his belief in these ideas and his many talents commend him to our admiration. When he received an order from Nero to commit suicide, he did it bravely, in a manner worthy of his Stoic training.

531. Morality of the Early Christians.—Right living, among those pagans who followed the Greek philosophies, was often a matter of theory rather than a thing which they acted upon. Among the early Christians, clean living was strictly enforced, and every sin was punished before the whole congregation. Because they regarded the gladiatorial games as wicked, they would not go to see them. Because Christ had preached a doctrine of peace, they would not enlist as soldiers. Because Christ had preached purity of heart, they kept their lives unspotted. Whoever committed any of the "deadly sins," including the

worship of pagan gods, blasphemy, murder, deception, or false witness, was dismissed from the congregation. The poorer members of the congregation were supported by the charity of the wealthier, and alms were given freely. Thus a growing body of people was to be found in the Empire, in whose lives the teachings of Christ were exemplified, who feared sin more than death, and regarded poverty and hunger as less to be dreaded than a lie.

References for Outside Reading

Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 304-321, 329-334; Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, ch. 31-32; Capes, *Early Empire*, ch. 18-19; Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, especially ch. 7, 8, 12-22, 46-48, 56-58 (excellent illustrations); Barker, *Buried Herculaneum*, ch. 4, 8, 9, 14, 15 (to be used for illustrations); Friedländer, *Town Life in Ancient Italy*; Inge, *Society in Rome under the Cæsars*; Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, pp. 1-50; Thomas, *Roman Life under the Cæsars*, ch. 1; Bulwer-Lytton, *Last Days of Pompeii*.

ON EARLY CHRISTIANITY: The *New Testament*, especially *Acts*; Lives of Jesus and Paul in the *Encyclopedias*; Hardy, *Studies in Roman History* (first series), ch. 1-5; Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, ch. 1-5 (same as preceding reference); Fisher, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, ch. 13-17; Uhlhorn, *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, pp. 13-91.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. INNS AND WINE-SHOPS IN AN ANCIENT TOWN.—Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, ch. 47; Johnston, *Private Life of the Romans*, pp. 285-6.
2. THE ERUPTIONS OF VESUVIUS AS DESCRIBED BY AN EYE-WITNESS.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 275-278; *Letters of Pliny the Younger*, VI, 20.
3. THE JOURNEY OF PAUL TO ROME.—*Acts*, ch. 27-28.
4. THE DANGERS OF LIVING IN ROME.—Botsford, *Story of Rome*, pp. 281-284.
5. THE DEATH OF SENECA.—Tacitus, *Annals*, book 15, ch. 60-64.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE EMPIRE AT A STANDSTILL

532. The Antonine Cæsars.—The assassination of Domitian in 96 A. D. left no heir of the Flavian house to claim the emperor's seat. The Senate quickly decided upon Nerva, an aged and respected member of its body, as emperor. The new emperor adopted as his son and joint ruler a Spaniard named Trajan. The choice of this excellent executive and able general brings two new ideas into the administration of the central government of the Empire: (1) the principle of adoption by the existing emperor of some worthy successor; (2) the idea that a provincial like Trajan could be made emperor.

The system of adopting a successor was kept up for almost a century, due to the fact that the next three emperors had no sons. It brought to the heavy burden of the imperial office a series of four hard-working, honest and conscientious rulers, called the Antonines. These are Trajan, 98–117 A. D., Hadrian, 117–138 A. D., Antoninus Pius, 138–161 A. D., and Marcus Aurelius, 161–180 A. D. These, with Nerva, are the so-called “five good emperors.”

533. General View of the Second Century.—The period of the Antonines has rightly been considered one of the most peaceful and most prosperous in the history of the Mediterranean countries. The wars which were waged were all upon the frontiers, and did not affect commerce and welfare within the Empire. The history of the time, which lacks the dramatic incidents of the first century A. D., may be summed up as follows:

1. It was a period of little progress in the development of the imperial system toward monarchy. There were but slight changes in the boundaries of the Empire. Politically and territorially, therefore, the Empire was at a standstill.

2. The system of government, as established by Augustus and developed in the first century, worked smoothly and efficiently.

3. The emperors chosen by adoption were all excellent men.

4. The power of the Senate, effectually broken in the first century, gradually decreased. Yet the Antonines managed to work in harmony with the Senate.

5. Great interest was shown by the Antonines, of whom two were provincials, in the welfare and the happiness of the provinces.

6. Roman citizenship was granted to many cities in the provinces, thus levelling the distinction between Italy and the provinces.

7. The number of the Christians increased, and the state attempted to suppress the new religion.

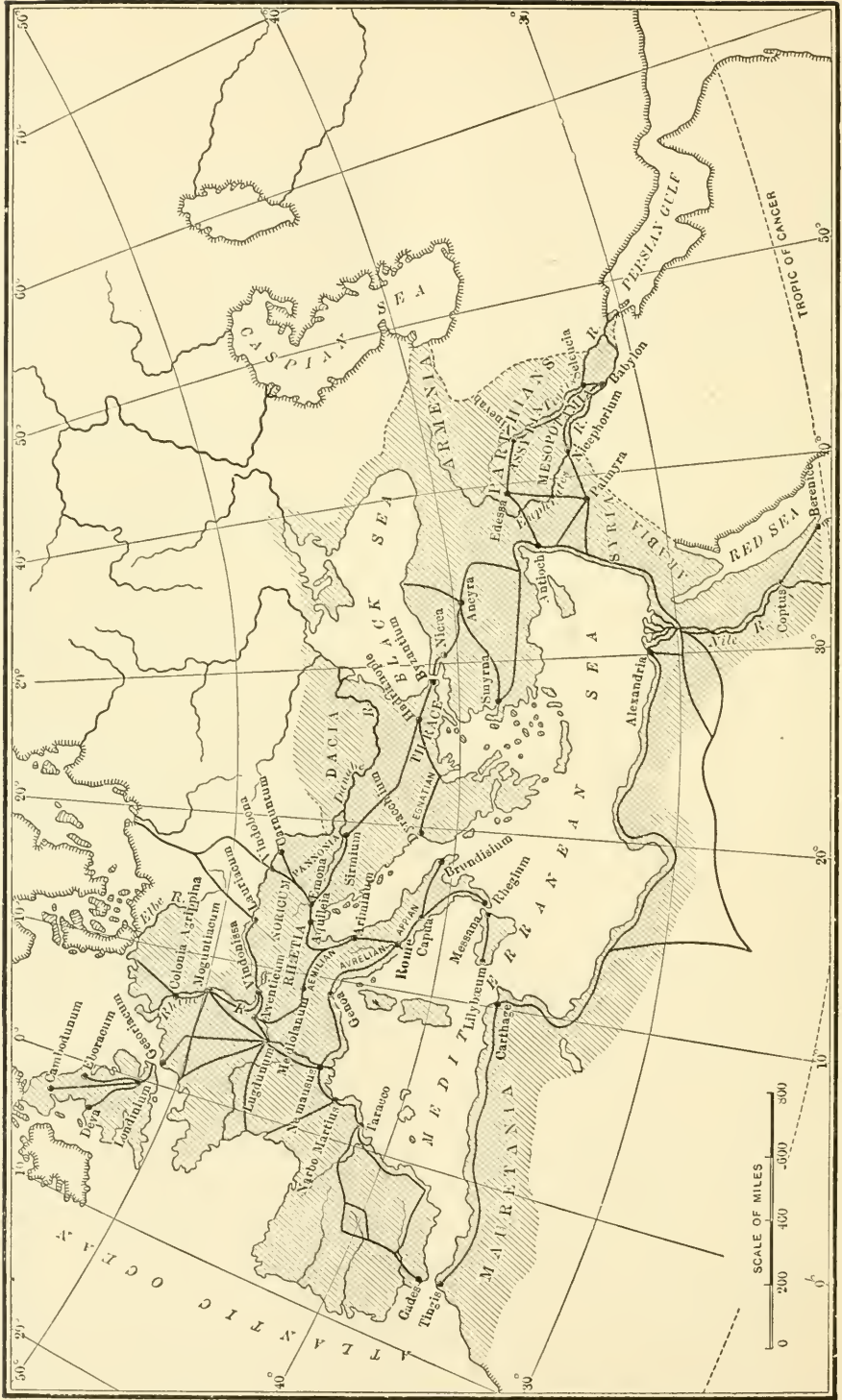
534. Trajan the Conqueror, 98–117 A. D.—Trajan was a soldier and conqueror by temperament. He introduced a policy of expanding the Empire which distinguishes him from the other emperors of the first two centuries A. D. Just north of the Danube River, a strong nation called the Dacians had gradually grown up. By their sallies into the province of Thrace, this people had made it evident that the Roman border could not be protected unless Dacia quickly became Romanized by the settlers who poured in. We have two surviving memorials of Trajan's exploits in Dacia, the column which he set up in Rome in honor of his victory, and the language spoken in modern Roumania, which is directly descended from the ancient Latin.



A ROMAN SOLDIER AND A DACIAN,
WITH A DACIAN HUT IN THE
BACKGROUND.

From a Roman Relief in the Louvre.

In the last years of his life (114–117 A. D.), Trajan led his devoted troops against the Parthians in western Asia. By adding the provinces of Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, he brought the Roman Empire to the



ROMAN EMPIRE AFTER THE CONQUESTS OF TRAJAN, AND THE GREAT ROMAN ROADS.

greatest extent it ever attained. But Trajan was greater as a conqueror than as a statesman, and his successor, Hadrian, deemed it wise to give up all these new provinces, excepting Arabia and Dacia.

535. Hadrian the Traveler, 117–138 A. D.—In the Spaniard Hadrian there came to power a man who typifies in his temperament and abilities that mixture of Greek and Roman qualities which makes the civilization of the Roman Empire. The great love of everything beautiful, poetry, art, rhetoric, the drama, which he possessed in full measure, is Greek. His earnestness as a ruler, his devotion to duty, his respect for law, and his soldierly qualities—these are Roman.

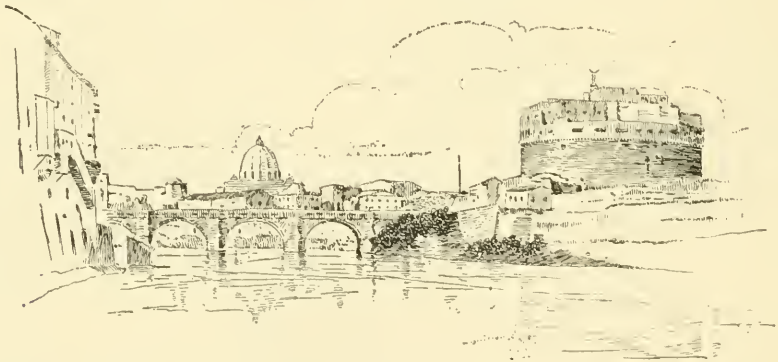
There is no glamour of war about his rule. He gave himself up to the less showy task of studying the finances of his wide empire. There is something which reminds us of a modern ruler's task in the statement of an ancient historian: "Hadrian was better acquainted with the expenditures and revenues of the state than most men with those of their own household."

In order to acquaint himself with the needs of the Empire, Hadrian traveled constantly, visiting every province from Britain to Asia. Everywhere his visits were remembered because of some new temple erected, an aqueduct built, or some other public improvement. He gave his attention to the protection of the coloni who worked upon the large estates of the great private owners and on the imperial domains which were held in lease by the conductors. He followed, in this, the sensible policy of Vespasian. Some grateful subjects in northern Africa praised him well when they thanked him, in an inscription which we still have, for the "sleepless vigilance with which he watched over the affairs of mankind."

536. Beginning of the Code of Roman Laws.—It was natural that Hadrian, born and raised in the provinces, should be lavish in granting Roman citizenship. He felt himself to be the Cæsar of the Empire, not of the Romans alone; and when he put Italy under the jurisdiction of

four judges, Italy itself was ruled almost like a province.

In the Roman Republic the prætors had sat as judges in the law-courts, deciding cases according to the laws of the Twelve Tables, or, when new questions came up, as their sense of justice dictated. The prætors who were sent out as provincial governors used to publish, at the beginning of the year, the prætors' edicts, containing the laws by which they intended to govern and decide cases. The following prætors would usually republish the old edicts, adding perhaps a few new rules. Thus a great and confused



THE MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN, NOW CALLED CASTLE ST. ANGELO.
In the Background the Dome of St. Peter's Appears.

body of decisions and laws had arisen in all parts of the Empire.

Hadrian, in the midst of his work of reorganizing the army and the central government, turned his attention to the question of bringing order out of this chaos of laws. An eminent jurist named Salvius Julianus was put at the task of sifting all these edicts of the prætors, determining the correct decision in a given kind of case, and systematizing the whole. When the work of Julianus was published, the Roman state had its first complete code, the growth of centuries out of the rough beginning of the Twelve Tables.

537. The Stoic Emperor Marcus Aurelius, 161–180 A. D.—The long rule of Antoninus Pius was peaceful. The government was conducted along the same lines as under Hadrian, although with much less energy and ability.

Marcus Aurelius, the adopted son of Antoninus, is a singular character in history. There are few men whose inmost thoughts we know so well as those of this gentle, kindly man, whose life, noble as it was, seems such a tragic failure. The diary, written in Greek, is still extant, in which Aurelius wrote down precepts and thoughts to help him and guide him in the work of the day. These thoughts, in the little book which is called *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*, are the expression of a noble soul, trained as a follower of the Stoic philosophy.

The rule of this man, who loved his people and did his duty as his Stoic belief bade him, was marked by outbreaks and disasters throughout the Empire. Marcus Aurelius was a man who hated war; yet in most of his years as emperor the "Roman peace" was

broken by dangerous outbreaks. In the East the Parthians invaded Syria, and the borders were only defended with great difficulty. The armies contracted the plague there and brought it home with them, and thousands fell as victims to its horrors.

In Pannonia and Rhætia, the barbarian tribes, called the Quadi and Marcomanni, were being pushed into the Empire by movements among the German tribes lying north of them. Here, along the Danube frontier, the peace-loving prince was forced to fight year after year to preserve



MARCUS AURELIUS RECEIVING THE SUBMISSION OF BARBARIANS.

Panel from a Monument of Marcus Aurelius.

the border line intact. This frontier war in the north is the beginning of a great movement of the next three centuries in which the northern barbarians forced their way into the Empire, lowering the standards of the Greco-Roman civilization, and introducing the German elements which ushered in the Middle Ages.

The Emperor himself took the first step which shows the inner weakness of the Empire. He found it necessary to admit many of the barbarians into the devastated lands along the border. They were settled as *coloni*, each receiving a piece of land from the government, upon which he was bound to stay. They were obliged to serve in the Roman armies, and, like the *coloni* of northern Africa, paid a part of the produce of their land to the state or to some noble land-owner.

538. The Great Highways Bind the Empire Together.—The height of civilization in the Roman Empire in its first two centuries is nowhere better shown than in the complex system of excellent roads which radiated from Rome, binding the capital to every part of its wide domain. Opportunity for travel and the transportation of goods was probably never so good as in that period, until the railroad and steamship came into use in the nineteenth century.

The center of the system of highways was in the forum of Rome, marked by a golden mile-stone. At this spot began four great trunk-lines, which held the same place in the life of the Empire as do our transcontinental railroads in North America. These were:

1. *The African Highway.* The southern highway called in Italy the Appian Way. It ran to Capua, Rhegium, across by boat to Messina in Sicily, thence to Lilybæum. A sea-trip of twenty-four hours landed the traveler at Carthage. From this place it was the African highway, extending southward to the desert, westward along the coast until it connected at Tangiers with the Spanish road, and eastward to Alexandria. Here it connected via Coptus with the sea-route to India and China, via Antioch with the land-route to the far East.

2. *The Eastern Highway.* The branch of the Appian Way

which ran via Capua to Brundisium. Crossing the Adriatic to Dyrrachium, it struck the Egnatian road which cut upward through the Balkan peninsula to Byzantium. Across the Bosphorus it branched out into a net-work of roads covering Asia Minor and touching all the many industrial centers from the Black Sea to Antioch and the Euphrates River.

3. *The Western Highway.* The Via Aurelia along the western coast of Italy to Genoa, Nemausus and Narbo Martius in Gaul, across the Pyrenees to Taracco in Spain, whence it ran along the eastern and southern coast of Spain to Gades, sending out branches which opened up all inner Spain to the world-commerce.

4. *The Northern Highway.* The Flaminian-Æmilian road northward across Italy to Ariminum. From there it branched in two directions:

a. To the northeast, via Aquileia and Emona, by one route to Carnuntum and Vindobona (Vienna) on the Danube, by another over Sirmium and Hadrianople to Byzantium. This branch traversed the Danube provinces.

b. To the north and northwest, via Mediolanum (Milan) over the Alps to Lugdunum (Lyons), where it branched in many directions, connecting finally with the roads to Britain and Germany. The engineering and road-building on some of the Alpine roads was so good that they are still in use. From Mediolanum another branch ran over the Alps to Aventicum and Vindonissa. Here it struck the great Rhine highway which passed over Mogontiacum (Mayence), and Colonia Agrippina (Cologne), to the Netherlands and the North Sea.

From these four great highways, thousands of less important roads cut off in every direction, carrying wares into every town, as the branch lines from our railroad trunk-lines carry the goods of our modern world.

539. The World-Commerce.—The articles of trade exchanged by land and sea routes included everything which the cities in the east or west manufactured. Syrian, Greek, Jewish, and Italian merchants journeyed everywhere, passing far beyond the bounds of the Empire, so that the interchange of wares included the three continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia. Ships laden with the manufac-

tured articles of the Empire made the trip around Spain to Britain, Scotland, and Ireland, bringing back tin and skins of wild animals. They sailed also to the shores of the North Sea, trading for amber.

The trade with India and China is proved by old Roman coins found in those countries. A Chinese report states that, in the year 166 A. D., an embassy came to China with gifts from "An-Thun, king of great Thsin." This was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. After months of absence, the ships returned to the Red Sea with loads of incense, pep-



A STREET SCENE IN ROME.

The Approach to the Palatine Hill Along the Sacred Way. A Restoration by Gatteschi.

per and other spices, ivory, skins, and other oriental products.

540. A Contemporary Picture of the Empire's Prosperity.—Tertullian, a Christian writer born about 160 A. D., has left us a vivid picture of the trade and high development of the Roman world in his day:

Certainly the world becomes each day more beautiful and more magnificent. No corner has remained inaccessible; every spot is known and frequented, and is the scene or object of business transactions. Explore the deserts lately famous—verdure

covers them. The tilled field has conquered the forest, wild beasts retreat before the flocks of domestic animals. The sands are cultivated, rock is broken up, swamps are transformed into dry land. You are sure to find everywhere a dwelling, everywhere a nation, a state, everywhere life.

541. The Imperial City, Rome.—It was during the rule of the Julians, Flavians, and Antonines that Rome became the “immortal city” whose ruins astonish the traveler



COLUMN OF TRAJAN AND RUINS OF THE FORUM OF TRAJAN.

The Column is Now Surmounted by a Statue of St. Peter.

at the present day. The emperors, one after the other, increased the size and beauty of the forum, until it consisted of five different plazas, surrounded by temples and public buildings of costly marble. The most splendid of these was the forum of Trajan. At one end stood the column of Trajan, on which his wars with the Dacians were carved in a spiral band running to the top of the column. A large basilica and library, and the open space

of the forum surrounded with columns, completed the fine appearance of the place.

Triumphal arches of stone, statues of every kind, great public baths, theaters, and the palaces of the wealthy, and above all the vast Colosseum, made the Rome of the Empire a city second to none in the world.

542. Religious Development Under the Antonines.—The period of the Antonines was one in which the end of the old Roman religion could easily be foreseen. The state worship of many gods was purely a matter of form. Few believed seriously in it, and many clever writers ridiculed it. Many kinds of religious and philosophic beliefs were taking its place. The educated classes turned to Stoicism and Epicureanism, the lower classes to the mysteries of Mithras worship and to Christianity. Mithras was a Persian sun-god to whom his devotees sacrificed bulls, letting the blood drip upon them and praying for purity of heart. This Persian religion was brought back from the East by the soldiers of the army. Like Christianity, it demanded of its followers that they should lead good lives. It counted thousands of followers in the Roman army, and for two centuries offered there a strong competition to the advance of Christianity.

543. The Roman State Condemns Christianity.—It is a strange fact that the Antonines, the "good emperors," were the ones who began to persecute the Christians and tried to check the spread of their belief. Letters which passed, about 112 A. D., between Pliny, governor of Bithynia, and the emperor Trajan, help us to realize why this should be. Some men and women were brought before Pliny and accused of being Christians. He did not know what to do with them and asked the Emperor whether he should punish them merely because they were Christians, or whether he should do so when they had been convicted of some crime. Pliny could not find that they did anything wrong. He wrote to Trajan that he dismissed those who "worshipped your image and the statues of the gods and cursed Christ. They continued to maintain that this was

the amount of their fault or error, that on a fixed day [the Sabbath] they were accustomed to come together before daylight, and to sing by turns a hymn to Christ as a god; and that they bound themselves by oath, *not for some crime*, but that they would not betray a trust, or deny a deposit, when called upon to give it over. After this it was their custom to disperse and to come together again to partake of food, *of an ordinary and harmless kind, however.*"¹

Trajan wished to be just. His decision, however, was adverse to the Christians, and made the worship of Christ a crime against the state. He wrote to Pliny as follows: "They ought not to be sought out; if they are brought before you, and the charge is proved, they must be punished—with this restriction, that in case a person denies that he is a Christian, and shall, by invoking our gods, make it evident that he is not, he shall be pardoned."

544. Why Christianity Was Regarded as Dangerous.—The Roman state had always been very liberal in its attitude towards foreign religions. The worship of Oriental gods, such as Mithras and the Egyptian Isis, had been accepted by the state. Why, then, did the emperors attempt to check Christianity?

The reason lies in the fact that Christianity, growing out of the Hebrew religion, is a worship of one God. Christians cannot believe that any other gods exist beside Him. The Roman state could have accepted the Christian God easily and added Him to its many other gods; but the Christians could not join hands with the Empire and worship its gods, and especially the Emperor, as the Roman state demanded. The Christians, therefore, seemed to be opposing the national worship, and to be members of a secret society which was plotting against the public welfare.

545. Mild Persecutions in the First Two Centuries.—The mass of the common people, who did not know of Christ's words, believed evil of the Christians. This was because

¹ The italicized words refer to the common belief of the pagans of Pliny's time that the Christians sacrificed children to God and then ate of their flesh. This awful slander was apparently widely believed.

the Christians were so strict that they would not fight in the armies, because Christ was a messenger of mercy and peace. They would not work in the temples of the other gods. They would not attend the circus, nor the gladiatorial games. They would not engage in any business which seemed to them low, or contrary to Christ's teaching.

The common people, therefore, began to hate and fear them. When Nero, in 64 A. D., accused the Christians of burning the city, he took advantage of this feeling to turn the popular hatred from himself. Under Domitian, there were some trials of Christians, but no regular persecution. Under Trajan, "Christianity" became an offense against the state.

In the time of Marcus Aurelius, the Christians were persecuted in Lugdunum (Lyons) in Gaul. The time had not yet come, however, when there was any large and organized attempt to stamp out the worship. The persecutions took place in different localities, where the suspicion and hatred of the pagan population forced the provincial governors to take some action.

546. Latin Literature of the Second Century.—In the time of Trajan's rule, the city of Rome produced two great writers, Tacitus, the historian, and Juvenal, the satirist. The latter saw the wickedness and vulgarity of life in the big city, and pictured in bitter verses its rich upstarts, its dirty streets, and its seething life. He showed none of the genial humor which makes the charm of the satire of Horace.

Pliny the Younger, the official whose correspondence with the emperor Trajan regarding the Christians has just been quoted, wrote ten books of letters which may still be read. Although these are a valuable source of knowledge of the life of the Empire under Trajan, Pliny cannot be called a great author.

547. Greek Literature of the Second Century.—Under the Antonines there was a great revival in Greek literature. Plutarch, of Chaeronea in Bœotia, wrote his *Parallel Lives* of famous Greek and Roman statesmen and warriors, which have been so often quoted in this book. Historically,

Plutarch is inaccurate and credulous, and apt to worship the men of by-gone days as heroes. Yet the charm of his style, and his fine sense of the dramatic in life, make his biographies very entertaining. As an historical source he is invaluable, for he has saved us much information which would otherwise be entirely lost. His moral essays, of which over eighty still exist, are rated higher than his biographies.

Under Hadrian, a Bithynian named Arrian wrote his *Anabasis of Alexander the Great*, from which much of our knowledge of Alexander's conquests is obtained. He also edited the sermons of Epictetus, his master in the Stoic philosophy, which he evidently took down in shorthand as they were preached.

The emperor Hadrian was a man of fine literary taste, and interested in poetry as well as philosophy. A short time before his death he composed a little Latin poem addressed to his soul:

Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,
Guest and partner of my clay,
Whither wilt thou hie away—
Pallid one, rigid one, naked one—
Never to play again, never to play.

The Stoic creed was represented in the second century by the emperor Marcus Aurelius, whose *Meditations* have already been mentioned. Marcus Aurelius, the Emperor, read and was influenced by the *Discourses* of Epictetus, who was a crippled Phrygian slave, brought to Rome by a favorite of Nero. Later he was freed, and spent the rest of his life as a Stoic preacher. The Stoicism of Epictetus is similar to that of Marcus Aurelius, and no less noble.

References for Outside Reading

Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 162-171; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. 11; Davis, *Outline History of Roman Empire*, pp. 102-129, 163-171; Seignobos, *History of the Roman People*, ch. 22-24; Abbott, *Short History of Rome*, pp. 204-222; Capes, *Age of the Antonines*; Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, ch. 23-31; Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, Book

6, ch. 1; Tucker, *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*, ch. 1, 2, 3, 19, 21; Davis, *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, pp. 95-122; Uhlhorn, *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, pp. 217-264, 270-297; Jones, *The Roman Empire*, ch. 5, 6.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. STOIC DOCTRINES.—Munro, *Source Book*, 176-179; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, 311-315.
2. THE POSTAL SERVICE OF THE EMPIRE.—*Classical Dictionaries* under "Postal Service" or "Cursus Publicus."
3. TRAVELING DURING THE EMPIRE.—Pellison, *Roman Life in Pliny's Time*, ch. 9; Johnston, *Private Life of the Romans*, pp. 278-287.
4. GIFTS TO THE PUBLIC BY THE WEALTHY MEN OF THE EMPIRE.—Article by Ferrero in *Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1910; Davis, *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, ch. 6.
5. CRIMES OF WHICH THE PAGANS ACCUSED THE CHRISTIANS.—Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 168-171.
6. ROME, THE IMPERIAL CITY.—Tucker, *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*, ch. 7, 8; Thomas, *Roman Life Under the Cæsars*, ch. 2.

CHAPTER XL

THE DECLINE OF GRECO-ROMAN CIVILIZATION IN THE THIRD CENTURY

548. General Survey of the Third Century.—The Roman Empire in the first century after Christ advanced in material prosperity as well as in culture. The century of the Antonines was its stationary period, with few signs of progress excepting in the new and virile life of Christianity. The third century ushered in the period of the decline, but is marked, also, by a great activity in the development of Roman law and in the spread of Christianity.

No people can produce or maintain a high standard of civilization unless the political organization to which they belong, that is, the state, is strong, and prosperous in business; for the state must protect the people while they toil at the many trades and professions through which they all live and help society in its slow movement forward.

In the third century, the Empire, that wonderful system which had grown up from the ideas of Julius Cæsar and the organizing power of Augustus, crumbled; but it was repaired and built up again at the end of the century. All the dangers which marred the reign of Marcus Aurelius reappeared with redoubled violence—the plague, the horrors of continued wars, and attacks upon the borders of the Empire by the nations outside. Their terrible effects were accompanied by persecutions of the Christians, and the breaking down of that world-trade which had marked the greatness of the empire. The emperors, with few exceptions, were soldiers rather than statesmen. They could tear down their rivals by civil war, but knew not how to build up the Empire or even to rule it well.

549. Septimius Severus, 193–211 A. D.—It was unfortunate that Marcus Aurelius broke away from the method

of the previous Antonines, of adopting some able man as the successor to the imperial power. Instead of this he made the mistake of appointing as emperor his own son, Commodus, who accomplished little worth recording in the twelve years of his rule (180–192 A. D.). When he was murdered and left no heir, the old weakness of the Roman imperial organization showed itself in the struggles over the succession. At first the imperial seat was auctioned off by the prætorian guard to a wealthy Roman, who paid a



SOLDIERS OF THE PRÆTORIAN GUARD.

The temple is one dedicated to the Capitoline Jupiter.

Relief in the Louvre.

bribe of about one thousand dollars to each man of the guard. The news of this created an outbreak in the armies upon the frontiers. In the civil wars which followed, Septimius Severus, commander of the legions upon the Danube, defeated his rivals and was proclaimed emperor. Severus was born in northern Africa. Thus a new

portion of the Empire was represented in the emperor's office.

The new ruler was a raw and violent soldier, who marked his advent in Rome and his conquest of his rival by bloody executions. He was the first of the soldier-emperors who did so much in the third century to destroy the old culture of the Roman state. The most notable occurrence of his reign is the great decrease in the power of the Senate. The old Senatorial treasury was taken away from the Senate's control and joined to the *Fiscus*. Many offices formerly held by senators were now put in the hands of the knights or other retainers of the emperor. The double rule of the Senate and emperor was ended, and a monarchy which approached despotism took its place.

550. House of Severus, 211–235 A. D.—Under Caracalla, (211–217 A. D.), the son and successor of Septimius Severus,

the famous edict was passed by which all free-born men in the domain of the Roman Empire were made citizens. The reason for this lies in the desire of Caracalla to obtain from the greatest number possible the five per cent tax on inheritances, which could only be levied on citizens. This edict closes the long period of the spread of Roman citizenship. During the Social War of 90–88 B. C., it had been extended over Italy. Through Julius Cæsar, Claudius, Vespasian, and the Antonines, the scope of citizenship had been widened, until Caracalla made it general.

The three successors of the house of Septimius Severus were all slain by the soldiers. The last of them, Alexander Severus, tried to be a good ruler, but was too weak to meet the conditions of the time. The soldiers even dared to cut down in his presence Ulpian, a great jurist, and the favorite minister of the emperor.

551. The Influence of Women in the Empire.—In the development of Roman history since the time of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, able women were continually playing a more important part in the politics of the Empire. Livia, wife of Augustus, exercised a great influence upon the policies of her son, Tiberius. Under Claudius and Nero, unscrupulous women took advantage of the weakness of those two emperors for their own advancement, or the advancement of favorites. In the time of the Severi, the importance of women in politics was very great. Julia Domna, a Syrian woman, wife of Septimius Severus, exercised great influence over her son, Caracalla. Julia Mæsa, the sister of Julia Domna, obtained the imperial seat for Elagabalus, and made him appoint Alexander Severus as his successor. Julia Mammæa, mother of Alexander Severus, practically conducted the rule for her weak son. On his coins, beside the head of Alexander, appears that of Julia Mammæa, who even accompanied him to the East to lead a war against the Persians.



GOLD COIN WITH THE
HEAD OF JULIA
DOMNA.

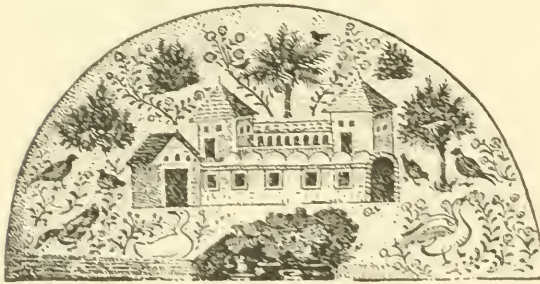
The Legend is "Julia
Augusta."

On the whole, it must be conceded that the abilities of these women were not equal to the rough demands of the age. A place of activity, however, more suited in that rough age, to the character and abilities of women, was found for them in the new Christian communities. Here they were given equal privileges and opportunities for service with the men. In the work of charity, and as deaconesses in the church organizations, they held a deserved and honorable place.

552. The Province of Africa.—It is not an accident that the imperial office was held during this time by an African family, for northern Africa now had the most prosperous era in its entire history. Under the Roman rule, the civilization which developed there was astonishing. The grain supply of Italy, as we have seen, had shifted first from Italy to Sicily; thence, owing to the wearing out of the soil, it shifted to northern Africa and Egypt, where irrigation was highly developed. In northern Africa the heavy rainfall

was caught and held in cisterns and large basins, and the outlet upon the fields was carefully regulated.

The Roman land-owners of Africa did not use slaves, but found it more profitable to let out the land in small holdings to the coloni. In



MOSAIC FROM THE PROVINCE OF AFRICA.

It Shows the Villa of a Great Land-Owner with its Surrounding Garden.

that country the ancient traveler saw great villas surrounded by the huts of peasants, who paid to the land-owners one-third of their crops as lease money. In the desert of northern Africa, once richly covered with grain fields, the ruins of large cities are still to be found, one of them Tingad, almost rivaling Pompeii in interest. In the fourth century, A. D., there was a great decline in the prosperity of Africa, when the imperial estates passed into the hands of landed proprietors, each owning

immense tracts of grain land or pasture land, and the landlords moved to Rome or other large cities, so that the system became one of absentee landlordism. This brought oppression upon the coloni, resulting in peasant outbreaks, which ruined the agricultural interests of the province.

553. Shattering of the Empire, 235-270 A. D.—In the succeeding period, the weakness of the Empire reached its climax. Of twenty-three emperors who ruled from 235 to 285 A. D. only two died a natural death. One of these



RUINS OF PALMYRA.

two died as a prisoner of the Persians. Of the remainder, one was slain in battle, and the other twenty were murdered by their officers or soldiers.

The Empire seemed to be breaking into the many parts of which it was composed. The provinces were not defended by the central government from the attacks of barbarous neighbors. This was partially due to the many civil wars which busied the troops of the aspirants for the imperial seat. The provinces, therefore, undertook this defense themselves, and naturally attempted to be independent of the federal government. Gaul, for example, in the years 259-272 A. D., maintained itself as a state independent of the dominion of Rome.

554. The Kingdom of Palmyra.—The greatest of these independent kingdoms was located at Palmyra, a city situated in the Syrian desert, at a halting-place in the caravan route to the Euphrates River. Here, in a metropolis adorned with colonnades and Greek temples, a Syrian named Odenathus made himself practically independent of Rome. Upon his death, in 266 A. D., his widow, Zenobia, ruled for her sons as Queen of the East.

In Zenobia, the new position of women in the politics of the ancient world was justified by great ability. She was endowed with beauty and brains and purity of character. She marched and rode with the soldiers and presided like a man over her own council. Her ability is further attested by the fact that she wrote histories, the annals of Alexandria and the East, which unfortunately have not come down to us.

555. Signs of the Weakening of the Empire.—The decline in the vigor and soundness of the Empire showed itself in many ways:

1. In the political decay of the federal government and the civil wars fought between the soldier-emperors.

2. In the inability of the Roman Empire to keep the barbarians outside of its boundaries.

3. In the marked decay of the standards of Greco-Roman literature and art.

4. In the continual decrease in population. The birth rate had decreased as it became more difficult for people to make a living.

5. In the debasing of the coinage of the Empire. Cheaper metals were mixed with the silver and gold coins. Under Alexander Severus, the denarius, formerly a silver coin worth about sixteen cents, was minted almost entirely of copper, plated over with a thin layer of silver.

556. Causes of the Decline.—Behind these outward signs which tell of the gradual sinking of ancient civilization, there were deep-lying causes. These are extremely hard to find and explain. The first two are those which have

already been noted as appearing in Italy before the time of the Gracchi:

1. *Ownership of land by a very few people.* During the anarchy of the third century need of money or of the backing of influential men forced the emperors to sell or give away large sections of the imperial domain. The conductors, who leased the emperors' lands for a long term of years or for life, began to assert that they owned the lands leased by them, and the emperors were too weak to oppose their claims. In consequence a privileged class arose, only a small per cent of the entire population, which held almost all the productive soil of the Empire; and the actual work was done by the coloni.

2. *Degrading of the coloni.* In the two preceding centuries the emperors had protected the coloni in order that the Empire might have a strong peasantry, and in order to keep the great land-owners and lease-holders (the conductors) in check. In the third and the following centuries this policy was changed. The emperors passed laws which favored the great land-owners at the expense of the coloni. The latter lost their right to strike when conditions were bad, or to move away from the estates on which they worked in order to improve their lot. *The coloni were bound to the soil.* Hence the working classes lost their pride in the state and their interest in its political affairs.

3. *The immense size of the Empire, and the development of absolute power in the hands of the ruler and his officials.* Like the system of land-holding, this helped to destroy the interest of the people in state affairs, and, more especially, in their own localities. The Greek ideal which had meant so much for civilization—the strong and free man, who threw himself into the actual service of the city and state—was destroyed by the imperial system. Servility and lack of enterprise had taken the place of the spirit of freedom.

4. *The all-embracing Empire of Rome developed too early in history.* The ancient business world did not know how to meet the great problems which its world-trade produced. These problems included financial crises, the scarcity of money in circulation, the results of pestilence and continued failures of crops, and the economic revolutions which follow in the train of

war. The modern world understands better the causes of these movements, and the ways of meeting them.

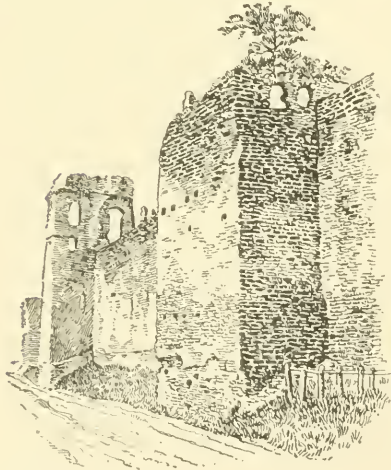
5. *The coming in of the barbarian.* When the Roman Empire became weakened from the causes given above, the barbarians from without came into the circle of the Greco-Roman world. Greco-Roman civilization was forced to take in this new and raw material, and thereby the whole level of its culture was lowered.

557. Weakness on the Frontiers.—In 236 A. D., a tribe of Teutonic barbarians, the Alemanni crossed the Rhine, but were driven back. Two years later the Goths appeared on the Danube. From 240 to 270 A. D., bands of Germans and Goths repeatedly crossed into the Empire, and Gothic fleets numbering as many as five hundred ships set out from the Black Sea, robbing the coast cities of the Mediterranean

and making its trade unsafe.

In this period Dacia was lost forever, and the Danube again became the northern frontier of the Empire.

East of the Euphrates the Persians rose up again and renewed the old fight of the East and West on the soil of western Asia. A new family of Persian rulers, called the Sassanid dynasty, came to the throne. From 230 to 280 A. D., they fought with the Roman emperors for control of western Asia, and were held in check only by



A PART OF AURELIAN'S WALL, AS IT NOW STANDS.

the power of Palmyra, under Odenathus and Zenobia.

558. Restoration of the Empire, 270–285 A. D.—In this period a succession of able soldiers began the work of restoring the crumbling Empire. Aurelian (270–275 A. D.) deserves especial credit; for he whipped the Goths and Germans, restored the boundaries, and defended them strongly. He conquered the independent kingdom of Palmyra, and joined it again to the Empire. The queenly

Zenobia preferred disgrace to death, and walked through the streets of Rome in the triumph of Aurelian, loaded with golden chains and jewels.

In the neighborhood of the modern city of Rome may still be seen a part of the walls which Aurelian built to protect the capital. The need of these walls is significant of the new attitude of fear on the part of the capital which had once been the fearless mistress of the Mediterranean world.

559. The Emperor Diocletian, 285-305

A. D.—The men who restored the Empire were all of low birth, and all of the province of Illyria. The ambition to be emperor might arise in any man's breast, and the opportunity come to any one. The emperor Diocletian, who seized the power in the year 285 A. D., had risen rapidly in the army, although the son of a mere slave. He possessed a penetrating mind, was quick to see weaknesses and their remedies. He gave the Empire a bureaucratic organization better suited to the new demands and conditions of the time, and thereby enabled it to endure for two hundred years the blows which assailed it.



COIN WITH HEAD OF DIOCLETIAN.

It Reads: "Imperator Diocletianus Aug(ustus)."

560. His Reorganization of the Imperial System.—The first weakness to be remedied was the tendency of the Empire to disintegrate, due to its vast extent and the inability of the federal government to meet the task before it. Diocletian corrected this by dividing the task of governing the Empire. He took over the rule of the East; his friend Maximian became ruler of the West, each of them being called Augustus. Under each an assistant ruler was appointed, called Cæsar, Galerius in the Balkan peninsula, Constantius over Gaul, Britain, and Spain. When the positions of the Augusti should become vacant through resignation or death, the Cæsars were to step into their places, become Augusti, and appoint new Cæsars as their assistants.

Further, the provinces were made much smaller in size, and increased to 116. Several provinces were then united

into a diocese. Neighboring dioceses were joined into a larger unit called a prefecture, of which there were four. In all these divisions the control of the army and the administration of the laws were placed in separate hands. Thus the officers of the provinces, dioceses, and prefectures had each a superior, and the whole organization centered in the persons of the Cæsars and Augusti.

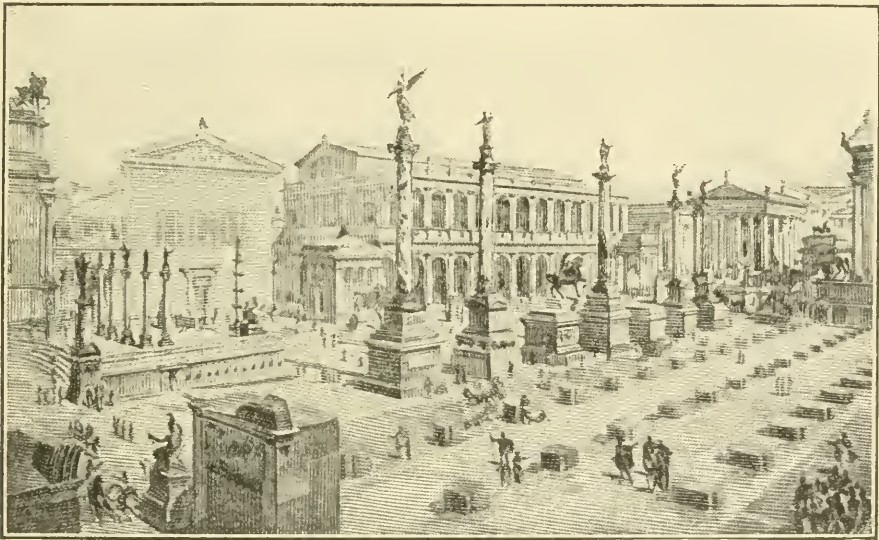
The last step was now taken in the leveling of the influence of Rome and Italy with that of the other parts of the Empire, by reducing the Roman Senate to a position little better than that of a city council. Rome was no longer the capital of the Empire, for Diocletian chose Nicomedia as the center of his rule, and Maximian made Mediolanum his headquarters. Absolutism was now fully established in the Empire, and a ceremonial grew up at these courts very much like that in the Persian courts of old.

561. The System of Divided Powers Breaks Down.—In accordance with a decision of Diocletian, the two Augusti resigned in the year 305 A. D., and the Cæsars took their place, Constantius in the West, Galerius in the East. When Constantius died in 306 A. D., four men laid claim to the title of Augustus of the West. These were Constantine, son of Constantius; Severus; Maxentius, son of Maximian; and Licinius, who had been appointed by Galerius and Diocletian. After six years of civil war, Constantine made himself sole ruler of the West, when he defeated Maxentius (312 A. D.) at the Milvian Bridge which crossed the Tiber River near Rome. In 314 A. D., Licinius became the sole ruler of the East, but was conquered in 324 A. D. by Constantine, who again united the Empire in the hands of a single ruler.

562. The Development of Roman Law in the Third Century.—The Roman law, upon which much of the modern civil law has been built up, had its highest period of development during the decline of the Empire in the third century. The Antonines, in the second century, had done all they could to bring about a fixed method of procedure, and form a basis for future legal decisions. In doing this, they produced a class of lawyers whose best examples appear under

Alexander Severus. Ulpian, the Emperor's minister, and the lawyers Papinian and Julius Paulus, wrote text-books explaining the existing laws, and also made collections of test cases and legal decisions. These books contained the same kind of information as our lawyers have in their libraries to-day. The third century, therefore, is the period when a legal literature first began to appear.

563. Christianity in the Third Century.—The local persecutions of Christianity under the Antonines had by no means stopped its growth. In fact, the bravery and sense of right



A RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN FORUM AS IT APPEARED ABOUT 300 A. D.

Restored by Gatteschi.

with which the Christians met these persecutions had helped their cause. In the third century, several of the emperors seemed quite favorable to Christianity. Alexander Severus, for example, placed in a chapel in his palace images of Christ and Abraham, along with those of Homer, Cicero, and Vergil. He was not a Christian, but had learned in Syria, where he was born, to respect and follow Jewish and Christian moral teachings.

564. The Persecutions Under Decius.—Toward the middle of the third century, the rapid spread of Christianity

and its appearance in the Roman army stirred the fears of the emperors, who were afraid that the old pagan culture would be destroyed by the new Christian ideals. In addition, the troubles of the time aroused the superstitions of the common people, who blamed the Christians as the cause of their woes. As an outcome of this, an effort was made in every part of the Empire to stamp out the religion. An official paper recently found in the excavations of a village in Egypt gives us a good idea of the extent of the per-



EARLY CHRISTIAN
STATUE OF THE GOOD
SHEPHERD.

It Shows the Strong
Influence of the Greek
Art.

secution which took place under Decius, 249-251 A. D. No doubt thousands of Christians in every part of the Empire were forced to recant as did this man. The writer first describes himself; he then testifies before the Roman official: "I have always made offering to the gods, and now, in accordance with the Emperor's orders, have made offering in your presence and have eaten of the offering, and I beg you to bear witness to this fact below. Farewell. I, Aurelius Diogenes, have handed this in." Below, the official in charge has attested the paper: "I hereby certify that Aurelius has made offering. In the first year of the Emperor Cæsar Gaius Messius Decius, the pious, the fortunate, the sublime."

565. Diocletian Persecutes the Christians.—Between the persecution of Decius and the time of Diocletian, Christianity rose rapidly into the upper circles of Roman society. The Christians had developed a strong and unified organization over the whole Empire under the Bishop of Rome in the West, and the churches of Antioch and Alexandria in the East. In attempting to unite the Empire again, Diocletian felt that he must restore its unity in religion. He therefore determined to put an end to Christianity, and began a persecution which led finally to the victory of Christianity over all the pagan cults.

At first Diocletian's method was to put a ban on the Christians and thus keep able men away from the religion, rather than to inflict death upon the worshippers. He issued an edict that all Christian officials should lose their positions, the churches should be destroyed, and sacred books burned. All the clergy of the church were to be imprisoned. The following year appeared the edict that all Christians must make offerings to the Roman gods and the emperor or suffer death. After these edicts came seven years of terror and martyrdom for the Christians, until they found freedom to worship under Constantine.

566. The Christian Apologists.—The only virile literature of the period of the decline of the Empire is that which appears in the controversy waged by Christian and pagan writers over the subject of Christ's teachings. Tertullian, a Carthaginian convert who died about 240 A. D., wrote a number of works in defense of his faith. These are marked by intense religious fervor and conviction of the justice of the cause. He insisted that the Roman officials and people should first come to know and understand Christianity before they condemned it.

Cyprian, the successor of Tertullian, was a wealthy pagan of Carthage. After his conversion he became an ardent worker in the church, and, finally, Bishop of Carthage. In the time of the persecutions and the plague, under Decius, he was a noble comforter to his congregation and the other people of the city. In 258 A. D. he was sentenced to death for refusing to sacrifice to the state gods. When the judge said, "It is our pleasure that Thascius Cyprianus be executed by the sword," he replied simply, "Thanks be to God." It is a small wonder that Christianity, supported by such men and such courage, should have overcome all opposition.

References for Outside Reading

Munro, *Source Book*, pp. 171-174; Abbott, *Short History of Rome*, ch. 13; Davis, *Outline History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 130-183; Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 332-346; Seignobos, *History of the Roman People*, ch. 25; Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, Book VI, ch. 2

and first part of ch. 3; Davis, *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, ch. 8; Uhlhorn, *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, pp. 355-381; Jones, *The Roman Empire*, ch. 7-9. Good historical novels which deal with this period are *Zenobia* and *Aurelian*, by William Ware.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. A WORLD EMPIRE SOLD AT AUCTION.—Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, end of ch. 4, first 15 pages of ch. 5.
2. THE MONKS OF THE THIRD CENTURY.—Siegnobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 339-342.
3. THE CATACOMBS.—*Encyclopedias* and *Classical Dictionaries*.
4. THE SALE AND TREATMENT OF SLAVES UNDER THE EMPIRE.—Munro, *Source Book of Roman History*, pp. 186-192; Pellison, *Roman Life in Pliny's Time*, ch. 4.
5. THE PUBLIC GIFTS OF WEALTHY ROMANS.—Davis, *Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, pp. 248-276.

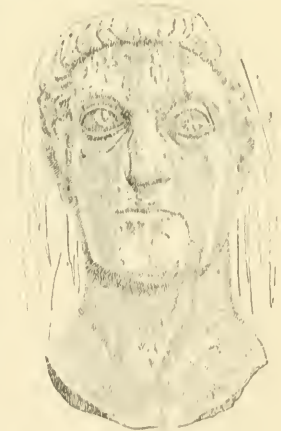
CHAPTER XLI

THE FOURTH CENTURY.—THE VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

567. Constantine the Great.—The title “The Great” was given to Constantine by an enthusiastic Christian historian. Constantine was a man of tireless energy which was matched by boundless ambition. Nowhere did he use his gift of statesmanship better than in the handling of Christianity. In the prefecture of Gaul, his father, Constantius, had dealt gently with the Christians, and Constantine saw that this policy procured the backing of the most aggressive element in the society of that day; for the Christians formed perhaps one-twelfth of the population in the West. It is therefore probable that reasons of policy prompted Constantine to adopt this attitude, although superstition and anxiety for his own eternal welfare may have played a part.

568. Constantine Adopts the Christian Standards.—The Christian writers of that day gave another reason for his favorable attitude toward their sect. They say that before the battle of the Milvian Bridge he determined that he had best honor the Christian God, hoping that He would help him to victory.

“At midday, when the sun was beginning to decline, he saw the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens above the sun, bearing the inscription, “Conquer by this.” At this sight he himself was struck with amazement and his whole army also, which happened to be following him on some expedition and witnessed the miracle.”



BUST OF CONSTANTINE.

At the battle of the Milvian Bridge, the Christian standard was first carried in the Roman army along with the time-honored Roman standards.

569. Edict of Galerius, 311 A. D.—In 311 A. D., Galerius, the Augustus in the East, was forced to grant to the Christians the legal right to worship their God. “Since we see that in the present situation they neither duly adore and venerate the gods, nor yet worship the God of the Christians, we with our wonted clemency have judged it wise to extend a pardon even to these men, and to permit them once more to become Christians and reëstablish their places of meeting.” So ran the edict published by Galerius.

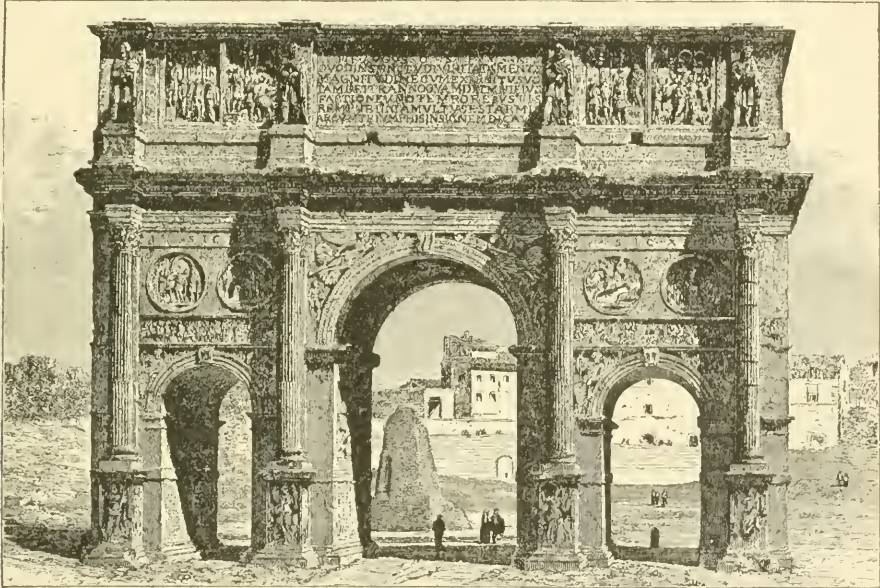
This favorable action toward the Christians was followed in the year 313 A. D., by an order of Constantine and Licinius which granted general religious toleration. It is the so-called Edict of Milan. In it the Christians are especially mentioned, and their religion becomes a state religion, entitled to the same privileges as the other religions of the state.

570. Constantine Becomes Sole Emperor.—In 313 A. D., the Empire had but two rulers, Constantine and Licinius. The ambition of Constantine soon aroused open hostility between them. He continued his policy of favoring the Christians, by exempting the clergy from all burdens imposed by the state upon its citizens, and by allowing dying men to will their property to the “holy and universal church.”

Licinius, on the other hand, became the representative of the pagan interests in the Empire. He drove the Christians from his court and oppressed them. The struggle which resulted between the two emperors grew into a last terrible contest between Christianity and paganism. The victory of Constantine, in a bloody battle in Asia Minor in the year 324 A. D., was decisive, not only for his own career, but for Christianity as well.

571. The Capital Changed to Constantinople.—Constantine ended the movement which had lowered the influence of Rome and Italy to a level with that of the provinces, by

establishing a new capital of the Empire upon the old site of Byzantium, calling it Constantine's City, or Constantinople. For many reasons the change was good. From the new center the boundaries along the Danube could be more easily reached and defended. Furthermore, Constantinople was much nearer the dangerous Persian frontier,



ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AT ROME.

and had a much better commercial situation than had Rome.

The site of Constantinople has from the earliest time controlled the entrance to the Black Sea with all its trade. Even to-day the powers of Europe watch the city jealously, and the present Turkish Empire retains its hold upon Constantinople chiefly because the other nations cannot allow this important strategic point to fall to any one European power.

In addition to the advantages which the site of Constantinople offered, Constantine felt that the new emperor with his absolute powers must have a new abode. For in Rome the old stories of the freedom and privileges of the people were still told, and the city might be a dangerous capital for

an absolute government. In Constantinople, which lay upon the border of the Orient, the Oriental court, with its Eastern ceremonies and its reverence of the emperor, would not arouse the same hatred and opposition as at Rome.

572. Building of the City.—The new city was built on a scale of magnificence equal to its importance. It covered a space three times as large as the old city of Byzantium. Three forums were marked off, designed to rival those of Rome, and surrounded with porticoes of marble. A great circus was built to match the Flavian amphitheater at Rome. Public baths and theaters provided for the comfort and amusement of the people. The streets of the city were filled with statues of marble and bronze, taken from the other cities of the Empire far and near. The favorites of Constantine swarmed into the new city, and received palaces as gifts of the emperor. The promise of grain, bread, and wine drew the common people in great numbers, so that the capital soon grew to an immense size.

It is noteworthy that Christian churches were built there, but no new pagan temples, showing that it was Constantine's intention to make it the center of Christian influence. The city was so well fortified with walls that it guarded the old Greek civilization and the new religion for a thousand years, first from Persian attack, and then from the onslaughts of Mohammedan fanaticism. It was from Constantinople that Christianity was carried into the Balkan states and Russia.

573. The Council at Nicæa, 325 A. D.—After his victory over Licinius, Constantine found the church of the East, from the highest officials down to the humblest followers, quarreling with desperate earnestness about Christ's nature. Arius, a young priest of Alexandria, was the leader of a party which maintained that Christ was created by God and created since time began. Athanasius, another member of the clergy of Alexandria, asserted that Christ the Son was the same as God the Father and that Christ had always existed as had God.

Constantine wished to unite the warring Christians who had helped him to gain power. He therefore called a meeting of the bishops and other church officers from all parts of the empire at Nicæa, in Asia Minor, to settle the difficulty. Accordingly over three hundred bishops and many lesser officials assembled there, Constantine himself presiding. Athanasius was supported by a great majority of those present, and his view became the *orthodox* or accepted belief.

574. Importance of the Church Councils.—This council is the first world council of the church, and many others were called by the emperors who followed Constantine in the fourth century. From these general meetings, three important ideas resulted:

1. The emperors came to feel that the leadership of the church was represented in their own person. They themselves or their deputies presided at the councils, and the bishops, so long as the policy of the state pleased them, accepted the view that the emperor was the head of the church.

2. The church found in these councils a method of reaching an agreement on disputed points of doctrine.

3. Through the unity of belief obtained at these meetings, the church itself became a single unit. Representatives came from all quarters of the world, and returned home with a feeling that the church was a single great organization. Because it worked as one great body with a single purpose, the church was able to spread Christianity and civilization among the barbarian Teutonic tribes, and to resist successfully the attacks of Mohammedanism which began in the seventh century. This unity of the church was all the more important because the Empire itself began to break apart as the church organization grew more compact, until finally, the unity of the old Roman world was kept alive in the church alone.

575. Division of the Empire.—Constantine died in 337 A. D., and divided the rule of the Empire among his three sons and two nephews. After years of intrigue, murder, and civil war, Constantius, the second son, in the year 353 A. D.,

found himself sole emperor. Although he was able and active, the Empire seemed too great for a single ruler to defend. Reluctantly Constantius named his cousin Julian as Cæsar in the West. Julian justified this appointment by driving back the German Alemanni in 355 A. D., near Strassburg, and stopping the German advance in that direction for some time.

576. The Pagan Reaction under Julian.—The policy of Constantine, namely of supporting the church and ruling it, had been followed out by his sons. Constantius went so far as to order the pagan temples to be closed, and to issue a law forbidding sacrifices. This severity brought about a reaction against Christianity under Julian, in the years 361–363 A. D. Upon his accession he gave an equal toleration to all religions. He allowed no persecution of the Christians, but favored the old gods in every way by his own writings and his great influence. He forced the Christians to contribute to the rebuilding of the pagan temples, and took away the privileges which had been granted to the clergy. The time, however, had passed when the progress of the church could be stopped by these means, and immediately upon the death of Julian, Christianity was restored to its former privileged position.

577. The Imperial Rule Again Divided.—In 364 A. D., a capable general from Pannonia named Valentinian, was made emperor. He found it necessary to divide the administration of the Empire and give the rule of the eastern half to his brother, Valens. In the West, Valentinian was successful in defending his territory from the repeated attempts of the German tribes to break over the Rhine into Gaul. In the East, in 376 A. D., Valens was forced to admit the Germanic Visigoths into the territory south of the Danube. This tribe had been forced southward and westward by the Huns, a fierce and barbarous Asiatic tribe which had swept into Europe from the wide plains to the north and east of the Caspian Sea. Thus the Visigoths came into conflict with the Empire, and, in 378 A. D., Valens was defeated by them and killed at the battle of Hadrianople.

578. Theodosius: the Imperial Power Again in One Hand.—He was succeeded by Theodosius the Great, an efficient soldier who kept the Visigoths quiet, defeated several rebellious officers in the West, and finally, in 394 A. D., became ruler of the entire Empire. Theodosius is the last sovereign who ruled over the old Roman Empire in its entire extent; for the division made between his two sons at his death, in 395 A. D., was a real separation into two empires, the Eastern and the Western.

579. Theodosius Suppresses the Pagan Worship.—Although the views of Athanasius had been accepted at Nicæa as the true belief of the church, the Christian world was still torn asunder by the struggle of the followers of Arius against the accepted creed. Several of the emperors, including Constantine in his later years, were converted to the views of Arius. When such a conversion was made, the Athanasians suffered bitter oppression. When they returned to power, the lot of the Arians was quite as hard. With the death of Valens, who was a zealous Arian, the matter was settled forever so far as the Empire was concerned, in favor of the Athanasian belief. During the century, however, Arianism, as the doctrine of Arius was called, had spread among the barbarian tribes, Visigoths, Ostrogoths and Vandals, and was destined to cause great misery during the following century.

In the latter part of the fourth century, the decline of the pagan worship was rapid. In 394 A. D., Theodosius put a stop to the Olympic games, which had been celebrated for more than a thousand years. Although this had little importance in really stopping the pagan worship, it marks better than any other date the approaching twilight of the ancient world which we have been studying; for the Greek civilization of the Empire seemed to be well typified by the games so long held at Olympia.



GOLD MEDALLION OF
THEODOSIUS.

The Legend Reads:
"D(ominus) N(oster) Theo-
dosius, P(ius) F(elix)
Aug(ustus)."

Much more effective were the harsh laws which Theodosius passed against the pagans. He declared the worship of the pagan gods a crime against the state, and refused the protection of the laws to any but Christians.

580. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.—The wonderful growth of the influence of Christianity is well shown by an incident in Theodosius' life. The people of Thessalonica had revolted and murdered men of his garrison, including some officers. In a burst of rage Theodosius sent an order which resulted in the massacre of over 7,000 citizens of the unlucky town. When the great emperor next went to worship in the Cathedral of Milan he was met by Ambrose, the bishop of the city, who refused to allow him to enter the Cathedral or partake of the communion until he had fulfilled a long penance for his crime. The master of the Mediterranean world, whose word might bring death to a city of men, was cowed by the word of a bishop, whose only power lay in the cross and the influence of his priestly office.

581. Beginnings of the Church Organization.—The first Christian churches established after Christ's crucifixion were founded in the great trade and political centers of the Empire, such as Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth, Carthage, and Rome. From these centers branch churches were sent out to other cities along the great highways which ran out of the capitals. Just as the cities of the Empire were the unit of its political life, so were they the unit of the growth of the church. The head of the church in each city was called the bishop, or overseer. Because of the size of their congregations the bishops in the larger cities assumed a position of importance as leaders of the bishops in the smaller cities. They began to summon meetings of the other bishops in the same province. This led, about 250 A. D., to a grouping of the churches by provinces, with the bishop of the capital city as its head. He was given the title of *metropolitan*. When Constantine called the general council of the bishops and other church officers from the entire Empire at Nicæa, in 325 A. D., the church appeared as a unified society, embracing all Christian congregations of the Empire.

582. Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome.—The position of Rome as the capital of the Empire and the center of its trade gave the bishop of Rome a natural leadership over all the churches of the West. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries the claim of his leadership was emphasized by the following arguments:

1. That Christ himself had designated the apostle Peter as supreme among the apostles.

2. That Peter had founded the church at Rome.

3. That the bishops of Rome who succeeded Peter were the legitimate leaders of all Christianity, deriving their power from Christ through Peter.

This doctrine of the supremacy of the Roman bishop has always been one of the basic convictions of the Roman Catholic church, but the authority of the Bishop of Rome (the Pope) is not acknowledged by the various Protestant churches which have sprung up since the sixteenth century.

583. The Church Adopts the Form of the Roman Empire.—After the council of Nicæa the church developed rapidly. In the system of the Roman Empire, as it existed after the reorganization of Diocletian and Constantine, the church found a model of efficient administration, the general plan of which it closely followed. A church state arose within the political world state of Rome, corresponding to it in its general divisions and officials as follows:

THE WORLD EMPIRE	THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH
City-state—Municipal officials.	City-state church—Bishop.
Province—Governor.	Church province—Metropolitan.
Diocese—Vicarius.	Church Diocese—Patriarch.
Prefecture—Prefect.	(No corresponding division.)
Empire—Emperor.	Catholic (Universal Church) —Bishop of Rome.

Long after the Roman Empire had been shattered, its wonderful organization and the idea of the unity of the ancient world were preserved in the church. Long after Rome had

lost its position as the political capital of the world, it still retained its preëminence as the religious center of the Christian world; and in the Catholic Church of to-day the organization of the great Roman Empire, though somewhat changed, still exists.

References for Outside Reading

Robinson, *Readings in European History*, vol. 1, pp. 19-27; Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, pp. 346-359; Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 577-586; Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, pp. 20-24; Bradley, *Story of the Goths*, ch. 3-9; Hodgkin, *Dynasty of Theodosius*, pp. 23-32, 100-133; Bemont and Monod, *Mediæval Europe*, ch. 1; Seignobos, *History of the Roman People*, ch. 26-27; Adams, *Civilization During the Middle Ages*, pp. 48-64; Uhlhorn, *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, pp. 420-479.

For excellent short stories on the conditions in Roman Britain in the fourth century, see Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill*, the stories entitled "A Centurion of the Thirtieth," "On the Great Wall," and "The Winged Hats." These are also to be found in the issues of *McClure's Magazine* for May, June and July of 1906.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

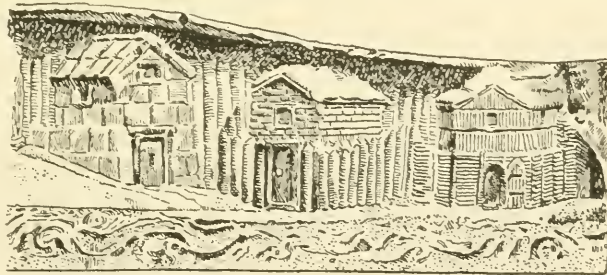
1. THE NEW CAPITAL OF CONSTANTINE.—Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. 17 (beginning).
2. STUDENT LIFE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.—Abbott, *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*, pp. 204-206; Cutts, *St. Jerome*, ch. 3.
3. ROME IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.—Cutts, *St. Jerome*, ch. 2.
4. CIVIL WAR BETWEEN MAXIMUS AND THEODOSIUS (387-388 A. D.) AND ITS EFFECTS ON CONDITIONS IN BRITAIN.—See the two stories, "On the Great Wall" and "The Winged Hats," by Kipling in *Puck of Pook's Hill*; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, in ch. 27.

CHAPTER XLII

THE BARBARIANS BREAK INTO THE EMPIRE

584. The Danger from the North.—The revolt of the Visigoths, which resulted in the defeat of Valens in the year 378 A. D., was not an unexpected happening. Throughout the history of the Greek states and of Rome, the forests of northern Europe have been the homes of the wild tribes of Scythians, Germans, and Gauls. These tribes needed a great area to maintain them, because they had not outgrown the hunting stage of existence. At intervals, one or another of them nearest the Greek and Roman borders would be dislodged and forced down into the rich and smiling land of the south. Inspired by the hope of great booty, they came down to meet defeat and death, or slavery, because of the better military tactics and arms of the more civilized Greeks and Romans. Examples of such movements are the Gallic invasion, which resulted in the burning of Rome in 382 B. C.;

the movements of the Cimbri and Teutons, who were driven back by Marius; the invasion of Gaul by the Germans under Ariovistus, which was checked by Cæsar; and the movement which brought on the border wars when Marcus Aurelius fought against the barbarians along the upper Danube.



FORTIFICATIONS ALONG THE DANUBE IN THE TIME OF
MARCUS AURELIUS.

From a Roman Relief.

As one reviews these attacks from the north, it becomes clear that the Roman Empire must keep its strength un-

weakened in order to repel them. The danger was seen quite clearly by the Roman emperors themselves. It is the glory of the Empire that it met this great task so successfully and for so long; but the time of weakness had come when the northern nations were to pour their surplus population across the borders. A new people with new ideas and a different character came into the Empire, and changed it so completely that the time we now discuss may be called "the twilight of the ancient world."

585. Description of the Germans.—In the story of his campaigns in Gaul, Julius Cæsar has described the Germans living east of the Rhine and north of the Alps as a people who did not care to raise crops. They lived upon milk and cheese and the meat they got from their herds, or by hunting. Over a century later Tacitus wrote his *Germania*, in which he stated that the blood of the Germans was unmixed with that of other races. "Hence among such a mighty multitude of men the same make and form is found in all; eyes stern and blue, yellow hair, huge bodies, but vigorous only in the first onset." They wore the skins of wild beasts for clothing. In Tacitus' time they had not yet settled down to agricultural life, though they raised small crops as they moved about their forests. They were hard drinkers and hard fighters.

586. The Empire Uses the Barbarians.—As the pressure upon the northern frontier increased, the Roman government showed a tendency to use the strength of the barbarians for its own needs. Even Julius Cæsar enlisted the stalwart Germans in his army. This practice increased as time passed. In the dangerous period of his wars with the Marcomanni, Marcus Aurelius hired whole tribes of the Germans to fight against their kinsmen. In the terms of peace which he made with one of the tribes that he conquered, they agreed to furnish 8,000 horsemen for the Roman army.

587. They are Taken in as Coloni.—He saw, too, that the northern provinces, which had lost heavily in population from the war and the plagues, must be filled up. So he allowed the barbarians to come in peacefully in great numbers, and

settle down as coloni. The state gave them land to cultivate, and left them free. In return for this they agreed to give military service, and they were bound to the soil; that is, they were not allowed to sell or to leave the lands given them. By this action Marcus acknowledged the internal weakness of the Empire, and its inability to defend its own borders unaided. He began a movement which ended in making the northern provinces partially German long before the real invasion began.

588. The Huns.—For some reason the German tribes did not take advantage of the anarchy and civil wars which shattered the empire during the third century. About the middle of the fourth century their attacks upon the Rhine frontier became dangerous, but they were driven back, as we have seen, by Julian, after a bloody battle near Strassburg in 355 A. D.

It was about the year 374 A. D., when the Huns, an Asiatic people whose racial relations are unknown, moved irresistibly into Europe from the broad plains of western Asia, and changed the whole aspect of the world by the movements which their invasion caused among the tribes of Europe. Fierce warriors though the Germanic tribes of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths were, they were panic-stricken by the attack of the Huns. Something of the terror which these men inspired in the Gothic tribes is seen in the pages of Jordanes, a Gothic historian who wrote about 550 A. D. He states that "five nations were swept away by that whirlwind of savage tribes. Their faces wore a frightful blackness and resembled, if I may say so, shapeless lumps of dough rather than faces, having two black points in them instead of eyes." He describes them as little in stature, but nimble and clever in their movements, and especially skilled in horsemanship. To increase the terror of their appearance, they were wont to gash the faces of their male children with knives.

589. The Visigoths Cross the Danube.—The Ostrogoths, living above the northwestern coast of the Black Sea, were conquered by these wild Huns. Some, who could not bear

the Hunnish yoke, fled across the Dniester and joined the Visigoths. In terror at the attack which they expected, the Visigothic nation fled in 376 A. D. to the Danube, and begged for admission into Roman territory. They felt, and justly so, that the mighty arm of Rome would protect them.

The Emperor Valens thought it best to admit them, for thousands of Germans had already come in as coloni, though never before an entire nation, without apparent harm to the Empire. Valens made the condition that the Goths were



EARLY HOMES OF THE GERMANIC TRIBES AND THE HUNS.

to give up their arms, and the Goths obtained the promise of a supply of food until their first crop should ripen.

590. Battle of Hadrianople, 378 A. D.—On these conditions, about 200,000 fighting men of the Visigoths, with their wives and children, crossed the Danube, and moved into the almost deserted fields of Moesia. They were systematically robbed by the imperial officers who were detailed to see that the agreements were carried out. Driven to desperation, they revolted in the year 378 A. D., and marched against Constantinople. Valens met them with a large army near

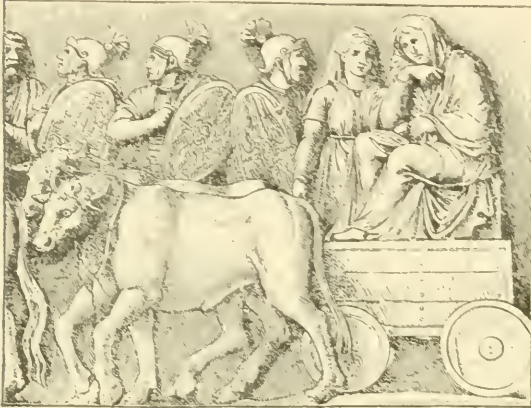
Hadrianople. In the defeat which followed Valens met his death, together with two-thirds of his army. The battle is memorable as being the first great defeat of the Roman army by any of the northern barbarians within the Roman territory since the days of the Cimbri and Teutons. The barbarians learned that they could cut their way into the Empire with the sword, and could meet the Roman forces successfully on the field of battle.

591. German Element in the Army.—Theodosius made peace with the Visigoths, and by fair treatment induced them to return to the lands assigned them before. He carried on the old policy of enlisting the Goths and other Germans in his armies. This policy kept them quiet, but the German coloring of the army grew stronger than ever. In the end, the result of this movement was an excellent thing for the Empire. The Germans, it is true, became acquainted with the Roman military tactics and adopted the Roman arms, and were, on this account, becoming continually more dangerous. On the other hand, they learned to admire the higher civilization of the Roman world and to desire it for themselves.

In the Roman armies, the ablest of the Germans began to take leading positions beside the Roman generals themselves. One of these, the son of a Vandal chieftain who had been employed in the army of Theodosius, was vested with the supreme command of the army of the western portion of the Empire upon the death of Theodosius. This was Stilicho, the first great German leader who appears as a defender of the Roman world against the attacks of his own people.

592. Stilicho and Alaric, 395–411 A. D.—In the service of the two emperors, Arcadius and Honorius, sons of Theodosius, Stilicho spent his life and met his death. His greatest opponent was the young Visigoth chieftain, Alaric, who had been reared in the Roman territory below the Danube and trained in the army of Theodosius. He had perceived the weakness of the two emperors, and became ambitious for a greater place for his people than that of subjects and mercenary soldiers. Accordingly, in the year of the death of Theodosius (395 A. D.), he invaded Greece,

plundered Athens, and captured and destroyed Corinth. Then his army was defeated and further advance checked by the skillful generalship of Stilicho. The Eastern emperor, Arcadius, to rid himself of this danger, bestowed upon Alaric the province of Illyricum, where the Visigoth



GERMAN WOMEN IN ONE OF THEIR WAGONS, LED AS CAPTIVES BY ROMAN SOLDIERS.
Roman Relief.

nation remained for a number of years. Meantime Stilicho was busied with the defense of Italy against another horde of Germans, whom he met successfully. But his great abilities, whether justly or not, aroused the suspicion in the mind of Honorius and his ad-

visers, the party opposed to the growing influence of the Germans, that he was planning to make his own son emperor. Therefore he was treacherously assassinated at the instigation of the emperor who owed him so much gratitude.

The death of Stilicho removed the only formidable opponent from the pathway of Alaric, the Visigoth. He led his troops from Illyricum down into Italy, and captured Rome itself in the year 410 A. D. Though the accounts of contemporary writers vary greatly, it is certain that the city was not seriously injured, although the Visigothic soldiers plundered at will. In the following year Alaric died, and was buried in the bed of a river which his followers had turned out of its course. When they had again turned the river back into its old channel, they killed the captives who had helped in the work, in order to keep secret the location of the grave of the young leader.

593. The Visigothic and Vandal Kingdoms.—While Alaric had been in Illyricum and in Italy, a mixed band of Germans, chiefly Vandals, had crossed through Gaul and es'ab-

lished themselves in Spain. The Visigothic leaders, successors of Alaric, accepted a commission from Emperor Honorius to reconquer Spain for the Empire; and so we again see the German tribes used by the Empire, in its own work of defense. However this force was now entirely German instead of being a combination of Germans and Romans.

The Vandals in Spain were forced southward by the Visigoths until, in 427 A. D., they finally crossed over into Africa. Under their leader Gaiseric, a fanatical Arian Christian, about 80,000 Germans were able to subdue the province of Africa, in the years 429-439 A. D. Here they maintained themselves for about 100 years, the most cruel and barbaric of the German hordes who came into the Empire, until Africa was reconquered and joined again to the Roman Empire in the time of the Emperor Justinian.

The Visigoths settled in Spain and in the old Gallic province of Aquitaine, ruling these countries until the invasion of the Mohammedans in the eighth century. They were in name the subjects of the Emperor of the West. In fact, their state was an independent one, its population Roman-Gallic, under the domination of Germanic conquerors who rapidly became one with the conquered people. How soon they learned that their interests were the same as those of the people under them is proved by the story of the invasion of the Huns.

594. The Huns Under Attila.—The wild and terrifying hordes of Huns who had first driven the Visigoths out of their ancient home across the Danube, remained inactive for almost a century upon the northern frontier. A great leader named Attila gained the power over their scattered tribes, and, in the year 451 A. D., crossed the Rhine into Gaul. His purpose was to pillage and increase his power, and he was as ready to conquer and plunder the Germanic tribes of Gaul and Spain as to overthrow the power of the Roman emperor in Italy. The danger to the civilization of western Europe was a grave one. If Attila had been able to overthrow the Visigothic kingdom in the west, the development of the Roman world would have been greatly retarded.

For the Visigoths had become much more civilized since they had entered the Empire, and their Roman-Gallic subjects lived contentedly under their sway. The Huns were still barbarians, with ideas little above those of plunder and wanton destruction. Their defeat saved the Roman world the necessity of repeating the task of civilization which she had already partially completed in the case of the Visigoths.

The Visigoths now showed that they had accepted the destiny of the Roman Empire and its culture as their own. They joined with the forces of the Roman emperor, which were led by a Romanized German named Aetius. At the great battle of Chalons in 451 A. D., the advance of Attila was stopped, and his troops were forced to retreat across the Rhine. In the next year he crossed the Alps into Italy; but Italy had no fresh German nation like the Visigoths to meet him. Accordingly, the emperor sent an embassy headed by the Bishop of Rome, Leo the Great, to induce him to spare Rome and Italy. The mission was successful, and Attila abandoned his design of marching upon Rome. In the following year, 453 A. D., he died, and the great army held together by his genius, soon dispersed, "a vanished nightmare of the nations."

595. Increasing Importance of the Germans.—The history of the next forty years brings out distinctly the growing influence of the German element of the Western Empire. The Germans gained this influence because they furnished the bulk of the Roman armies, and supplied it with its ablest generals. A Suevian German, named Ricimer, was practically the monarch of the Western Empire. He did not dare to take the title of emperor but ruled through the agency of "shadow emperors," men whom he raised to, or deposed from, the imperial throne at will.

596. Cessation of the Roman Imperial House in the West.—In 475 A. D. a Roman boy called Romulus Augustulus was made Emperor of the West by his father, Orestes, who ruled the Empire under the title of patrician. In the next year, Orestes and the boy emperor were overthrown by the German troops which had raised them to power. The leader of

the revolt was a German, Odoacer by name. Though the western world lay at his feet, Odoacer did not have the confidence to declare himself emperor. Instead he had the Roman Senate send the imperial robes and insignia to the emperor at Constantinople, acknowledging him as the Emperor of the West also. The ambassador requested that Odoacer be made ruler of the diocese of Italy, under the title of patrician.

Formerly the date 476 was regarded as marking the fall of the Empire in the West. Its only importance, however, is to give the date at which the line of emperors begun by Augustus Cæsar was ended in western Europe. The rulers who had swayed the destinies of the Roman world for 500 years had been at first Romans, then provincial Roman citizens. Now a new people, the Germans, were supplying the brains and energy which were to guide the policies of western Europe. So the year 476 A. D. is to be remembered as the time when the change of leadership from the Romans to the Germans is practically acknowledged. It is a strange whim of history that the last ruler of Roman blood should have borne the name Romulus Augustulus, "the little Augustus." For these are the names of Romulus, the fabled founder of the Roman city, and the actual organizer of the Roman Empire, Augustus Cæsar.

597. Theodoric Overthrows Odoacer.—Near the middle of the fifth century the East-Gothic nation, the Ostrogoths, had moved across the Danube river, and were settled in the province of Pannonia. They were "allies" of the Eastern emperor, defending the frontier against their northern neighbors. Theodoric, the young son of the Ostrogothic king, was kept for ten years at the court at Constantinople, as hostage for the good behavior of his nation. Here he grew up, surrounded by the luxury and beauty of the great city. He came to understand the meaning of its civilization, and developed a taste for politics and a clear insight into its workings. After he became king of the Ostrogoths, he governed the people in Pannonia for years, at the same time holding an official position under the Eastern emperor.

The good feeling between Odoacer in Italy and the Eastern emperor, Zeno, had meantime turned to enmity. In 488 A. D., Theodoric asked for and received the commission to reconquer Italy for the Empire. With his entire nation at his back, numbering probably 200,000, he moved into Italy, and after five years of hard fighting captured Odoacer in the city of Ravenna. Though he had promised to spare Odoacer's life, Theodoric with his own sword cut down his captive at a banquet.

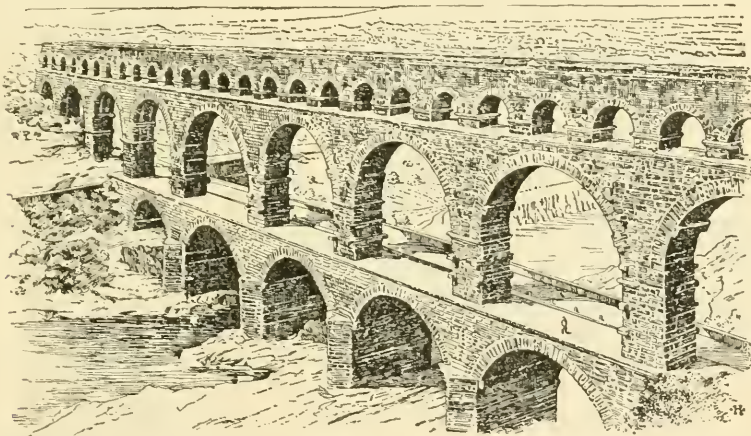
598. Character of Theodoric.—If we place against this treacherous act and several other deeds of cruelty, the immense good which the great Ostrogoth accomplished, the balance drawn will be greatly in his favor. For thirty-three years (493–526 A. D.) he ruled nobly as actual king of the Romans and Goths in Italy, though he seemed to acknowledge a vague dependence upon the emperor at Constanti-nople. With remarkable tact and patience he tried to teach his Gothic and Roman subjects how to live in peace. A contemporary Roman historian has praised his justice in the following words:

“Theodoric was an extraordinary lover of justice, and adhered rigorously to the laws. There was in his government scarcely a trace of injustice toward his subjects, nor would he permit any of those under him to attempt anything of the kind, except that the Goths divided among themselves the same proportion of the land of Italy which Odoacer had allotted to his partisans.”

599. His Work as an Organizer and Ruler.—History tells us little of the system under which Theodoric ruled his two peoples. Something is known, however, of the results of his work. The aqueducts which brought water to the Italian cities were cleansed and repaired, and the walls and buildings of the cities were restored. In the quiet years of his reign, farming and grain-raising in Italy became much more general. By careful management Theodoric put the treasury of the state into good condition without increasing the taxes upon his people. He was wise enough not to attempt to force upon the two peoples a feeling of unity which

time alone could bring about. Side by side they were to live, the Romans practicing the arts of peace and developing their industries, the Goths, as soldiers, keeping the peace, and protecting the land from invasion.

600. Foreign Alliances of Theodoric.—Theodoric strengthened his state by making alliances with the other rising Germanic states of the West. His people retained the feeling of blood relationship with the Visigoths of Spain. This tie was strengthened by the marriage of a princess of his family to a young Visigothic king. Late in his career, Theodoric became the actual ruler of southern France and the Visigothic portion of Spain. He married another daughter to the



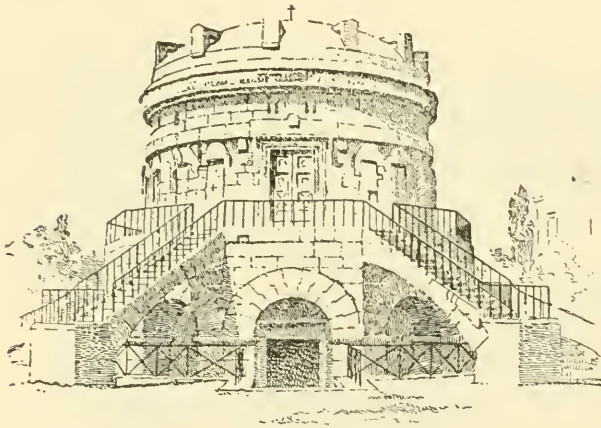
ROMAN AQUEDUCT NEAR NIMES IN SOUTHERN FRANCE.

It is Still Used as a Bridge.

king of the Burgundians, a German tribe which had conquered the valley of the upper Rhine and had settled there. He himself married the sister of Clovis, the able king of the Franks. This tribe of Germans had moved across the Rhine into the northern part of France, and was rapidly gaining power over the Netherlands and all northern Gaul. It seemed as if Theodoric would establish a great kingdom including all the German nations in western Europe, and combining German vigor with Roman civilization in one great whole.

601. Later Years of Theodoric.—It was, however, unfortunate for the development of the Ostrogothic kingdom that

the Goths had early been converted to the Arian creed of Christianity. This fact was one of the chief reasons which account for the failure of Theodoric's attempt to amalgamate his own people and his Roman subjects in Italy, who followed the Athanasian belief of the Catholic Church. As we have seen, the king tried to be tolerant and just to all his subjects alike, consequently he could not understand why the Christians should persecute the Jews. When their synagogues in Milan and Ravenna were burned in a religious frenzy against them, Theodoric punished the offenders, and made them pay for the building of new synagogues.



TOMB OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA.

This aroused bitterness between the ruler and his subjects of the orthodox church.

The racial feeling of the Romans against their Gothic conquerors was thus inflamed. Accusations of treason were brought be-

fore Theodoric against some of the noblest of the Roman senators and officials in his service. Boethius, head of the civil service under Theodoric, and his father-in-law Symmachus, head of the Roman Senate, both men of learning, were condemned to death on the charge of treason, and executed. While awaiting his death in prison, Boethius wrote his *Consolation of Philosophy*, a book which had a great influence in the Middle Ages, and is still extant.

602. Importance of the Work of Theodoric.—When Theodoric died in 526 A. D., he left no capable heir to continue his work. Even he had been unable to do away with the racial hatred of the Romans for the Goths. In the next thirty years his Ostrogothic kingdom went to pieces before the

Roman reaction led by Justinian, the emperor at Constantinople. But his life and work are very important, because they foreshadow the final union of the German and Roman elements of the Western world into a Teutonic-Roman culture, upon the basis of which our modern European and American life is founded. It was the new Frankish kingdom of Clovis which, after almost 300 years of development and struggle, was to bring this about. The Franks had one great advantage over the Ostrogoths, whose Arian faith formed a religious bar against a thorough understanding with their Catholic neighbors—they had accepted at the outset the Athanasian creed, and were therefore in a position to meet the old Roman population on a basis of religious agreement.

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2. THE MARRIAGE OF ATAUFL.—Bradley, *The Goths*, ch. 11.
3. WHAT THE GERMANS BROUGHT TO THE EMPIRE.—Adams, *Civilization During the Middle Ages*, ch. 5.
4. GAISERIC THE VANDAL.—Bemont and Monod, pp. 44-46; *Encyclopedias* under "Gaiseric."
5. SAINT AUGUSTINE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Vol. I, pp. 97-100; the *Encyclopedias* under "Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury"; Ogg, *Source Book in Mediæval History*, pp. 72-77.
6. THE BATTLE OF HADRIANOPE.—Ogg, *Source Book of Mediæval History*, pp. 37-41.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE ATTEMPT TO RE-ESTABLISH THE OLD ROMAN EMPIRE

603. General View of the Roman Empire in 525 A. D.—**The West.**—A general view of the Roman Empire at the time of the death of Theodoric shows the following situation:

In Italy, a large population of Italians was ruled by a comparatively small number of Ostrogoths. In Gaul and Spain, the Romanized Celtic population was under the domination of various German tribes. The Visigoths ruled Aquitaine and most of Spain. In the rest of Gaul, the Burgundian kingdom in the southeast and the Franks in the north were extending their power. In Africa, the Roman-African civilization lay under the heavy yoke of the Vandals.

In its religion the greater portion of the old population was Christian of the Athanasian creed, which the Franks too had adopted. The Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Burgundians, however, professed the Arian belief. The nominal dependence of these new Germanic kingdoms upon the emperor at Constantinople does not blind us to the fact that the unity of the old Roman Empire was destroyed in the West; for the attempt of Theodoric to bring about a feeling of unity under Germanic control had not succeeded.

604. The East.—During the fifth century, the emperors at Constantinople had maintained their territory in Asia Minor against the restored power of Persia. They had also been much more successful than had the West in resisting the growth of the German influence. This they did by recruiting their armies from the hardy mountain tribes of Asia Minor, rather than from the Germans. The tide of the Germanic invasions turned chiefly toward the West, probably because of the natural strength of the city of Constantinople, which was increased by a strong fortification erected

about thirty miles to the north of the city. The Long Wall stretched from sea to sea, and left the great city open to attack only by water. Nevertheless the East was distinctly on the defensive; nor were the Eastern emperors able to hold the territory of Thrace against the Goths and the ravages of the Slavic barbarians beyond the Danube.

605. The Rule of Justinian, 527-565 A. D.—In the year 527 A. D., a talented and vigorous ruler, Justinian the Isaurian, came to power over the eastern part of the Roman world. During the thirty-eight years of his reign, he fought vigorously against the tendency toward the breaking up of the Empire. Once more the old Greco-Roman culture became aggressive, in a last great struggle to drive out the German element from within its borders, and to revive the former Empire embracing all the Mediterranean lands. The reign of Justinian stands distinctly for the idea of unity, in territory, in religion, and in law—"one state, one church, one law."



THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN.
From a Mosaic at Ravenna.

606. Conquests in the West—Africa.—Since the end of the Roman line of emperors in 476 A. D., fifty years before, the Eastern emperors had kept up the vain show of ruling the West. The desire of Justinian to make the Empire once more a unit made it necessary that he establish his power over the West, and free the western Romans from German sway. In addition, most of the German tribes were Arian Christians. Hence it was natural for Justinian to appear in the West as the protector of the Athanasian Christians against oppression and injustice.

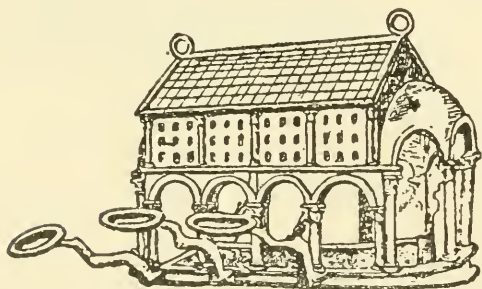
It was in this rôle, of defender of the true faith, that he sent his able general, Belisarius, into Africa against the Arian Vandals. In one year the great general conquered the

Vandals, led their king into captivity at Constantinople, and restored Africa to its old position as a portion of the Roman Empire. With this event, the Vandal kingdom disappears forever from history.

607. Italy and Spain.—From 534 to 553 A. D., Belisarius, and his successor, Narses, waged war upon the Arian Ostrogoths in Italy. The overthrow of this Germanic kingdom was accomplished after years of difficult fighting. The remnants of the nation of Theodoric withdrew over the Alps, and were blotted out from the pages of history. Italy itself became a province of the Eastern Empire, with Narses as its governor, having his capital at Ravenna.

In Spain, as before in Italy, the troops of Justinian appeared as liberators of the Catholics from religious oppression, gaining thereby the hearty support of the great mass of Italian and Spanish Romans. The southern portion of Spain was wrested from the Visigoths, and added to the Empire. Justinian thus gained control of all the lands

touching the Mediterranean Sea. Although these conquests were but loosely bound to the central government, he took a just pride in his work.



BRONZE LAMP OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

It is Made in the Form of a Christian Church of the Time.

608. Wars in the East.

—In the East, Justinian was not so successful in beating back the advance of Persia. It was the policy of the powerful monarch of the Persian Empire to obtain a foothold in Syria, in order to gain an outlet to the Mediterranean Sea. Though he was unsuccessful in this, the Persian king won some territory from Justinian, and forced him to pay tribute.

609. Religious Unity.—The passion of Justinian for unity had memorable consequences for Christianity. He steadily persecuted the followers of any other creed than the orthodox Catholic, whether they were Germans or Roman sub-

jects. The heathen religion was still believed in and observed by many subjects of the Empire in outlying districts. Justinian forced them, wherever possible, to adopt Christianity. In the year 529 A. D. he closed the doors of the pagan universities at Athens, which had developed out of the philosophic schools founded by Plato and Aristotle. This may be regarded as the final blow given to heathenism by Christianity. It is another important date in the gradual transition which closes the history of the ancient pagan world, and introduces the spirit of the Middle Ages.

610. The Roman Law.—In the field of law, also, Justinian's reign sums up and closes the work of the ancient world. The Roman body of the law of private rights consisted of the decision of the prætors in the cases submitted to them, increased under the empire by the decisions or ordinances formulated from time to time by the emperors. There is no question that the Roman theory and system of laws form the greatest and most lasting contribution of the city and the empire to the world's progress. The Roman or civil law is the foundation upon which the codes of most of the modern European states stand. The laws of England and the United States have also been greatly influenced by its teachings, though not to the same extent as in Europe and in South America.

The work of gathering and ordering the scattered judicial decisions in the Roman state had been begun in the second century A. D. by Gaius, who lived under Hadrian, and was further worked out in the early third century by Papinian and Ulpian. In 438 A. D., under Theodosius II, a collection had been made of all the decisions given since the time of Constantine; but the result was too bulky and not well organized, and there were many decisions which were contradictory.

611. Unity of Law.—Justinian, in his desire for unity, took hold of the problem of putting the body of laws into one general system or code, that would be unified and convenient. Accordingly he appointed a commission of jurists, headed by Tribonian, whose legal talents rank him among

the great benefactors developed under the Roman Empire. The great body of the civil law thus systematized by Justinian—the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Code of Civil Law)—consists of four parts:

1. *The Codex proper*, containing the laws of the Senate and edicts of the emperors, and decisions in difficult cases which were sent to them on appeal.

2. *The Digest*. This portion is made up of extracts from the books of earlier Roman jurists, giving their opinions or answers upon difficult questions of law. They come chiefly from the works of Ulpian, Julius Paulus, and Papinian, of the third century.

3. *The Institutions*, an elementary text-book of law for beginners.

4. *The Novellæ or New Laws*, passed in the reign of Justinian himself, and added to the collection already made.

The lasting influence of the *Corpus Juris* may be seen in the fact that in Bavaria, a province of the German Empire, the *Digest* served as actual law until the year 1900. The older laws of our own state of Louisiana were based on the old French law, which was founded on the Roman law.

612. Life in Constantinople.—The vast schemes of Justinian demanded a great deal of money for their fulfillment. The burden of taxes aroused the bitter hatred of the Emperor and his wife, Theodora, in the city. The Empress had been a poor dancing-girl in her youth. Her beauty and her talents charmed the cold and virtuous Emperor, and he married her despite the protests of his nearest relatives. Whatever her moral life may have been before her marriage, she proved a helpful partner to him in his life and work.

The commerce of the Eastern Empire flourished under the protection of Justinian. Constantinople, a city estimated to have had, at that time, about a million inhabitants, was the center of the world's trade. The manufacture of silk goods was kept as a monopoly in the hands of the Emperor himself. The manufacture of weapons and armor, of glazed pottery and cheaper clothing, with the retail trade

in the necessities of life and its luxuries, busied a multitude of merchants and laborers. The city lived chiefly upon grain imported from Egypt, and dried fish caught in the Black Sea and salted in the city. So we must picture its life like that of any great city of to-day, its streets filled with busy men, its people seeking amusement in the theaters or in the Hippodrome. Justinian strove in every way to beautify his capital with churches dedicated to the Virgin and the saints. The greatest of these, now the Turkish mosque of Saint Sophia, still stands, a magnificent memorial of the day and the work of Justinian.

In the chariot races in the Hippodrome, the people of the city were divided into the supporters of the Blue and of



OLD CHRISTIAN MOSAIC IN THE MOSQUE CALLED SAINT SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

It Represents Christ Receiving the Adoration of an Emperor.

the Green. The factions had developed into rival political parties, who carried their hatreds to the point of deadly brawls in the Hippodrome and in the city streets. At one time Justinian was all but overthrown by an uprising of the Greens against the Blues, the favorites of the Emperor. He was saved only by the courage and spirit of Theodora, and the military ability of Belisarius. The uprising was quenched in the blood of 30,000 citizens who were caught in the Hippodrome, and massacred by the hired soldiers under Belisarius.

613. Later History of the East.—The ambition of Justinian to unite the whole of the Roman Empire under his hand was a disastrous thing, bringing about a great expenditure of money and men. The emperors who followed him wisely reversed the policy, and left the West alone. For

about a century, the Eastern Empire was fairly successful in holding its own against the Persians. Then came the Mohammedan conquests, beginning about 630 A. D., in which Syria, Egypt, and a large part of Asia Minor fell to the Moslem. In the next century, Thrace and Greece were invaded by Slavic peoples, who settled there and gradually mingled their blood with that of the old population. Constantinople, however, held out against the onslaughts of the Oriental armies, as the bulwark of Eastern Christianity, until 1453 A. D., when it was taken by the Mohammedan Turks. In their hands it still remains.

The importance of the Eastern Empire is that it preserved the old Greco-Roman civilization and some of its learning without the immense changes in them which were made in the West. It preserved also the idea of the old Roman Empire which later became a living ideal of the western Frankish kings, and resulted in the establishing of a new Western Empire under Charlemagne, in 800 A. D.

614. The Lombards in Italy.—Almost immediately after the death of Justinian, Spain fell again to the Visigoths; and the Lombards, a German tribe then occupying Pannonia, moved into Italy. They conquered the northern part of the country, and a portion of the southern. The territory about Ravenna, and a strip extending from sea to sea, including Rome, still remained a part of the Eastern Empire. The strength of the Lombards increased gradually, and was extending itself over all Italy, until the Franks in the eighth century came down, as the defenders of the interests of the Roman population, and overthrew the Lombard power. Under Charlemagne, all Italy was incorporated in his great Roman Empire of the Franks.

615. Summary of Justinian's Work.—Despite the failure of his cherished hope of rebuilding the old Roman Empire, the work of Justinian was very important. For a last brief space of time, he revived the old Roman Empire. He summed up and systematized the Roman law, and left it as a lasting legacy to future time. His reign saw the last spark of the old heathen life die out. Thereafter the



GERMANIC KINGDOMS AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE ACCESSION OF JUSTINIAN, 526 A. D.



GERMANIC KINGDOMS AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE DEATH OF JUSTINIAN, 565 A. D.

Germans took up the great heritage of the civilization of the Greeks and Romans, changed it as their own character demanded, and handed it on, thus changed, to our own time.

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1. AN INCIDENT IN THE HIPPODROME AT CONSTANTINOPLE.—Munro and Sellery, *Mediæval Civilization* (see table of contents); Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, in ch. 40 (Bury's edition, Vol. IV, pp. 218-226).
2. THE DISGRACE AND DEATH OF BELISARIUS.—Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, in ch. 43 (Bury's edition, Vol. IV, pp. 428-430).
3. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE OSTROGOTHIC KINGDOM IN ITALY.—Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*, lecture 6.
4. SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES OF THE EMPIRE IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.—Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, pp. 333-357.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN-TEUTONIC CIVILIZATION IN WESTERN EUROPE

616. The Franks.—In the middle of the fifth century, the German tribe appeared which was to unite the Teutonic and Greco-Roman civilization in western Europe into one great state which was bound together by a single religion, Christianity. From the time of Augustus, the tribes of the Franks had lived along the east bank of the Rhine River, in the territory extending from Moguntiacum (Mayence) northward past Colonia Agrippina (Cologne). In the troubled years of the third century, these tribes united into the confederacy of the Franks. Shortly after 400 A. D., Stilicho was forced to withdraw the Roman legions from Britain and the Rhine border, to fight against Alaric, the

Visigoth. This resulted in a large migration of Franks into Gaul

617. Clovis, King of the Franks, 481–511.—

In 481 A. D., when Clovis of the Merovingian house became chief of one of the several tribes of the Franks which had settled in Gaul, there were two other German tribes ruling portions of the Roman-Gallic population of the country.

In the southwest were the Visigoths; in the southeast, the Burgundians. West of the Franks, in northern Gaul, the land was ruled by Syagrius, who had established a separate kingdom there after the



A FRANKISH HOUSE.

It is Built of Stones and Columns from an Older Roman-Gallic Building.

fall of the Roman rulers of the West, in 476 A. D. In 486, Clovis overthrew Syagrius, and annexed all the territory north of the Loire River.

The cruelty and masterful will of Clovis, and the rather loose and democratic organization of the German armies, are well illustrated by the story of the vase of Soissons. After a successful battle, when one of the Christian churches had been plundered by the Franks, Clovis promised to return a vase of large size and great beauty to the bishop of that church. When, in the presence of the army, he demanded this vase in addition to his share of the plunder, one of the warriors exclaimed that the king could have only that part of the booty which the lot assigned to him. He then smashed the vase in pieces with his battle-ax. Clovis stood this affront, and sent the pieces of the vase to the bishop. About a year later, when he was reviewing his troops, he came to this warrior and asked to see his battle-ax, then threw it upon the ground as if it were not clean, and when the warrior stooped to pick it up, Clovis struck him dead with his own ax, saying: "Thus didst thou to the vase of Soissons."

618. Conversion of Clovis.

—Though Clovis and his Franks were pagans, the greater part of the Roman-Gallic subjects were Christians of the Athanasian or orthodox faith. Clovis married a Burgundian princess who was a Catholic Christian, and soon after his marriage, when hard-pressed in battle, he prayed to the God of his wife for help. He promised that he would believe in Christ, and be baptized, if the Christian God would give him victory. When the battle was won, he kept his promise and was baptized, with three thousand of his warriors.

Though this act did not change Clovis or lessen his cruelty, it had far-reaching effects. The Frankish king



BURGUNDIAN CLASP FOR A GIRDLE,
OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

It Represents Daniel in the Lions' Den.

seemed to the orthodox Christians in Gaul to be their defender and leader against the German tribes of the Arian belief, especially the Visigoths. The Roman-Gallic people fought willingly in his armies, and Clovis shrewdly did everything to win the support of the clergy. The conversion of Clovis, therefore, brought about two important results: (1) He was able to conquer the Arian rulers of southwestern Gaul, the Visigoths, and add their territory to his Frankish kingdom (507 A. D.); (2) The Merovingian rule was changed by Clovis from the leadership of a loosely organized tribe of Germans to a strong kingship over three-fourths of entire Gaul. To his Gallic subjects, Clovis represented the absolute authority of the Roman Empire to which they were accustomed. His power over the Germans had been checked by the vigorous independence of the Franks, who retained some measure of power in their own hands; but the extension of the Frankish territory strengthened the authority of Clovis even over his German subjects.

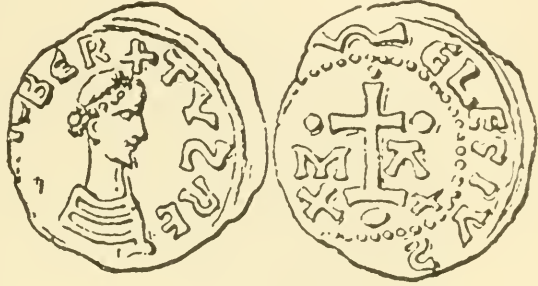
619. The Merovingian Line.—Before his death, which occurred in 511, Clovis had conquered all of Gaul excepting Burgundy. His four sons divided his kingdom between them. These men were Christians in name, but, like Clovis, they did not stop at murder to attain their political ambitions. In 534 A. D., they conquered Burgundy, and thus brought all of Gaul under Frankish dominion.

The development of the Frankish kingdom was greatly hindered by the strange theory of succession to the royal power. When Clovis had risen from the position of a barbarian chieftain to that of a powerful king, he had come to regard the conquered territory as his own domain, to be divided like personal property between his sons. The extension of the territory, even further organization, was greatly retarded by intrigues and wars, which frequently involved brother against brother, and father against son. From the death of Clovis to the death of Dagobert, who was ruler from 629 to 639 A. D., the power of the Merovingians was continually strengthened. They issued edicts in the manner of the old Roman emperors. The privileges which

the free warriors had had in the old German assembly were assumed by a body of rich nobles which grew up around the king.

620. Growth of the Power of the Frankish Nobles.—

Whenever the kingdom was divided among several brothers, each ruler had his own court and his own nobles, who became wealthy and powerful. After Dagobert's death, the Merovingian house produced no great men. The kings fell under the power of the nobles in the court, especially



COIN OF DAGOBERT.

It Shows the Head of the King with the Cross above it, and reads: "Dagobertus Rex."

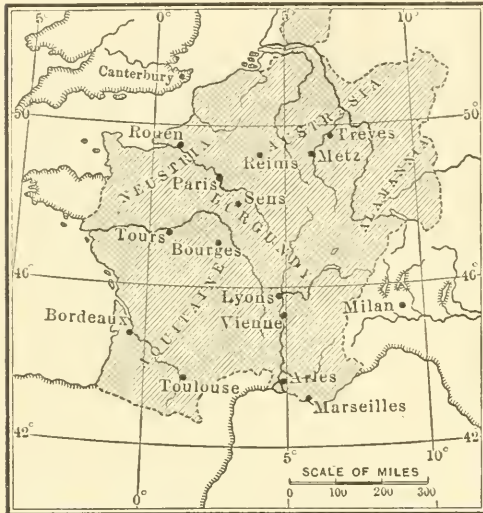
under an official called the *major domus*, or mayor of the palace. This officer was originally the director of the palace. Under the "Do-Nothing" kings of the century after Dagobert, the mayors of the palace in the respective courts were the real rulers. They led the Frankish armies and fought with one another for supremacy as if they themselves were the kings. In 681 A. D., Pippin, mayor of the palace of Austrasia, which was the northeastern section of the Frankish domain, made himself mayor of all the united Frankish kingdom.

621. Charles Martel (The Hammer), 714–741 A. D.—Pippin's power was equaled by that of his son, Charles Martel, who inherited his father's position as mayor of the palace. Although Charles Martel himself did not take the royal title, he is the real founder of the new line of rulers called the Carolingians.¹ During the last eleven years of his life his sway was unquestioned, as there was no king of the Merovingian house upon the throne.

Charles Martel proved himself a great leader. In 732 A. D., at the battle of Tours, he defeated the forces of the Moham-

¹ This name is taken from Carolus, the Latin form of Charles.

medans, who had already conquered Spain, and were attempting to extend their religion and their domain over western Europe. He conquered the German tribes across the Rhine, and tried to Christianize them and bring them under



FRANKISH KINGDOM AT THE DEATH OF DAGOBERT.

Frankish dominion. His son, Pippin the Short, who succeeded to the office of mayor of the palace, deposed the Merovingian for whom he ruled, and assumed the title of King of the Franks, in the year 751 A. D.

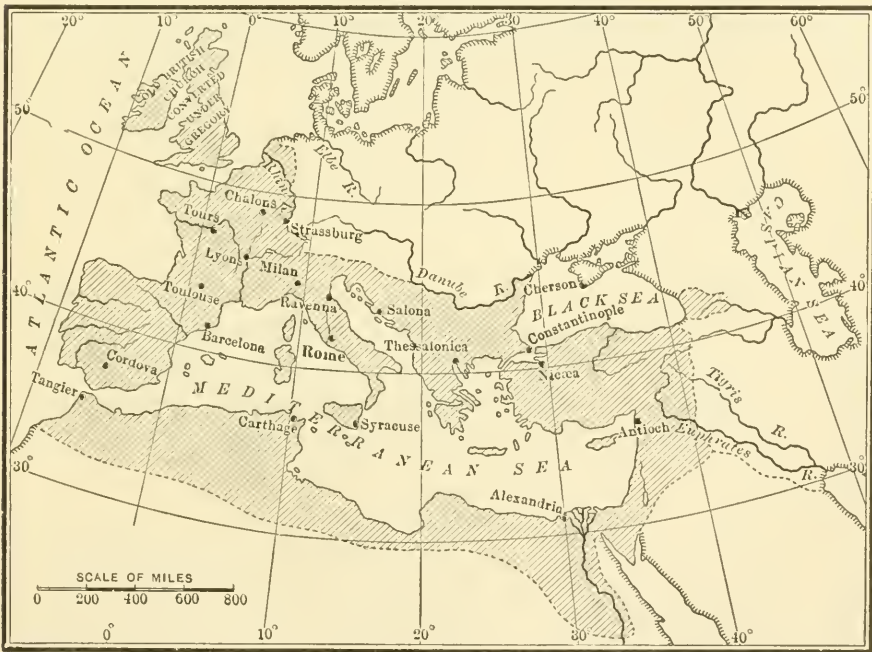
622. The Power of the Bishop of Rome.—The supremacy which the Roman church claimed in the Christian world rested primarily upon the great tradition and

importance of Rome itself and the belief that the Apostle Peter had established the church at Rome. It was greatly strengthened by the influence of the successive bishops of Rome, who had shown especial ability during the great church meetings of the fourth century. While the ideas of the church were still forming, these bishops had consistently followed the orthodox views and fought Arianism. This consistent policy gave them an influence which was emphasized by the weakness of the emperors in the West; for the incapacity of the emperors gave the Roman bishops many opportunities of making themselves useful in politics, even to the extent of treating with the barbarians who came into Italy.

In 452 A. D., when Attila the Hun led his hordes into Italy, Leo the Great, who was then Bishop of Rome, headed the embassy which treated with him, and kept him from attacking the city itself. Three years later the Vandals from Africa swooped down upon the city. Again, the Bishop Leo was

the man sent to gain terms from their leader. This Leo was one of the earliest bishops to insist strongly upon the supremacy of the church of Rome, and the power of its bishop over all other churches. The emperors favored this claim, because it was to the interest of the Empire that the church should be unified under one head. About this time the title of Pope became the distinctive name for the Bishop of Rome.¹

623. Gregory the Great.—After Leo, Gregory the Great (590–604 A. D.) was the next Pope who saw the great oppor-



EXTENT OF CHRISTIANITY UNDER POPE GREGORY THE GREAT, 590–604 A. D.

tunity of the church at Rome, and, more than any other, made it the center of Christian unity and authority in the West. He put in order the property which had gradually accumulated under the bishops of Rome, and organized the work of carrying Christianity to the barbarians in Germany and England. The missionary work which was diligently

¹The word comes from the Latin “Papa” meaning “venerable father.”

pursued under his guidance widened the circle of the new civilization, made up of Roman, Christian, and Teutonic elements, until it included England, and a large part of Germany, as well as the western part of the old Roman Empire.

624. The Germanic Conquest of England.—After Britain had been made a province under the Emperor Claudius (43 B. C.), the Celts who lived there slowly joined with their Roman conquerors, and adopted Roman ideas. In the fourth century, Christianity came into Britain through the Roman army, and spread from there into Scotland and Ireland. When Stilicho was compelled to remove the Roman garrison, Britain lost the protection of the empire; and in 449 A. D., a series of invasions began which brought into Britain the Germanic barbarians of northern Europe, tribes of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. They overran the country, conquered the Britons, and drove them into the western part of the country, and northward into Scotland. It is from the Angles that England gets its present name.

The invaders were pagans who knew nothing of Christianity. Therefore Christianity survived only in Ireland, and outlying districts of what we may now call England. With the passing of Christianity, the culture which it typified also receded, and England was sinking to the level of the civilization of its barbarian conquerors.

625. Conversion of England.—The following story is told to explain how Pope Gregory's attention was called to the need of missionary work in England. One day as he was walking in the forum at Rome, he saw some light-haired, white-skinned boys offered for sale as slaves. To his inquiry the slave-dealer responded that these were pagans. "Alas," said Gregory, "that beings with such bright faces should be slaves of the prince of darkness! What is the name of their nation?" "Angles." "Good! They have faces of angels and should be the co-heirs with the angels of heaven. From what province do they come?" "Deira." (Deira was a portion of England, and the two Latin words, "de ira," mean "from the wrath.") "Deira! Yea, verily, they shall be saved from God's wrath and called

to the mercy of Christ. How call you the king of that land?" "Ælla." "Then must Alleluia be sung in Ælla's land."

When Gregory became Pope he remembered this incident. In 596 A. D., he sent out St. Augustine, a monk of tall and commanding figure, with forty others, to convert the English heathen. By their missionary work England was again brought under the influence of Roman civilization; but the power which brought it about was spiritual rather than political, Christianity represented by the Pope at Rome, rather than the laws and legions of the Roman emperor.

626. Spread of Roman-Christian Civilization in Germany.
—The Merovingian kings had made it a part of their policy



BRIDGE OVER THE MOSELLE RIVER AT TREVES.

The Stone Supports Are Those of the Old Roman Bridge.

to spread the Christian faith in the territory which they conquered east of the Rhine. About 600 A. D., some Irish monks began to work with the heathen Germans along the upper Rhine and the upper Danube. They established monasteries which became centers of civilization as well as of the missionary work; for these monks taught the pagans to cultivate the soil and to live at peace, while they were inculcating in them the teachings of Christ.

In 719 A. D., an English monk, St. Boniface, took up the missionary work in Germany with great success. In the

year 722 he was given a letter of recommendation to Charles Martel from the Pope. Thus the connection of the Frankish monarchs and the papacy was drawn closer by the missionaries in Germany, because the rulers of the Franks recognized that their work of subjugating the Germans would be futile, were the heathen not made Christians. The church, for its part, realized that it could not work effectively unless it had the military support of the Frankish armies. Accordingly, St. Boniface founded monasteries and nunneries, from which the heathen learned at least a little about Christian morality, while their wives learned those household arts which are powerful in raising the standard of any people. Boniface was a devoted believer in the idea of the headship of the church of Rome, therefore all the new acquisitions gave additional strength to the idea of the unity of the church in the West, and widened the field of the Pope's influence.

References for Outside Reading

Ogg, *Source Book of Mediæval History*, ch. 4-6; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Vol. I, ch. 4-5; Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, ch. 7, 8, 9, 11; Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, pp. 34-66; Bemont and Monod, *Mediæval Europe*, ch. 5, 6, 7, 9; Adams, *Civilization During the Middle Ages*, pp. 107-151; Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*, lectures 8-9; Church, *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, ch. 3-4; Masterman, *The Dawn of Mediæval Europe*, ch. 5, 7, 9.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. GREGORY THE GREAT AND THE MONK JUSTUS.—Robinson, *Readings*, pp. 76-77.
2. THE FOUNDING OF THE MONASTERY AT FULDA.—Robinson, *Readings*, pp. 107-111; Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*, pp. 221-237.
3. THE ECONOMIC INFLUENCE OF THE MONASTERIES.—Munro and Sellery, *Mediæval Civilization* (see table of contents), or Cunningham, *Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects*, Vol. II, pp. 35-40.
4. THE RULE OF ST. BENEDICT.—Ogg, *Source Book of Mediæval History*, pp. 83-90.
5. THE WORK OF THE CHURCH IN THE WEST.—Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*, lecture 8; Hutton, *The Church and the Barbarians*, ch. 4, 10.

CHAPTER XLV

THE SPREAD OF MOHAMMEDANISM IN THE EAST—THE PAPACY AND THE CAROLINGIANS RULE THE WEST

627. The Change in the East.—During the years from 400 to 800 A. D., the western part of the old Roman Empire was undergoing changes, brought about by the Teutonic invasion and the growth of the church, which ended in the founding of the nations and the development of the civilization of modern Europe. In the period extending from 600 to 750 A. D., a new religion arose in Arabia and spread over western Asia, northern Africa, and across Gibraltar into Spain. It changed the character of the civilization of these portions of the Roman empire to such a degree, that its advent marks a new period in the history of the eastern Mediterranean. This was the religion of the Arabian Mohammed. Its slogan was Islam, "obedience to God." Its missionary work was done with the sword. Just as the Teutonic invasion had destroyed the unity of Roman civilization in western Europe, so the Mohammedan civilization changed the intellectual life of western Asia and northern Africa, and introduced a new religion which wrested these countries away from the Roman-Christian world. The struggle thus begun still continues, for to-day the Christian civilization of Europe and the Mohammedan civilization of western Asia are struggling for the possession of Africa.

628. The Arabians before Mohammed.—The desert of Arabia was filled with independent tribes of nomads, who prided themselves upon three things: boldness of heart, their sharp and gleaming swords, and their bronze bows, whose arrows, to quote the Arabian phrase, cut the air with a cry "like that of a grieving mother who wails for the death of a



AN
ARABIAN
SWORD.

son." Although the Arabians were in close contact with Jews and Christians, they still remained in a primitive state of religious development, worshipping stones and other fetishes, the stars, and the spirits of their ancestors. They had a number of gods, each of them called Il, and one highest god called Allah.

629. Life of Mohammed—Born about 570 A. D.—Even before Mohammed, the founder of the new creed, had received the inspiration which made of him a great religious teacher, a movement had begun among the best of the Arabians against the polytheism of their people. Mohammed, who had been a shepherd and camel-driver, married a wealthy widow named Khadija and became an important man in Mecca. He was subject to peculiar attacks in which he saw visions and heard voices. One of his later wives has described these attacks in the following words: "The prophet was heavy in spirit, when the angel appeared to him. No matter how cold it was, the sweat poured from his forehead, his eyes became red, and sometimes he roared like a camel."

When he was forty years old, he thought that the angel Gabriel appeared to him in the solitude of the mountains, and bade him teach the true religion of Allah. First his wife, then a few other relatives, were converted to the belief that he was a prophet of God, chosen to lead the people to the right faith. In four years he gathered about him forty believers; then he started to preach openly. Slowly he gathered converts from the Arabians who came on pilgrimage to Mecca. Gradually he aroused the fear and hatred of the old priests of Mecca, until, in 622 A. D., he was compelled to flee to Medina. This flight is called the Hegira, the Arabian word meaning "departure." From this year, the two hundred million Mohammedan believers of the present day reckon time, just as Christians do from the birth of Christ.

After the Hegira, the number of the faithful grew rapidly. Mohammed determined to make his conversions by the sword if necessary, and declared war upon his enemies. In

630 A. D., Mecca fell before the onslaughts of the believers; but this was not enough; Mohammed determined to win the whole world to his faith by conquering it. Before he could enter upon these greater schemes, he died, in the year 632 A. D.

630. The Mohammedan Religion.—Mohammed was without doubt one of the great religious teachers of the world's history. His belief is a monotheistic one, built upon the Jewish and Christian religions. There is but one God, Allah, who reveals himself to men through prophets. The great prophets have been Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and the greatest of all, Mohammed. It is clear that Mohammed denied the divinity of Christ. He taught that the soul is immortal, and that the Moslem, that is, the believers in his faith, would enjoy the delights of paradise, while the wicked and the unbelievers would suffer the torments in hell.

The God of the Mohammedans is not the loving father of Christianity, but a dark power to whom the Moslem offer prayer as a task to be performed. The sacred book of the Moslem is the Koran. In it are the sayings of Mohammed, which were written down after his death by his followers, embodying laws to govern all sides of the lives of the believers, their moral, religious, and business lives. As the Bible is the source of the spiritual life of the Christian portions of the world of to-day, so the Koran sets the moral standards of the Mohammedans.

631. Influence of Mohammed.—Mohammed has been a great force for good in the world. He knew his people, knew just how far he could lead them upward. He raised them from a belief in many gods to belief in one God, gave them a religion and a moral code higher than they had had, and laid the foundations upon which, in the next two centuries, a great Moslem empire was founded. The Moslem civilization was for centuries the highest in the world; but the rigidity of Mohammed's teaching has made it impossible for the religion to advance. Christianity has shown itself infinitely more adaptable to new conditions. A comparison of the Moham-

medan and Christian civilization of our time leaves no doubt of the higher morality and power of the Christian faith.

632. The Mohammedan Conquests, 632–732 A. D.—Mohammed taught that it was God's command that the believers should carry on war to spread the faith. His glowing account of the pleasures of paradise, which awaited the warriors who died upon the field of battle, excited the fighting spirit of his followers to the highest pitch. Within ten years after the prophet's death, Syria, Persia, and Egypt had fallen subject to the Moslem leaders. A second period of expansion, beginning 695 A. D., carried the Moslem power along the coast of northern Africa and across into Spain. Here the Visigothic kingdom fell an easy prey to the Mohammedan attacks. For eight hundred years, until Colum-



MOHAMMEDAN GOLD COIN FROM SPAIN.

It reads: "Mohammed is the One Sent of Allah," and on the margin: "This Coin is Struck in El-Andalus in the Year 98" (after the Hegira).

bus' time, the Moslem maintained themselves as the rulers of Spain, and made its life for several centuries the most brilliant and intellectual of Europe.

After the conquest of Spain had been secured, the Moslem crossed the Pyrenees into Gaul, defeating the armies of the Frankish rulers in several battles. It seemed that the Christian and Teutonic kingdom arising in western Europe would, like the Visigothic kingdom of Spain, fall before the scimitars of the followers of Mohammed. For good or ill this would have changed the history of Europe; but their great array was met in 732 A. D., just one hundred years after Mohammed's death, by all the forces which the Franks could levy. In the battle of Tours, Charles Martel won the name of Martel, "The Hammer," and defeated the Mohammedans so badly that they were forced to withdraw into Spain. A Christian chronicler had thus described the battle: "At last they set themselves in battle array; and the nations

of the North, standing firm as a wall and as impenetrable as a zone of ice, slew the Arabs with their swords." The battle of Tours may justly be called one of the decisive engagements of history.

633. The Carolingian Alliance with the Papacy.—In this battle, Charles Martel appeared as a great leader in the defense of Christian culture in the West. Events which followed made this position of the Carolingian rulers more prominent, and led to a relation between the Frankish kingdom and the Papacy at Rome which was almost an alliance. While the Carolingians had been working toward the actual rule of the Franks through their position as mayors of the palace, the popes were being hard pressed by the Lombards of northern Italy. Pope Gregory III had offered to bestow upon Charles Martel authority to rule the West, if Charles would protect him against the Lombards. This offer, however, was refused.

When Pippin thought that the time had come to make himself king of the Franks, he needed some great authority to sanction him in usurping the royal power. He therefore accepted the alliance with the Papacy. In 751 A. D., at Soissons, the Frankish nobles swore allegiance to him, and Archbishop Boniface, representing the church, anointed him as king. In return for this service of the church, Pippin marched into Italy, and defeated the Lombards who were besieging Rome. He took from them a great strip of land extending across Italy north and south of Rome, and bestowed it upon the Pope as territory belonging to the church, to be ruled by the Pope himself. Thus the Pope became an actual ruler over the lives and property of men. This is called the *temporal power* of the Papacy, to distinguish it from the spiritual authority which the Popes held as religious leaders of the West.

634. Rule of Charlemagne, 768–814 A. D.—Charles the Great (Charlemagne), who succeeded his father, Pippin, as king of the Franks, stands out prominently as a constructive statesman of the type of Augustus Cæsar; for he established a new empire out of the Germanic and Roman

materials in western Europe. In 773 A. D., he assumed the iron crown of the Lombards, adding northern Italy to the Frankish realm. He followed the policy of his Carolingian ancestors by allying himself closely with the papacy. This alliance he made clear by renewing the grant of territory in Italy which had been previously presented to the Pope by Pippin.



CHARLEMAGNE.

From a Mosaic in Rome Made in Charlemagne's Time. The letters read: "To our Lord, Carl, the King."

635. The Conquest of Saxony, 772–804 A. D.—In a long series of wars, Charlemagne conquered the Saxons and Bavarians, and joined a large tract of territory in Germany to the Christian state of the Franks. This event carried to completion a plan of the Carolingians which had existed since the time of Charles Martel. Just as his ancestors had done, Charlemagne saw that these barbarians could only be held permanently by making them Christians. His method of conversion, however, was more like that of the Mohammedans than that of the

early missionaries to Germany. For, after conquering the heathen Saxons, Charlemagne passed laws by which those who refused to accept Christianity should be punished with death. Though his methods were harsh, they were eminently successful, and Saxon Germany soon became a civilized portion of Christendom.

636. Charlemagne as Founder of the New Roman Empire.—In the year 800 A. D., Charlemagne was in Rome during the Christmas festivities. Upon Christmas Day as he was kneeling in prayer in the church of St. Peter, the Pope crowned him with a golden crown, and the people proclaimed him Emperor.

In this way the Roman Empire was restored in western Europe; but the Empire of Charlemagne was very unlike that of Augustus. The differences lay:

1. *In the extent of territory involved.* The Empire of Charlemagne included the northern part of Italy, all of France, part of northern Spain, and the western portion of modern Germany and Austria, about that part which would be marked off by a line drawn from the mouth of the Oder River directly south to



EXTENT OF CHRISTIANITY AND MOHAMMEDANISM AT THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE, 814 A. D.

the Adriatic Sea. This was but a small section of the old Roman Empire.

2. *In the character of the ruling element.* The rulers of the Roman Empire had been men of southern stock, from Italy, Spain, Illyria, and Africa, lands bordering directly upon the Mediterranean Sea. The Carolingian rulers and their high officials were Germans.

3. *In the subject population.* The territory east of the Rhine was entirely occupied by Germans, and the other parts of the new empire had received a large infusion of German blood.

4. *In the entire civilization.* The culture of the Roman Empire had been essentially Greek, but accommodated in the West to Roman and western traditions. This culture was now

imbued with the ideas and character of the Teutonic people, with what may be called the German spirit.

SUMMARY OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

637. Territorial Development.—It has been our endeavor to trace the story of man's development from the time of the earliest written records which are found in Egypt and Babylon, through fully four thousand years of history, to the point where modern civilization begins to unfold itself. It is a long vista of centuries, beginning with the figure of Menes, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, and ending with Charlemagne. The progress of this civilization was slowly westward along the Mediterranean shore, over Europe, with an occasional ebb toward the east, such as resulted from Alexander's conquest of western Asia. Its progress was also slowly northward. In this movement, too, there was many an ebb tide, such as occurred when the barbarian tribes of the Hellenes broke into the circle of the Mediterranean civilization, and lowered the standard of the Cretan-Mycenæan culture. Such, too, was the setback given to the Greco-Roman civilization by the invasions of the Germans. In all these cases the net result was good, because the civilized area of the world was thereby increased.

638. Religious Development.—From the crude polytheistic religion of Egypt and Babylon, the world advanced through the thoughts of the Greek philosophers, the religious genius of the Hebrew nation, and the teaching of Christ, to the Christian and Mohammedan monotheistic worship. These two beliefs shape the religious and moral life of several hundred millions of people to-day.

639. Advance in Scientific Thought.—The Egyptians knew how to measure time by the solar year of 365 days. A better adjustment was made by Julius Cæsar, who established the leap year of 366 days falling every four years. This calendar, still used in Greece and Russia, varies only thirteen days from the corrected calendar, which is used everywhere in America and in the greater part of Europe.

The mechanical skill developed by the Egyptians was handed down to the Greek scientists, and perfected by them. Very little advance was made over the work of the Greeks until early in the nineteenth century. Methods of travel both by land and sea remained about the same, both in regard to speed and to the vessels used for transportation, until the invention of machinery driven by steam.

The sciences, including medicine, physics, geography, and the like, flourished best in the period of ancient civilization under the Greek Aristotle and his followers. Thereafter scientific study declined rather than advanced. It is in these scientific branches of knowledge, and in mechanical devices, that the modern far surpasses the ancient world.

640. Advance in the Arts.—Of all the ancient nations, the Greeks showed the highest ability in painting, music, sculpture, architecture, and literature. The decline in these forms of human expression began about 200 A. D. Artistic work in these lines in the time of Charles Martel can in no way be compared with the noble products of the old Greek painters, sculptors, architects, and writers. The genius of the Hellenes has not been greatly surpassed in modern times in any form of artistic expression, except in music.

641. Ancient Civilization Summed up in the Roman Empire.—The change in the methods of government which occurred in ancient times, beginning with the city-states of the Nile Valley, Babylonia, and Greece, and advancing to the idea embodied in the Roman Empire, was a very great one. Upon the basis of the united Greek states and the world-empire of Persia, Alexander the Great built his short-lived empire. Out of this rose the world-empire ruled from Rome, which brought within its domain all the countries of western Europe except Germany.

642. The Fate of the Roman Empire.—In this great Roman Empire, ancient civilization reached its completed form. Here the world's inheritance from the ancient nations took definite and unified shape, in what we have called the Greco-Roman civilization. By the time of Charle-

magne this empire had split into three sections, each with a different type of culture:

1. The Balkan peninsula, Thrace, and Asia Minor, formed the Eastern Empire, also called the Byzantine Empire, with its capital at Constantinople. Here the Greek culture was retained in form and language, at least, but without the spirit of progress.

2. Western Asia as far as India, Egypt, northern Africa, and Spain, formed the Mohammedan Empire. The changes made in these regions by the spread of Mohammed's faith were great.

3. The new empire of Charlemagne. Through this channel the modern world of Europe and America has received its great social inheritance from the ancient nations.

References for Outside Reading

Ogg, *Source Book of Mediæval History*, pp. 97-132, 130-134; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Vol. 1, ch. 6-7; Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, ch. 6-7; Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, pp. 122-134, 162-213; Bemont and Monod, *Mediæval Europe*, ch. 10-12; Adams, *Civilization of the Middle Ages*, pp. 150-169; Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, pp. 110-139; Church, *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, ch. 7; Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*, ch. 11; Masterman, *The Dawn of Mediæval Europe*, ch. 8, 10-18.

Topics for Oral or Written Report

1. TREATMENT OF THE "DO-NOTHING KINGS".—Robinson, *Readings*, pp. 120-121.
2. CONQUEST OF THE SAXONS AND THEIR TREATMENT BY CHARLEMAGNE.—Ogg, *Source Book of Mediæval History*, pp. 114-123.
3. APPEARANCE AND CHARACTER OF CHARLEMAGNE.—Robinson, *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 126-128; Ogg, *Source Book of Mediæval History*, pp. 108-114.
4. A MODERN STATESMAN'S ESTIMATE OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION.—See Theodore Roosevelt's article on "The World Movement," in *The Outlook*, May 14, 1910.

HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS AND LIST OF EVENTS AND DATES.

The following system is suggested for remembering related events in place of the old method of learning outright a series of unconnected dates. The central and most important dates are printed in heavy type.

I. 3400–333 B.C. ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION.

1. 3400–2100 B. C. OLD KINGDOM OF EGYPT.—BABYLONIA.

Egypt.

About 3400 B. C. Menes. United kingdom of Egypt.

About 2900 B. C. Snefru. Foreign trade.

Babylonia.

About 2800 B. C. Empire of Sargon.

About 1950 B. C. Hammurabi. Law Code.

Cretan Civilization.

3000–2000 B. C. Rise of civilization in Crete.

2. 2100–1600 B. C. MIDDLE KINGDOM OF EGYPT.—CRETAN POWER.

Cretan.

About 2000–1500 B. C. Height of Cretan power. Expansion northward into Greece. Mycenæ.

Egypt.

2100–1800 B. C. Middle kingdom of Egypt. Thebes. Trade with Cretans.

About 1800–1600 B. C. Hyksos rule in Egypt.

3. 1600–1100 B. C. EGYPTIAN EMPIRE.—CRETANS.—HITTITES.

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Egypt.

1500-1450 B. C. Thothmes III. Conquest of Syria.

1375 B. C. Ikhnaton. Monotheistic worship of Aton.

1292 B. C. Rameses II. Syria reconquered. Wars with the Hittites.

Babylonia.

1600-1100 B. C. Rise of Assyrian power.

Cretans.

1600-1400 B. C. Great trade with Egypt.

1400-1100 B. C. Decay of Cretan power. Advance of the Hellenes.

Hittites

About 2000-1400 B. C. Rise of their power.

1400-1100. Height of their power. Treaty between Khetasar and Rameses II.

About 1100 B. C. Decline of Egyptian, Cretan, Babylonian, and Hittite Power.

4. 1100-606 B. C. PHœNICIANS, HEBREWS, ASSYRIANS, HELLENES.

Phœnicia.

About 1100 B. C. Commercial development of Phœnician cities.

Hebrews.

1000-930 B. C. United Kingdom of Hebrews. Saul, David, Solomon.

621 B. C. Hebrew Religious Reformation. Josiah.

Assyria.

728 B. C. Tiglath Pileser, King of Babylon.

728-606 B. C. Assyrian Empire.

606 B. C. Fall of Nineveh and the Assyrian Power.

Hellenes (Greeks).

About 1000 B. C. Expansion over Ægean and coast of Asia Minor.

800-550 B. C. Colonization of Mediterranean.

504 HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS OF EVENTS AND DATES

About 485 B. C. Themistocles. Development of democracy.
Athenian navy.

480 B. C. Battle of Salamis. Battle of Himera.

3. 480-404 B. C. PERIOD OF ATHENIAN GREATNESS.

Delian League.

478-454 B. C. Development of Delian League into Athenian Empire.

454 B. C. Removal of treasury from Delos to Athens.

Periclean Age.

460-431 B. C. Leadership of Pericles. Completion of the democracy. Building of the Parthenon. Greek drama. Phidias.

Peloponnesian War. 431-404 B. C.

431-404 B. C. Sophistic teachings.

415-413 B. C. Sicilian expedition. Alcibiades.

404 B. C. Athens taken by Spartans. Power of Athens broken.

4. 404-360 B. C. THE GREEKS BEGIN THE AGGRESSIVE MOVEMENT AGAINST PERSIA. STRUGGLE FOR LEADERSHIP IN GREECE.

404-371 B. C. Leadership of Sparta.

400 B. C. March of the Ten Thousand Greeks.

399 B. C. Death of Socrates.

400-387 B. C. Spartans carry war against Persia into Asia Minor.

398-367 B. C. Empire of Dionysius of Syracuse.

387 B. C. Peace of Antalcidas.

371 B. C. { Peace Congress at Sparta.
{ Battle of Leuctra. Spartan leadership ended.

371-362 B. C. Leadership of Thebes. Epaminondas.

362 B. C. Battle of Mantinea. End of Theban leadership.

5. 360-333 B. C. UNION OF THE GREEKS AND CONQUEST OF PERSIA.

359-336. Development of Macedonia under Philip. Opposition led by Demosthenes of Athens.

338 B. C. Battle of Charonea.

337 B. C. Congress at the Isthmus. Greeks united under Philip. Preparation for the war against Persia.

336 B. C. Accession of Alexander.

333 B. C. Battle of Issus. Alexander as successor to the Persian kings.

6. 333-200 B. C. SPREAD OF GREEK CIVILIZATION.

The East.

333-323 B. C. Conquests of Alexander.

331 B. C. Battle of Arbela.

323 B. C. Death of Alexander.

About 323-200 B. C. Spread of Greek civilization over old Oriental nations.

301 B. C. Battle of Ipsus. Greek kingdoms of Syria, Egypt and Macedon established.

Affairs in Greece.

280-146 B. C. Power of the Achæan and Ætolian Leagues.

235 B. C. Power of Sparta revived by Cleomenes.

222 B. C. Battle of Sellasia. Power of Sparta ended.

7. 280-146 B. C. ADOPTION OF GREEK CIVILIZATION BY ROME.

GREECE BECOMES A PART OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

280-275 B. C. Italy. Pyrrhus leads the Greeks of the West against Rome.

275 B. C. Battle of Beneventum.

272 B. C. Tarentum captured by Rome. All Italy, including the Greek cities, subject to Rome.

About 272-168 B. C. Greek culture becoming dominant over Italian and Roman culture.

Rome's Advance upon Greece.

200-197 B. C. Rome's war with Philip V of Macedon.

197 B. C. Battle of Cynoscephalæ.

196 B. C. Freedom of the Greek states proclaimed by Flaminius.

190 B. C. Battle of Magnesia. Antiochus III of Syria defeated by Rome.

168 B. C. Perseus of Macedon conquered by Rome.

146 B. C. Macedon and Greece form a Roman province.

End of the independence of the Greek states of Europe.

III. 753 (?)—44 B. C. THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. ROME
BUILDS A WORLD EMPIRE.

(For the Greek Colonization of the West see Section II, Part 1.)

1. 753 (?)—272 B. C. BEGINNINGS OF ROME. CONQUEST OF ITALY.

753 B. C. Traditional date of founding of Rome.

These "traditional" dates are those which are found in the ancient annals and histories, compiled centuries after the events occurred. Although they are utterly uncertain the modern historian makes use of them because he can do no better.

510 B. C. Traditional date of founding of the Republic.

Plebeian Struggle for Political Rights.

494 or 493 B. C. Traditional date for establishing of the tribunate.
About 450 B. C. The laws of the Twelve Tables.

367 B. C. Traditional date of the Licinian-Sextian Laws.

About 367—300 B. C. The plebeians gain right to the magistracies.

287 B. C. The Hortensian Law. The tribal assembly may
pass laws unhampered.

Conquest of Italy.

493 B. C. Traditional date of the establishment of the Latin
League.

474 B. C. Etruscan power weakened by defeat off Cyme.

About 420—400 B. C. Advance of Rome into Campania and
southern Etruria.

382 B. C. Rome captured by the Gauls.

312 B. C. Building of the Appian Road.

343—290 B. C. Period in which the Samnite Wars occurred.

281—272 B. C. War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus.

275 B. C. Defeat of Pyrrhus by the Romans at Beneventum.

272 B. C. Tarentum taken. Italy south of the Po valley
under Rome's dominion.

2. 272—146 B. C. ROME BECOMES A WORLD POWER. BEGIN-
NING OF CONQUEST EASTWARD. HELLENIZING OF ROME.

Punic Wars.

264—241 B. C. First Punic War

241 B. C. Sicily annexed as Roman territory.

- 237 B. C.** **Sardinia and Corsica taken from Carthage.**
 236-219 B. c. Conquest of Spain by Carthage.
 225-222 B. c. Conquest of Celts in Po Valley by Rome.
218-201 B. C. **Second Punic War. Hannibal.**
216 B. C. **Battle of Cannæ.**
 212 B. c. Syracuse captured by the Romans.
 210-206 B. c. Scipio defeats Carthaginians in Spain.
201 B. C. **Battle of Zama.** Treaty by which Spain is ceded to Rome.
 149-146 B. c. Third Punic War.
146 B. C. **Destruction of Carthage.** Rome supreme in the West. Province of Africa formed.

Rome's Advance Eastward.

- 229-228 B. c. Conquest of Illyrian pirates.
 216 B. c. Alliance of Philip V of Macedon with Hannibal.
 200-197 B. c. War between Philip and Rome.
 197 B. c. Philip defeated at Cynoscephalæ.
197 B. C. **Organization of the two provinces of Spain.**
196 B. C. **Declaration of freedom of Greek cities by Flaminius.**
 191-189 B. c. War with Antiochus III of Syria.
 190 B. c. Defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia.
 171-168 B. c. War with Perseus of Macedon.
168 B. C. **Defeat of Perseus at Pydna.**
 168-146 B. c. Rome's new policy of conquest.
 164 B. c. Commerce of Rhodes destroyed by Romans.
146 B. C. **Corinth destroyed.** Province of Macedon and Greece established.

Hellenizing of Rome.

- 272-201 B. c. Greek slaves and teachers come to Rome.
272 B. C. **Livius Andronicus brought to Rome.**
 240 B. c. Greek plays first given at Rome.
 About 210-159 B. c. Greek comedies translated by Plautus and Terence.
 168 B. c. Slaves and booty brought from Macedon, Epirus, and Greece.

3. 146-27 B. C. FOREIGN WARS AND TERRITORIAL EXPANSION.
THE POPULAR PARTY AND GROWTH OF THE ONE-MAN POWER.

Foreign Wars and Territorial Expansion.

133 B. C. Kingdom of Pergamum becomes the Roman province of Asia.

112-105 B. C. War with Jugurtha.

102-101 B. C. Invasion of the Cimbri and Teutons turned back.

89-64 B. C. War with Mithradates of Pontus. Roman domain extends to the Euphrates river.

59-49 B. C. Gaul conquered by Cæsar.

31 B. C. Battle of Actium. Egypt incorporated in Roman state.

The Popular Party and the Reform Movement.

133-122 B. C. The reform movement led by the Gracchi.

133 B. C. Tiberius Gracchus as Tribune.

123-2 B. C. Tribuneship of Gaius Gracchus.

107-100 B. C. Marius, leader of the popular party, six times elected consul.

91 B. C. Reform movement led by Livius Drusus.

90-88 B. C. Social War. The Italians gain Roman citizenship.

Civil Wars.

88-82 B. C. Civil Wars between Senatorial and Popular parties (Sulla and Marius).

81-79 B. C. Sulla supreme in the Roman world. Power of the Senate restored.

83-72 B. C. Civil wars against Sertorius, a follower of Marius, in Spain. Pompey gains glory.

The One-Man Power Established.

70 B. C. Popular party restored to power by Pompey and Crassus.

67 B. C. Gabinian Law } Unusual powers granted to Pompey.
66 B. C. Manilian Law }

61 B. C. First Triumvirate. Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus control the Roman world.

49-44 B. C. Civil war of Cæsar against Pompey and the senatorial forces.

49-44 B. C. **Cæsar sole ruler.** The one-man power an accomplished fact.

44 B. C. Assassination of Cæsar.

43 B. C. Second Triumvirate formed.

31 B. C. **Battle of Actium.** Augustus supreme.

27 B. C. **The Empire established by Octavius (Augustus).**

IV. 27 B. C.-395 A. D. DEVELOPMENT OF THE EMPIRE AND ITS DECLINE. GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY.

1. 27 B. C.-96 A. D. A CENTURY OF PROGRESS.

The Empire.

14 A. D. Death of Augustus and accession of Tiberius.

54-62 A. D. Good years of Nero's rule. Seneca.

68-69 A. D. Civil Wars.

69-79 A. D. **Excellent administration of Vespasian.** Organization of imperial domains.

79 A. D. Destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii.

96 A. D. End of Flavian line by assassination of Domitian.

Christianity.

4 B. C. (?) Birth of Christ.

About 30 A. D. Crucifixion of Christ.

About 40-65 A. D. Many congregations established by Paul.

64 A. D. Burning of Rome blamed upon Christians.

2. 96-305 A. D. STATIONARY PERIOD UNDER THE ANTONINES. THE DECLINE IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

98-117 A. D. Trajan's conquests and addition of territory.

161-180 A. D. Marcus Aurelius. Germans brought in as *coloni*.

212 A. D. **Edict of Caracalla.** Roman citizenship widespread.

235-270 A. D. **Period of anarchy and commercial decline.**

259-273 A. D. Independent kingdoms of Gaul and Palmyra.

270-273 A. D. Gaul and Palmyra reconquered. Aurelian.

285-305 A. D. **Reorganization of the empire by Diocletian.**

Christianity.

112 A. D. Christianity declared an illegal worship.

249-251 A. D. General persecutions under Decius.

About 200-300 A. D. Christian Apologists. Literary defense of Christianity.

3. 305-395 A. D. CHRISTIANITY VICTORIOUS.

- 311 A. D. Edict of Galerius legalizes Christianity in the East.**
313 A. D. Edict of Milan legalizes Christianity in Roman world.
325 A. D. Constantine. Council at Nicæa.
330 A. D. Constantinople becomes the capital of the Roman Empire.
378 A. D. Visigoths defeat Roman forces at Hadrianople.
394 A. D. Theodosius Ends the Olympic Games. Christianity the sole state religion.

V. 395-800 A. D. GERMAN INVASIONS. GERMANS RULE THE WESTERN HALF OF THE EMPIRE AND ACCEPT CHRISTIANITY. RISE AND SPREAD OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

1. 395-565 A. D. GERMANIC INVASIONS AND KINGDOMS.

- 410 A. D. Rome captured by the Visigoths under Alaric.**
414-427 A. D. Visigoths establish a kingdom in Spain.
427 A. D. Vandals cross into Africa.
427-534 A. D. Vandal kingdom in Africa.
451 A. D. Invasion of the Huns. Battle of Chalons.
476 A. D. Romulus Augustulus deposed. Last of Roman rulers in the West.
481 A. D. Clovis establishes kingdom of the Franks in Gaul.
488 A. D. Ostrogoths under Theodoric invade Italy.
493-552 A. D. Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy.
527-565 A. D. Justinian. Attempt to reunite old Roman Empire. Code of Justinian.
534 A. D. Belisarius ends Vandal rule in Africa.
552 A. D. Narses ends Ostrogothic rule in Italy.
565 A. D. Lombards invade Italy.

2. 565-800 A. D. GROWTH OF THE FRANKISH KINGDOM. SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY AND MOHAMMEDANISM.

- 596 A. D. Pope Gregory the Great. Conversion of Britain.
About 600 A. D. Beginning of missionary work in Germany.
622 A. D. The Hegira. Mohammed.

632 A. D. Death of Mohammed.

639-751 A. D. Do-nothing kings of the Franks. The Mayors of the Palace rule.

639-695 A. D. Mohammedan expansion along north Africa.

695-732 A. D. Mohammedan conquest of Spain.

719 A. D. St. Boniface begins his conversion of the Germans.

732 A. D. Battle of Tours. Charles Martel.

751 B. C. Pippin declared king of the Franks. Carolingian house established.

800 A. D. Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the Romans by the Pope.

QUESTIONS FOR INFORMAL DISCUSSION, COMPARATIVE STUDIES AND EXERCISES, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR MAP WORK

NOTE FOR THE TEACHER

These exercises contain some questions of fact, the intention of which is to bring out certain important features of the topic or period dealt with in each chapter. The greater part of them, however, are merely suggestions to the teacher for supplementary work which is to be taken up only after the task of learning and discussing the assigned lesson has been completed. The general purpose of these suggestions is to supply the teacher with material based upon the text which may be used for the following five ends:

1. To stimulate thought in the pupil.
2. To bring out the striking likenesses and differences between ancient and modern society.
3. To emphasize points of contrast or similarity in the life and attainments of the different peoples of antiquity.
4. To make the illustrations useful in visualizing ancient life.
5. To develop the feeling of the continuity and unity of the history of civilization.

INT.—1. In what ways does the ability to make steel give us a great advantage over the ancient peoples? Name all the uses of steel in making things which the ancients did not have. 2. In what stage of civilization were the Indians when Columbus discovered America? Compare their civilization with that of the ancient prehistoric peoples. 3. Name six kinds of articles found in ancient tombs and other ruins. In what way does each kind help us to form a picture of the life of the ancient people? 4. Compare the prehistoric drawing of reindeer on page 4 with a modern picture of a reindeer (see Webster's Dictionary). Did these prehistoric men draw well or poorly?

CHAP. I.—1. Study the illustrations on page 14 and tell from them how the ancient Egyptians dressed, how they looked, how they wore their hair, and what the hieroglyphs looked like. 2. Describe the size, material, construction, and purpose of an Egyptian pyramid. 3. Compare the Egyptian calendar year with our own calendar year. 4. How did the Egyptians preserve their own likenesses and those of their friends? How do we do this to-day? 5. In this chapter there are ten different occupations named or suggested by which an Egyptian might earn his living. Name as many of these as you can.

CHAP. II.—1. From this chapter get all the information you can find upon the materials which came into Egypt as tribute or as articles of trade. 2. For what purpose were each of the articles used which appear in the inscription regarding trade from Punt on page 26? Were these articles necessities of life or luxuries for the rich? 3. Has Egypt to-day

a more or less important place in the world than in the time of the ancient Empire? Why? 4. Prepare a topical outline from chapters 1 and 2 of the character and development of Egyptian religion and its influence upon the people and government.

CHAP. III.—1. Compare, on the map, the Nile Valley with that of the Tigris and Euphrates. Which is better fitted to bring about the development of a single state, and which is the more open to conquest and influence by surrounding peoples? 2. To what three important uses was clay put in old Babylonian life? 3. Name six different subjects which you can prove, out of this chapter, to have been treated in the laws of Hammurabi. 4. Compare the processes of building in Babylonia with those in Egypt. 5. What were the important things contributed by the Babylonians to the progress of mankind? Compare these with the achievements of the Egyptians.

CHAP. IV.—1. Name and locate the four great centers of civilization which existed in 1500 B. C. Show on the map at what places these four would probably come into contact, one with another. 2. Compare the drawing of human figures in the illustrations of Hittite reliefs and Cretan drawings with the pictures showing Egyptian figures. Which do you consider to be the more life-like? 3. Describe the weapons carried by a Hittite warrior (page 43) and compare them with those of the negro soldiers of Egypt (page 22).

CHAP. V.—1. What features of the geographical position of Phœnicia helped to determine its history? 2. What connection has the purple shell-fish with the Phœnician colonization of the West? 3. What raw products come to Phœnicia by way of her colonies in Spain? 4. Name six products which the Syrians sent to the Phœnician markets? 5. Name four kinds of goods manufactured by the Phœnicians. 6. Study the illustration on page 49 carefully and then write a brief description of a Phœnician ship. By what two methods were they propelled?

CHAP. VI.—1. What would the Assyrian kings wish to gain by conquering the cities of Palestine? Use the source material in this chapter in answering this question. 2. From the map tell what other kingdom in addition to Assyria would wish to get control of the Jewish cities. 3. What would result if we should suddenly do away with all the money coinage in the world of to-day? 4. Compare the extent of the Persian empire in the time of Darius with that of Assyria and with the Egyptian empire of Amenhotep III. 5. Name and locate seven different peoples, whose history we have studied, who were subjects of the Persian king, Darius.

CHAP. VII.—1. How does geographical environment affect the history of a people? Show, for example, how the mountains and valleys of Greece affected the life story of its people. 2. Is Egypt or Greece better adapted to the formation of a single unified state? Why? 3. In what way do the early religious beliefs of the Greeks show the nature of their occupations? 4. What are the substitutes, in civilized communities, for the old method of settling disputes by blood feuds and blood fines? Which method is the better? 5. Describe the weapons and other equipment of a Mycenaean-Greek warrior. See illustration on page 83.

CHAP. VIII.—1. What three social classes appear in the Homeric poems? Which is the most powerful of these? 2. Did the Homeric Greeks have as good an understanding of art as the Cretans? Compare the drawing on page 90 with those on pages 47 and 48. 3. Compare the government of the Greek tribes in the Homeric period with the governments of Egypt and Babylonia. What is the chief difference? 4. Look up, in the encyclopedia, the cause of thunder, and explain how our scientific knowledge of its cause has destroyed the belief in thunder as an omen of divine anger.

CHAP. IX.—1. Compare the motives of the colonization of our own country in the seventeenth century A. D. with that of the Greeks. Where did the colonists, in each case, get their charters? 2. What was the basis of the wealth of the following Greek colonies: Tarentum, Massilia, Cyrene, Byzantium? Locate each of these upon the map. 3. Determine from the map what routes the ships of Corinth would follow in carrying her trade to the north and to the west. 4. Locate upon the map the colonies sent out from the cities of Eubœa, and show how these could compete with Corinth for the trade in the north and west. 5. Name and discuss, in the order of their importance, six results of colonization upon the development of Greek life.

CHAP. X.—1. In what way did the form of the city-state tend to encourage democracy? 2. With what organizations are our amateur athletics connected in America to-day? With what phase of life were Greek athletics connected? 3. Would you consider the spirit of Greek athletics to be "amateur" or "professional?" 4. What were the three branches of government in the Homeric period? Show by a diagram, how each of these had developed in Athens by the time of Clisthenes. 5. Look up in the dictionary the meaning of the term "economic" in the phrases "economic troubles" and "economic causes." 6. In what way may the ancient Olympic games be compared to our modern world fairs?

CHAP. XI.—1. Discuss the training of the Spartan boy and compare it with the training of boys in our own schools. 2. The object of Spartan training and our own is undoubtedly the same, namely, to produce good and useful citizens. Determine the difference between the Spartan and our own ideas of the qualities demanded in a good and useful citizen. 3. Make a diagram of the branches of government in the Homeric and Spartan states, showing the relation of the latter to the former. 4. Show how the Spartan state system tended to bring about war with the neighbors of Sparta. 5. Compare the warrior life of a Spartan with the democratic life of an Athenian after the reforms of Solon. Which would produce the higher type of man?

CHAP. XII.—1. Draw a map of Greece, the Ægean Sea, and Asia Minor and locate the cities mentioned in paragraph one of page 120. 2. Which of the teachings of Anaxagoras are held at the present day? 3. Compare a modern battleship with a Greek trireme, in size, construction, and number in the crews, and explain the difference in their methods of fighting. 4. Give three facts which show the genius and political keenness of Themistocles. 5. Give five important results of the victory of the Greeks over the Persians.

CHAP. XIII.—1. What were the qualifications demanded for membership in the Boulé of Erythræ? Work out the exact method of choosing its members. (Page 137.) 2. What means did Athens have of controlling events at Erythræ? (Page 137.) 3. In what four points did Athens dictate to the Erythreans what they must do? (Page 137.) 4. Was Pericles right or wrong in thinking that pay for public service is necessary in a democratic government? Why? 5. Draw a sketch map showing the extent of the Delian League on sea and land at the height of Athenian power.

CHAP. XIV.—1. From this and the preceding chapter write a brief account of the character, personality, and plans of Pericles? Do you consider him a great man? Why? 2. In this chapter there are mentioned 25 different trades in which Athenians might be engaged. Make a list of these and explain the trades. 3. Which do you consider better, the limited citizenship of ancient Athens, or the general right of all men over 21 years of age to vote and stand for office, as in our country? 4. Explain the obligations assumed by the Athenians in their treaty with Chalcis. (Pages 150–151.) 5. Explain the obligations assumed by the Chalcidians in the same treaty. Which city had the better of the agreement?

CHAP. XV.—1. With what phase of Greek life were the dramas connected? Name five ways in which the Greek theater and dramatic performances differed from those of to-day. (See the picture of the theater of Epidaurus on page 193.) 2. Was Pericles right, and are we right, in expending the money of the state for beautiful public buildings? Why? Who gets the benefit of their beauty? 3. Was Antigone right, in Sophocles' play, in taking the stand which she did against the law of her state? 4. Are there any Greek columns used in any public buildings in your city? If so, describe them and determine to what one of the three Greek "orders" they belong.

CHAP. XVI.—1. Would a plague such as befell Athens in 430–428 B. C. be more or less deadly now than at that time? Explain your answer. 2. For what reasons is Thucydides regarded as an excellent source of information upon the Peloponnesian Wars? Is his book a better source than this text-book? Why? 3. What points in regard to the character of Alcibiades are brought out in the story which Plutarch tells about him? 4. Determine from the map, as nearly as you can, the distance from Athens to Sicily. Was Alcibiades' plan of establishing an Athenian empire so far to the west a wise one? 5. What effect has the invention of the telegraph, the cable, steamships, and railroads, had upon the control of dependent lands across the sea? Can we control the Philippine Islands as well or better than Athens could control Sicily?

CHAP. XVII.—1. Why did Cyrus, a Persian, hire Greek troops to help him in his expedition against the Persian king at Babylon? 2. Did the fall of Athens in 404 B. C. turn out to the advantage or disadvantage of the cities of the Delian League? 3. Why did soldiers, in ancient times, fight in closely-packed lines, whereas modern generals prefer to station their soldiers several paces distant one from another? 4. Compare an ancient catapult or ballista, in range and power of destruction, with a modern cannon. 5. Do you agree with Socrates that, knowing what is good, men will necessarily do good things?

CHAP. XVIII.—1. Compare the decree on pp. 187, 188 with that upon the constitution of Erythræ, page 137, which is from the early period of the first Delian League: (a) In the decree regarding Erythræ did Athens dictate to the Erythreans the form of their government? Does she do so in the new decree? (b) Point out three changes in the attitude of Athens toward the members of the League, as shown in these two decrees. (c) In the new league, which party gained the advantage, Athens or the allies? 2. By whom, how, and where were Athenian decrees published? Answer from the decree in this chapter. 3. Describe, from this decree, the method by which public monies were paid out at Athens. What body actually kept the money in charge and paid it out when ordered? What bodies had the power to give orders that public money should be paid out? 4. Compare the Congress held at the Isthmus in 337 B. C. with that held there in 481 B. C. and show clearly the difference in their aims. What great change had taken place in the relations between the Greeks and the Persians?

CHAP. XIX.—1. Why is slavery not permitted in any civilized country at the present day? 2. In what ways did ancient Greek slavery differ from slavery in our southern states before the war of the rebellion? 3. Give three important economic results of Alexander's conquests. 4. Give three important intellectual results. 5. Why are wars, either ancient or modern, so very costly? What more reasonable method of settling disputes between nations is employed at the present day?

CHAP. XX.—1. Locate on the map and give the boundaries of the four kingdoms formed out of Alexander's empire. 2. Which of these can be most easily defended? 3. Compare the plan of the *initiative and referendum*, which is being advocated in the United States to-day, with the method of voting in the assembly of the Achæan League. 4. Make a diagram comparing the central organization of the Achæan League with the main branches of our national government.

CHAP. XXI.—1. In what five ways is the "hellenizing" of western Asia shown in this chapter? 2. How much money did Aurelius Septimius Irenæus earn during his career as an athlete? (See pages 227 and 228.) 3. Describe, as far as you can, the business life and public buildings of ancient Alexandria. 4. Draw a map, tracing on it the routes by which the trade of Alexandria would go eastward, westward, and northward. 5. By what route does most of the trade from the Mediterranean sea go to India and China at the present day? Compare this with the ancient route by water.

CHAP. XXII.—1. Compare the map of the world as drawn by Eratosthenes with a modern map showing Europe, Asia, and Africa, and show what parts of these continents he knew well and what parts were not well known to him. 2. How far wrong was Eratosthenes in regard to the circumference of the earth? 3. Compare the theory which Aristarchus held in regard to the solar system with the modern theory. Why did most people in ancient times believe that the sun revolved around the earth? 4. Name four branches of scientific study in which the people of the Hellenistic age were interested,

and give the name of one ancient scientist who was important in each branch. **5.** Name five different kinds of literature, mentioned in this chapter, which a man of the Hellenistic age might read for pleasure rather than for the sake of study.

CHAP. XXIII.—**1.** There are four illustrations in this chapter. Write, in brief sentences, all the points which you can learn from each of these, that will help you in understanding the life and civilization of the people dealt with in the chapter. **2.** Study the map of the Mediterranean countries on page 300 and explain in detail why Italy is better situated to become the center of a Mediterranean empire than Persia; than Egypt; than Greece. **3.** From the same map determine the approximate distance by sea from Rome to lower Spain; from Rome to Rhodes; from Rome to the mouth of the Nile river. **4.** Explain the reason why we know more about the Assyrian empire in the years 745-606 B. C. (see chapter VI) than about Rome during the same period.

CHAP. XXIV.—**1.** Compare the early Roman religion with the early Greek religion and point out their similarities and differences. Which people was the more interested in farming and which in herding cattle? **2.** Make a diagram comparing the early form of the Roman state with the Homeric government in Greece. **3.** Tell the story of Aulus Postumius and his son and determine which the Roman considered more important, devotion to the state or devotion to one's family.

CHAP. XXV.—**1.** Compare the Roman Laws of the Twelve Tables with the Athenian Laws of Draco in the following particulars: date; reasons why they were passed; matters dealt with in each. **2.** From the picture on page 264 describe the weapons and defensive armor of a Roman warrior. **3.** Make an abstract showing how the plebeians gained the right to hold the offices at Rome, and how they gained the right to pass laws for the state. **4.** From the illustration on page 271 learn all that you can of the Etruscan sport of horse-racing.

CHAP. XXVI.—**1.** Why did Rome make an alliance with Carthage in the time of Dionysius of Syracuse? Why in the time of Pyrrhus? Why did their alliance change to hostility after the time of Pyrrhus? **2.** What was the great motive back of all the political wars and alliances of Carthage? **3.** Give three reasons why Polybius is to be considered a better source upon the Punic Wars than Livy. **4.** In what two ways was the Carthaginian state stronger than the Roman? In what two ways weaker? **5.** What difference is there in the method of fighting in a modern and an ancient naval battle? (See illustration on page 284.) In which, do you think, would the loss of life be greater? **6.** Was Hannibal justified in his hatred toward Rome?

CHAP. XXVII.—**1.** How can you explain the fact that the loss of life in an ancient battle, fought with javelins and swords, is so much greater than that in a modern battle, fought with guns? **2.** Write an abstract for a brief sketch of the life of Hannibal under the following headings: boyhood, designs against Rome, wars with Rome, last years and death, character and estimate of ability. **3.** During Hannibal's

wars in Italy thousands of Rome's best citizens were in the armies each summer. What effect must this have had upon business in Italy? 4. Is this waste of human energy sensible? What other method have we to-day for settling international disputes?

CHAP. XXVIII.—1. From the information given in this chapter work out an abstract of the various matters attended to in the Tribal Assembly. 2. Do the same in the case of the Centuriate Assembly. 3. From the illustration given on page 306 describe the appearance and dress of a typical Roman citizen. 4. Make a list of the Roman magistrates mentioned in this chapter and state the duties of each, using the index for additional information. 5. What should be the only purpose of a state in taxing its citizens? Was the system of tax-farming a good or bad system? Why?

CHAP. XXIX.—1. Name and locate four great kingdoms existing in the Mediterranean world in 200 B. C. 2. Name and locate five other important free cities or states which were not monarchies, existing at the same time. 3. Take the list of provinces annexed by the Roman state before the year 132 B. C. (page 309) and enumerate the wars through which each of these was added as Roman domain. 4. Look up the word "Carthage" in the Index and write an abstract of the history of this city. 5. What were the policies of Philip V of Macedon toward the following states: Rome; the Achæan League; Athens; the Ægean Islands; Egypt? (See pages 219, 222, 298, 314, 315.)

CHAP. XXX.—1. Find in this chapter four ways by which the knowledge of the Greek language and civilization came to Rome. 2. Determine from the decree of the Roman Senate given upon page 327, the answers to the following questions: (a) What magistrates had the right of calling the Senate together? (b) Why did the Romans, in official decrees, give the name of the father of each man mentioned? (c) What number of the Senate formed a quorum when this decree was passed? 3. Do you consider the new freedom of women in the Roman state to be good for the state, or bad? Be ready to defend your answer in informal debate.

CHAP. XXXI.—1. From the illustration on page 332 tell what you can about ancient ploughs and ploughing. 2. Find on pages 260 and 331-333 four reasons for the ruin of the small farmer in Italy. 3. What laws of the Gracchi were intended to apply directly toward bettering the condition of the Italian small farmer? 4. Do you regard the two Gracchi as patriots devoted to the Roman state or only as ambitious politicians? Give the reasons for your answer.

CHAP. XXXII.—1. What two examples of the neglect of Roman constitutional customs can you find in the story of the Gracchi? 2. Give three incidents occurring in the years 106 to 90 B. C. which show the loss of respect for the Roman laws and the magistrates. 3. Show clearly how the three proposals of Sulla for the restoration of the Senate are a direct consequence of the work of the Gracchi and of Marius. 4. Make an abstract of the chief dates and events in the lives of Marius and Sulla as they appear in the text.

CHAP. XXXIII.—1. From pages 354 and 355 determine eight different occupations in which slaves were engaged in Rome. 2. Compare this with the occupations of slaves in our southern states before the civil war. 3. Describe in your own words the manners and appearance of Julius Cæsar. 4. Make an outline tracing the history and decline of the tribuneship from the time of Tiberius Gracchus, in 133 B. C., to the year 65 B. C. 5. Name the four men most prominent in Roman politics in the year 60 B. C. and try to state, in a single phrase for each, what were the particular gifts which raised these men to power. 6. Why did the aristocratic party refuse to support Pompey in 62 B. C. (page 462) if he was originally a member of that party (page 356)?

CHAP. XXXIV.—1. State briefly your opinion of Julius Cæsar, (a) as a general, (b) as a statesman, (c) as a man, giving reasons for your decision in each case. 2. Look up the derivations of our names for the twelve months of the year and show how they are connected with the Roman calendar. 3. From the illustrations on pages 354 and 377 and the account on page 377 give, in your own words, an idea of the Roman gladiatorial combats and animal hunts. 4. Could such shows be exhibited at the present day? Why not? 5. Give the names of five writers mentioned in this chapter who may be regarded as ancient sources upon the history, life, and spirit of the days of Cæsar.

CHAP. XXXV.—1. Where did Antonius, Octavius and Lepidus get their idea of forming a triumvirate? Where did they get the idea of the proscriptions? 2. What offices did Augustus take which gave him each of the following supreme powers: military, religious, civil, judicial? 3. Show how the weaknesses of the old provincial system (pp. 310–311) were corrected in the imperial provinces of Augustus. 4. Compare the map upon page 388, with that upon page 321 and mark the territory added to the Roman state from 133 B. C. to the death of Augustus.

CHAP. XXXVI.—1. What is the great difference between the Greek epics, the Iliad and Odyssey, and the Æneid in the manner in which they were composed? 2. Do Horace's poems show that the Roman youth of his day *were* being trained to endure hardships, or that they *were not*? Explain. 3. Describe a Roman school from the illustration upon page 397.

CHAP. XXXVII.—1. Name the emperors of the first century whom you consider admirable, giving reasons for your statement. 2. Give a brief characterization of Nero. 3. Do you consider the payments of crops made by the *coloni* to be very large or reasonable? 4. In what way could the six days of service, falling at the time of the ploughing, sowing, and harvesting, be a burden to them?

CHAP. XXXVIII.—1. What can you learn from the illustration on page 409 about an ancient town, its houses, streets, and surroundings? 2. Name from this chapter twelve businesses in which a Pompeian might have been engaged. 3. Would Tacitus have considered Nero or Paul the more important person? Why? 4. Why is Paul to be considered by us as the more important character?

CHAP. XXXIX.—1. Locate on the map the provinces conquered by Trajan. 2. Trace the three routes, land and sea, by which a Roman

might travel to Byzantium. 3. Trace the three routes by which he might go to Gades. Which of these three would take the least time? 4. From this and the preceding chapter make an abstract showing the development of Christianity from the birth of Christ to the time of Marcus Aurelius.

CHAP. XL.—1. Describe the armor and standard of the prætorian guard from the illustration on page 438. 2. Describe in detail the appearance of the villa and garden of an African land-owner from the illustration upon page 440. 3. Locate Palmyra on the map. 4. What is the style of architecture of the ruined temple shown upon page 441? 5. What does this show in regard to the life in Palmyra? Was it Roman, Arabian, or Greek? See also page 225. 6. Write a description of the Roman forum based upon the restoration on page 447. 7. Page 448. Why does Aurelius Diogenes say that he has offered sacrifices to the gods? 8. How is this document regarding Aurelius Diogenes dated?

CHAP. XLI.—1. Write a brief abstract with dates showing the progress of Christianity in the fourth century of our era. 2. Give four distinct reasons which impelled Constantine to make Constantinople his capital. 3. Determine whether or not Constantine deserves the title of "the Great" more than Augustus Cæsar. Be prepared to give reasons for your belief in an informal debate. 4. Look up Byzantium and Constantinople in the index of this book and in the encyclopedia and make a short abstract of the important events in the history of the city to 1453 A. D. 5. Which city is the more advantageously situated, Constantinople or Rome?

CHAP. XLII.—1. What may be learned from the illustration on page 466 of the Germans and their life? 2. Look up the term *coloni* in the index and give a general view of the development of this class in the society of the Roman empire. 3. Make a brief abstract of the movements of the Visigoths from 370 to 430 A. D. Give the dates and reasons for each important movement and keep this abstract for further development. 4. What can be learned from the illustration on page 471 of the Roman knowledge of building and engineering? 5. Write an estimate in fifty words of the character and ability of Theodoric.

CHAP. XLIII.—1. Draw a map of the Roman empire as it was at the death of Augustus (see page 388) and show what portions of it had been lost to the Germans by the accession of Justinian. 2. Explain this statement: "Justinian stood for unity in territory, religion, and law." 3. Add all the information which you can obtain from this chapter in regard to the Visigoths, to the abstract made from the last chapter. 4. From chapters XLII and XLIII make a brief abstract of the movements and history of the Vandals from their original home to the time of their destruction in Africa. 5. Why is it important for us to know something of the development of Roman law? 6. Compare the Christian-Roman buildings depicted on pages 472 and 476 with the old Greco-Roman architecture shown in the restorations on pages 430 and 447. What are the chief points of difference?

CHAP. XLIV.—1. Compare the Burgundian clasp (page 483) with the examples of Cretan art shown on pages 47 and 48 and decide which people had the better knowledge of art. 2. Compare the coin of Dago-

bert (page 485) with the Athenian coin on page 347. Why had the ability to mint artistic coins so greatly declined? **3.** In what way may the work of the Christian missionaries in China to-day be compared with that of the missionaries in the time of Pope Gregory the Great? **4.** Do you think that the Roman emperor, Marcus Aurelius, would have killed one of his soldiers as Clovis did the warrior at Soissons? Does this show an advance or decline in civilization?

CHAP. XLV.—**1.** What parts of the Roman empire of Augustus were lost to the Mohammedans in the years 632 to 732 A. D.? Compare the maps on pages 388 and 497. **2.** What two things did the Papacy gain from its alliance with the Carolingian house? **3.** What two important things did the Carolingians gain? **4.** Compare on the maps or from the descriptions in the text-books the territory embraced by the following ancient empires: 1. The Persian. 2. Empire of Alexander. 3. The Roman empire under Trajan. 4. The Mohammedan empire. 5. The empire of Charlemagne. **5.** To which one of these may the term "world-empire" best be applied?

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The following diacritical marks have been used in indicating pronunciations:

- ä = a in father, star.
- â = a in Syria.
- œ = k.
- ch = k, unless otherwise indicated.
- ç = s.
- ṣ = z.
- û = oo in poor.

Where the pronunciations are obvious no marks have been given. In the case of very difficult words the pronunciation is indicated by a simplified spelling.

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